Saba Safdar · Natasza Kosakowska-Berezecka *Editors*

Psychology of Gender Through the Lens of Culture

Theories and Applications

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Preface

The Psychology of Gender Through the Lens of Culture is the most welcome addition to the growing literature in gender studies. It is a unique volume as it integrates three important fields of study that are not often addressed in combination—psychology, gender, and culture. Safdar and Kosakowska-Berezecka are to be commended for assuming such a novel perspective. They have indeed produced a valuable volume, bringing together an impressive group of scientists from a large number of cultures. Those readers interested in cultural diversity will find a great deal of it here. Those interested in understanding gender relations and gender dynamics will find insights into these. And finally psychologists and others interested in psychological analyses, above and beyond sociological, economic, and other social science perspectives, will benefit greatly from reading this volume.

In their introductory chapter Safdar and Kosakowska-Berez provide a general orientation to the main topics and issues covered in the chapters. The range of topics is remarkable. On the one hand, we find the analysis of complex ideological structures and political change as they impact gender in culture. On the other hand, we are informed about the developmental psychological mechanisms underlying the formation of gender stereotypes and prejudice. On the one hand, theoretical perspectives such as "ambivalent sexism" informs a number of chapters, on the other hand empirical studies provide valuable information and implications for applications to mitigate gender prejudice. Several chapters tend to include similar theoretical views even though they originate from studies in very different socio-economic-cultural contexts.

Among these, one particularly absorbing ideological (as well as cognitive and attitudinal) point of theoretical debate concerns the construal of gender equality versus gender complementarity. As noted by anthropologists, this differentiation has a long history and emerges basically from gendered division of labor in human groups. Through time, it has been established in religions and traditions. The view that the two genders are, by definition, different (not equal) but complementary is endorsed by a more traditional, conservative world view that purports *different* and *separate* spheres of action for men and women, the public and the private, with extensive implications for social and economic policies. The opposite view, claiming the equality of genders, in contrast, calls for *shared* spheres of action. From a

history of race relations (in the USA) we have learned that *separate* but *equal* is actually *never equal*. The implications for "gender—in culture" dynamics are enormous. This issue is relevant for a number of the chapters; it is indeed a key issue in the world today.

Ambivalent sexism is another theoretical perspective which has informed research. The developmental trends in sexism from childhood to adulthood provide psychological insights into the emergence of ambivalent ideologies of paternalistic and hostile sexism, involving positive and negative attitudes toward women. It is shown, for example in Spain, that though apparently benevolent, paternalistic sexism also tends to perpetuate rather than eliminate status inequalities between men and women. Thus it is important to study the mechanisms underlying complex sexist beliefs, their causes, and their behavioral and ideological outcomes.

With regard to social and political factors impacting gender issues there is great diversity. At times ironic trends are also noted, for example in Turkey and Hungary, pointing to *increase* in traditional gender relations following democratization. Such phenomena point to the limitations of structural changes in forming gender equality and draw attention to the significance of underlying cultural factors. Clearly, concerted efforts are needed particularly in education, both formal and nonformal. In particular, reaching children early with perspectives of human rights and gender equality and persistently continuing such efforts are called for.

In conclusion I can say that this is a "must read" for anyone interested in gender issues. From South Asian to Polish, from Chinese to Mexican, with studies and observations carried out in 20 nations and ethnic groups, this volume indeed presents a global portrait of gender. The reader benefits greatly from this joint effort in gaining knowledge and understanding into gender dynamics and gender problems to be solved. Given our overarching goal of promoting gender equality in the world, we learn a great deal about the psychological, social, cultural, and contextual factors that are promising toward contributing to the realization of this goal. Nevertheless, ours is a long path, requiring patience and persistence in addition to knowledge and understanding.

Psychology, Gender, Culture
Cigdem Kagitcibasi

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Chapter 1
Gender Through the Lens of Culture

Saba Safdar and Natasza Kosakowska-Berezecka

Introduction

As we are completing this book, UN Women, a division of the United Nations, launched a gender equality campaign, HeForShe (UN Women, 2014). At the heart of this campaign is the fight against gender inequality with the unusual feature that it includes both men and women in this endeavour. It urges men to support women and take action against all forms of inequality. The campaign HeForShe highlights the inequalities that exist around the world, including unequal pay, health disparities, educational gaps, power differentials, and violence against women. A recent example that highlights gender inequality is a census-based study by the Reflective Democracy Campaign (2014) that examined political representation by gender in the USA. The study found that 71 % of the elected positions in the USA are held by men and 65 % by white men. Men in the USA have three times more political power than women. White men have eight times more political power than the women of colour. This is despite the fact that 51 % of the American population are women, 49 % are men, and the proportion of white men in the US population is 31 %. In this book, you will read about the impact of these inequalities on women, men, their society, and future generations as outlined by social scientists around the globe. Once again, it is highlighted that there is no country that has achieved full gender equality.

An examination of gender relations across the world indicates that the general pattern is for men to have higher status and power than women, although the extent of this difference is not the same across cultures. The United Nations has been able

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to capture this inequality in terms of the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII; Human Development Report, 2013). There is a wide range between the countries that score high on the GDI and GII (e.g. Canada and New Zealand) and those that score low on the GDI and GII (e.g. India, Ghana).

Although the situation of women seems to be the main scope of current psychology of gender, many authors indicate that gender stereotypes constitute a two-edged sword, namely what binds women to their private sphere of family life, thus limiting their chances for professional career, at the same time also prevents men from being fully involved in family duties and childcare (United Nations Report, 2012). It is also evident that negative expressions of hostility and discriminatory acts against women are more visible in societies with greater inequality, nevertheless, in more egalitarian countries, more subtle forms of discrimination are still experienced by women and men (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005) that both undermine their performance and reduce the perceived need for social change (Becker & Wright, 2011).

Past research devoted to the analysis of cultural similarities and differences in psychology has questioned the relevance and generalizability of theories developed and tested mainly within Western nations. Although there exist measures detecting the level of gender equality across the world, they do not constitute culturally sensitive indicators of the quality of life for men and women. They do not incorporate the specific elements of the culture they apply to. In this book, we have made an attempt to show some of the emic aspects of the functioning of women and men in different cultures.

Cross-Cultural Research on Gender

A growth in psychological research on gender started in the 1970s in Western societies (Rudman & Glick, 2008). The main theme visible within most lines of research is derived from the assumption that gender constitutes an important element of one's identity, often developed by the social expectations embedded in a given culture. Gender categorization is ubiquitous and tends to be the first frame of reference when describing a person. These categorizations imply gender stereotypes that encompass the idea of culturally appropriate femininity and masculinity. This in turn has a significant influence on an individual's quality of life, aspirations, and opportunities.

Cross-cultural research on gender within a psychological framework is still in its infancy as there are few large-scale studies on the subject to date. Furthermore, gender research conducted cross-culturally risks ethnocentrism and androcentrism as the preponderance of contemporary gender theories have been built upon data collected mainly within Western cultural context and until relatively recently conducted mainly by men.

Although an evolutionary perspective would highlight the biological basis of sex differences in domestic roles (child rearing and provision of food), the extent

to which gender stereotypes are observed and maintained is largely influenced by culture. Contemporary concepts of femininity and masculinity encompass social prescriptions of women to be warm and communal, at the same time discouraging them to be overly dominant and controllable, whereas men are expected to be agentic, competent, and career-oriented but not weak and compliant (cf. Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). The degree to which this division is manifested in everyday life differs from region to region. There are countries that have successfully followed a path of implementing a series of gender-equality policies, such as subsidized childcare, promotion of pay parity for women, and the promotion of the advancement of women in politics, business, and academic life. There are also countries where the gender divide is wide, women have limited access to education, are less likely to be employed in skilled jobs, and are more likely to be sexually exploited.

Overview of the Chapters

Editing this book was a great adventure. It gave us a wonderful opportunity to become more familiar with the work of academics who examine gender across the world. The end result is a wide collection of cultural and cross-cultural studies relating to gender issues carried out by researchers from 18 countries presenting empirical data and reviewing gender relations in more than 20 nations and ethnic groups. The chapters include research from less frequently represented parts of the world in terms of gender studies, such as Africa, Latin America, and West Asia. Our goal is to present a collection of works that analyse how gender stereotypes and egalitarian norms vary across cultures and also, which cultural and contextual factors lead to support for gender equality and social change. "*The psychology of gender through the lens of culture*" makes an attempt to capture gender inequality in the chapters written by scholars who live and work in these societies and whose primary line of research is culture, gender, or both. Therefore, the interpretations of gender relations and proposed interventions provided in these chapters are by the authors who are familiar with the cultural characteristics of their specific national and ethnic groups. We have included empirical and theoretical examinations of gender equality, empowerment, and gender movement from different regions of the world.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on research with specific groups and includes three chapters. In Chapter 2, Marta Young and Jacky Chan examine the impact of gender and culture on the psychological experience of refugees. The authors argue for gender-sensitive refugee research and examine the interaction between gender and culture in shaping the refugee experience. In Chapter 3, Noorfarah Merali presents multiple case studies on the relationship between gender and dowry-related victimization among South Asian Canadians who had international arranged marriages but subsequently were abandoned by their partners. The results indicate a gender difference in victimization whereby

women suffered from dowry-related abuses, whereas men were vulnerable to dowry fraud. In Chap. 4, Konstantin Tskhay and Nicholas Rule review variability of sexual orientation and gender identity across cultures and over time, including homosexuality in ancient Greece, masculinity in Papua New Guinea, and the transsexualism of Native American *berdaches*. The authors examine how sexual minorities are perceived and treated by broader cultures and how gender expectations influence the cognition and behaviours of sexual minorities.

The second section of the book consists of 12 chapters from different regions of the world to illustrate the most recent trends in the research concerning gender issues. The chapters in this section also outline future prospects and present implications for the psychological analysis of both gender and culture.

In Chapter 5, Leong et al. present empirical data on housework distribution among Chinese couples. They found the pattern of housework was skewed in favour of men. The results support both income and time-availability theories. That is, a partner with more economic power spent less time on housework, whereas partners who (both) worked fewer hours had a more egalitarian distribution of housework. However, gender ideology was not a predictor of household labour distribution in China. The authors situate their hypotheses and findings within the patriarchal system in China that has traditionally favoured men and on the characteristics of modern Chinese society with its focus on economical (i.e. agentic, masculine) success.

In Chapter 6, researchers Gunes Zeytinoglu and Richard Bonnabeau provide a historical review of gender inequality in Turkey and examine the status of women in modern Turkey using qualitative research. As the authors outline in the chapter, despite progress in terms of gender equality, women in modern Turkey still face violence and challenges in both work and domestic domains. Participants who were from rural and urban areas of Turkey reported lacking access to resources, experiencing sexual and physical harassment at work, and having difficulties at home that included physical abuse. The researchers characterized the experience of the participants within the duality of sociopolitical conditions of Turkey where there is both secularism and “a rising tide of conservatism”.

In Chapter 7, Dahlia Moore, an Israeli researcher, reviews division of labour, gender identity, and gender stereotypes in Israel. In doing so, she provides an overview of earlier empirical studies conducted with the Israeli Police Force, a masculine organization. She describes that although the number of women in the police force has increased, sex-segregation remains a reality. Moore also presents data that show gender schemas in Israel have changed and there is no clear-cut distinction between “feminine” and “masculine” traits. Moore further examines the dual commitment to family and work using representative samples in Israel and a multinational study. She argues that combining family and work roles is beneficial for women rather than conflictual. Overall, Moore provides an overview of patriarchal, traditional, and religious Israeli society and argues that changes in women’s life conditions did not come about through male-dominated social movements, but through feminist ideologies and women’s organizations. These changes include less rigid gender schemas, changes in the division of roles between men and women, and changes in sex-based stereotypes.

In Chapter 8, Russian psychologists, Irina Shmeleva and Ludmila Pochebut, provide a review of gender research within the multiethnic context of Russia using narrative meta-analysis of published papers, dissertations, and monographs. They consider gender relations within a dozen ethnic groups in Russia and examine the impact of gender inequality on a variety of variables, including life expectancy, child development, family relations, and employment. The researchers present evidence that the cultural norms in modern Russia are at odds with gender equality. They further argue that contradiction exists between modern, egalitarian gender norms that are endorsed by individuals and patriarchal gender stereotypes that are endorsed at the societal level through mass media, religion, and politics.

In Chapter 9, Polish researchers, Małgorzata Mikołajczak and Janina Pietrzak, examine the Ambivalent Sexism Theory in Poland where gender ideology is shaped by Catholic Church beliefs, the legacy of communism, patriotic symbolism, and modern economic changes. Based on qualitative and quantitative data, the authors broaden the Ambivalent Sexism Theory and propose three new dimensions to sexism that explain gender inequalities in Poland. These dimensions underline the central role of a woman as mother. They also underline the importance of appearance in evaluating women and the belief that although women may be resourceful, this does not translate to gaining equal status with men. The authors, subsequently, present a new scale that they developed to measure these new dimensions of sexism. The researchers conclude that by broadening sexism and including new dimension nuances of sexism can be further explored not only in Poland but in other cultures where these dimensions are recognizable.

In Chapter 10, Márta Fülöp, and Mihály Berkics, Hungarian researchers, provide an overview of gender-related research in Hungary pertaining to the workforce. As is described in the chapter, during the socialist era, women in Hungary had relatively equal opportunities outside the home although traditional gender relations existed within the home. After the political change in 1989, there was a conservative shift that emphasized women's return to domestic activities and weakened the importance of women's careers. The researchers present two empirical studies. The results of these studies indicate that despite gender egalitarian practices that enforced in the current labour market in Hungary, competitive women are viewed more negatively than competitive men. Furthermore, young Hungarian men desire traditionally feminine women and young Hungarian women desire traditionally masculine men.

In Chapter 11, Spanish researchers, de Lemus et al., examine the development of gender prejudice and stereotypes in Spain, mainly focusing on the case of ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The authors provide empirical evidence that is in line with research conducted in other Western countries indicating that, although boys show hostility towards girls during childhood, they exhibit benevolent sexism during adolescence as they develop relationships with girls. Moreover, the development of intimate relationships is related to increased sexism in both boys and girls. The authors argue that examining developmental and social factors is crucial in understanding the mechanism of sexist beliefs and ambivalent ideologies that include both paternalistic and hostile attitudes towards women.

In Chapter 12, Swiss researchers, Elena Makarova and Walter Herzog, present data from the German-, French-, and Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland. University students rated their parent's gender roles and their own attitudes towards gender roles along three dimensions of childcare, household, and paid employment within the family. The results indicate unequal gender role divisions. Mothers contributed to childcare and household significantly more than fathers and fathers were engaged in paid employment significantly more than mothers. The researchers also found that families in the French-speaking region were more egalitarian than the other two regions. This was evident in the division of labour as more French-speaking mothers were employed and more French-speaking fathers contributed to household labour. Overall, the participants reported having more egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles than their parental family. The authors argue that the belief in gender equality and division of labour between women and men is expanding in Swiss families.

In Chapter 13, American researchers, Deborah Best and Alexandra DeLone, provide an overview of early and current psychological research on gender issues in the USA. As is outlined in the chapter, early twentieth century studies focused on sex differences and concluded that men and women are different in terms of abilities, cognition, and emotion. This provided a context for gender inequality in public (e.g. political, education, paid employment) and private (e.g. family, household work, marriage) domains. The authors present evidence that in the modern USA, traditional gender ideology is still prevalent and is woven into the culture.

In Chapter 14, Anna-Emilia Hietanen and Susan Pick examine gender inequality in Mexico in relation to sexuality and health. The authors review characteristics of Mexican culture that exemplify paternalism, traditional family and gender roles, and pressure to conform. The authors review the legal rights of women in Mexico when it comes to controlling their own health, including reproductive health, access to abortion, and response to sexual violence. The evidence shows that women's sexuality is controlled by men and their social status depends on their marital status (single women have less value than married women). Hietanen and Pick conclude their chapter by reviewing a theoretical model referred to as Framework for Enabling Empowerment (FrEE). The model takes into account contextual and personal factors in examining the influence of social development programs in empowering individuals.

In Chapter 15, Judith Gibbons and Sandra Luna review gender disparities in education, political participation, health, and employment in Central American countries, including Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. The authors succinctly and ingeniously summarize gender disparity in this part of the world in the title of their chapter, "*For men life is hard, for women life is harder*". Gibbons and Luna examine gender inequality in relation to sexuality and health. The authors further discuss *machismo*, *marianismo*, and *hembrismo* as emic concepts in Latin America that have a visible influence on gender stereotypes and gender inequalities.

In Chapter 16, South African researchers, Claude-Hélène Mayer and Antoni Barnard, examine gender inequality in pre- and post-apartheid South Africa. In their comprehensive review of racism and sexism in South Africa, the authors examine

the intersection of black culture and the role of the apartheid government in limiting black women's access to education and employment opportunities. In post-apartheid South Africa, systematic attempts have been made to eradicate gender and ethnic discrimination. However, as the empirical evidence presented in the chapter indicates gender equity in work place is a goal yet to be attained in contemporary South Africa.

The third section of the book consists of three chapters and focuses on applications and interventions that have been used cross-culturally in addressing gender inequality. One of the aims of this section was to examine cultural norms and values that reinforce gender inequality. Specific examples of interventions are presented in the three chapters of this section. These interventions built on the knowledge of certain mechanisms that could diminish the negative consequences of gender stereotypes and promote gender equality and social change.

In Chapter 17, the authors from New Zealand, Angela Robinson and James Liu, review and analyse interventions that aim to empower women and ethnic communities. The authors present interventions in the areas of women's participation in business leadership, prevention of family violence, and improving long-term health. The interventions that are reviewed include both mainstream programs aiming at empowering women in general and ethnic programs recognizing the intersection between gender and ethnicity. Evaluating these programs, the authors argue that it is imperative to understand and consider values and cultural beliefs about gender roles when designing and implementing interventions aimed at empowering women

In Chapter 18, the authors from Ghana, Charity Akotia and Adote Anum, review interventions that aim to address gender disparities in the areas of education, employment, wealth, health, and political participation. They also examine factors that account for the failure of some of these interventions. The authors argue that a lack of formal education is one of the most important gender inequalities as it affects other domains including employment, poverty, and health. Furthermore, as is illustrated in the chapter, in Ghanaian society despite being multiethnic, there are shared practices that enforce gender inequality. Practices such as inheritance systems and land ownership deny women access to wealth. However, in Ghana very few interventions have directly targeted these issues for women.

In Chapter 19, Amina Abubakar and Patricia Kitsao-Wekulo examine factors that contribute to higher risk of HIV infection amongst sub-Saharan African women and review selected interventions aimed at reducing these risks. As Abubakar and Kitsao-Wekulo illustrate, sociocultural practices in patriarchal societies of sub-Saharan countries make women vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV. These practices include sexual/widow cleansing (*kusalazya*), giving women limited access to education, and poverty which creates women's dependence on men. In reviewing HIV prevention programs, Abubakar and Kitsao-Wekulo propose a multifaceted approach that includes bio-medical, economical, sociocultural, and behavioural interventions.

As can be seen from the above summary, gender inequality is a global phenomenon and is not limited to a particular time and place. Although in almost all

countries that we have data from, there is a move towards gender-equal relations, the process of closing the gender gap is slow and laborious. As you will read in these chapters, women have achieved more equality in some nations than others, yet the evidence shows that there is still much work to be done even in more egalitarian societies.

Sexism and Cultural Proverbs

Sexism is one of the topics that most of our authors addressed. The literature shows that both women and men suffer from sexism, however, women tend to be the primary victim when it comes to ambivalent sexism, although this may manifest itself differently across culture. For example, Hietanen and Pick (Chap. 13) describe *marianismo* in their analysis of Mexican culture. Gibbons and Luna (Chap. 14) also examine *marianismo* (along with *machismo* and *hembrismo*) as emic concepts in Latin America. Similarly, Mikołajczak and Pietrzak (Chap. 8) describe a dimension of sexism in Poland that is characterized by the belief that women are resourceful and "have hidden depths of inner strength". The overlap between the beliefs in female resourcefulness in Poland and the beliefs in women's superiority as expressed in *marianismo* in Mexico, and other countries in Central America reflect shared and traditional beliefs about gender roles in these very different societies. As the authors discuss in their chapters, both concepts emphasize the value of self-sacrifice and denial of personal fulfilment. Furthermore, both female resourcefulness and *marianismo* are subtle forms of ambivalent sexism.

Across the world, gender issues permeate the rituals and habits of individuals, couples, families, and organizations. One of the means to detect the subtle impact of gender impact is to see how it is manifest in the content of culture-specific proverbs. Our authors have gathered examples of beliefs about gender relations or gender roles encompassed by specific proverbs from their respective countries (see Table 1.1). Such proverbs still prevail in these societies as a conventional wisdom.

The proverbs, sayings and poems listed in the Table 1.1 seem to create a congruent and universal vision of stereotypical women and men. Women belong to a "private sphere", which they should manage effectively, taking care of the homely atmosphere and being responsible for childcare ("Where there is no wife there is no home", the USA) and (A "woman's worth can be seen in her children", Mexico). They also need to take care of their looks ("Being a husband means hard work, being a wife means fussing about clothes"—Swahili). Some of these proverbs reflect the belief that women should stay away from public life, which is the masculine world ("Don't interfere in men's jobs when you have dough on your hands", Turkey). Furthermore, as women are expected to manage domestic life, it is perceived to be challenging for them to develop their professional careers. This common perception is illustrated in the Swiss cartoon suggested by one of our authors, Elena Makarova (see Fig. 1.1). The cartoon is entitled "The motherhood is the original true role of a woman"; the man on the picture says "You are so busy, how are you

Table 1.1 Beliefs about gender relations or gender roles encompassed by specific proverbs from various countries

Proverbs	Country of origin
妇女能顶半边天 (Women hold up half the sky) by Mao Zi Dong (毛澤東) 男子有德便是才,女子無才便是德 (Men are talented to be virtuous. Women are virtuous to be talentless) from 清•张岱《公祭祁夫人文》 妇人有三从之义,无专用之道。故未嫁从父,既嫁从夫,夫死从子 (Women should be subordinated to her father before marriage, her husband after, and her son when her husband dies) from《仪礼•丧服•子夏传》 Collected by *Joyce Lai Ting Leong, Sylvia Xiaohua Chen and Michael Harris Bond*	China
The in-law's sack is never full	India
It's a girl, Kill her!	
Collected by *Noorfarah Merali*	
Don't interfere in men's jobs when you have dough on your hands!	Turkey
A real man never lets a wife work	
Collected by *Gunes N. Zeytinoglu and Richard F. Bonnabeau*	
Муж– голова, жена– душа (Man is the head, but woman turns it)	Russia
Птица крыльями сильна, жена мужем красна (The bird's strength is in her wings, the wife's strength and beauty is her husband)	
Путь к сердцу мужчины лежит через его желудок (The route to the men's heart is going through his stomach)	
Без мужа — что без головы; без жены — что без ума (Without a husband is like without a head, without a wife is like without a brain or intellect)	
Collected by: *Irina Shmeleva & Ludmila Pochebut*	
Gdzie diabeł nie może, tam babę pośle. (Where the devil fears to tread, there he sends a woman)	Poland
Collected by *Małgorzata Mikołajczak & Janina Pietrzak*	
A pénz számolva, a nö verve jó (Good if money is counted and if woman is beaten)	Hungary
A férfi szívéhez a farkán keresztül vezet az út.(The royal way to the heart of a man leads via his dick)	
*Egy férfinak elég, ha csak egy fokkal szebb az ördögnél (*A man should be just a bit nicer than the devil)	
Collected by: *Marta Fulop*	
La mujer calladita se ve más bonita (Women in silence look prettier)	Spain
A la mujer y a la cabra, soga larga (Women and goats should be hold with long ropes/leashes)	
Cuando Dios hizo al hombre, ya el diablo había hecho a la mujer (When God created men, the devil had already created women)	
El hombre propone, Dios dispone y la mujer todo lo descompone (Man proposes, God decides, and Woman everything decomposes)	

Table 1.1 (continued)

Proverbs	Country of origin
Collected by *Soledad de Lemus·Pilar Montañés·Jesús L. Megías and Miguel Moya*	
A verse from the children's song in Swiss German language *Es schneielet, es beielet,* *es got en chüele Wind.* *D Meitli leged d Händsche a* *und Buebe laufed gschwind.*	Switzerland
(It's snowing and it's windy. Girls put on warm gloves And boys run faster)	
Collected by: *Elena Makarova & Walter Herzog*	
Boys will be boys	United States
A good wife and health are a man's best wealth (Benjamin Franklin)	
One good husband is worth two good wives; for the scarcer things are the more they're valued	
Where there is no wife there is no home	
Collected by *Deborah L. Best and Alexandra M. DeLone*	
El hombre en la cocina huele a caca de gallina (A man in a kitchen smells like chicken poop)	Mexico
La mujer buena no tiene ojos ni orejas (A good woman has no eyes nor ears)	
La mujer honrada, la pierna quebrada y en casa (An honorable woman, with broken leg and at home)	
Lo que valga una mujer, en sus hijos se ha de ver (A woman's worth can be seen in her children)	
Dos hijas y una madre tres diablos para un padre (Two girls and a mother, three devils for a father)	
Collected by: *Anna-Emilia Hietanen and Susan Pick*	
Calladita te ves más bonita (Being quiet is prettier for a woman)	Central America
Quién te quiere te aporre (If someone loves you, they will hurt you)	
Caballo, mujer y escopeta a nadie se presta (Don't lend your horse, woman, or shotgun)	
Los hombres no lloran (Men don't cry)	
Donde reina la mujer, el diablo es primer ministro (Where a woman reigns, the devil is the prime minister)	
El pudor de la doncella la hace aparecer más bella (The damsel's modesty make her look more beautiful)	
Collected by: *Judith L. Gibbons and Sandra E. Luna*	
A women who pursues a man for sex loses her spiritual beauty	South Africa
A woman's polite devotion is her greatest beauty	
Collected by Claude-Hélène Mayer	
*He wahine ki uta, he kahawai ki roto ki te wai. (*A woman on shore; a kahawai in the sea)	New Zealand and Oceania

Table 1.1 (continued)

Proverbs	Country of origin
Ma te wahine ka tupu ai te hanga nei, te tangata; *Ma te whenua ka whai oranga ai.* *Whai hoki, ki te tangohia to wahine e te tangata ke,* *Ka ngau te pouri ki roto i a koe.* *Na, ki te tangohia te whenua e te tangata ke,* *Ka pau to pouri ano.* *Ko nga putake enei o te whawhai.* *Koia i kia ai, He wahine he oneone, i ngaro ai te tangata.*	
(Woman alone gives birth to humankind, Land alone gives humans their sustenance. No man will lightly accept the loss of His beloved wife, nor that of his sacred land. It is said truly that man's destroying passions Are the love of his wife and love of his land)	
Collected by: *Angela R. Robinson and James H. Liu*	
Obaa wo mpempem a, Obarima na Ohwe ne Soo (However rich a woman may be (lit. If a woman has thousands and thousands), it is a man that looks after her)	Ghana
Obaa osene boama/[ye kyem] a, etwere Obarima dan mu. (Even) if a woman [carves a drum/[makes a shield], she keeps it in a man's room	
Collected by: *Charity Akotia and Adote Anum*	
Mume ni kazi, mke ni nguo (Being a husband means hard work, being a wife means fussing about clothes)	Swahili
Ogwang' thur gi bor (A woman's final home is unknown)	Luo
Dhogra chi atera (An inherited woman is complex/muddle)	
Collected by: *Amina Abubakar and Patricia Kitsao-Wekulo*	

Fig. 1.1 "Slowly but surely! The political rights of Swiss women ", 2011, association gendering and mautienne prod (drawings). (Source: www.gendering.net)

going to do politics?!"; and the quote is from the parliamentary debate at the Swiss Federal Assembly in 1951 about the right of women to vote (in Switzerland women became their full federal voting rights in 1971 in most of the cantons).

Women are valued for enriching men's image, ("A good wife and health are a man's best wealth", Benjamin Franklin, USA) and are "objects" that should not be shared with any ("Don't lend your horse, woman, or shotgun", Central America). Women are desired by other men and as such cannot be trusted as they tempt men continuously ("When God created men, the devil had already created women", Spain; "Where a woman reigns, the devil is the prime minister", Central America). A woman can only be considered trustworthy and faithful if her husband controls her with violence by keeping her at home ("An honourable woman, with broken leg and at home", Mexico). The norm for men to control women and the expectation that women should be held in inferior positions are visible in several other proverbs: "Women and goats should be hold with long ropes/leashes" (Spain) and "Women should be subordinated to her father before marriage, her husband after, and her son when her husband dies" (China). This control often takes the form of justified gender-based violence depicted by the saying that "If someone loves you, they will hurt you" (Central America).

Women are hard to be satisfied as stated in the Maori proverb: *"*A woman on shore; a kahawai in the sea". The kahawai fish is extremely picky, only biting a hook that strongly resembles its food. The saying indicates that like the kahawai, who chooses the most attractive hook from many, women are difficult to please and choose one man of many.

In several of the proverbs, ideal women are described as those who are not audible ("Women in silence look prettier", Spain), are modest ("The damsel's modesty make her look more beautiful", Central America), are passive ("Men are talented to be virtuous; women are virtuous to be talentless", China) and are discrete ("A good woman has no eyes nor ears", Mexico). Women also should be feared, as is illustrated in a Polish proverb, "Where the devil fears to tread, there he sends a woman". And they seem to implicitly dominate men—"Man is the head, but woman turns it" (Russia).

Male supremacy can take the form of gender-based violence shown in the Indian saying, "It's a girl, Kill her!" It describes the prevalent practices of female infanticide and female feticide due to the devaluing of infant girls, and the related perceived high cost of raising them due to hefty dowry requests that are expected at the time of their marriages, despite dowries being outlawed in India since the 1960s.

A narrow definition of masculinity is also illustrated in sayings such as, "men don't cry" (Central American) and "A man in a kitchen smells like chicken poop" (Mexico). Also a verse from the children's song (Switzerland) pictures gentle girls who "put on warm gloves" to protect themselves from bad weather and active boys who do not fear bad weather and run. These proverbs exemplify the belief that ideal men should not appear weak and should refrain from attempting domestic (female) duties. Another example of a restrictive view of the male gender role is a Turkish proverb, "A real man never lets his wife work". Men should also give their women

protection—"However rich a woman may be (lit. If a woman has thousands and thousands), it is a man that looks after her" (Ghana).

There are proverbs that highlight the relation between men and women. One aspect of this relationship is the need that men have for women, as is stated in a Chinese proverb: "Women hold up half the sky", by Mao Zi Dong. Also the Maori short poem indicates that men need their women to be complete.

> "Woman alone gives birth to humankind, Land alone gives humans their sustenance.No man will lightly accept the loss of His beloved wife, nor that of his sacred land. It is said truly that man's destroying passions Are the love of his wife and love of his land."

In sum, examining these selected proverbs, it is evident that gender stereotypes strongly permeate these cultural sayings. They constitute traditional implicit gender stereotypes and illustrate inequality in many cultures. These proverbs, like the content of each chapter, highlight the gender inequality of the world that we live in. We hope our book sheds light on some of the challenges to achieving gender equality. We consider this publication a small step in joining the efforts of feminists, academics, policymakers, and activists who are working towards global gender equality.

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Part I
Research with Specific Groups

Chapter 2
The Psychological Experience of Refugees: A Gender and Cultural Analysis

Marta Y. Young and K. Jacky Chan

Refugees are migrants who are forced to relocate outside their countries of origin due to war or persecution. Often, refugees are targeted because of their ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and/or political opinion. The latest figures from the United Nations Refugee Agency indicate that 38.6 million people are vulnerable to displacement worldwide (UNHCR, 2013), of which over 11 million are deemed convention refugees or people in refugee-like situations. Since the Second World War, the largest waves of refugees to so-called Western countries have included the Vietnamese boat people, Cambodians fleeing the Khmer régime, former Yugoslavians, Palestinians, the Romani people from Eastern Europe, and Africans from the Great Lakes region (e.g., Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo). Widespread active armed conflicts remain in many countries today, with Afghanistan, Syria, and Somalia being the recent top three refugee-producing countries (UNHCR, 2013).

The Need for Gender-Sensitive Refugee Research

In the past decades, issues and policies related to refugee trauma, resettlement, adjustment, and health outcomes have been well researched by social and biomedical scientists (for reviews, see Porter & Haslam, 2005; Steel, Chey, Silove, et al., 2009; Yakushko, Watson, & Thompson, 2008). However, much of the research focusing on the plight of refugees has tended to be gender-blind (Goodkind & Deacon, 2004; Schlenzka, Sommo, Wadia, & Campani, 2004; Sideris, 2003). The adoption of a gender-blind approach in refugee research is, however, problematic. In the past, researchers have tended to assume that there is one *common* refugee experience, irrespective of how gender identities may shape the experience of migration and

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resettlement. Early research projects have thus mainly focused on the experience of refugee men, ignoring the specific realities of refugee women (e.g., Barakat, 1973; Mezey, 1960).

During the 1980s and 1990s, research on gender-based and sexual violence in war settings gained increased attention, largely due to Western mass media reports of ethnic cleansing and rape camps during the Yugoslavian civil war (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2001). Since then, there has been a greater emphasis on researching the experiences of refugee women (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2001; Goodkind & Deacon, 2004). Despite these attempts, overly simplistic portrayals of how gender identities shape the refugee experience continue to dominate. Even more alarmingly, some researchers and policymakers have started to group refugee women in the same category as refugee children and youth under the generic term *special populations* (Goodkind & Deacon, 2004). Women refugees were often portrayed as vulnerable and "weak" victims of war and violence, and thus in great need of protection from male family members or from foreign humanitarian aid workers. While in many cases women are more at risk of being victims of gender-based violence in war settings, these views lead to further oppression and marginalization of refugee women thereby clouding our understanding of their whole experience (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou, & Moussa, 2008).

More recently, gender-sensitive research efforts have been described as a swinging pendulum, with the most recent shift moving away from focusing solely on men's experiences (Annandale & Hunt, 2000). Although some researchers have attempted to capture and to compare the experiences of both genders, most have tended to focus exclusively on women refugees in exploring their gendered experience (Goodkind & Deacon, 2004). As a result, issues related to male gender roles and masculinities have gone from being overly represented in the early refugee literature to being neglected in the contemporary (Oosterhoff, Zwanikken, & Ketting, 2004; Williams, 2011).

In summary, gender sensitive research builds on the premise that gender roles and power differentials often affect the lived experiences of individuals, including immigrants and refugees. By adopting a more gender-sensitive approach, we can begin to better understand the multifaceted ways in which gender shapes refugees' migration and resettlement experiences.

An Overview

The goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of the ways in which gender intersects with culture in shaping the refugee experience. This chapter is divided into four major sections. In the first, we discuss the commonalities and differences between refugee men and women in terms of the traumatic events survived in their home countries and during flight. We then explore the gender-based differences faced by refugee men and women during resettlement, with a particular focus on how gender roles affect work place adjustment, discrimination, and marital and parental relationships. In the third section, we discuss the impact that premigration

trauma and resettlement stressors have on refugee men and women. In particular, we aim to illustrate the similarities and differences in mental health outcomes, as well as indicators of positive psychological well-being. Finally, we conclude by highlighting the research and practical implications of our review of the gender-specific body of work done with refugees.

Throughout this book chapter, we highlight the commonly discussed themes in the refugee research literature, and supplement these themes with findings from our own research projects. However, it is important to be aware that there is often greater variability within a social group (i.e., gender and culture) than there are between groups. Thus, we encourage our readers to exercise caution as they apply the discussed themes in this chapter, and to be mindful of the individual contexts and differences among the refugees that they come in contact with as researchers and clinicians.

Trauma and Violence in Premigration and During Flight

Irrespective of gender, most refugees experience traumatic events in their countries of origin and during flight. Traumatic events commonly encountered include being injured because of war, witnessing the deaths of others, being persecuted and tortured, having one's home ransacked and belongings destroyed, and experiencing unwanted sexual behaviors (Porter & Haslam, 2005). In this section, we will focus more specifically on the gender-based violence that men and women refugees experience prior to resettlement.

Gender-based violence is defined as threats or behaviors targeted at individuals based on their sex (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottmoeller, 2002). Examples of gender-based violence that often affect women include intimate partner violence, sexual abuse and assault, sexual torture, genital mutilation, forced marriages, and forced prostitution (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottmoeller, 2002; Oosterhoff, Zwanikken, & Ketting, 2004). Refugee men and women may experience gender-based violence from their family members, neighbors, law enforcement officials, and members of (para-) military groups.

Intimate Partner Violence

One of the most common forms of gender-based violence that affects refugee women is intimate partner violence (Feseha, G/mariam, & Gerbaba, 2012; Guruge, Khanlou, & Gastaldo, 2009). Acts of intimate partner violence include physical, sexual, or emotional abuse behaviors inflicted by a romantic partner. Similar to other forms of gender-based violence, the root cause of intimate partner violence is often attributed to the unequal status of women in society (Feseha et al., 2012). In the context of an Ethiopian refugee camp, the lifetime prevalence rate of intimate partner violence was estimated to be as high as 31% (Feseha et al., 2012). Among

Palestinian refugees in Jordanian refugee camps, the lifetime prevalence rate was 45% (Khawaja & Barazi, 2005). The three most prevalent risk factors for women being a target of intimate partner violence are growing up in an abusive household, having a partner who is illiterate or has low education, and having a partner who abuses substances (Feseha et al., 2012). On the other hand, women who had formal schooling were less at risk of being abused by significant others (Feseha et al., 2012).

Intimate partner violence has consistently been linked to detrimental physical and mental health (Guruge, Khanlou, & Gastaldo, 2009). Some of the deleterious physical health outcomes include chronic neck and back pains, headaches and migraines, hypertension, gynecological problems, and sexually transmitted infections. Mental health problems, such as symptoms of depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress disorder, along with suicidal thoughts, are also associated with being in a violent and abusive relationship (Guruge et al., 2009).

Despite these negative consequences, refugee women often feel that they have no choice but to stay in abusive relationships (Ho & Pavlish, 2011). In one study, many women interviewed in a Rwandan refugee camp stated that they feared for their physical safety should they report incidents of intimate partner violence to the authorities (Ho & Pavlish, 2011). While some women expressed concerns that their partners would retaliate with further violence when they found out that their partners had disclosed the violence, others were afraid that they would lose their only source of protection (i.e., their partners), and thus become more vulnerable to thefts and interpersonal assaults from other men. Finally, in refugee families where the husband was the sole breadwinner, women described not being able to leave for financial reasons, especially those who had children (Ho & Pavlish, 2011).

From a male perspective, two particularities are of note when discussing intimate partner violence. First, refugee men often serve dual roles (Holt, 2013). On the one hand, within the public sphere, they act as the protector of their family members against violence in conflict zones or in refugee camps. On the other hand, within the home, they resort to abusing their partner and/or children. Second, as has been documented in other sociocultural contexts, the cycle of domestic violence also occurs in many refugee families (Ho & Pavlish, 2011). Often, boys who witness their mothers being abused grow up developing more accepting attitudes towards intimate partner violence, and later become abusive partners themselves (Holt, 2013).

Physical and Sexual Torture

Torture is also commonly discussed in the literature on gender-based violence (Christian, Safari, Ramazani, Burnham, & Glass, 2011; Holt, 2013). Acts of torture include solitary confinement, often without food or fluids, threats to harm, mock executions, physical beatings, electrocution, or unwanted sexual violence and intimidation, such as rape, molestation, or forced nakedness (Fornazzari & Freire, 1990; Oosterhoff et al., 2004). Torture is aimed to inflict severe physical or psychological pain to obtain information, punish, intimidate, and/or coerce. In war settings, torture is systematically carried out by members of (para)military groups, or by third

parties with the consent of these forces (Oosterhoff et al., 2004). Beyond the intent to harm the victims as individuals, torture, particularly sexual torture, is often used to shame victims' families and communities (Holt, 2013)

Victims of torture often carry permanent physical and psychological scars (Holt, 2013). Physical health consequences of torture include deep tissue scarring, chronic pain, deformation of limbs, head injuries, dental problems, and psychosomatic problems, such as headaches, dizziness, loss of appetite and weight, and chronic fatigue (Oosterhoff et al., 2004). Survivors of sexual torture may suffer from genital mutilation, sexually transmitted infections (including HIV/ AIDS), unwanted pregnancies, and other sexual health problems, such as avoidance of sexual relations and sexual pain during intercourse. Intense anger, shame, guilt, and mistrust, along with symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder, such as flashbacks and social withdrawal, and depression, are commonly observed among male and female torture survivors. Of note, previous political/ social involvement (i.e., being tortured for a cause that the victim believes in) does not appear to protect the victim's mental health and well-being posttorture (Brune, Haasen, Krausz, Yagdiran, Bustos, & Eisenman, 2002; Fornazzari & Freire, 1990). Finally, among cultures with strong patriarchal values, female survivors of rape and their children are often shunned and deeply marginalized by their families and communities (Sideris, 2003).

Not surprisingly, survivors tend to keep their torture history secret (Holt, 2013). Many victims do not disclose the torture to their partners, family members, and community, as they do not want to be rejected and do not want to cause them pain and suffering. In addition, survivors typically do not have the option to report the torture to the authorities. This is especially the case for those who were tortured under repressive régimes, often by members of forces who should have protected them. In the case of sexual torture, the stigma attached to sexual violations is so great that many never disclose the abuses and thus access the support they need to heal (Christian et al., 2011; Oosterhoff et al., 2004). Among male Croatian sexual torture survivors, many viewed the sexual torture as significant threats to their masculinity (Oosterhoff et al., 2004). Those who became sexually aroused during torture were particularly distressed and started to question their sexual orientation and sexual identity. Furthermore, in cultures where traditional gender roles are strongly adhered to, male sexual torture survivors were most likely to suffer in silence due to the stigma. Likewise, some helping professionals have internalized the societal stigma and thus do not believe that men can be sexually tortured: "one therapist said that she had not believed that men could be raped until one night a man was brought in naked and bleeding from the anus." (as cited on p. 74, Oosterhoff et al., 2004). As a result, such attitudes from helping professionals further discourage victims of sexual torture from seeking help and justice.

Gender-Based Violence against Men and Boys

As noted above, gender-based violence affects both refugee men and women. Although women victims typically come to mind when discussing issues such as

intimate partner violence or rape, men also suffer from a significant level of violence in war and other war-like settings, such as dictatorships (Hossain et al., 2014). For example, while 57.1 % of refugee women from the Ivory Coast reported physical and/or sexual violence, a high percentage of men (40.2 %) also stated that they had experienced physical and/or sexual violence (Hossain et al., 2014). Moreover, it is noteworthy that there are certain forms of gender-based violence that target specifically men and boys in war settings (Carpenter, 2006; Christian et al., 2011). For example, some men and boys are coerced into witnessing and/or actively participating in the sexual assault of family members (Carpenter, 2006). In the Congo, Christian et al., (2011) reported men being forced to rape their wives and daughters to humiliate and shame them, and to destroy family, community, and cultural dynamics. Similar experiences were also found among survivors of the Yugoslav War (Carpenter, 2006).

Sex-selective massacres are another form of gender-based violence against men and boys (Carpenter, 2006). Compared to women, civilian men and boys are often disproportionally targeted during conflicts on the assumption that they could become potential informants and/or combatants. An extreme example of this occurred in Rwanda, when guerilla fighters would take off infants' diapers to determine their gender so that they could kill the boys (Jones, 2002). It has also been documented that in cultures with strong patriarchal traditions, men and boys are more likely to be massacred en masse as a means of eliminating certain ethnocultural groups (Carpenter, 2006).

Challenges in Resettlement

Refugees encounter a host of challenges as they resettle (Miletic, 2014; Young & Chan, 2014). Some of these challenges include learning a new language, being un- or underemployed, experiencing discrimination, dealing with acculturative hassles and cultural learning, and having to face cultural bereavement. Not surprisingly, these stressors have been found to negatively affect refugee well-being (Schweitzer, Brough, Vromans, & Asic-Kobe, 2011; Young, 2001). In the following section, we will explore how gender affects these challenges. Specifically, we will focus on employment, discrimination, and family relationships.

Employment

Gender has been found to play a major role in shaping the economic adaptation and employment of refugees (Miletic, 2014). In the case of refugee men, many experience downward mobility during resettlement (Takeda, 2000; Watkins, Razee, & Richters, 2012). In particular, among educated refugees, their professional credentials and past employment experiences are typically discredited. In addition, fluency

in the host language is a barrier to obtaining meaningful employment. As a result, many refugee men experience employment-related challenges, such as being underemployed in low-skills and low-paying jobs, being employed on a temporary basis, or being unemployed altogether (Krahn, Derwing, Mulder, & Wilkinson, 2000). Consequently, being un- or underemployed has a number of detrimental effects on refugee men beyond financial instability and loss of social status (Beiser , Derwing, Mulder, & Wilkinson, Hou, 2001; Krahn et al., 2000; Jali, 2009). For example, un- and underemployment was found to be a strong risk factor for depression in a 10-year longitudinal study among Southeast Asian refugee men resettled in Canada (Beiser & Hou, 2001). Furthermore, in societies where employment and financial stability are seen as signs of masculinity, unemployment is often seen as a significant threat to refugee men's self-identities and self-worth (Jali, 2009).

Overall, the employment experience for many refugee women tends to follow a different course. Compared to refugee men, women often arrive in the country of resettlement with a lower educational level and with lower literacy (Hou & Beiser, 2006). While some refugee women were employed prior to migration, many never participated in the formal labor market, either by choice or due to cultural norms (Franz, 2003). However, during resettlement, many refugee women do enter the labor force to supplement the family income. Refugee women tend to be more willing to take up low-skills and low-paying jobs or to work in the informal sector. For some, they end up being the sole breadwinner when their husbands are chronically unemployed (Franz, 2003; Krahn et al., 2000). Similar to refugee men, fluency in the host language remains a major barrier for stable employment for women (Watkins et al., 2012).

Discrimination

Another challenge that refugee men and women commonly encounter during resettlement is discrimination. Discrimination is an intentional act that treats individuals unfairly based on their membership in particular social groups, such as gender, ethnicity, immigration status, and religion (Edge & Newbold, 2013). Increasingly, acts of discrimination have become more subtle and elusive in many societies. Compared to more overt forms of discrimination common in the past (e.g., verbal or physical abuse), subtle forms of discrimination are more prominent but more elusive and difficult to detect. Subtle forms include being unfairly dismissed from the workplace, being treated rudely, or excluded in social contexts (Noh, Kaspar, & Wickrama, 2007). As a result, the ambiguity inherent in these discriminatory social interactions cause stress for refugees, especially among visible minorities.

As noted in other chapters in this book, gender and culture intersect in shaping individuals' experiences. This intersectionality is of particular relevance when examining the challenges that refugees face with discrimination (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2001). Refugee women are especially vulnerable to discrimination. Often, they are discriminated against based on gender, culture, migration status, and, in

many cases, the fact that they are visible minorities (Kira, Smith, Lewandowski, & Templin, 2010). In their countries of origin, refugee women may have encountered some forms of gender discrimination, such as forced marriages, sexual harassment and exploitation, and disadvantages at school and in the workplace (Kira et al., 2010). However, upon resettlement, many refugee women continue to encounter these gender-based discrimination hassles as well as other forms of discrimination (e.g., racial), and thus become further marginalized compared to refugee men.

Experiencing discrimination has a deleterious impact for both men and women. When refugees internalize their experiences of discrimination, they develop feelings of reduced self-efficacy and self-worth (Kira et al., 2010). Among female refugee torture survivors, encounters with discrimination worsened the effect of premigration trauma on health during resettlement (Kira et al., 2010). Compared to refugee women, it has been reported that refugee men tend to have greater difficulties coping with discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Te Lindert, Korzilius, Van de Vijver, Kroon & Arends-Toth, 2008). Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., (2006) found that this gender difference was largely due to the fact that refugee men typically enjoyed higher social statuses in their countries of origin than women, and that acts of discrimination in host countries served as reminders of their loss of status. There is, however, some evidence that the stress associated with discrimination is buffered by having social support from members of the host society for both refugee men and women (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006). Interestingly, Fozdar and Torezani (2008) found that refugees resettled in Australia reported relatively high levels of well-being despite experiencing discrimination. They found that refugees had developed a wide variety of strategies to cope with the discrimination, and that they made conscious efforts not to internalize the experiences of discrimination into their self-identities. This was particularly true for refugee women. For instance, some were able to rationalize their experiences of discrimination as being a trade-off for the new economic and educational opportunities they had gained for themselves and their children (Fozdar & Torezani, 2008).

Family Relationships and Conflicts

As refugee men and women resettle, their cultural identity and behaviors often shift as their contact with the host society increases (Berry, 2008). The process of acculturation is stressful given the initial cultural shock, and the subsequent difficulties in negotiating the conflicts that arise when identity, values, and behaviors from the heritage culture are in conflict with those from the dominant culture. For example, marital conflicts can arise between marital partners when they follow different acculturation strategies and pathways (Khawaja & Milner, 2012). Refugee women who work outside the home often have greater exposure to the new culture and thus adopt new cultural norms, behaviors and language more readily compared to their husbands (Hojat et al., 2000). In addition, many working refugee women continue to be primarily responsible for the household and childrearing. As a result, many refugee women are stuck with the infamous "triple burden" (Lipson & Miller, 1994;

Spitzer, Neufeld, Harrison, Hughes, & Stewart, 2003). In addition to working outside the home and keeping up with domestic responsibilities, many refugee women also play the additional role of cultural broker between their partners and children, especially with respect to acculturation-related conflicts (Zhou & Bankston, 2001).

For some refugee men, the fact that their wives are now gainfully employed requires them to accept this new reality, to be more involved in doing household chores, and to take care of the children. This shift in gender roles is often viewed by men as stressful, especially for those who come from more traditional cultures (Khawaja & Milner, 2012; Renzaho, McCabe, & Sinsbury, 2011). Furthermore, as refugee women become more acculturated towards the host society culture, many expect more freedom and autonomy in their daily choices, such as clothing, friends, and finances (Khawaja & Milner, 2012). In some cases, refugee men become resentful towards their partners as they view their demands as threats to their masculinity. Similarly, in our studies with Bosnian refugees resettled in Canada, it was found that acculturative hassles significantly predicted less marital satisfaction for refugee men, but not for women (Miletic, 2014; Young & Miletic, 2014). As their partners acculturate towards the Canadian host culture, refugee men reported being less satisfied with their marriages. Interestingly, marital resilience (e.g., willingness to share household responsibilities, feeling safe to share concerns, and valuing time spent together) predicted greater marital satisfaction for both Bosnian refugee men and women.

In addition, family conflicts often occur between parents and children due to differential acculturation strategies (Lazarevic, Wiley, & Pleck, 2012). Typically, refugee children adapt to the host society culture and language more rapidly than their parents (Jones, Trickett, & Birman, 2012; Young & Chan, 2014). As a result, refugee children develop attitudes and engage in behaviors that may conflict with their parents' heritage cultural norms (Deng & Marlowe, 2013). In cultures where there are strong family ties and traditional moral obligations, familial conflicts often intensify as children acculturate towards the more individualistic tendencies of host society cultures (Rousseau, Drapeau, & Platt, 2004). For example, among Vietnamese refugees resettled in the United States, fathers tend to enforce strict traditional cultural values and emphasize the importance of obedience among their children, particularly with their daughters (Zhou & Bankston, 2001). In contrast, while mothers also value that their children maintain Vietnamese traditions, they tend to be more understanding of their children's needs for more independence within the context of American culture. Interestingly, there is a fine balance in negotiating the *appropriate* level of independence for daughters in particular. While many of the Vietnamese women desired more autonomy for their daughters so that they would be less dependent on their future husbands (e.g., have more decision making power), the mothers also expressed concerns that their daughters may become *too* independent and engage in behaviors that would conflict with Vietnamese traditions (e.g., dating at a young age; Zhou & Bankston, 2001).

While acculturation-related conflicts are taxing for refugee parents, they have also been found to be stressful for refugee children and adolescents (Jones et al., 2012). In a recent study with Vietnamese refugee families, refugee children who

were highly acculturated to the American culture were significantly more likely to perceive their parents as burdensome and demanding in maintaining their traditional culture values, and practices (Vu & Rook, 2013). With respect to gender differences, refugee girls who were highly acculturated towards the American culture were found to be ten times more likely to report arguments with their parents and to feel criticized by their parents. However, no significant relationships were found between acculturation and conflicts with parents among boys (Vu & Rook, 2013).

Differences in acculturation strategies between refugee parents and children have also been found to negatively impact on refugee children's mental health. For example, in Serbian refugee families where the parents' acculturation towards the American host culture is low, the children's acculturation towards the American culture positively predicted children's depressive mood (Lazarevic et al., 2012). Conversely, there were no links between children's acculturation and depressive mood in families where the parents were highly acculturated to the host culture.

Given the acculturation differences between refugee parents and their children, it is common for many refugee children to act as cultural brokers and language interpreters for their parents (Renzaho et al., 2011). Cultural brokering is especially common among families where the mothers have low levels of competence in the host society language (Jones et al., 2012). In the context of refugee families from the former Soviet Union, while most parents were appreciative of having their children help them navigate various language and cultural barriers during resettlement in the United States, some parents felt that they were less respected due to the role reversal. In particular, some parents felt that their authority as parental figures was being undermined or challenged. Furthermore, the use of refugee children as cultural brokers has also been found to lead to an increase in familial disagreements and emotional distress among the children (Jones et al., 2012). This is especially the case for children who are more acculturated towards the host society culture and less oriented towards their heritage culture (Wu & Kim, 2009).

Refugee Mental Health and Well-Being

It is well documented that many refugees suffer from an array of mental health challenges (Hollander, Bruce, Burstrom, & Ekblad, 2011; Porter & Haslam, 2005; Renner & Salem, 2009; Steel et al., 2009). Specifically, exposure to both premigration trauma and resettlement stressors has been linked to mental health difficulties with cumulative effects (Lindencrona, Ekblad, & Hauff, 2008). In this section, we will discuss the mental health difficulties that refugee men and women commonly face, with a focus on the impact of gender. In addition, we will discuss the research on positive psychological well-being among refugees.

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is one of the most commonly diagnosed mental health disorders in refugees (Steel et al., 2009). In a large scale meta-analysis, with samples of over 64,000 refugees from 40 countries, the overall prevalence rate for PTSD was around 30.6% (Steel et al., 2009). However, substantial

variability was observed, with some studies reporting PTSD prevalence rates as high as 99 % (de Jong, Mulhern, Ford, van der Kam, & Kleber, 2000). Major depression was also commonly diagnosed among refugees and tends to be comorbid with PTSD (Steel et al., 2009). In the same meta-analysis, the overall prevalence rate for major depression was found to be close to 31 % across 57,000 refugees with a range of 3–85.5 %.

Determinants of Mental Health

A number of risk and protective factors have been identified in the refugee mental health literature (Porter & Haslam, 2005). While some are gender specific, there are a number of common factors that apply to both men and women. With respect to personal factors, younger age at migration has been found to be a reliable protective factor against mental health symptoms in a large scale meta-analysis (Porter & Haslam, 2005). Similar protective effects of younger age have also been observed in more recent studies (Dalagard & Thapa, 2007; Hollander et al., 2011). Personal resources and characteristics also buffer the effects of stress on adjustment. Specially, those with a higher sense of coherence, a construct akin to self-mastery and internal locus of control, were found to cope more effectively with migration stress and its psychological sequelae (Lindencrona et al., 2008). Interestingly, while education level may intuitively be viewed as a protective factor, Porter and Haslam (2005) found that higher levels of education prior to migration were associated with increased mental health challenges among refugees during resettlement. Highly educated refugees often experience a greater loss of status, and consequently tend to experience greater levels of stress (Porter & Haslam, 2005).

Not surprisingly, the extent of premigration trauma has been consistently linked with increased mental health disorders among refugees postmigration (Dalagard & Thapa, 2007; Lindencrona et al., 2008; Steel et al., 2009). Of the wide range of premigration traumatic events (e.g., war-related injuries, loss of possession, witnessing the deaths of family members), experiences of torture are the most significant risk factor for mental health disorders (Steel et al., 2009). During flight, some refugees encounter further trauma in refugee camps and/or during detention in the countries where they are seeking asylum. A direct relationship has also been reported between the length of time spent living in refugee camps and/or in detention centers and the development of mental health problems (Robjant, Hassan, & Katona, 2009; Steel et al., 2009). For those who have been detained, while most gain some improvement in their symptoms postrelease, longitudinal studies have shown that the negative mental health impact of detention persists past the initial stage of resettlement (Robjant et al., 2009).

Finally, several characteristics related to the context of resettlement have been found to be important determinants of mental health. For example, proficiency in the language of the resettled country is associated with better mental health, as they are better able to find employment and to cope with other resettlement stressors,

such as dealing with everyday life (Carlsson, Olsen, Mortensen, & Kastrup, 2006). Stable housing during resettlement has also been linked with greater psychological adjustment (Dalagard & Thapa, 2007; Porter & Haslam, 2005). Specifically, refugees who reside in temporary or institutional housing were found to be at greater risk of developing mental health difficulties, such as depression or psychosomatic disorders (Porter & Haslam, 2005). Given the stressful nature of resettlement, it is not surprising that marital conflicts are also associated with greater mental health challenges (Dalagard & Thapa, 2007).

Gender Differences in Mental Health

Overall, refugee women consistently seem to suffer from higher levels of mental health disorders (Hollander et al., 2011; Porter & Haslam, 2005; Renner & Salem, 2009). In addition to PTSD and depression, refugee women are more likely to have higher levels of psychosomatic complaints, e.g., fatigue, dizziness, and headaches (Renner & Salem, 2009). Furthermore, the ways in which refugees display emotional distress tend to be gender specific. For example, while it is often more socially acceptable for refugee women to seek support when distressed (Renner & Salem, 2009), many refugee men stick to their traditional gender roles and attempt to minimize their distress (Pottie, Brown, & Dunn, 2005). In some cases, they engage in coping behaviors that are detrimental to themselves and others, such as being violent with their spouses or abusing substances (Pottie et al., 2005).

While there are many common risk and protective factors observed for men and women refugees, there are factors that differ in terms of their predictive ability based on gender. For example, un- or underemployment have commonly been linked to poorer mental health outcomes for both genders (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Blight, Ekbald, Persson, & Ekberg, 2006; Dalgard & Thapa, 2007). However, the strength of the relationship between employment and mental health has been found to be different depending on one's gender. For example, among Chechen, Afghan, and West African refugees resettled in Austria, unemployment was found to be a much stronger risk factor for mental health disorders for refugee men (Renner & Salem, 2009). Similarly, unemployed Bosnian refugee men in Sweden were observed to have poorer mental health compared to unemployed women (Blight et al., 2006). Interestingly, employed Bosnian women had greater mental health challenges than their unemployed counterparts. It was hypothesized that employed women were likely more stressed, due to issues such as poor working conditions, workplace discrimination, and the triple burden of balancing work, household responsibilities, and childrearing (Blight et al., 2006; Spitzer et al., 2003).

Similarly, social support, especially from one's ethnic community, appears to affect mental health differently depending on one's gender (Dalagard & Thapa, 2007; Lev-Weisel, Al-Krenawi, & Sehwail, 2007; Llacer, Zunzunegui, del Amo, Mazarrasa, & Bolumar, 2007). For male refugees, ethnic social support appears to be a robust protective factor against mental health challenges (Llacer et al., 2007). However, the relationship between ethnic social support and mental health for refugee

women is much less consistent. For example, Renner and Salem (2009) found that many refugee women actively sought support from family members and ethnic friends to help them deal with resettlement stressors, with many finding that the support had positive psychological effects. Yet, Dalgard and Thapa (2007) found no relationship between social support and well-being in their sample of female migrants. Conversely, a small, but significant, relationship was found between having ethnic social support and experiencing greater mental health problems among Palestinian refugees (Lev-Weisel et al., 2007). This link may be due to the fact that refugees are being triggered by their compatriots during social interactions, and thus experience an exacerbation of PTSD symptoms, particularly the reexperiencing ones (Lev-Weisel et al., 2007). Furthermore, some researchers have also speculated that refugees who rely solely on ethnic social support tend to hold on to traditional gender roles, which, as indicated above, may cause marital and family conflicts (Llacer et al., 2007).

Positive Psychological Well-Being

Given the many premigration trauma and resettlement stressors experienced by refugees, and as described above, it is not surprising that refugee studies have focused on the mental health challenges faced by refugees postmigration (Porter & Haslam, 2005). There is, however, a growing body of literature that is exploring positive well-being among refugees (Powell, Rosner, Butollo, Tedeschi, & Calhoun, 2003).

Life satisfaction is one of the constructs that has been the most studied to better understand positive psychological well-being among refugees. Unlike the mental health literature, research on gender differences in refugee life satisfaction tends to be inconclusive (Birman, Simon, Chan, & Tran, 2014; Matsuo & Poljarevic, 2011). However, there appears to be a set of determinants that are gender specific that is typically associated with life satisfaction. For example, experiences with discrimination are linked to less life satisfaction among Former Yugoslav, Middle Eastern and African refugees (Colic-Peisker, 2009; Matsuo & Poljarevic, 2011). However, the negative impact of discrimination on life satisfaction tends to be stronger for refugee women (Colic-Peisker, 2009). Employment and economic adjustment have also been strongly correlated with refugee life satisfaction (Birman et al., 2014; Colic-Peisker, 2009). Interestingly, Colic-Peisker (2009) found that, while reduced occupation status leads to decreased life satisfaction for refugee men, this relationship was not observed for refugee women.

Personal and social resources are also associated with refugee life satisfaction. Personal resources, such as having a strong sense of self-mastery and internal locus of control, have been found to buffer against the negative impact of resettlement stress on Bosnian and Salvadoran life satisfaction (Chan, Miletic, & Young, 2014; Matsuo & Poljarevic, 2011; Young, 2001). Likewise, having a strong social support network has been found to increase life satisfaction among refugees (Young, 2001), in particular social support from members of the same ethnic community (Birman et al., 2014; Chan et al., 2014).

Lastly, proficiency in the language of the resettlement country has been repeatedly found to increase life satisfaction among refugees (Carlsson et al., 2006; Colic-Peisker, 2009; Matsuo & Poljarevic, 2011). With respect to acculturation, Former Soviet refugees who adopt a bicultural acculturation strategy (i.e., those who are highly acculturated toward both their heritage and host society cultures) tend to enjoy higher levels of life satisfaction (Birman et al., 2014).

Posttraumatic growth (PTG) is a construct that has recently emerged in the refugee positive well-being literature (Powell et al., 2003; Kroo & Nagy, 2011). PTG is defined as positive psychological changes that occur posttrauma. It has been shown that, as refugees cope with the aftermath of traumatic experiences, some undergo a paradigm shift with the following concomitant benefits: greater appreciation for life and personal strengths, recognition of new possibilities for one's life, improved interpersonal relationships, and spiritual development (Ai, Tice, Whitsett, Ishisaka, & Chim, 2007; Kroo & Nagy, 2011; Powell et al., 2003).

Research on PTG among refugees is still in its infancy. While most studies thus far have reported no significant gender differences (Ai et al., 2007; Kroo & Nagy, 2011), Hussain and Bhushan (2011) found that Tibetan refugee women experienced more growth than the men. Similarly, our research also found that female Bosnian refugees experienced more growth (Young & Miletic, 2014). Furthermore, in a meta-analysis of diverse samples of trauma survivors (e.g., accidents, life-threatening illness, and sexual assaults), gender was found to be a significant predictor for PTG, with women reporting higher levels of growth than men (Vishnevsky, Cann, Calhoun, Tedeschi, & Demakis, 2010).

Although more research is needed to better understand PTG among refugees, some common factors have emerged in the literature as predictors for growth. For example, Kroo and Nagy (2011) reported that both satisfaction with social support and strong religious faith were positively linked with PTG in Somali refugees. Problem-focused coping strategies were also found to be a better predictor for PTG compared to emotion-focused or avoidant coping strategies (Ai et al., 2007; Hussain & Bhushan, 2011). Similar to life satisfaction, weak social integration and unemployment were found to negatively correlate with PTG (Ai et al., 2007; Teodorescu, Siqveland, Heir, Hauff, Wentzel-Larsen, & Lien, 2012).

Conclusion and Implications

Gender and culture significantly shape the migration and adjustment experiences of refugees. While in their countries of origin, refugee men and women encounter a number of different types of trauma, some that are gender-based. Gender and culture also affect the ways refugee men and women experience and navigate resettlement stressors, which in turn shape their mental health and well-being.

A number of recommendations have been made in the literature to better meet the needs of refugee men and women. At the policy level, there is a need for both researchers and international development agencies to advocate for better gender mainstreaming with respect to refugee protection issues (Goodkind & Deacon,

2004; UNHCR, 2008). Gender mainstreaming refers to the practice of recognizing the inherent power imbalance between men and women, and taking into account these gendered implications in the development, implementation, and evaluation of policies and interventions (UNHCR, 2008). For example, it has been recommended that gender-based violence and persecution need to be more clearly defined and recognized in the international context, so that refugees are able to make refugee claims more easily (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2001).

Beyond gender mainstreaming, other policies are needed to be put in place to improve refugee adaptation and well-being. For instance, the negative impact of mandatory detention on refugee claimants' mental health is well documented (Robjant et al., 2009; Steel et al., 2009). Yet, the detaining of refugee claimants continues to be routine practice in various countries, such as Australia, the USA, and the UK. Many of these detention centers offer harsh and inhumane living conditions (Young & Chan, 2014). Clearly, refugee health and well-being would improve substantially if these policies were abolished.

Once refugees are resettled in a safer haven, it is essential that medical and mental health interventions be put in place to help them heal from their trauma. Regrettably, a number of host countries continue to adopt stringent migration policies, and thereby severely limit refugees' access to adequate and necessary health care (Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Bice, 2005; Norredam, Mygind, & Krasnik, 2006). More recently, Canada seems to have followed suit by cutting refugee health care funding, and limiting medical treatments to highly infectious diseases (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC], 2014). Strong concerns have been voiced by Canadian policy makers, medical doctors, and researchers about the adverse effects such funding cuts will have on the health and well-being of refugees.

From a clinical perspective, gender-sensitive and culturally-competent programs are needed to improve the adaptation and well-being of refugee men and women (Celik, Lagro-Janssen, Widdershoven, & Abma, 2011; Eisenbruch, de Jong, & van de Put, 2004). Gender sensitivity refers to recognizing gender differences and inequalities with respect to health and adjustment, and incorporating these differences in the ways in which interventions are delivered for men and women (Celik et al., 2011). Similarly, culturally-competent service providers are those who are able to recognize their own cultural values and who are open to new attitudes and knowledge (Eisenbruch et al., 2004). By implementing interventions that are more gender-sensitive and culturally competent, the needs of refugee men and women will be better met.

Finally, gender- and culturally-sensitive refugee research programs are still very much needed (Goodkind & Deacon, 2004). Approaches such as participatory action research allow refugee communities to take more active roles in the research process, instead of being passive participants. Through such engagement, refugee men and women are able to communicate their underrepresented perspectives, to reduce their levels of marginalization, and to instigate social change (Goodkind & Deacon, 2004). The implementation of the above recommendations will allow researchers, policy makers, and service providers to gain a fuller understanding of the complex ways in which gender and culture shape refugees' past and current life experiences.

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Chapter 3
Money is the Root of All Evil: Modern-Day Dowries in South Asian International Arranged Marriages

Noorfarah Merali

South Asians include Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs who have immigrated to North America from India, Pakistan, and surrounding areas of Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka (Assanand Dias, Richardson, & Waxler-Morrison, 1990; Tran Kaddatz, & Allard, 2005). They are currently the largest visible minority group in Canada, with a population of 1.3 million people. The South Asian population has grown 38% since the last national census in 2001, with members of this cultural group now representing one-quarter of all visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2006). Despite variability in countries of origin and religions, the South Asians have a shared worldview and cultural value system characterized by a strong family orientation (Assanand et al., 1990; Tran et al., 2005). In a study of cultural adaptation among Canadian immigrant communities by Kwak & Berry, (2001), South Asian Canadians showed the highest desire for cultural maintenance after immigration. Their desire for traditionalism was particularly pronounced in relation to marriage and family life.

Arranged marriage is a traditional South Asian custom, involving collaboration of parents and relatives to identify suitable marriage partners for their sons or daughters. Marriages are arranged based on the parents' perception of compatibility between the two individuals in culture, religion, social class or caste, family background, appearance, and personal character (Assanand et al., 1990; Bhopal, 1999; Madathil & Benshoff, 2008). Three subtypes of arranged marriage have been identified in the literature (Qureshi, 1991; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990). In the traditional or planned subtype, parents use their own criteria to identify mates, and members of the couple have little to no contact prior to the marriage ceremony. In the modified traditional subtype, the son or daughter is asked for input on desired

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characteristics of potential mates and is given the option to decline options proposed to him/her, which leads parents to continue the search. In the joint venture subtype of arranged marriage, both parents and their son or daughter search for suitable partners, and members of the couple have some supervised or unsupervised opportunities to spend time together prior to the marriage (Qureshi, 1991; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990).

In South Asian nations, there has historically been a bride price or dowry that the family of the female has to provide to the family of the groom to accept their daughter into the new family she is joining in an arranged marriage (Bhopal, 1997; Gaulin & Boster, 1990; Leslie, 1998; Menski, 1998; Rastogi & Therly, 2006). The amount of the dowry tends to depend on the man's qualities, in terms of his socio-economic status, education, family background, and appearance. The greater the man's perceived worth, the greater the dowry that is demanded for acceptance of a particular bride as his wife (Rastogi & Therly, 2006). Variations of dowry patterns have emerged in Pakistan among Muslims, where payment of cash or gifts goes from the groom's family to the bride's family and is referred to as a dower or Mahr rather than a dowry (Menski, 1998). The payment is given as an exchange for the bride entering the groom's family. However, given the South Asian cultural practices that exist in the Punjab region of Pakistan, often bride price traditions are also practiced there (Menski, 1998).

Arranged marriages that are for the profit of one party or one side of the family have clear implications for the power balance in the resulting marriage and for the perceived value of the man and woman in the union. As Rastogi & Therly, (2006) explain, the exchange of money or goods at the time of marriage often sets the stage for continuing demands placed on one family by the other, and the devaluing of the partner from whose side dowry was taken; this then increases the vulnerability of this partner to maltreatment and spousal violence. In 1961, a new law was introduced in India that criminalized the act of giving or receiving a dowry in the marriage process to curb such adverse outcomes (Menski, 1998; Rastogi & Therly, 2006). Similarly, in 1976, the Pakistani government introduced the Dowry and Bridal Gifts Act to deter these financial exchanges (Menski, 1998). Despite these legislative attempts, the practice of dowry has continued to occur under the guise of "wedding gifts" being given from one family to another. These gifts may take the form of a down payment for a family home, a car, etc. Demands for such so-called gifts have tended to continue after arranged marriages, jeopardizing the welfare of the new bride if her family's financial resources have already been depleted by that time (Leslie, 1998). Since the demand for dowry is no longer publicly acknowledged, it makes it difficult for law enforcement officials to become aware of dowry-related marital problems until after violence results or marriage partners are abandoned once dowries are acquired (Rastogi & Therly, 2006). Rastogi and Therly (2006) reported a significant increase in the prevalence of dowry-related violence and deaths after the passage of the above laws.

The information reviewed so far about arranged marriage and dowry exchange relates to marriages that occur within South Asian nations. There are presently

global factors that are prompting the practice of arranged marriage to take place across international borders, and that have important implications for the spouses entering these marriages and their vulnerability to dowry-related and other forms of abuse. Preferences for male children have been evident in South Asian countries for years, with international attention being devoted to abolishing the major problem of female infanticide (United Nations Population Fund, 2007). The World Bank's (2012) *World Development Report—Gender and Equality and Development* indicated that over 250,000 girls were missing at birth in India. With the advent of technology allowing for the screening of the gender of the fetus in this region of the world, the problem of male preferences has worsened due to frequent sex-selective abortions (World Bank, 2012). The present gender ratio is around 120 boys born for every 100 girls, but as dramatically imbalanced as 130 boys to every 100 girls in some villages (United Nations Population Fund, 2007; World Bank, 2012). Pakistan is another South Asian country where preferences for male children are apparent, but with less severely unbalanced gender ratios (World Bank, 2012).

Since the South Asian culture is characterized by a collectivist orientation that highly values family life and childrearing, families of males are often inclined to negotiate with families in Canada to seek women to account for local bride shortages. While it appears that families of foreign males may seek Canadian female marriage partners for them due to local bride shortages, existing research suggests that families of foreign females living in countries like South Asia are often contacted by families from North America wanting traditional women for their sons (Raj & Silverman, 2002). So, it appears that there are different "push" and "pull" factors that drive men and women to seek marriage partners from abroad.

In response to various push and pull factors, many South Asian Canadian families choose wives or husbands for their sons and daughters from their home countries. After going back to South Asia to get married, the South Asian Canadian marriage partner subsequently returns to Canada and files a sponsorship application to enable the spouse to join him/her on Canadian soil (Kumar & Srivastava, 2005). National immigration statistics indicate that from the years 2003 to 2012, between 33,922 and 39,855 Canadians sought marriage partners from abroad each year. India and Pakistan were among the top source countries for spouses being sponsored from abroad, accounting for close to 50 % of immigration in this category (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012a).

In international arranged marriages, there is a potential for financial gain through dowry acquisition for the partner who by virtue of gender is to be given a dowry or dower, as well as for the foreign marriage partner to gain immigration rights from the marriage. Therefore, South Asian Canadian marriage partners face a risk of becoming double victims of dowry and immigration-related abuse. No study has investigated how dowries and dowry-related abuse is manifested in South Asian international arranged marriages, how gender relates to their expressions and outcomes, and how they may be intertwined with marriage-based immigration fraud. Marriage fraud occurs when a foreign national marries a Canadian citizen or permanent resident and abandons him/her after landing in Canada or obtaining citizenship.

Marriage fraud has an estimated rate of occurrence of 10,000 cases per year, or 16% of all spousal immigration cases processed annually (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012b).

The purpose of this multiple case study was to investigate dowry manifestations and abuse and the relationship between gender and vulnerability to dowry-related victimization in international arranged marriages through interviews with South Asian Canadians who were abandoned by their foreign marriage partners and focus groups with cultural insiders about modern-day dowry practices and their outcomes.

Method

Participants

Recruitment of Abandoned South Asian Canadian Marriage Partners The criteria for participation in this study included: (a) South Asian self-identification, (b) Canadian citizen or permanent resident, (c) involvement in an arranged marriage with an individual from one's home country, (d) sponsorship of the foreign spouse, and (e) abandonment by the foreign spouse after his/her arrival in Canada. Abandoned Canadian partners in South Asian international arranged marriages were recruited through distribution of English, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, and Gujarati study advertisements across multiple avenues in major metropolitan centers in Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario, including advocacy organizations working with both dowry abuse and immigration fraud victims (such as the Canadian Marriage Fraud Victims Society and Canadians Against Immigration Fraud), cultural community associations, settlement agencies, counseling centers, and legal clinics. Advertisements contained sign-up sheets for interested potential participants to provide their contact information for interview arrangement.

Characteristics of Abandoned Spouses Thirty South Asian Canadian abandoned spouses participated in this study (15 males and 15 females). Their ages ranged from 25 to 53, with an average age of 37 (SD = 7.3). Twenty-one were born in India, 8 were born in Pakistan, and 1 was Canadian-born; 50% identified themselves as Punjabi Sikhs (15), 7 identified themselves as Pakistani Muslims, and 8 self-identified as Hindu Indians. Their average length of residence in Canada at the time of the study was 12 years (SD = 5.2). Their first languages were: English (2/30), Punjabi (15/30), Urdu (5/30), and Gujarati (8/30). The majority of them were university educated, with 27 out of 30 possessing university degrees; 18 of them had bachelor's degrees and the other 9 had graduate-level training in fields such as law or engineering. Three participants had no formal education.

At the time of the study, 18 out of 30 South Asian abandoned spouses were employed full-time and 3 were employed part-time. Their occupations in Canada were wide-ranging, from construction work and retail operation to senior management,

clinical research, and law. The remaining 9 participants were unemployed due to the distress of their abandonment experiences, and were in the process of completing mental health disability claims.

For 23 of the abandoned spouses, the dissolved marriage was their first marriage, whereas it was a second marriage for the remaining 7. On average, the sponsor's family and the foreign marriage partner's family spent time together on only 5 occasions prior to the marriage ($SD=13$). The marriages of the abandoned spouses lasted an average of 3 years, with a range of 2–8 years, depending on the length of time it took the government to process the sponsorship application. In 23 of the 30 cases or 76.66 %, the foreign marriage partners left the Canadian spouses before 2 years post-family reunification. The average length of time the partners remained with the Canadian spouses in Canada before leaving was 19 months.

Recruitment of Cultural Insiders/Community Workers Focus groups were also conducted in major metropolitan centers in the three provinces with the largest South Asian immigrant populations in Canada. One focus group was held in each region with 7 to 10 members: Ontario (held in Toronto), British Columbia (held in Vancouver), and Alberta (held in Edmonton). Cultural insiders/community workers for participation in each region were identified through initial consult with the research collaborator in the National Indo-Canadian Council based on their knowledge of international arranged marriage situations, as well as active community involvement in working with abandoned South Asian Canadian marriage partners through legal/social advocacy, settlement counseling, psychological counseling, or religious or community association leadership. Potential focus group participants involved in the above ways were also recruited through study advertisements within cultural community organizations and settlement agencies in the major Canadian cities where the study was taking place. Initial recruitment contacts were followed by "snowball" sampling: individuals/leaders contacted to consider voluntary focus group participation to share their experience/expertise subsequently identified and referred other "key informants" to take part in the focus group in their respective region.

Characteristics of Community Workers There were 27 participants across the 3 focus groups conducted (2 focus groups included 10 members, and 1 included 7 members). Of these participants, 19 were female and 8 were male. Twenty-four of the 27 were members of the South Asian community (Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh self-identification from India or Pakistan), whereas 3 were Caucasian Canadians serving the South Asian community in either legal or social work roles. The participants were engaged in various employment and community roles that provided them with direct experience working with abandoned South Asian Canadian marriage partners. Four were immigration lawyers in South Asian legal clinics or mainstream law firms who had represented Canadian spouses in litigation related to marriage fraud cases (e.g., seeking deportation orders) or dowry abuse cases that occurred across international borders. Six were Executive Directors of settlement agencies serving a large proportion of South Asian clients or exclusively South Asian clients. Five were leaders of cultural community associations for the Hindu, Sikh,

and Muslim communities. Two were leaders/board members of national victim advocacy organizations for Canadian marriage partners abandoned by their foreign spouses. Three participants were members of the clergy (e.g., religious leader from Sikh gurudwara, representative from Hindu temple, imam from Muslim Mosque). The remaining 7 focus group participants were frontline workers, including South Asian outreach workers, settlement counselors, and social workers directly serving South Asian Canadian abandoned marriage partners in community agencies, mental health clinics, or cultural associations.

Data Collection Procedures

Interviews South Asian Canadian abandoned spouses were interviewed in their preferred languages in their homes or in private offices in local settlement agencies by bilingual/bicultural research assistants from their own cultural subgroups. The initial interview and follow-up interview with each sponsor lasted approximately 2 h in length. The interview began with an invitation to the participant to talk about how the couple came to know about each other as potential life partners. Events leading to the progression of the relationship to the engagement stage were also examined. Inquiries were made about any dowry exchange between partners at this stage, or at the time of, or after, the marriage, and the specific form of dowry given. Questions were also posed related to the direction of the dowry exchange (i.e., from Canadian marriage partner to foreign partner or vice versa) and the gender of the giver and receiver. Participants were then asked to talk about their experience of the marriage ceremony and what their marital relationship was like during their initial cohabitation experience in South Asia. Subsequently, the abandoned partners were asked about their experiences of being reunited with their spouses in Canada and how their relationships eventually ended. They were asked to reflect upon how their gender and any exchange of dowry in their marriages were related to their eventual victimization and abandonment.

Focus Groups Focus groups were conducted to seek insider input from the South Asian community and legal, settlement, and mental health staff with direct experience working with South Asian Canadian abandoned marriage partners about dowry practices among this group and the role that gender plays in the victimization of these partners in international arranged marriages. Focus groups were scheduled for 3 h blocks in boardrooms at conveniently located South Asian cultural organizations/settlement agencies in the major Canadian cities where they took place. The focus groups were facilitated in English by the principal researcher, since all of the community leaders, advocates, and legal and helping professionals serving the South Asian community were bilingual. The researcher began the dialogue with the participants by inviting them to talk about arranged marriage practices in the South Asian culture and how dowries are implicitly or explicitly applied when two families are joined together. They were also asked to comment on variations of dowry practices by subculture and gender of the giver and receiver. Subsequently,

the researcher inquired about manifestations of dowries in international arranged marriage situations that people outside of the community may not be aware of. She solicited descriptions of critical incidents in their encounters with foreign nationals entering marriages with South Asian Canadians for the purpose of financial gain alone, or in combination with a quest for immigration rights. Focus group participants were also queried about how the type of dowry exchange and the gender of the giver and receiver relate to South Asian Canadian marriage partners' vulnerability to victimization.

Data Analysis

The data analysis process was a complex one, aiming to triangulate and synthesize information obtained from each data collection method: Interviews and focus groups. All study interviews and focus group dialogues were audio-taped on digital recorders and transcribed verbatim by the research assistants. Interviews that took place in Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, or Gujarati were subsequently translated into English by the bilingual/bicultural research assistants, using meaning-based translation (Larson, 1984). Interview transcripts were analyzed using the multiple case study approach (Rosenwald, 1988). For participants of each gender, the researcher attempted to draw out from the transcripts the chronological sequence of events in their relationships. The main plots of the relationship stories or climactic events were also solicited. The case events and critical incidents for male versus female South Asian Canadian abandoned spouses were compared to explicate any differences in dowry manifestations, their outcomes, and gender-related vulnerability. In the multiple case study approach, each case represents a bounded system or exemplar of events that reflect the collective life experiences of members of the group being studied. When a specific common experience can be exemplified by a single case because other cases follow a characteristic pattern, the single case is used as an illustration. When there are variations within a specific pattern or type of dowry manifestation and outcome, the multiple case study is most useful; it allows for relevant aspects of a number of distinct cases to be presented to demonstrate these variations in people's experiences depending on their unique backgrounds, relationships or life contexts (Rosenwald, 1988).

Focus group transcripts were analyzed using interpretive phenomenological analysis (Smith, Flowers, & Osborn, 1997). This procedure involves carefully reviewing transcripts and excerpting salient or repeated ideas expressed by each participant about perspectives and insider cultural views on the topic at hand. Subsequently, a crossparticipant analysis is conducted to search for shared insights, perspectives, or views. Then the researcher attempts to generate organizing categories or themes representing specific patterns of dowry abuse under which focus group participants' comments and descriptions can be subsumed. The categories are then labeled in a way that reflects their meaning according to the participants' expertise.

Results: Emerging Dowry Abuse Patterns

Three unique patterns of dowry abuse emerged from this study. The first two dowry abuse manifestations involved male perpetrators whereas the third pattern involved female perpetrators. Two of the three patterns involved combinations of dowry abuse and marriage-based immigration fraud. Each of the patterns are described below, through an integration of case examples from interviews with South Asian Canadian abandoned spouses and direct quotes from the disclosures of focus group participants.

Pattern 1: "Landing and Looting"—Male Foreigners Marrying South Asian Canadian Women for Immigration and Unconventional Dowries

The first dowry manifestation discovered in this study involved male foreign nationals marrying Canadian females for immigration and unconventional dowries. In these cases, no dowries were requested or exchanged at the time of marriage, leading the Canadian marriage partners to believe that the marriages were entered with positive intentions. However, once the husbands landed in Canada, they began making outrageous and completely surprising dowry demands, like requests for spousal support money for children from previous marriages from South Asian Canadian females for whom the international arranged marriage was a second marriage. Hence, this dowry abuse pattern was labeled "landing and looting." It appeared that financial gain could be a primary objective of the marriage or a secondary objective besides obtaining immigration. These cases involved a combination of marriage-based immigration fraud and extortion, and tended to include the highest degree of malice and abuse toward the Canadian marriage partner.

The following quotes from focus group participants describe the manifestation of this dowry abuse pattern: "The dowries and abandoned bride issues are a big problem and sometimes you don't know if someone is marrying you for that until you come [back] to Canada and the dowry demands keep coming." They elaborated: "We think people marry people abroad to get dowries and then leave them there without sponsoring them, but it sometimes works the other way around where people marry other people from their community in Canada to get both money from them and to become permanent residents in this place they see as a land of opportunity." In these situations, a focus group participant stated: "The foreign marriage partner is the winner and the Canadian marriage partner loses everything—her husband, plus all her or her family's assets."

Abandoned sponsor Seema's case exemplifies this pattern. Seema married her husband in India and had a "very good, close relationship" with him and his family while they spent time together there. There was no request for a dowry at the time of the marriage. However, once she returned to Canada to sponsor her husband and he eventually arrived in Canada, everything changed. She explained:

> Dowry—over there didn't give anything—but when he came here he didn't let me live, that your mom didn't give you dowry: Bring dowry! Bring dowry from your family! He used to beat me a lot then…In dowry—that bedroom suite, sofas, sofas my mom gave us, the 3 piece sofa set there is that my mom bought us brand new. And the bedroom suite that I bought like on half price. Even after all that, then he wanted the car, and then the house in his name, and then cleaned all the money from the bank account.

She continued:

> Then they (husband and in-laws) after we had sponsored them too and they came, made a plan and left at night, taking all the stuff and withdrew all the money from the bank, there was a truck and 2 cars running under my name, and all the household items from a to z that I made (set up the house), they took everything too, even the dough in the fridge—she (mother-in-law) took that as well. On June, __ (year) me and I was 4 month pregnant and my 3 year old son, we spent the night in hunger in Canada without eating anything. They got all the money and immigration.

Abandoned female sponsor Heer's case followed a similar pattern of dowry demands emerging after reunification of the couple once her husband arrived in Canada. However, in Heer's case, her husband's dowry demands took a different form, and even included requests for the spousal support money for her daughter from her first marriage. Heer shared: "He came here and after one week he started saying to me that how much money do you have, how much money do you get for the girl—I want my dowry." Heer's marriage ended with her husband leaving her: "He told me—I got what I wanted, served my purpose of marrying you—got immigration and the money to live well, so now stay away from me or I will break your legs!" Her daughter was also physically and sexually abused by him: "He said, 'You think I married you but I actually married your daughter!'—I almost died in shock." This type of dowry demand and severe abuse of the woman and her child was found to occur in other cases of female participants in second marriages in this research study.

The experiences of 9 of the 15 female abandoned spouses in this study (60 %) were consistent with the landing and looting pattern. Seven of the 15 female study participants were in their second marriages with the spouses who eventually abandoned them, and five of these seven women (71.43 %) were among those whose stories conformed to this pattern. All five of these women reported demands for money they were obtaining for child support as a form of dowry. Among these women in second marriages, there were also four cases that involved legal action taken by them for abuse targeting them or child abuse by the fraudulent spouse that occurred in conjunction with the dowry abuse and immigration fraud. Although dowry demands have been described in immigration-fraud cases shared by advocacy organizations such as the Canadian Marriage Fraud Victims' Society and Canadians Against Immigration Fraud, no other study has identified the specific forms these demands take in fraudulent relationships, nor distinguished between how they may be manifested in first and second marriages. The findings above shed light on the salience of these patterns and women's risks for dual victimization across their relationship trajectories.

Pattern 2: "Robbing and Framing"—Male South Asian Canadians Marrying Female Foreigners for Dowries

The second form of dowry abuse came out exclusively in the focus groups, as it involved male Canadians marrying female South Asian foreign nationals to obtain dowries. It would be unlikely that any male South Asian Canadians who have done this would disclose this transnational criminal activity in a research interview. As focus group participants explained, these cases often involved dowry exchange at the time of marriage going from the bride's side of the family to the husband's side, followed by new, continuous, and unexpected dowry demands after the foreign bride arrived in Canada to join her husband. The foreign spouse was then rejected and abandoned by the South Asian Canadian marriage partner after receipt of the desired dowry. Focus group participants mentioned that most often in these cases, the Canadian marriage partner already has a girlfriend or live-in partner here. Focus group participants explained that in attempting to report these cases to the police, the foreign marriage partner is often "flagged as the fraud" who married for immigration by the South Asian Canadian marriage partner. Thus, she becomes a double victim—a dowry demands victim and a victim of the immigration system that considers her to be a criminal. Hence, this dowry abuse pattern was labeled "robbing and framing."

The following case scenario exemplifying this pattern was described:

> What we see is that we have more women than the men. They are sponsored by the husband just because of the money. We have so many stories about these girls. Another example of a girl, she came here and he was a very abusive person, controlling and at the same time he is involved with other women too. She wanted to do her medical residency and he said you have to pay for your own fees and everything. So this girl started working at McDonalds and she said I'm not going to pay, but at the same time she said that "he took so much money from my parents like $30,000–$40,000." She said: "Ok you are not giving the money to study, so at least give me back the dowry." These poor people—she said she doesn't even know how her parents got the money, and the husband kept demanding even more after she arrived in Canada….We helped her and eventually she got out of the situation and got a divorce. The reason I am sharing is that this man went back home and got someone else and did the same thing to the other girl and her family. So we went to the immigration (government) on her behalf. They said that if you can give the name and if you have the passport number, then we will put a red flag, so he will not be able to bring in any another person.

In the above case example, the woman was able to exit the situation. A focus group participant highlighted how many other women encounter serious problems in exiting the cycle of continuous dowry demands due to the threat that "they can be made to look like criminals by being flagged as frauds if they attempt to leave," as discussed above. Another participant elaborated: "Men just wanted the implicit gifts by cash through a down payment on a house or a car, etc. Once they get the gifts, they just leave the poor girl, but if *she* tries to leave, there's trouble."

No case-related frequency data can be presented to supplement the focus group data for the robbing and framing pattern, as the interviews in this study focused on South Asian Canadians who had been victimized and abandoned by their spouses

rather than those who had victimized and abandoned others. However, it is important to note that the pattern suggests that dowry-related abuses can go two ways in transnational marriages, with Canadians being either the perpetrators or victims. Although there has been significant attention drawn to the issue of abandoned brides in India who were married by men from their cultural communities in North America only for dowries, the cases profiled have involved women left in their countries of origin (Leslie, 1998; Menski, 1998). Therefore, the issue has not been represented in the immigration fraud literature. In contrast, this study pattern suggests that men from Canada may actually follow through with sponsoring their foreign brides to come to Canada, and make further dowry demands after their arrival, prolonging their victimization and separating them from all family and community supports that could assist them in avenging the dowry crimes. Since the accusations of immigration fraud in such cases would be false accusations to prevent women from being successful in filing dowry abuse complaints, the findings are critically important for further contemplation for research, community, and legal system intervention.

Pattern 3: "Nail Them and Jail Them"—Female Foreigners Marrying South Asian Canadian Men for Dowries and Immigration

This pattern was a completely unanticipated finding of this study. It involved foreign females marrying South Asian Canadian males, with their families wanting to extort the males for dowries that were never given. The problems started after the foreign brides arrived in Canada. These cases involved the brides and their families filing dowry abuse claims and sometimes also physical abuse claims with police in their home countries of India or Pakistan to obtain money from the Canadian marriage partners and their families who still lived in those countries. There was also the intent to have the male Canadian marriage partner prosecuted and jailed for these uncommitted crimes. In these cases, the female brides would obtain immigration and have a method to do away with the Canadian marriage partner, and their families would obtain major financial benefits as well. Therefore, this pattern was labeled "nail them and jail them," and involved a combination of dowry fraud and immigration fraud. The fear instilled in the Canadian male marriage partners in these cases was immense.

The case of male abandoned spouse Dalbir represents a prototype of this pattern, so it will be described in detail to show how this complex pattern was manifested rather than presenting multiple similar cases. In his interview, he disclosed the nature of his marital experience:

> Like honestly, so anyways, the marriage was going just fine until a few months after she arrived in Canada. Then in July, they were trying to, her dad made some threatening calls to my parents in India. He went up to my brother-in-law and he did the same thing—he said "I can get all those guys behind bars in India. Look at what your son has been doing to my daughter." So in mid-July he sends over a letter to my parents that you have to come to the police station in Gurdarspur. So my parents all their life, they have been honest, hard

> working people, they have never been to the courts or police station, in any kind of not good activities—they are law-abiding citizens. And this was a shocker to them, why is this thing happening when the guy and girl live in Canada. Like the guy took the girl, there is no fraud of any case—why is this happening with us? So, then he got the cop, maybe he bribed the cop to make a threatening call to my parents and said ok, we can get you picked up from the house so you have to be here. So, my parents had to go and they went there and my brother, and they were like, we demand money from them and their son in Canada. They said "He made us spend 60 laks on the wedding for our daughter to be given to them as a dowry"… 60 laks would be $120,000 here in Canadian money. But they never gave me any dowry, I never asked for one, and we had a very small wedding with just our two families.

He elaborated about his response and their reactions to it: "I called there and said I don't want the girl, your daughter, you can have her back—I want a divorce, but they kept trying to get money out of me because they never wanted the marriage to stay together anyway." Dalbir also talked about the emotional arousal this situation generated on his part: "Since then I have been very scared of visiting my family in India. Any time I go, I try to make sure that not many people know I am in town, because I don't want to get thrown in jail for something I didn't even do."

Focus group participants' comments provided really important context for this dowry manifestation and explained how males and females differ in their vulnerability to dowry abuse: "It seems that women are more vulnerable to real abuses whereas men are more vulnerable to false justice system intervention. So each gender has a different and unique vulnerability in these [international arranged] marriages and we have to take this into account." They talked about how dowry-related laws were created to assist women, so the justice system's sympathy for women's perspectives contributes to male vulnerability to dowry fraud: "Women [and their families] figure out that police will believe only them there, so they have an excuse to get out of the relationship and still get immigration. Plus family laws all going in favour of the women you know….so they will nail you!!!" They also commented on the frequency of these situations: "As community workers, we can say there is really about 80 % real abuse cases and maybe 20 % false abuse claims, and we have to take into account dowry and other cultural issues in arranged marriages in telling these situations apart."

Of the 15 male abandoned spouses who participated in this study, 8 reported being victims of false dowry abuse and/or physical abuse allegations (53.33 %), which led to justice system intervention. Although a few isolated reports of justice system intervention based on false dowry-related abuse claims have been reported within South Asia (Leslie, 1998), this pattern has not previously been discovered to be playing out in transnational relationships. In this context, it would have different implications, as Canadian spouses' fear of foreign justice system intervention would prevent them from being able to maintain transnational ties with their families and communities of origin, and also would prevent them from being able to remarry within their countries of origin if their present marriages dissolved.

Discussion

The impact of globalization on the South Asian diaspora complicates the manifestation of dowries and their outcomes for marital partners. Arranged marriages are increasingly being applied across international borders, with families in South Asia seeking partners for their sons and daughters from North America and vice versa (Kumar & Srivastava, 2005; Raj & Silverman, 2002). These marriages serve to benefit partners through both obtaining immigration to North America and a financial advantage. The findings of this study highlighted how males and females may both be vulnerable to different types of dowry-related victimization in a transnational context. Three unique patterns of dowry-related abuse emerged from the study. The first pattern involved male foreign nationals marrying Canadian females and beginning to make dowry demands through severe emotional and physical abuse after their arrival in Canada. These demands included nontraditional dowry requests, like requests for the child support payments women who were previously married were receiving for children born in their previous marriages. These findings illuminate how the criminalization of dowries in South Asian countries has engendered great variation in the forms dowries take compared to the original explicit practice of monetary exchange between families at the time of the marriage only (Rastogi & Therly, 2006). Wives were abandoned after dowries were obtained. Since the male foreign nationals in these cases also obtained permanent residency in Canada through their marriages, and sometimes even enlisted their wives to sponsor their parents from India or Pakistan, this pattern reflected combined immigration fraud and extortion. In light of bride shortages in South Asian countries due to the prevalence of female infanticide and sex-selective abortion (United Nations Population Fund, 2007; World Bank, 2012), women living in North America may become more and more prone to this type of victimization as families of males living in South Asia seek wives for them from abroad.

The second pattern involved male Canadians going abroad to get married, demanding dowries while abroad, and then bringing their spouses back to Canada to make additional dowry requests, and then abandoning the women subsequently. The first two patterns reflect unique transnational variations of the abandoned bride phenomenon that has been occurring across South Asia due to families of males wanting to take advantage of the opportunity to seize a dowry from the families of females seeking marriage partners for them (Leslie, 1998; Menski, 1998).

The third and most unexpected pattern involved female foreign nationals marrying Canadian males and filing dowry abuse cases to South Asian police, in the absence of any real dowry exchange. Motives included financial gain by trying to recover dowries that had never even been paid, dissolving their marriages, and still obtaining immigration. A few examples of this type of case scenario occurring within South Asia have been noted in the work of Leslie (1998). The findings in this study suggested that when this type of manifestation occurs across international borders, South Asian Canadian men may be extremely fearful of returning to their home countries, severing their ties with their families back home.

The dowry abuse patterns that emerged in the study and the contributing factors can be understood through the lens of Heise's (1998) Ecological Model of Gender-Based Violence. Heise (1998) reviewed numerous large-scale cross-cultural and international research studies to develop a comprehensive model of abuse, including microsystem factors, exosystem factors, and macrosystem factors. Microsystem factors relate to the structure and nature of the couple's relationship. Key microsystem factors implicated in gender-based violence are economic inequalities between men and women and traditional gender roles in marital relationships (Heise, 1998; Michalski, 2004). The giving of a dowry from the female's side of the family to the male's side of the family suggests an imbalance in the inherent worth of women compared to men, casting women into a passive traditional gender role where their risk of being maltreated and abandoned escalates (Leslie, 1998; Rastogi & Therly, 2006). The conditions of sponsorship of women from abroad, which make them fully dependent on the Canadian male marriage partner for financial support upon their arrival also structure the male–female relationship in a way that enforces women's dependency on their spouse and leads the spouse to have exclusive independent access to resources (Raj & Silverman, 2002). In cases where South Asian Canadian women sponsor foreign men, this dependency is offset by their families granting the males a dowry, which amplifies the power-differential that already exists in male–female relationships.

Exosystem factors relate to the immediate context in which the couple is situated. Key factors at this level of the social ecology that have been found to contribute to gender-based violence are male unemployment or underemployment and social isolation of women (Heise, 1998; Michalski, 2004; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). Among immigrant populations, many highly educated individuals are unemployed or underemployed due to a lack of recognition of their foreign credentials (Raj & Silverman, 2002). Therefore, immigrant males who arrive from South Asia often find it difficult to find work in the first few years, making them reliant upon their wives' resources (Raj & Silverman, 2002). Such a reliance can challenge male traditional gender roles, contributing to a potential for spousal violence, as observed in the first pattern of dowry-related abuses discovered in the present study. In relation to the second pattern, newcomer wives from abroad are likely to be socially isolated, making them more vulnerable to problems; their male Canadian partners would realize that they do not have a support network or social safety net to assist them in a situation in which they are maltreated or experiencing ongoing dowry demands.

Besides employment status and social isolation, a number of researchers have recently added vulnerable immigrant status to exosystem factors contributing to intimate partner violence (Raj & Silverman, 2002; Sokoloff, & Dupont, 2005). As the focus group participants described in relation to the second pattern that emerged from this study, when women sponsored from abroad try to report dowry demands or abuse at the hands of their husbands, their husbands often flag them as fraudsters who married them for immigration, placing them at risk for both criminal charges and deportation.

Macrosystem factors refer to cultural values, beliefs, and ideologies that influence the other levels of the family's social ecology. Some key macrosystem factors

related to gender-based violence include (a) cultural definitions of manhood that link masculinity with dominance and male honor; and (b) men's perceived ownership over women, which is contributed to by dowry exchange, since it may be seen as selling of brides to men (Rastogi & Therly, 2006; Leslie, 1998; Menski, 1998). These macrosystem factors contribute to an erosion of women's human rights (Raj & Silverman, 2002). Recently, other researchers have added legal frameworks that govern male–female relationships in various countries to macrosystem factors related to gender-based violence (Levesque, 2001). The laws introduced in South Asian countries in the past decades to curb violence against women in dowry cases suggest that the governments are attempting to take a proactive rather than reactive approach to gender-based violence (Leslie, 1998; Rastogi & Therly, 2006). However, as observed in the third dowry manifestation that emerged from this study, the profeminine nature of these laws and related law enforcement has made males vulnerable to false dowry abuse claims. By making dowry allegations in cases where there was no dowry exchange, the brides they sponsored to come to Canada to join them can sever their marriages while maintaining their immigration rights. Therefore, they can make their husbands appear like the perpetrators, when they are actually partaking in both dowry fraud and the growing phenomenon of marriage-based immigration fraud.

Implications

Rastogi and Therly (2006) postulated the need to initiate public education for male and female members of communities practicing the exchange and negotiation of bride price within South Asia to inform them of the risks to the welfare of daughters, sisters, and wives in the community. With the increasing practice of arranged marriage across international borders, the findings of this study suggest that there is an urgent need for public education about the unique manifestations and combinations of dowry abuse and immigration fraud that occur in crosscountry unions. An understanding of how implicit dowries play out in international marriages drawing on this research could help families to learn from the bad experiences of other women and men within their own communities. The education could be led by South Asian cultural community associations or immigration/settlement agencies serving members of this cultural group. Subsequently, families seeking marriage partners from abroad could be led through a cost–benefit analysis regarding seeking partners locally versus internationally. Bhopal (1997) reported that women in South Asian countries who became educated about the impact of dowries on the quality of marital relationships and the risks these pose to women tended to reject the idea of giving a dowry and chose dowry-free marriage arrangements. It is hoped that the same types of decisions could result from education in an international context.

In order to address the dowry abuse and immigration fraud problem, other community strategies are also needed to supplement the legal efforts made by governments in past decades (Leslie, 1998; Menski, 1998). The South Asian culture is a collectivist culture where social and community ties are perceived to be critical

to each individual's well-being and people strive to save face in their community networks (Assanand et al., 1990; Tran et al., 2005). The nature of the culture suggests that community policing and public shaming may be an effective strategy for punishing perpetrators of dowry-related abuses and for deterring new cases of dowry fraud and immigration fraud. An adaptation of India's Bell Bajao (Ring the Bell) program may be very useful for this purpose. The Bell Bajao program is a domestic violence prevention program implemented in India that received an award from the United Nations for reducing violence in the home (Breakthrough Organization, 2008). The program provides community members, neighbors, and acquaintances with a simple action protocol for situations where they become aware of the maltreatment of any woman. They simply need to ring the doorbell to interrupt the abuse, wait until the door is answered, present a card or note or make some noise, and then leave. This action serves to let the perpetrator know that he is being watched, this individual is aware of his behavior, and that the behavior is not acceptable. Having multiple other people also ring the bell, with an intention of involving as many male members of the community as possible as whistle blowers, further reinforces this community policing and public shaming.

In applying this program to dowry cases, community members, neighbors, or acquaintances of South Asian Canadian female or male victims who become aware of the onset of any kind of dowry demands (real or false), should take similar actions to interrupt the dowry cycle and encapsulate the potential perpetrators in community networks of disapproval. Leaders of religious and cultural organizations could also consider approaching these individuals in their places of worship to ostracize them for their behavior, further shaming them, and letting others who may be contemplating the same actions witness the community-level consequences. Such actions would create a social safety net around previously isolated women, mitigating some of the factors that contribute to gender-based violence in the first place. Government action to connect immigrant women to cultural community associations so that they have some contact with people outside of their families to go to for help is also critical for this particular subgroup of dowry abuse victims (Raj & Silverman, 2002). Coordinated community education and action is needed to fight the ongoing dowry problem. Future research should assess the effectiveness of community education programs and community policing on reducing the frequency of dowry problems in international arranged marriages.

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Chapter 4
Sexual Orientation Across Culture and Time

Konstantin O. Tskhay and Nicholas O. Rule

Sexual orientation has received increased public attention in the past few decades across the globe (Herek, 2000a, b). Political campaigns in the USA have recently begun paying special attention to issues such as gay marriage (Adam, 2003) and military policy (Policy Concerning Homosexuality in the Armed Forces, 1993). In other geographic regions, political and religious intolerance of sexual minorities has resulted in the discussion of laws intended to limit the individual freedoms of nonheterosexuals (Herek, 2009); a prominent recent example being the institutional blindness of Russian authorities to antigay violence (Human Rights Watch, 2014). While some societies have implemented policies that punish homosexuality by imprisonment and death (Hood, 2002), other countries have expanded their definition of gender to be more inclusive (Newsnext Bangladesh, 2013).

Although the international dialogue about issues regarding sexual orientation has gained momentum only in recent years, history is replete with examples of same-sex romantic attraction and sexual behavior across a number of cultural groups (Blackwood, 2000; Gay, 1986; Herdt, 1981; Scanlon, 2005; Sweet, 1996). The goal of the current review is to demonstrate a small fraction of the enormous variability and change in the dialogue, perceptions, experiences, and attitudes toward gender identities and sexual orientations that have occurred across cultures over time. In doing so, we begin with a discussion of the variability of sexual orientation across cultures. We then discuss how the historical and current cultural contexts shape attitudes toward sexual minorities, affecting their everyday experiences. We conclude by summarizing the behavioral and cognitive research relevant to the perception of sexual orientation and the effects that these perceptions have on the lives of sexual minorities.

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Culture, History, and Sexual Orientation

Ethnographies of different social and cultural groups consistently suggest that heterosexuality is not the only form of sexual behavior and multiple reports suggest that sexual orientation goes beyond what people find attractive (Blackwood, 2000). There are notable works describing aspects of sexual orientation that are more closely related to cultural practices, traditions, and institutions than to sexual relationships alone. For example, researchers have documented same-sex sexual experiences among intimate friendships between younger and older girls in Lesotho, a South African culture (Gay, 1986). In the context of these *mummy–baby* relationships, older girls serve as mentors for younger girls and sexual relations in the context of these mentorship relations are not uncommon. Furthermore, the intimate friendship continues as the former *baby* becomes a *mummy* and starts to mentor other girls about sex, relationships, and other aspects of traditions, even if she is married to a man. These relationships are generally accepted within the community—they reflect tradition and are far removed from contemporary Western conceptions of sexuality.

Perhaps a more popular example of this type of mentorship bond comes from Classical Greece where older men trained younger boys and had sexual relations with them (Bertosa, 2009, Percy, 1996). In these relations, a younger man was a passive sexual partner until the age of 20, thereafter starting to train younger boys in a similar manner and assuming a more active and dominant sexual role. Homosexuality was institutionalized in ancient Greece, but only as a part of homosocial life, meaning that men tended to form close bonds of homosexual character with each other (e.g., nude athletics; Scanlon, 2005). Although men were expected to have a wife and children, leading some to suggest that a nonheterosexual orientation was unacceptable in ancient Greece, an examination of cultural practices seems to suggest that male same-sex relations were considered natural (Hoffman, 1980). Specifically, Hoffman suggested that the pressure placed on men due to family bonds, the unavailability sexual relations with women outside of the household, the absence of a term for same-sex relations, and hypersexualization within Greek myths, made homoerotism acceptable. It is important to note, however, that the expression of sexuality within ancient Greek culture went beyond a mere mentorship role, becoming a product of spirituality, religion, and belief (see Pflugfelder, 1999, for a similar account in Japan).

Indeed, some cultures attach a special meaning to sexuality through religion and associated beliefs. In Papua New Guinea, for example, genital fluids have special cultural meaning: although male semen is considered to be the sacred and pure epitome of masculinity, female fluids are seen as poisonous, especially to men (Herdt, 1981). Thus, cross-sex interaction may be limited to occasional sexual intercourse for the purposes of procreation at an appropriate age. Importantly, the male fluid is considered to be a limited resource that needs to be attained by boys in order to become men. Thus, young boys orally stimulate the genitals of grown men to acquire the valuable fluid through ingestion. Although this practice would be considered homoerotic in the West, it is an institutionalized ritual for the members of the tribe:

when boys grow up and become men, they perpetuate the tradition by passing their own fluid to the next generation.

As exemplified in the cases of ancient Greece and the importance of masculinity in Papua New Guinea, the interaction between gender and sexual behavior not only precipitates the social, political, and religious structures of a society but also works to shape the concept of sexuality as a whole. Male–female relations and beliefs about human masculinity and femininity form the expression of sexuality and the manifestation of variability in sexual orientation in cultural and religious traditions.

Following this broad conception of sexual orientation, cross-cultural writing identifies sexual identities that go beyond the categorical sexual distinctions that are popular in the Western world. The Native American *berdaches* (Callender, Kochems, Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, Broch, Brown, & Datan, 1983) and the South Asian *hijras* (Nanda, 1990), for instance, represent alternatives to present-day Western typologies. Numerous accounts describe *berdaches* as people within Native American societies who transcend their biological sex to assume the identity of the opposite gender (Callender et al., 1983). Although there is a great amount of variability between different Native American societies' conceptions of this identity, *berdaches* are frequently mentioned as a part of the social and religious structure. From a sociocultural standpoint, the *berdache* identity could be associated with transsexualism, as these people dress in the clothing traditionally associated with, and perform duties prescribed to, the opposite sex. Although some *berdaches* engage in same-sex intercourse, others enjoy intimate interactions with the opposite sex as well. The *berdache* identity, both social and sexual, seems to transcend the dichotomous view of gender and is considered intersectional. This in-between identity is associated with religious practices, as their apparent transcendence of sex is believed to correspond to a transcendence of spirit. Thus, becoming a *berdache* is often not considered to be an individual's choice, but a spiritual calling.

Similarly, South Asian *hijras* represent a nontraditional gender role that is atypical for the Western world's conception of identity. *Hijras* are fundamentally associated with religious beliefs and intersectionality of the sexes (Nanda, 1990). Although they are often similar to *berdaches* in their manner of opposite-sex dress, the religious emphasis of *hijras* is much greater. Whereas *berdaches* may perform spiritual rituals on occasion, the very core of *hijra*-hood is religious practice and some male *hijras* even sacrifice their genitalia in exchange for the ability to bless and curse. Many anthropologists consider *hijras* to be a third-sex—a gender identity that surpasses traditional dichotomous definitions of biological sex (Agrawal, 1997). Although some *hijras* indeed engage in same-sex sexual behaviors, others are asexual, and some are married heterosexual men who did not go through a ritual of emasculation (Hossain, 2012). Thus, there is much variation in the sexual orientation of these people, whereas the role itself seems to be scaffolded on traditional definitions of gender and heterosexuality.

Within each of these cultures, it seems that diverse sexual orientation was initially accepted. With the spread of the Western civilization's beliefs and practices, however, these nontraditional orientations and gender identities became the target of discrimination. The numbers of *berdaches*, for example, has decreased since the

introduction of Western European ideas (Callender et al., 1983) and Native Americans feel reluctant to speak of *berdaches* to Western heterosexual anthropologists (Williams, 1993). This narrowing of sexual experience was partly influenced by the polarity of Western ideas about what is right and wrong in the world. Due to this new influx of Western influence, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the status and perceptions of these groups by their native societies, particularly as Western authors have conducted most of this research. Given that both groups have been associated with spirituality, however, it appears that *hijras* and *berdaches* may be well respected within their host cultures (Callender et al., 1983; Nanda, 1990).

In a different part of the world, the African diaspora transported to South America during the colonial slave trade was initially accepting of different sexual identities. Nonheterosexuals transcended dichotomy and were considered to be connected with the spirits. This changed following the Catholic Inquisition widespread across the European-populated regions of South America (Sweet, 1996). The nonheterosexual Black African practice did not fit mainstream Catholic morality and, thus, was a target for elimination. Later, in the West, nontraditional gender and sexual identities were viewed as a disease that necessitated a cure (Adams & Sturgis, 1977; Bayer, 1987)—still a persistent belief among many individuals living in Western cultures (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009).

Although ideas about sexuality seem to change rapidly (Andersen & Fetner, 2008; Herek, 2000a), they continue to influence the shaping of gender and sexual orientation between and within cultures. We readily recognize that we cannot provide an exhaustive account of every instance of nonheterosexual orientation in the human experience—the examination of the spectrum would be a scholarly book on its own. However, this brief discussion of sexual orientations in non-Western societies suggests that across time, space, and culture, contemporary society is influenced by Western ideas that shape the attitudes about sexual and gender expressions—attitudes that remain in the minds of people today.

Attitudes

Beginning with Darwin's (1859, 1871) writings on natural and sexual selection, scholars have stressed the idea of polarity between men and women; some considering any other forms of biological and psychological sexual distinction sinful and anomalous (Herdt, 1994). The basic male–female dichotomy is predominant in conscious thought about sex and, consequently, variability in sexual experience has become defined in categorical terms (Ding & Rule, 2012). Indeed, the anthropological literature briefly reviewed above suggests that sexual orientation often becomes synonymous with gender in contemporary society (Herek, 2000a). Even as sexual variability has recently begun to surface as a topic of great public visibility, the attitudes and perceptions of sexual minorities are still influenced by cultural conceptions of sex and gender (Herek, 2000a). Despite the great degree of

diversity in sexual experience, much of the sexual orientation research has focused on same-sex attraction in the context of gender polarity rather than the full spectrum of experiences (Johnson, 2007). Thus, research on sexual orientation has provided invaluable insights as to how culture shapes attitudes and perceptions of sexual orientation.

The word *homophobia*, for example, was coined by Weinberg (1972), a psychologist trained in psychoanalysis. The term arose from mental health professionals who, around the same time, petitioned that homosexuality be removed from the *Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM; Bayer, 1987). The term homophobia holds a connotation of mental disorder. However, it has multiple lexical interpretations: the fear of man, the fear of sameness, and the fear of homosexuality, among others. However, because of colloquial popularity, widespread use in the media, and appropriation of the term by different gay-rights activist groups, the term most commonly refers to the fear of homosexuality. Importantly, the word homophobia suggests that it is indeed a phobia, or fear, and is therefore an abnormality.

Close examination of this concept reveals that homophobia has little to do with the emotion of fear, however—an indicator of anxiety (Herek, 2000b). In fact, scholars examining the emotions attached to homosexuality have found disgust and anger to be most associated with same-sex sexuality (Bernat, Calhoun, Adams, & Zeichner, 2001; Herek, 1994; Van de Ven, Bornholt, & Bailey, 1996). These findings are consistent with those from social psychology, which suggest that minority group members tend to be viewed with disgust by majority group members (Mackie Devos, & Smith, 2000). In turn, this leads to the general understanding that, like other minority groups, sexual identities do not fit the dominant and normative way of thinking (i.e., heterosexuality). Very few today would deny that homophobia refers to prejudicial attitudes toward sexual minorities. Indeed, because it has little to do with fear, the term was revised to represent general negative attitudes toward sexual minority groups—sexual prejudice (Herek, 2000a).

Sexual Prejudice and Some Correlates

Sexual prejudice has been studied extensively in the USA (Herek, 2000a, b) but also crosses national boundaries (e.g., Gelbal & Duyan, 2006; Kite & Whitley, 1996; Lingiardi Falanga, & D'Augelli, 2005; Williams, 1993), suggesting several broad trends. First, men tend to hold more negative sexual attitudes than do women (Kite & Whitley, 1996). Herek, (2000b) furthermore, found that men were more negative toward gays than lesbians. These findings demonstrate a curious cognitive effect: when men were presented with the Attitudes Toward Gay men scale prior to the analogous Attitudes Toward Lesbians scale, scores on the latter became more negative; an effect not observed when the order was reversed. This suggests that men's negative attitudes toward gay men can transfer into negative attitudes to ward other sexual minority groups (i.e., lesbians). Yet it is unclear why straight men have more negative attitudes toward gay men.

As beliefs about sexual orientation and gender tend to be interconnected in contemporary society, hypermasculine men (those who endorse traditional gender roles and sexist attitudes) tend to perceive sexual minorities more negatively then men who are not hypermasculine (Barron, Struckman-Johnson, Quevillon, & Banka, 2008). In an Italian study, men in the military were much more negative toward sexual minorities than were heterosexual male university students (Lingiardi, Falanga, & D'Augelli,2005). Other studies have even reported that when men's masculinity was threatened by priming them with derogatory words referring to gay men (e.g., *fag*), they demonstrated stronger negative attitudes toward gay men compared to male participants who were primed with less offensive gay-related words (e.g., *gay*; Carnaghi, Maass, & Fasoli, 2011; Falomir-Pichastos & Mugny, 2009). Similarly, a cross-cultural comparison of three nations varying in their general levels of societal homophobia (Australia, Finland, and Sweden) found that cultures less accepting of male homosexuality may associate being gay with lower levels of masculinity (Ross, 1983). These findings suggest that gender identity is important to men and, thus, thoughts about the self may be implicitly associated with conceptions of sexual orientation.

Much of the scholarly work examining masculinity and reactions to sexual minorities seems to conclude that men have negative attitudes toward nonheterosexual individuals (Herek, 2000b). Psychological research reinforces this by demonstrating that core concepts of male heterosexuality seem to be violated in the context of same-sex relationships and intimate interactions (Herek, 2004). Specifically, because men typically penetrate women in heterosexual intercourse, the penetration of men in gay relationships violates normative expectations (Carballo-Diéguez et al., 2004). Thus, in some cultures, a man who is penetrated is considered to be feminine or gay whereas the penetrator does not carry a social stigma and may be considered effectively heterosexual (Carballo-Diéguez et al., 2004; Lancaster, 1988). This specific framing of same-sex sexual behavior is present across multiple contemporary cultures (e.g., Latin America, Middle East), as well as across time (i.e., the Catholic Inquisition in South America; Sweet, 1996).

Additionally, because homosexuality is often associated with cross-dressing and transvestism, gay men are often conceived as feminine, even when there may be little evidence for this. In one of the earlier studies examining perceptions of sexual orientation, researchers asked participants to list the ideas that they had about homosexual and heterosexual men and women (Kite & Deaux, 1987). After examining the participants' responses, the authors found a great degree of similarity between the traits that were ascribed to gay men and those ascribed to heterosexual women. Similarly, lesbian women were thought to possess qualities similar to heterosexual men. Lay opinions therefore stereotype gay men and lesbian women as possessing the traits and qualities of the opposite sex. However, there may be a dissociation between groups' and individuals' actual levels of masculinity or femininity and how they are perceived or believed to behave. In other words, although there may be few differences between heterosexuals and non heterosexuals of the same sex, perceivers may view or imagine them through a lens of "gender inversion" (e.g., Kite & Deaux, 1987). Simply examining the association between gender and sexual orientation does not fully explain sexual prejudice, however.

Researchers across the world have identified several other factors that are associated with negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (Barron et al., 2008; Baunach, 2012; Gelbal & Duyan, 2006; Lingiardi et al., 2005; McCann, 2011; Rosik, Griffith, & Cruz, 2007). Political conservatives tend to have more negative attitudes toward sexual minorities, possibly due to greater endorsement of traditional gender roles and support for the exclusivity of marriage to heterosexual couples (Baunach, 2012; McCann, 2011). Similarly, people who score lower on personality measures of openness to experience also tend to view sexual minorities more negatively (Barron et al., 2008). Often, religious beliefs affect perceptions of sexual minorities (Gelbal & Duyan, 2006). For example, Muslims endorsing traditional gender roles also tend to report greater levels of antigay prejudice (Siraj, 2009).

The violation of socially- and politically-accepted gender roles within society often translates to negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (e.g., Taylor, 1983). As gender roles constitute one of the core concepts of contemporary cultures, it may be unsurprising that people perceive an absence of conformity to these gender roles as evidence of homosexuality (Ulrichs, 1994), which is subsequently evaluated as something negative.

Perceptions of Sexual Orientation

Although sexual orientation is considered perceptually ambiguous (i.e., has few visible markers differentiating the groups; Rule et al., 2007), research in Western cultures has demonstrated that sexual orientation, like other distinctions (e.g., sex, skin color, age, and political orientation), can be perceived with accuracy that exceeds chance guessing. Ambady Hallahan, & Conner, (1999) demonstrated that sexual orientation could be perceived from brief videos of gay and straight North Americans speaking about work-life balance. They found that people accurately estimated sexual orientation from videos of targets as short as one second and that perceivers' accuracy remained significantly greater than chance even when the participants viewed only still frames from the videos. Furthermore, judgments of grayscale photographs of faces can provide sufficient information to accurately judge sexual orientation (Rule, Ambady, Adams, & Macrae, 2007) and additional testing showed that even individual facial features (e.g., eyes) provide enough information to judge sexual orientation accurately across a multitude of Western nations (Rule, Ambady, et al., 2008; Tskhay , Feriozzo, & Rule, 2013; Valentova, Kleisner, Havlíček, & Neustupa, 2014).

Initial studies found that North American undergraduates needed as little as 40 ms to view a face in order to accurately judge the target's sexual orientation (Rule, Ambady, & Hallett, 2009). Moreover, this accuracy did not significantly improve when participants were given more viewing time (Rule & Ambady, 2008). When instructed to think carefully about their judgments, however, participants were significantly less accurate than when basing their assessment on first impressions (Rule, Ambady, & Hallett, 2009). These studies suggest that others' sexual orientation may be evaluated unconsciously. Supporting this view, one series of

studies found that American perceivers were not able to estimate their accuracy in judging sexual orientation (Rule et al., 2008). This absence of awareness supports the nonconscious nature of the judgments. In an even stronger test, researchers asked American university students to decide whether strings of letters presented on a computer screen were words or non-words (Meyer & Schvaneveldt, 1971). One-quarter of the strings presented were words relating to stereotypes about heterosexual men (e.g., *truck*), another quarter were words relating to stereotypes about gay men (e.g., *rainbow*), and the remaining half were letter scrambles (Rule, Macrae, & Ambady, 2009). Before each string, the participants saw a photo of either a gay or straight face appear for 100 ms. Thus, if perception of sexual orientation is automatic, gay and straight faces should facilitate processing of gay and straight concepts, respectively. Indeed, the participants reacted faster to gay- and straight-related words following the presentation of gay and straight faces. The perceptions of the faces therefore triggered thoughts about the targets' sexual orientations (Collins & Loftus, 1975), leading to faster processing of related words.

To examine the consequences of automatically processing sexual orientation, Rule et al. (2007) capitalized on the phenomenon of the ingroup memory advantage wherein people remember members of their ingroup better than members of the outgroup (Meissner & Brigham, 2001). This is believed to occur because perceivers allocate more attention to ingroup members than outgroup members (Rodin, 1987). Consistently, Rule et al. found that straight male students remembered straight faces better than gay faces, whereas gay participants remembered gay and straight faces equally well; thus, attending to both groups. Importantly, these data show not only that sexual orientation is processed automatically but also that the initial categorization of sexual orientation can affect attention and memory,

Following the cross-culturally prevalent inversion hypothesis whereby gays and lesbians are thought to be men and women trapped in opposite-sex bodies (Kite & Deaux, 1987), studies have examined how targets' masculinity affects perceptions of their sexual orientation. Research examining participants' judgments of sound recordings, photographs, and brief videos have not only replicated the previous effects of accuracy in judging sexual orientation, but have also demonstrated that perceptions of gender typicality may mediate this accuracy (e.g., Rieger, Linsenmeier, Gygax, Garcia, & Bailey, 2010). In these studies, gay men were perceived as more feminine and lesbian women as more masculine than heterosexual men and women, respectively. Indeed, individuals who walked in a sex-atypical manner were more likely to be judged as gay or lesbian, which they largely were (Johnson, Gill, Reichman, & Tassinary, 2007). Gender typicality in children even predicts adult sexual orientation (Rieger, Linsenmeier, Gygax, & Bailey, 2008). Additionally, studies have examined the perception of masculinity and sex atypicality from faces, again finding that gender atypicality tends to be an accurate predictor of who is gay and lesbian both in North America and the Czech Republic (Freeman, Johnson, Ambady, & Rule, 2010; Valentova & Havlíček, 2013). Comparing the two cultures, Valentova, Rieger, Havlíček, Linsenmeier, & Bailey (2011) observed that sexual orientation can be accurately extracted from facial cues. Although Valentova et al. found that people were better at making these perceptions from the faces of targets from their own culture, Rule, Ishii, Ambady, Rosen, & Hallett (2011) did

not find such differences in a comparison of targets and perceivers from the USA, Spain, and Japan. Rather, judgments of sexual orientation from men's faces from all three cultures did not differ in accuracy regardless of the culture of the person making the judgment. Instead, they did find a significant tendency whereby perceivers were more likely to categorize targets as gay as a function of the extent to which homosexuality was accepted by their culture (see Rule, 2011, for similar results for different racial groups within North America). Related to this, another study found that Italians who reported greater familiarity with sexual minorities tended to be more accurate at perceiving sexual orientation (Brambilla, Riva, & Rule, 2013).

In addition to the research in psychology on perceptions of sexual orientation, work in linguistics has examined perceptions of sexual orientation from speech cues. In one early study conducted in the USA, Linville (1998) presented participants with five straight and five gay voices and found that sexual orientation was perceived more accurately than chance guessing. Further examination showed that gay and straight men differed in their pronunciation of the sound associated with the letter *s*. Other research has documented that pitch variability may cue sexual orientation (Gaudio, 1994). In Canada, Rendall, Vasey, & McKenzie (2008) found that gay men spoke more like straight women and that lesbians spoke more like straight men. Similarly, one non-English study showed that raters were able to accurately perceive sexual orientation from Czech speakers, lending cross-linguistic support to these effects (Valentova & Havlíček, 2013). Congregating across modalities of perception and expression, there seems to be a strong case for the validity of gender inversion in predicting the accurate judgment of sexual orientation, at least in North America and Eastern Europe. However, it should not be assumed that gender inversion is the only mechanism responsible for accurate judgments of sexual orientation (Freeman et al., 2010; Tskhay & Rule, 2013a; Zimman, 2010).

Sexuality in Daily Life

Whereas many cultures show evidence of being generally more accepting of sexual minorities in the past, sexual minorities generally tend to experience a greater degree of sexual prejudice in the present day (Herek, 2000a, b). Sexual minorities and people perceived to be non-heterosexual have historically experienced harassment and violence across different contexts (Berrill, 1990) and nations (Sexual Health and Rights Project, 2007). A recent meta-analysis surveying 500,000 participants estimated that a large proportion of sexual minorities have experienced verbal harassment (55 %) or discrimination (41 %) at some point in their lives (Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012). The meta-analytic effects were consistent and strong, suggesting that sexual minorities' lives tend to be profoundly affected by sexual prejudice. These discrimination and stigmatization experiences can lead to a number of negative outcomes, such as mental and physical health issues (Lick, Durso, & Johnson, 2013). Indeed, sexual minorities tend to experience more mental, physical, and social problems than their heterosexual counterparts.

The concept of *minority stress* is at the core of the experiences that sexual minorities face in their lives (Meyer, 2003). In this framework, the consistent experience of discrimination and stigmatization from society can lead to negative attitudes and views of the self. As in Allport's (1954) early theoretical work *The Nature of Prejudice*, a minority person consistently receives messages about being abnormal, which leads to negative attitudes about the self and negative life outcomes. The idea of stress itself rests in the incongruence of identity with social standards, expectations, and environment (Meyer, 2003; Selye, 1982). Indeed, a mismatch between an individual's gender role or sexual identity and the society's expectations about behavior and sexual orientation could result in such stress.

Indeed, nonheterosexuals tend to suffer higher rates of depression, and sexual orientation-related stress and stigmatization account for a large part of this (Cochran, Mays, Alegria, Ortega, & Takeuchi, 2007; Lewis, Derlega, Griffin, & Krowinski, 2003). Furthermore, American men who reported having male partners displayed a greater lifetime prevalence of suicidal ideation and suicide attempt (Cochran & Mays, 2000; see also Mereish, O'Cleirigh, & Bradford, 2014). This relationship is expected, given that even the mere *perception* of being the target of discrimination is correlated with negative health behaviors (Pascoe & Richman, 2009).

Similar effects emerge in other cultures. For example, a large proportion of gay and bisexual individuals in Mexico City have experienced physical violence, largely because of the mismatch between their gender identity and cultural expectations (Ortiz-Hernández & Grandos-Cosme, 2006). Moreover, sexual minorities in Mexico tend to engage in more risky health behaviors (e.g., smoking; Ortiz-Hernández, Gómez Tello, & Valdés, 2009). Similar effects are found in China. Sexually stigmatized individuals are more likely to engage in sexual behaviors with a high risk for HIV infection (Nielands, Steward, & Choi, 2008). Importantly, cultural factors play a key role: concerns about family acceptance and the ability to maintain interpersonal relationships after coming out as nonheterosexual contribute strongly to the increased anxiety and felt discrimination among sexual minorities in China (Liu & Choi, 2006).

Indeed, interpersonal interactions with family members may be strained by one's sexual orientation (Herek & Capitanio, 1996). Greater levels of family rejection tend to be associated with greater levels of depression, substance abuse, unprotected sex, and suicide attempts in North American samples (Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2009; Ryan, Russell, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2010). Frost and Meyer (2012) found that sexual minorities' psychological well-being depended on the extent to which they felt connected with others. Interactions with other members of the sexual minority community may therefore have positive effects on personal well-being. However, many sexual minorities feel isolated, which is related to suicide attempts and substance abuse (Grossman & Kerner, 1998).

Relatedly, North American studies of close relationships have identified important unique aspects of gay and lesbian relationships (Klinkenberg & Rose, 1994). For example, Nardi and Sherrod, (1994) found that gay men were more likely to have sex with their friends. Unlike heterosexuals, sexual minorities report greater awareness of the social barriers that obstruct their pursuit of intimacy, which may

influence aspects of relationship formation among sexual minority group members (Frost, 2011). Nevertheless, heterosexual and same-sex couples tend to show similar amounts of relationship quality and satisfaction (Duffy & Rusbult, 1986).

Within romantic relationships, there are several important factors among sexual minorities that could have an effect on relationship quality but are rare among heterosexual couples. For example, one North American study found that same-sex partners in monogamous relationships experienced greater levels of relationship satisfaction and lower levels of tension than partners in nonmonogamous relationships (Kurdek & Schmitt, 1986). Furthermore, female same-sex couples tend to stay in relationships longer than male same-sex couples, on average (Kurdek, 1989). Internalized homophobia also shapes the relationships of sexual minorities (Herek, 2000b). Sexual orientation-related negative attitudes toward the self predicted lower relationship satisfaction levels among gay men partly because men who experienced a greater degree of internalized homophobia were more depressed, which strained their relationships (Frost & Meyer, 2009).

Perceptions of masculinity and femininity could play a role in the formation of sexual, dating, and longer-term relationships between partners. It is generally accepted that, at least in the context of same-sex male relationships, compatibility in sexual roles is important to relationship satisfaction (Kippax & Smith, 2001; Tskhay, & Rule, 2013b; Tskhay, Re, & Rule, 2014). This is evident within both Western and non-Western cultures and could be exaggerated as a function of the normative perceptions of sexes within a society. Even same-sex relationships, which can mirror traditional heterosexual roles, may reinforce the sex and gender hierarchies specified by a society (Carballo-Diéguez et al., 2004). Furthermore, one study demonstrated that men who were born in Asia were more likely to occupy receptive roles in same-sex male sexual intercourse in the USA, reinforcing the race and sexual orientation stereotypes common within Western culture (Wei & Raymond 2011). Specifically, Asian men were expected to be receptive in sexual intercourse, because they were stereotyped as feminine and submissive (Han 2008). Within the East Asian Chinese community, however, researchers found that gendered personality traits dictated sexual roles: more masculine men preferred to penetrate their partners and less masculine men preferred to be penetrated (Zheng Hart, & Zheng, 2012). Thus, these findings demonstrate that social expectations, attitudes, and beliefs about gender roles within a culture could have important and, at times, detrimental effects on relationships.

Conclusions

In the current chapter, we aimed to demonstrate (1) the incredible diversity of, and change in, the conception of sexual orientation across different cultures and time; (2) how sexual orientation is perceived in contemporary society; and (3) what effects sexual orientation has on life outcomes for sexual minorities. In doing so, we focused on different manifestations of minority sexual behavior across different

cultures (Blackwood, 2000; Sweet, 1996; Williams, 1993), which generally cast the concept of gender as primarily related to peoples' beliefs about sexuality. Indeed, prior to the emergence of the Western social system, nonheterosexual relationships and sexuality were accepted within specific roles and contexts in some cultures. Furthermore, the overall perception of sexuality was often based on concepts relating to the duality of sexes such that sexuality was intrinsically, and often spiritually, intertwined with gender. The spread of Western European cultural ideals through colonialism, however, seems to have led to a suppression of nontraditional gender roles and nonheterosexual behaviors via persecution and prejudice (Williams, 1993).

In terms of sexual prejudice (Herek, 2000a), we reviewed how contemporary societies tend to generally condemn sexual relationships between same-sex individuals. Further more, individuals with more conservative political beliefs tend to score higher on measures of antigay prejudice (Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2009). Importantly, the emergence of the link between sex, gender, and sexual orientation present in ancient and minority cultures seems also to be relevant within contemporary global society. Specifically, any person whose sexual identity does not fit the traditional dichotomy established within dichotomous views of biological sex has the potential to become a target of prejudice and discrimination. Data show that men are especially negative toward sexual minorities and that more sexist and masculine attitudes in society result in greater overall levels of sexual prejudice, which can affect the lives of sexual minorities both directly and indirectly (Herek, 2000a).

This point was largely supported in the examination of beliefs about sexual orientation and the emergence of the "inversion hypothesis" that gay men are women living in male bodies and lesbians are men inhabiting female bodies (Kite & Deaux, 1987). This notion perpetuates basic beliefs about what constitutes the essence of gender and also emerges in the cognitive processes underlying the ways in which individuals are perceived and construed (Rieger et al., 2010). Behavioral researchers have consistently found that sexual orientation can be perceived from thin slices of behavior and other minimal cues with accuracies that readily exceed what would be expected from chance guessing (Tskhay & Rule, 2013a). Variations in individuals' expressed levels of gender typicality contribute meaningfully to the accurate perceptions that people make (Johnson et al., 2007). People therefore tend to rely on gender cues to inform their judgments of sexual orientation (Freeman et al., 2010). Naturally, this poses a problem: any deviation in individuals' appearance or behavior toward that of the opposite sex could lead to the perception that one is a member of a sexual minority group (Rieger et al., 2010), potentially eliciting subsequent negative personal outcomes regardless of whether that perception is correct (Herek, 2000a).

In examining these outcomes, we elaborated on how sexual minorities tend to experience a great degree of victimization, which predicts negative outcomes such as depression, anxiety, and general psychological and physical maladjustment (Lick et al., 2013). Importantly, the nonacceptance of sexual minorities by society could be the primary reason for why sexual minority individuals report higher rates of suicidal ideation and suicide attempts (Cochran & Mays, 2000). Discrimination against

sexual minorities has been further related to substance abuse, physical health issues, and social support difficulties (Lick et al., 2013). Indeed, in one study conducted in New York City, a large proportion of the sample of sexual minorities reported feeling socially isolated: that they have a small number of friends and that this social support circle is too small (Grossman & Kerner, 1998). Social connectedness within and beyond the sexual minority community seems to increase psychological well-being, however (Frost & Meyer, 2012). Unfortunately, there is very little research examining friendships among sexual minority individuals, neither within the nonheterosexual community nor outside of it (Klinkenberg & Rose, 1994). Yet, one conclusion does seem consistently well-supported by the literature to date: a greater number of interactions with sexual minorities seems to be related to lower levels of prejudice (Herek & Capitanio, 1996). Perhaps if society becomes more diverse and sexual minorities become more visible, then the societal level of sexual prejudice will decrease.

In terms of close relationships, we described how same-sex relationships tend to be similar to heterosexual relationships (Duffy & Rusbult, 1986). However, there are notable differences in the way that sexual minorities psychologically and practically approach relationships (Nardi & Sherrod, 1994). Importantly, many same-sex couples have to face a detriment unfamiliar to heterosexuals—internalized homophobia, or negative attitudes about one's own sexual minority status that have been shown to be toxic to gay relationships (Frost & Meyer, 2009). In general, however, the literature on same-sex relationships is scant and future research should focus on sexual minorities alongside the traditional focus on heterosexuals to provide a richer understanding of the general processes involved in interpersonal interactions and relationships.

Importantly, the research literature examining sexual minorities is still fairly nascent with many questions presently left unresolved and unknown. Much of the research examining questions related to sexual orientation has been conducted in either the USA or Europe and, thus, says very little about other cultures, norms, and individual experiences. Furthermore, most of this research has focused on gay men. Examination of different groups (e.g., lesbians) would naturally challenge the assumption that all nonheterosexual identities are alike, and perhaps will introduce a greater level of diversity to research and practice. Last, and very important, the negative focus of research on sexual minorities itself is problematic—although informative, it perpetuates the idea that being nonheterosexual is detrimental to health and portends a difficult life of discrimination, stigmatization, and prejudice. In taking this perspective, researchers may overlook the positive experiences that both sexual minorities and heterosexuals have every day, and even some of the potential psychological and cultural benefits contributed by sexual minorities to society more broadly. For example, although most of the research on heterosexual relationships seems concerned with improving relationships and other positive outcomes, most of the literature on same-sex relationships has examined relationship strain, violence, and negativity. Perhaps negative attitudes or beliefs about sexual orientation have biased researchers—a serious concern that should be addressed in the future.

In sum, we suggest that, although various forms of sexual expression exist in the world and have been met with different levels of acceptance across different places and different times, sexual minority members are generally viewed negatively in contemporary global society. Part of the reason, it seems, is the predominant view that sexual orientation is a function of gender and sex. Thus, any violation of traditional sex norms tends to lead to sexual prejudice, discrimination, and negative life outcomes. Indeed, more research on sexual minorities is needed to gain a better understanding of the group dynamics and prejudiced attitudes in our contemporary gendered global society.

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Part II
Gender Across the World

Chapter 5
Housework Allocation and Gender (In)equality: The Chinese Case

Joyce Lai Ting Leong, Sylvia Xiaohua Chen and Michael Harris Bond

> More women than before are in the labour force throughout their reproductive years, though obstacles to combining family responsibilities with employment persist. (United Nations, 2000).

Gendered division of household labor is a perennial phenomenon universally observed in most human societies. Invariably, it is the women who shoulder the bulk of the burden (Mikula, 1998). Several decades of extensive research have enlightened us with specifics about the lopsided sharing between spouses (who does how much of what) as well as possible accounts of the uneven distributive outcomes (what factors lead to such a split). However, our knowledge is essentially derived from the vast body of work conducted among Western families, particularly those in the USA. For instance, in a review on household labor, Coltrane, (2000) drew on over 200 scholarly articles and books, but the focus was on North America, and only a handful of them sourced their data from non-Western countries. Such a skewed sample risks producing an imposed-etic worldview on disciplinary development of theory and knowledge (e.g., Berry, 1969; Smith, Fischer, Vignoles, & Bond, 2013).

In response, recent efforts are being made to assess the generalizability of findings from the USA to other cultural contexts. For example, in a longitudinal study with representative data from married couples in western Germany, Grunow et al. (2012) found that, though newlyweds contributed to household tasks equally, husbands' share of housework declined over the course of marriage, underscoring the role of traditional gender norms. Davis and Greenstein (2004) studied data from

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13 nations and focused primarily on gender ideology. The effects of other predictors, however, were investigated using a pan-cultural approach, i.e., on an aggregate level with scores of 13-nations total. The limitation of pan-cultural analysis is that it is subject to patterning effect (contrasting relationships of variables across cultures canceling out the effects of one another), thus rendering the findings inconclusive at the individual level (Leung & Bond, 1989). Given the predominant representation of European countries in the sample (11 out of 13), responses from the only Asian nation, Japan, might not be well accounted for in the welter of overall patterns.

Whereas housework allocation is considered a "*maturing area of study*" in the USA. (Coltrane, 2000, p. 1208), Asia, with 4.3 billion people or 60% of global population (United Nations Statistics Division, 2012), remains underexplored in the current literature of the field. It is, therefore, the intention of the present research to provide some understanding of the current situations in China, the most populous nation in the world. Specifically, our objective is to test the replicability of Western findings—in terms of both the extent of skewing workload against women as well as factors that encourage more participation by men.

Each household is a microsystem of its own, with its unique scripts of behaviors (e.g., frequency and extent of cleaning that are considered appropriate), normative expectations (e.g., roles of members in undertaking different types of chores), and familial–ecological environments (e.g., presence of children). Individuals can be conceived of as embedded in their intricate social environments, each with its unique familial structure, interpersonal relations and spousal characteristics (Coltrane, 2000). These micro-social systems are themselves embedded in a larger social system with its unique cultural heritage and contemporary environment (Bond & Lun, 2014). Especially in cultures that embrace collectivistic values (Hofstede 1980), like China, members have a more interdependent concept of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and are more attuned to the demands and needs of the group (Singelis & Brown, 1995).

Specific patterns of housework allocation are, therefore, likely to be results of not only active negotiations between spouses, but also one's responses to his/her immediate social contexts which constitute the dyad and their surrounding family. In other words, the judgment or decision on how many chores one does is not fashioned from a vacuum but rather derived from holistic considerations—when I do less, you will have to do more; I may make good money, but you earn even more, etc. The empirical implication is that couple data will have to be treated as a unit per se. Consistent with this logic, much past research (e.g., Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000; Davis & Greenstein, 2004; Greenstein, 1996, 2000; Nordenmark, 2004) investigated the split of workload between spouses rather than the absolute time or efforts that wives or husbands spent (Erickson, 2005; Sanchez, 1994).

Thus, we intend to further approach the question of housework allocation from the vantage point of dyads rather than individuals. Possible antecedents of larger skews in the split of labor will be conceived of as relational in nature (e.g., as percentages of the dyadic total or gaps between spouses) or household-level variables (e.g., presence of child). Attempts will be made to relate specific patterns in the distribution of household chores to the unique cultural environment in China.

Hopefully, this focus will help bring to light the microdynamics between marital couples from an Eastern perspective, and better unravel the persistence in imbalanced household allocation of labor.

Different Perspectives in the West

Although trend data show that gendered gap in housework distribution is narrowing in American families (Bianchi et al., 2000), on average, men still devote only a third to half of the time women do (Coltrane, 2000). Gender differences are also observed in the type of tasks divided between spouses (South & Spitze, 1994; Thompson & Walker, 1989), with women taking up the more routine and repetitive work, such as laundry, cooking, and cleaning, versus the more ad hoc and non-monotonous work by men, such as repairs and gardening.

Three main contending theories are widely documented and empirically supported in explaining such gender inequality (e.g., Amato, Johnson, Booth & Rogers, 2003; Bianchi et al., 2000; Coltrane, 2000; Davis & Greenstein, 2004; Erickson, 2005; Greenstein, 2000; Ross, 1987; Sanchez, 1994).

Time Constraint Perspective (e.g., Barnett, 1994; Presser, 1994) This is a gender- and power-neutral perspective. The central premise is that the distribution of chores is a rational process whereby more work goes to the one who can afford more time to accomplish it. The work schedule of each spouse affects their differential housework sharing (e.g., Bianchi et al., 2000; Presser, 2003).

Economic and Exchange Models There are three streams under this perspective; all positing that imbalance in housework distribution can be attributed to inequality in the couples' resources relative to one another. The divergence lies in their views of the underlying exchange. Resource-bargaining theory (e.g., Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Brines, 1993; Hersch & Stratton, 1994) regards relative resources as chips for one to use in negotiating out of doing housework. To the economic dependency theorists (e.g., Brines, 1994), the less resourceful member of the dyad has to succumb and perform more household chores in exchange for economic shelter. Last, somewhat echoing the time constraint perspective (Coltrane, 2000), the human capital theory (Becker, 1981) postulates that the couples strive to maximize utility or efficiency by division of labor with some degree of specialization (Hersch, 1991).

Gender Ideology (e.g., Blair & Johnson, 1992; Greenstein, 1996) The above two lines of thoughts both attempt to explain distributional outcomes with respect to proximal and external factors. In contrast, gender theorists (e.g., Blair & Lichter, 1991) spotlight the effects of socialization, through which beliefs in gender-segregated roles are programmed in our upbringing. Gender ideology plays a significant role in couples' division of housework (Aassve, Fuochi, & Mencarini, 2014).

In the present research, the effects of all three factors—time availability, relative resources, and gender ideology—will be examined. Indeed, based on the current

socioeconomic environment in China, we would expect them to carry different weights in influencing the sharing of housework.

Into China, with Women "Holding Up Half of Heaven"

Over 2000 years of patriarchal lineage has left China with a legacy of gender inequality. The alarming imbalance of the sex ratio in the mainland, with females accounting for 48.2% of total population (The World Bank Group, 2012), is itself a manifestation of Chinese's differential pursuit of boys over girls. Under extreme circumstances in some rural areas, male favoritism has been practiced through infanticide or selective sex abortion (Darvin, 1985). A qualitative study by Zuo and Bian (2001) corroborates the conclusion that traditional gender ideology persists in China. Both husbands and wives reportedly believed that "men's family role should be tied more to market work and women's to household responsibilities" (p. 1127).

Naturally, one would expect a lopsided distribution of domestic chores against Chinese women, as observed in the USA. The more traditional the couples are, the larger this skew is likely to be. This said, two forces that have helped shape the China we know of today lead us to believe that relative resources would have as much impact as, if not more than, gender ideology in explaining inequality in housework allocation.

The first and foremost is the reign of a socialistic regime. Founded on the mission to annihilate enslavement, the communist party rose by promising to liberate the oppressed—peasants and women alike. The value of this class revolution may be open to debate (Pimentel, 2006), but the fact is, the opportunities and mobility that modern Chinese women enjoy are quite comparable to their counterparts in the much more developed nations. Consider the following statistics in recent years: (1) In terms of labor force participation in 2011, Chinese women comprised 45% of the labor markets, as opposed to 42% in Japan and 46% in the USA; (2) With regard to education, a significant proportion of women was enrolled in tertiary education in 2010—50% in China versus 46% in Japan, although both ratios still lagged behind that of the USA (57%); (3) As an indicator of political decision making, women occupied 21.3% of parliamentary seats in Mainland China, which shines in comparison with only 10.8% in Japan and 17% in the USA in 2012 (United Nations Statistics Division, 2014). All these figures seem to suggest a loosening of the constraints on traditional gender role for Chinese females.

In fact, under the one-child policy, contemporary Chinese society simply cannot afford extreme forms of gender segregation. Instead, sons and daughters are both obliged to contribute to family finances. This socialization outcome will be especially crucial given the aging population. A child, male and female alike, has to support not only their parents but also possibly grandparents. "Little emperors" are all groomed to achieve. Scholars such as Hong (1987) also argue that the low fertility rate ensued by the one-child policy actually frees up women from heavy childbearing responsibilities and permits more participation in the labor force. In

other words, it has become both more desirable and feasible for women to pursue success in career, thus weakening the binding power of gender role ideology to keep them at home (see also Wang & Chang, 2010).

Another major macroforce in the modern Chinese society is economic growth. China has been Asia's fastest growing economy for the past 30 years, with its annual growth sustained at well over 7% (The World Bank Group, 2012). Ingrained in the Chinese culture and its children is a drive to succeed (Bond & Lun, 2014; Redding & Hsiao, 1990). A favorable economic climate is likely to reinforce this achievement orientation and steer individuals toward sharing this economic growth. Evidence can be found on various fronts. Researchers studying youth trend in China found "a fast-growing materialism, functionalism, utilitarianism, and consumerism…. The 'power of money' is defeating other forces and becoming a well-received norm in guiding personal choices and social behaviors" (Wang, 2006, p. 234). In a study of perceived risks, Xie, Wang, & Xu (2003) also found that Chinese cared about economic crisis (ranked 3rd, after nuclear war, national turmoil and war) more than moral degradation (5th). Moreover, the level of concern about broken families (26th) was much lower compared to those about specific economic issues, such as inflation (12th), low income (15th), and house shortage (24th). Parallel to these views are verbatim quotes from in-depth interviews by Zuo and Bian (2001): "we two [husband and wife] are both obliged to contribute to the family," and "whoever could bring in more earnings should do so" (p. 1127).

Our Proposed Model

The aforementioned considerations lead us to lean toward Becker's (1981) human capital theory, positing that chores are distributed with an intention to maximize the total economic gain of the household. In the present research, we tested a model of housework distribution comprising three sets of predictors: time constraint (percentage of weekly work hours), relative resources (percentage of household income, and gap in education), and family ecology (ideological environment, and length of marriage). Specifically, we hypothesize that relative income, the most direct translation of financial power, would have a stronger impact than other resource indicators such as education, as well as time availability which itself is likely to be a covariate of one's earning power (Hypothesis 1).

Integrating different perspectives from the West, we would also predict that two characteristics of the dyad would affect housework distribution in China. First, the presence of a child usually means more chores to care for, which would keep mothers at home for longer (Coltrane, 2000; Kühhirt, 2012). The consequence is reduced commitment to and involvement with paid work, thus exacerbating the wife's gap in earnings from their husbands. Thus, having a child would decrease the wife's paid work hours and thus increase her share of housework (Hypothesis 2a). In time, both men and women could settle into their own gender-segregated roles. In other words, the skew in the split of household labor would further widen down the course of

one's marriage, so that the longer a couple is married, the larger share of workload the wife will do (Hypothesis 2b).

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were married couples in Shanghai and Guangzhou, two of the main cities in Mainland China. Interviewers were dispatched to approach households in the community via random sampling. Those couples who were willing to take part in the study were given a self-completion questionnaire for the husband and another for the wife. To ensure data independence, the couples were instructed to fill in their parts simultaneously, but at two physically different locations. The interviewers stayed throughout the whole process to remind them to refrain from communicating with each other.

A total of 188 dyads were obtained, including 92 couples in Shanghai and 96 in Guangzhou. They were drawn from different urban districts in the two cities, thus ensuring a proper geographic dispersion. To allow for cross-city comparison, loose income quotas were set to largely follow that of the population distribution. To ensure sufficient sample yield for assessment of the effects of life stages, the samples in both cities were controlled to include a fair spread in length of marriage—evenly split among the newly-wed (less than 1 year), those married 1–5 years, 5–10 years, and over 10 years. As household size was a likely confound, only nuclear families were included in this study, i.e., participants were not living with their parents or other relatives. Couples who had external help with their housework, either by hired workers or relatives, were also excluded.

Measures

Pattern of Housework Allocation Ten items were adapted and elaborated from the past literature to assess housework allocation (e.g., Greenstein, 1996; South & Spitze, 1994). They were commonly measured in most research about household chores, and we selected them based on their applicability and relevance to Chinese context. Sample items include "laundry and ironing," "cooking," and "dish washing." Housework tasks not applicable to our urban context were omitted, such as mowing the lawn. Responses were rated on 5-point Likert scales: 1 = wife all the time, 2 = often wife; 3 = equal; 4 = often husband; 5 = husband all the time (as in Davis & Greenstein, 2004).

Time Spent on Housework Participants were asked to estimate the approximate total number of hours that they themselves as well as their spouse spent per week on ten

household tasks (e.g., "Approximately how many hours did you spend per week on doing the above household chores in the past six months?"). Estimation of weekly hours is the standard way to assess the household division of labor in the National Survey of Families and Households in the USA (NSFH; Sweet & Bumpass, 2002), from which many researchers have drawn their data for analysis (e.g., Bianchi et al., 2000; South & Spitze, 1994).

Time Constraint Although the time constraint perspective and the economic and exchange models both explain housework distribution from a relational angle, not many empirical studies treat their predictor variables in this way, except when dealing with income (e.g., Bianchi et. al., 2000; Greenstein, 1996; South & Spitze, 1994). In this study, we asked participants to report the number of hours they spent working for their job (i.e., "time you spent working for your job").

Relative Resources Relative resources were assessed by two indicators: percentage of household income and gap in education. For the first indicator, participants reported their own monthly personal income and the number of hours they spent on paid jobs per week. Researchers usually measure wives' relative earnings or employment hours as their relative resources (e.g., Brines, 1994; Sorenson & McLanahan, 1987). In this study, relative shares were calculated by dividing the dyadic total by the wives' contribution (for relative income of women: mean = 35%; $SD = 0.18$; for relative time spent on paid work by women: mean = 40%; $SD = 0.23$).

For the second indicator, education was classified by a system of three levels: 1 = up to junior high school ($n = 32$ for husbands; $n = 156$ for wives); 2 = up to senior high school or technical institute ($n = 148$ and 139, respectively); 3 = universities or above ($n = 8$ and 4, respectively). The gaps between spouses were recorded into a 3-point scale (as in Davis & Greenstein, 2004): +1 = wife had greater educational attainment ($n = 14$), 0 = equal ($n = 143$), −1 = husband had greater educational attainment ($n = 31$).

Gender Ideology Gender role ideology was measured using the traditionalism–equalitarianism instrument which included five statements, three of which were extracted from the aforementioned NSFH (Sweet & Bumpass, 2002), which is a large-scale, longitudinal study with national samples and commonly used measures. The items include "It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family"; "Parents should encourage just as much independence from their daughters as their sons"; and "Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed." In the NSFH scale, one item is phrased in the context of household division. To avoid confounding, it was dropped in this study, and replaced with two others that were developed by Ross (1987) for tapping into the same construct: "It is more important for a husband to have a good job than for a wife to have a good job"; and "By nature, women are happiest making a home and caring for children." As in the NSFH, participants rated their agreement on these six items using a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The reliability of this scale was satisfactory: Cronbach's alpha for wives = 0.74 (mean = 3.52, $SD = 0.75$); for husbands = 0.67 (mean = 3.72, $SD = 0.68$).

Control Variable Presence of child was a dichotomous variable: $0 = \text{No}(n = 48); 1 = \text{Yes}(n = 140)$. These 188 couples were married for an average of 6.8 years $(SD = 5.61; \text{range} = 0.08 - 21)$.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

As suggested by past comparative research (Lee & Waite, 2005), answers given by husbands and wives often differ in their report on time spent on housework, and both tend to overestimate their own contribution. This said, the correlations between self-report and spouse-report data in this study were quite high, $r_{(187)} = 0.58$ for the time spent by wives and $r_{(187)} = 0.40$ for the time spent by husbands, both significant at $p < .05$. Data reported by the two parties were then averaged to give a balanced measure of the time each spent on housework every week. The dependent variable (DV), the level of skew in shares, was operationalized as the weekly hours spent by the wife as a proportion of the dyadic weekly total of the household (see Table 5.1 for detailed statistics).

As for gender ideology, the scores between husbands and wives were significantly correlated, $r_{(187)} = 0.45$, $p < .01$. To form a composite measure of the ideological environment of the dyad, the two scores were aggregated so that the higher they were, the more traditional their joint mindset tended to be.

Assessing the Pattern of Housework Allocation

The split between spouses on the ten household chores is summarized in Fig. 5.1. In a nutshell, the results indicated a predominant skew against women who were the main caretakers on nine out of the ten tasks measured, including the more tedious and mechanical chores, such as dish washing and house cleaning, as well as the more nurturing and person-oriented tasks, such as caring for children and tutoring their homework. As in the West, men were mainly in charge of repair works.

Table 5.1 Descriptive Statistics of the Couples' Time Spent on Housework

	Weekly hours of housework done by			
	Wives		Husbands	
N=188	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*
Reported by wives	17.97	10.23	8.97	6.52
Reported by husbands	16.14	9.01	11.05	13.13
Correlation—r	0.58**		0.40*	
Couple average	17.06	8.56	10.01	8.40

* p<.05; ** p<.01

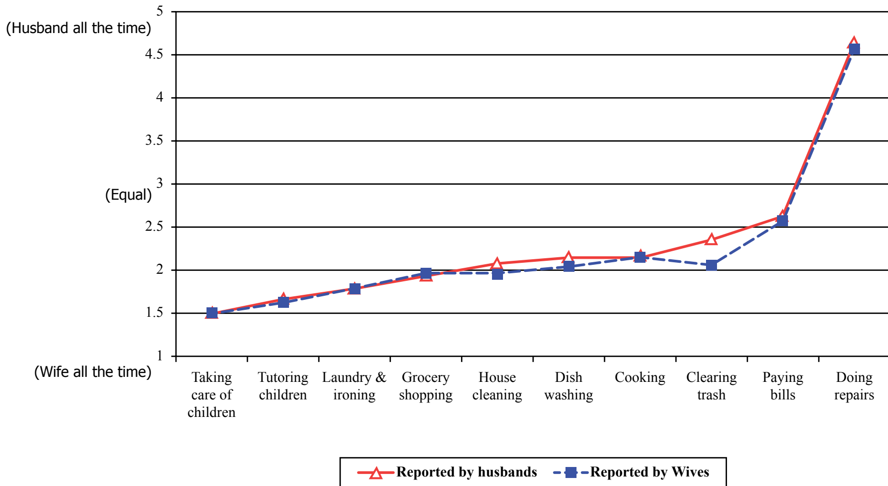

Fig. 5.1 Pattern of housework allocation (mean scores)

Whether reported by the husbands or the wives, a similar profile of housework sharing was observed. To test for statistical significance, a 10 (housework tasks) $\times$ 2 (self-report versus spouse-report) repeated measures ANOVA was conducted. The DV was the split between spouses. While the effect of allocation across tasks was significant, $F_{(9179)} = 251.29$, $p < .001$, the difference between self- and spouse-reported data was marginally significant, $F_{(1187)} = 3.45, p = .07$. In other words, spouses were in agreement regarding the inequitable allocation against women.

On average, wives accounted for 64% of the total time that the dyad spent on household $(SD = 0.19;\ \text{range}: 11-100\%)$, i.e., double the share of their husbands.

Testing the Proposed Model

A path analysis was conducted using EQS. The results were affirmative, with all the goodness-of-fit indices well above satisfactory levels (Bentler, 1992). The chi-square was at $\chi^2_{(13)} = 15.61$, which was not significant at $\alpha = 0.05$. The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) was 0.99, clearly passing the normative requirement of > 0.9. The Root Mean-Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) was 0.03, even better than the $0.05 - 0.08$ normative range of reasonable fit. The final model with the standardized path coefficients is summarized in Fig. 5.2.

Of the five hypothesized predictors, only relative income (with a standardized coefficient of −.22) and length of marriage (0.20) were found to have significant impacts on the proportion of housework that the wives shouldered. These findings aligned with our predictions that shares of housework would decrease with higher relative income (H1) and that a larger skew in labor against women would be observed further down the course of one's marriage (H2b).

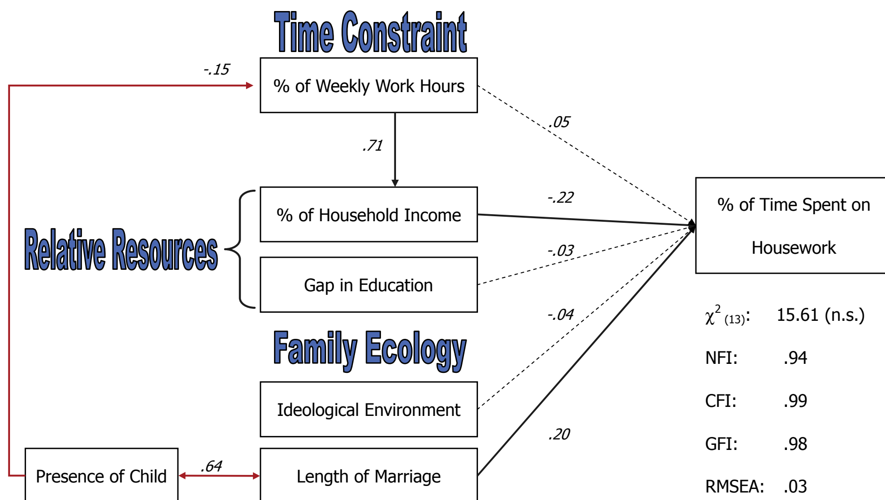

Fig. 5.2 Final model of housework allocation

Proportion of weekly work hours was strongly associated with one's relative income (0.71), but its direct effect on the DV was not significant. Follow-up regression analysis showed that on its own, proportion of weekly work hours significantly predicted proportion of time spent on housework (standardized $\beta = -0.22, p < .01$). The lack of significant result under the presence of relative income in the model indicated a mediating effect.

As expected, presence of child could lead to reduction in wives' work hours, supporting H2a, and was a covariate of length of marriage.

Contrary to our conceptualizations, neither the effects of gaps in education nor the gender ideology environment were significant. To gauge whether this lack of effect was a function of the relational nature of the variables, separate regression analyses were conducted using the same DV but the absolute scores of the two IVs instead. The results were equally negative. The regression model with the husbands' and wives' education had an adjusted R^2 of 0.09, $F_{(1,187)} = 0.80, p = 0.45$. The results were similar for gender ideology: adjusted $R^2 = 0.09, F_{(1187)} = 0.78, p = 0.46$.

Discussion

The results lend support to the economic and exchange model such that relative earning, or economic power, matters in deciding the outcome for the distribution of household labor in China. It also adds to our understanding that the effects of time constraint can be mediated through this pathway of economics. Surprisingly, gender ideology was not found to be a significant predictor.

The non-significance of gender ideology in the present study is inconsistent with the cross-national patterns in Europe (Aassve et al., 2014), which confirmed the important role of gender ideology. Perhaps, in a strongly practical cultural environment as in China (Bond & Lun, 2014), it is almost a default position that wives have to shoulder the bulk of chores regardless of one's personal beliefs or ideals. A study by McKeen and Bu (2005) indicated a similar discrepancy between hopes and reality. In both China and Canada, the majority of the students interviewed hoped for equality in housework sharing. There was a difference of only 5 % points between the two countries in this respect. However, the difference widened to about 20 % points with regard to their expectations of actually achieving such equality in the future. People in cultures endorsing egalitarian gender norms have a more egalitarian gender ideology than those in relatively conservative cultures (Bond & Lun, 2014; Nordenmark, 2013).

In other words, perhaps gender role ideology operates as a background context to prescribe an inequitable baseline. Other individual factors such as relative resources then come into play to either accentuate such skew (when wives earn much less than their husbands) or diminish it (in reverse conditions). Quek and Knudson-Martin (2006) found in their in-depth interviews with Singaporean couples that women still uphold traditional ideals and accept housekeeping as their obligation. However, in situations where family duties clash with their career demands, the priority goes to paid work. Thus, distal factors such as gender ideology may set the stage, but other proximal factors, such as national levels of practicality versus civility (Bond & Lun, 2014), bear a stronger influence on tilting the eventual outcome.

The skewed pattern in housework could be the dyads' response to maximize their gain as a household because women are more confined to lower wages and enjoy less promising jobs in general (Pimentel 2005). If this is true, the ultimate solution in striving for equality at home is not just promotion of more liberal thinking but greater equality at work. Improved gender equality will enhance women's general well-being (Mencarini & Sironi, 2012).

Length of marriage was found to have a significant, positive relationship with the level of skew in labor sharing. The fact that it was not significantly correlated with either relative income or gender role ideology clears both as possible confounds. Apart from our hypothesis that this is due to a distillation effect whereby husbands and wives each become more and more settled in their own roles, there can be a plausible cohort effect. Maybe, as China has opened up its market in recent years, its society, in general, has become more liberal in terms of household sharing. Couples getting married more recently thus operate from a more equitable baseline than those who did so when the society was more confined. Further investigation will be warranted as the interventions implied are different for different putative causes.

Limitations and Future Studies

Despite the satisfactory goodness-of-fit, the model of this study is built using cross-sectional data, which has hampered our ability to infer causality. The results, therefore, need to be verified through longitudinal tracking.

The current path model is parsimonious and allows us to compare the strength of effects of the predictors concerned. However, it does not take into account the possibilities of curvilinear relationships or “tipping points”—the levels of relative income or length of marriage when actual equality is reached. These could be interesting topics to pursue in future.

Scholars have maintained that inequitable shares of labor do not necessarily lead to low marital satisfaction or poor relationship quality (e.g., Barstad, in press; Mikula, 1998). It is through an attribution of blame and a sense of injustice that the effects of imbalance in work reverberate beyond other aspects of one’s marriage. It is, therefore, worth exploring in the future whether or not Chinese women feel mistreated, or how they subjectively appraise the current splits in labor as well as what keeps them from struggling for a more balanced outcome if perceived reality strays too far from their ideals.

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Chapter 6
From Atatürk to Erdoğan: Women in Modern Turkey

Gunes N. Zeytinoglu and Richard F. Bonnabeau

"Any nation which sets back women will fall behind".
Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

Introduction

This qualitative study aims to add to the current knowledge of the study of women extracted from personal experiences, opinions, and perspectives of a selected group of working women in Turkey. Despite significant reforms and Turkey's rapid ascent as a major emerging market economy, this Muslim nation of 76 million people ranks 120 among 136 other countries in the World Economic Forum global gender gap index (2013). In terms of labor force participation and opportunity, Turkey ranks 127 (WEF, 2013).

Working women face significant challenges at every level of employment. Much of these are related to the growing cultural conservatism of Turkish society. A review of journal articles, scholarly books, other related reports, including the review of the transcripts and notes generated by the interviews indicate the extent of the challenges faced by women pursuing employment in the arenas of work still dominated by men and traditional values. These women—diverse in educational backgrounds, social status, types of employment, and regions of Turkey—address a range of themes that are pertinent to understanding what it means to be a working woman in this nation approaching its 100th year as a secular republic.

Among these themes are the changing nature of norms and values as they relate to the traditional structure of Turkish culture (e.g., Carkoglu & Kalaycioglu, 2009; Berkman & Ozen, 2008; Dorfman, Javindan, Hanges, Dastmalchian, & House,

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2012; Fikret-Pasa, Kabasakal, & Bodur, 2001; Kabasakal & Bodur, 1998); the duality of women's expected roles as governed by relatively low gender egalitarianism (e.g., Aycan, 2004; Hofstede, 1980; Fikret-Pasa et al., 2001); the opportunities for advancement and the challenges faced in work life (e.g., Adler, Brody, & Osland, 2000), and perceptions about being a woman in Turkey.

After providing a brief historical overview of the status of women and radical secular reforms following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the chapter briefly discusses reforms in gender equality as they have evolved in more recent times and during a period when Turkey is becoming more culturally conservative. This serves as the contextual platform for the narratives selected by the authors to illustrate the issues and themes covered in this chapter.

Historical Review of Gender Inequality in Turkey

In 1923, what remained of the Ottoman Empire after the disastrous defeat of the First World War became the Republic of Turkey. As the head of the Republican People's Party and Turkey's first president, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Father Turk), who had led a successful 3 year war of liberation against the Allied occupation, initiated a multipronged secular reformation. This included the abolition of the Ottoman dynasty, which had become a puppet government of the Allied powers, and the separation of religion from government and politics (Mango, 1999).

Atatürk and his Republican People's Party emancipated Turkish women from *shari-a* (Islamic sacred) law. From 1924 to 1934, a series of gender reforms based on the Swiss Civil Code provided women wide-ranging rights—from expanding opportunities for education and the abolition of polygamy, to inheritance rights and voting in local and national elections. In the process, the Republic created an image of Turkish women that was secular and decidedly Western (Tuna, 2012). The reforms, however, had responded to the demands of an elite group of politicized women who had supported Atatürk and the revolution and not Turkish women in general. The reforms did not aim at upending the patriarchal structure of Turkish society, especially in the rural and remote regions of the country, but they could reach women of the middle and upper classes, especially the urban bourgeoisie, which was an essential part of the plan to set the country on the path to modernization (Cosar, 2007; Culpan & Marzotto, 1982; Kandiyoti, 1987). Beginning in the 1980s, Atatürk's secular reformation of a half century before was viewed by feminists as yet another form of subordination—a state-controlled feminism that defined women as mothers or suited otherwise for the nurturing professions such as teaching—was challenged by the rise of feminists movements (Durakbasa & Ilyasolgu, 2001).

In 1980, a military coup and its short-lived regime ignored the growing women's movement, which in itself was a response to the coup, while it focused on terrorism and political extremism (Bodur, 2005). To counter the threat of communism, the generals restored Islam to serve as a religious bulwark against the Soviets. The election of a civilian government of Prime Minister Turgut Ozal (1983–1989) intensified the country's connections to market capitalism, as well as the cultural

forces of globalism, that ultimately laid the foundations for Turkey's ascent as a major emerging market in the first decade of the twenty-first century (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). During Ozal's administration, feminists employed the first massive demonstration to protest domestic violence.

Of particular importance among Ozal's initiatives was the signing of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1985—a necessary first step to revive Turkey's dormant application for membership in the European Union. These developments supported by growing feminist movements, including Islamist women and mounting civil society activism, established an agenda for a national dialog to address long-ignored gaps in gender equality as Turkey moved forward to qualify for EU admission (Gunduz, 2004; Ince, 2013).

Sociocultural and Psychological Contexts of Gender Inequality

While Turkey pursued a new path of economic development, it headed also in a more culturally conservative and less secular direction. This has been referred to by Carkoglu and Kalaycioglu, as a "rising tide of conservatism," a phenomenon that includes religiosity and other cultural dimensions (2009). Beginning in the 1950s, the mechanization of agriculture resulted in massive waves of rural migrants with patriarchal values of gender crowding into Turkish cities. The migration accelerated in the 1980s. These values in turn were augmented by Islamic revivalism that began during the anti-Soviet military regime of the 1980s (Carkoglu & Kalaycioglu, 2009; Goksel, 2013).

We see conservatism in the behavior of secular male managers who have traditional values about women being more psychologically suited as nurturers rather than as managers (Celikten, 2005; Burke, Koyuncu, Singh, Alayoglu, & Koyuncu, 2012). These values are professed by Turkish university male undergraduates (Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2002) and among both male and female undergraduates having a higher commitment to religion, which is correlated with increased negative attitudes about women working (Sevim, 2006). We see conservatism expressed in violence against women, both physical and psychological. These behaviors are culturally entrenched dimensions of male hegemony and are so prevalent that they are considered a public health problem (Buken & Sahinoglu, 2006). Economic violence against women takes many forms, including patriarchal norms that prohibit women from working to safeguard their traditional roles as wives and mothers; the lack of social security and union representation; wages below the legal limit, unsafe working conditions; and sexual harassment (Kumbetoglu, User, & Alpincer, 2010; Akman & Coskuner, 2011).

The "rising tide of conservatism" included highly organized and politically active Islamist women opposed to statist secularism. They supported a growing conservative political movement, which in 2002 brought the pro-Islamist and moderate Justice and Development Party (AKP) into power. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Recep Tayip Erdoğan, the AKP fused Islamic, traditional, and secular values with a commitment to economic liberalism (Donmez, 2013).

The AKP followed through with its campaign pledge to have Turkey join the EU by supporting a series of reforms—civil, penal, and constitutional—many addressing women's rights, to allay fears that it was not a moderate party (Donmez, 2013). Among these measures are a constitutional amendment making national law subordinate to CEDAW in derivative legal conflicts related to gender policy, the equality of men and women before the law; strengthening the penal code as it relates to honor killings; and improving equal access to employment, including equal pay for equal work, benefits and pension plans, etc. But as the 2012 European Parliament's gender equality report notes, legislation is not enough—a "social transformation" is needed to implement reforms in the face of strongly held traditional values and norms regarding women (Directorate-General, 2012). In this regard, the present government despite a vigorous commitment to gender-based legislative reforms has promoted a national message steeped in Islamic conservatism that the proper role for women is one of serving as wives and mothers. This position runs contrary to reformist Islamic women many of whom support the AKP and see no Koranic contradiction between motherhood and being gainfully employed (Marshall, 2005; Somer, 2007).

The current research done on women's status in Turkey refers to their world of conflict and emotional challenges in the male-dominated workplace as well as the family relations and social behaviors (e.g., Atik & Sahin, 2012; Aycan, 2004; Kabasakal, Aycan, Karakas, & Maden, 2004; Koyuncu, 2014).

The following section covers a qualitative study that aims to add to the current knowledge of the study of women extracted from personal experiences, opinions, and perspectives of a selected group of working women in Turkey.

Research on Working Women in Turkey: Their Own Voices

The research presented here provides new qualitative evidence about the status of women from the perspective of a group of individuals employed in a variety of sectors of the economy. The information gathered from the respondents provides insightful perspectives—shaped by opinions, feelings, experiences, and perceptions—about being a woman and working in twenty-first century Turkey.

Methodology

Participants Sixteen working women were interviewed (Table 6.1) for the purpose of this study. The selection was based on age diversity, employment sectors, and socioeconomic status. Of the respondents, 11 resided in Eskisehir, an ancient but rapidly developing middle Anatolian city, in close proximity to major urban centers. Three lived in Istanbul, the largest metropolis of Turkey; two lived in Kars, a mid-sized historical city in Eastern Turkey that is close to the Armenian border. One respondent, a Romanian immigrant and a convert to Islam, was included to provide

Table 6.1 Profile of interview respondents

AC	Age 31. BS degree. Owns business as a certified accountant. Married. Resides in Eskisehir
BE	Age 46. Self-employed. Owns a beauty salon. Discontinued her tertiary education. Divorced twice with the same man. Single and resides with her daughter in Eskisehir
F/C	Age 58. BS degree in architecture. Worked as a middle and top-level executive in the finance sector, currently partner of consulting company. Divorced twice, single, and resides in Istanbul
F1	Age 46. Branch manager at a national bank. High School graduate. Married, resides in Eskisehir
F2	Age 37. Branch manager at a national bank. BS degree. Married, resides in Eskisehir
HE1	Age 59. Professor at a state university. PhD in economics. Lives in Eskisehir. Divorced, has two kids, resides in Eskisehir
HE2	Age 38. Asst. professor at a state university, PhD in management. Divorced, resides in Eskisehir
HE3	Age 39. Lecturer at a state university. BS degree. Divorced, resides in Istanbul
HL	Age 55. Self-employed, runs a pharmacy. Married, resides in Eskisehir
IN	Age 39. Works for a large-sized high-tech company. BS degree. Married, resides in Eskisehir
LA1	Age 42. Employee at a public institution. Elementary education. Married, resides in Eskisehir with her husband and their daughter
LA2	Age 45. Works as a housekeeper at four different locations. Elementary education. Born in eastern Europe, converted to Islam after she migrated to Turkey, and is married to a Muslim. Resides in Istanbul
LO1	Age 38. Works as a housekeeper at a small-sized hotel. Married, born and lives in Kars
LO2	Age 24. Works as a receptionist at a middle-sized hotel. BS degree. Single, born in Ankara, and resides in Kars
RE	Age 50. Co-preneur of a restaurant business. Has an associate's degree in health. Married. Considers herself a conservative Muslim. Resides in Eskisehir
SE	Age 28. Teacher at a high school. MS in management. Married and resides in Eskisehir

AC accountancy, *BE* beautician, *F/C* finance/consultancy, *F* finance, *HE* higher education, *HL* health, *IN* industry, *LA* labor work, *LO* lodging, *RE* restaurant, *SE* secondary education

a valuable but limited multicultural dimension. The participants ranged from 24 to 59 years of age. In regard to levels of education, 12 had university degrees, and of this number two earned graduate degrees and two earned PhDs. Of the remainder, one completed high school, and three had just elementary education. Marital status included one respondent who never married, three who had divorced, one who divorced twice, one who was divorced but had been married twice to the same man, and ten who were married at the time of the interviews. The respondents worked in education, health, finance, food and lodging, manual labor, and beauty sectors.

For confidentiality, the identity of the respondents and their institutions/companies has been omitted. The sectors, jobs, titles, and participants' responsibilities are noted in Table 6.1. The participants in this chart are sequenced by sector.

Data Collection and Analysis This is a qualitative study based on in-depth semi-structured interviews. The emphasis during the interviews was on collecting the participants' opinions, narratives, comments, and learning from their experiences. The interview questionnaire was prepared by the authors primarily in English and translated into Turkish. The open-ended questions were designed to inquire about the demographic profile, family type and roles, work conditions and work attitudes, work–family balance, opportunities for advancement in work life, and general perspectives about being a woman in Turkey. These topics were predetermined resilient themes of the data analysis stage. The questionnaire was tested separately on two working women from Eskisehir and Istanbul, two socially and economically differentiated cities, followed by a discussion about the suitability and purposefulness of the questions. The questionnaire was revised based on the feedback from these two women who did not participate in the interviews. Subsequently, 11 working women were interviewed face-to-face; five were sent the questionnaires via email and contacted by phone for follow-up on their responses. The average duration for face-to-face interviews was 2 h and for the phone calls 25 min. All face-to-face interviews and phone calls were taped. Also, brief notes were taken by the researcher both during the interviews and the phone calls, as well as during the transcription of recorded data.

The data generated from the interviews, phone calls, and research notes were organized and categorized through a descriptive content analysis. First, the transcripts of the recordings and the notes taken were reviewed separately, then combined into one text for each respondent. In the following step, the whole data set was read and the unnecessary repetitions of the words were eliminated (Elliot & Timulak, 2005) while paying utmost attention to not deleting any usable data. The next stage covered the horizontal review of the refined data to decide the common key responses to be placed under the predetermined main categories of family type and roles, work conditions and work attitudes, work–family balance, opportunities for advancement in work life, and about being a woman in Turkey. Finally, during the condensed review and discussion of the data by both authors, the subthemes emerged and the relevant narrative segments were included in the results.

Results

Family Values and Roles

The respondents were asked about their family values, roles of family members, and how they perceived their own social and economic status. The responses about family values were multifaceted. Most of the respondents came from traditional families but most were exposed to a mix of secular and conservative values, including the middle-aged women who were educated in Western-oriented institutions.

A notable result from the interviews is that all of the respondents, except *LA2*, claimed to have economic and social independence, which they conceived as part

of a modern family life. *AC* noted that she is the offspring of a secular family and free of any economic dependence on her husband who comes from a traditional Turkish family. Nevertheless, as a secular Muslim, she described herself "loyal to her religious values." *RE* came from a conservative family and she described herself as a conservative Muslim. She is among a large percentage of Islamist women who see no conflict in finding fulfillment by working outside the home. Despite her traditional family values, she emphasized that she supports her daughter's education at a secular high school in Istanbul, far away from home. She stated:

> Each one of us in the family has a monthly budget and we spend it as we wish…. I fast, I pray daily, but I also read a lot and socialize with my friends.

Regarding family values, *HE1*, born and raised in Mardin, a southeastern Turkish city in Anatolia, came from a conservative family. As a bride, she and her husband had been living together for just four months when she decided to get a divorce. It took 3 years for the court to end the marriage. In her words:

> He was psychologically abusive. I believed that it could have easily turned into physical violence.

She mentioned also the negative image of divorced women that she has experienced in her social life and her place of work. She believed that her social standing would be higher if she were to marry—"a ring makes a big difference." She recalled:

> When I got divorced a good friend, who is also a colleague, told me not to kiss her husband on the cheeks anymore [a traditional Turkish custom] because of my new status, and she really did mean what she said. I have not since then.

The Work–Family Balance

The respondents were asked how they balanced the requirements of work and the expectations of their families. Questions under this topic also covered the types of support from spouses and family members, including the negative aspects such as verbal or physical abuse.

All respondents claimed to be working of their own accord. Those with higher incomes and status worked primarily for self-satisfaction and own income needs, but they also contributed to the family budget. The participants were asked about their economic independence based on two dimensions: How much, if any of the earnings, can a spouse keep for herself? Does the wife have any say in family expenditures? The answers varied according to the amount of income as it relates to the budget and the perception about family roles. The higher the income, as well as the educational level of the wife, the more say the respondents had in the disbursement of their earnings. *LA1* described herself a strong personality. She was raised in an orphanage, finished elementary school, worked as a low income public employee, ran a fine household, but managed to take all her husband's earnings each pay period, leaving him only pocket money. At first, he did not permit her to work, which is in accordance with the traditional Turkish saying, "A real man never lets

his wife work," in his own words. But she overcame his resistance and actually began earning more money than he did, eventually becoming the dominant figure in the household.

Most of the respondents, except for *F2*, seemed not to face much challenges in maintaining a work–family balance and offered remedies for overcoming various issues. Only *F2* mentioned not being helped by her husband either in housework or childcare. The majority of the respondents claimed to have the support of their husbands and/or families. Most acknowledged, however, that there is a sacrifice they must make which adds stress to their lives. Only one respondent, *F1*, seemed to put herself at the center of a well-balanced life with a clear explanation:

> I fulfill four roles being myself, a mother, a manager at work, and a spouse. My own happiness makes the other three happy as well.

She did not deny her husband's support which she struggled to secure over a period of time. She added:

> I cannot play the manager at home. As I step into the house, I become a geisha. I switch to my feminine clothing and prepare a perfect dinner table.

BE, as a single mother, worked at her home office. She struggled to have her teenage daughter spend more time at home. Her solution was to get help from her beauty parlor customers whom she explained have become surrogate mothers, sisters, and friends to her daughter. *RE*, as a religious conservative, reported having been employed for many years as a teacher in different cities. She was currently employed in the family's expanding restaurant business. She mentioned also—by way of buffering the criticism of Islamist women who refuse to work outside the house—that *one of the Prophet Mohammed's wives was a successful businesswoman.*

A notable conclusion drawn from the interviews was that the younger respondents seemed to be more independent and more adept at maintaining a work–family balance, whereas older respondents were more likely to have experienced the stressful aspects of the work–family duality. *HE1* is divorced but not as a consequence of working. She lived alone and described herself as being highly committed to her work. She emphasized:

> I would feel my life wasted if I didn't work. This is my life style and it will never change.

She added:

> When my family needs me everything else is secondary.

F/C's journey was illustrative of the physical abuse that working women endure. F/C has divorced twice and is a successful and ambitious businesswoman**.** She recounted:

> My second marriage was a mistake and one of incompatibility in terms of work life and level of income. I had to travel a lot. As I climbed up the ladder of success, my husband became more aggressive. Income, childcare, housework, etc. were all on my shoulders. I had to endure verbal and physical abuse, for example, when I returned home late from dinners with clients.

Opportunities and Challenges in the Workplace

The respondents were asked about the opportunities and challenges confronted in their work environments. The relevant questions referred to advancement and promotional practices, assignment tasks, relations with male and female peers, mobbing, and discrimination. The overall opinions of respondents pointed to an inequality, visible or invisible, in workplace practices.

Opportunities for Promotion Only few of the respondents mentioned personally being subject to unfair treatment regarding advancement, but they all confirmed the reality of the "glass ceiling," which was described as a barrier to advancement and gender-based in origin.

All of the respondents referred to advancement in work life as challenging and not fair when measured against men. *HE1*, *BE* stated that "women must work twice as hard as men to be successful." Most of the 16 respondents observed that men were the preferred choice for managerial or administrative positions. The phrase, behaving like a man, sometimes referred to in Turkey as behaving like "the iron lady" as a workplace strategy was discussed during the interviews. The responses varied: *FE1* was against "man-type" behaviors, arguing that men are impolite, which is not what she wants to do or be. *IN* thought similarly that it is more beneficial to be a woman in the workplace and it is important to behave like your own self. *HE1* observed:

> It might even be irritating when a woman displays masculine attitudes.

HE2, on the other hand, emphasized the differences in the attitudes toward men and women in the workplace and how she had to control her feminine behaviors, ranging from styles of dress to relations with her male colleagues, especially after she got divorced.

The respondents were asked about their role models for attaining success in their careers. The responses pointed interestingly to the inspiration of fathers. *F/C* admired her father for creating a successful career through perseverance. *F2* as well saw her father as the primary role model, though somewhat of a negative exemplar, which reflects the patriarchal values that persist in Turkish society:

> My father has a strong personality, was dominant and cruel at times in order to accomplish what he wanted in the workplace. My mother is shy and stays a step behind. I feel like I must behave like my father at work.

Work Relations with Female and Male Colleagues Work relationships with colleagues of both genders was another topic discussed with the respondents. The response from most was that they received less support from female colleagues. *LO1's* general perception about the workplace was that women tend to be influenced by jealousy while men are more sincere and respectful. *F/C* had long-term tenure as an executive and posited that she had been confronting negative behaviors both from her female peers and superiors. She asked:

> What kind of a world is this? Men do not want women in higher positions, neither do women.

BE was one of the respondents who believed also that women do not really support one another, noting that at times it becomes cruel. *AC*, as a self-employed certified accountant, experienced initial hesitant and reluctant reactions from male clients with whom she had to conduct business. But she mentioned also the support she received from older men because of her gender. *HE1*, formerly employed at a bank, observed that women had less chance of landing a managerial position for such simple negative reasoning that a woman would encounter difficulty going out late with bank customers. *LA1* believed that women were being undervalued both by management and by male coworkers. She observed that women were more hard-working than men.

Mobbing and Discrimination The phenomenon of mobbing was described to the respondents as any type of psychological abuse that occurs in the social environment or the workplace and applies to any gender. The majority of the respondents, not limited to social status, either experienced or witnessed mobbing in their current or previous places of work. *HE1* experienced emotional abuse, as well as inequality at work. She mentioned frequently witnessing the following and expressed how she felt discouraged from performing at a level that reflects her ability:

> When a woman expresses ideas or opposes something it is usually ignored, but if it's from a male, it is openly valued more. Then I feel like shutting down myself.

She then observed that mobbing of women occurred not only at work but anywhere in society, including in traffic situations. *HE3* said affirmatively:

> Mobbing is the simplest way to wear women down in the workplace.

She also referred to a traditional Turkish saying for distinguishing the two genders which emphasizes domesticity:

> Don't interfere in men's jobs when you have dough on your hands!

FE2's concern was ill-treatment, most likely of a sexual nature, both from her colleagues and clientele. Her solution was creating a protective image:

> To avoid being harassed, they should think of me either as a sister, a daughter, or a man. This is how I guard and create a secure space for myself.

Regarding sexual abuse, two of the respondents reported experiencing attempts of sexual harassment at work. The rest of the respondents did not mention such incidents. One of the respondents gave the example of receiving a text message from a client at the same meeting inviting her to meet over a cup of coffee. She reacted sternly to ward off further harassment.

Positive discrimination was another aspect covered in the interviews related to women and men in the workplace. The majority of the respondents either have had or expected to be treated differently from their male colleagues. Moreover, *HE3* and *HL* pointed out that treating women differently was another type of inequality, as if women are weak and need support, which resonated with patriarchal views of women. *HE1* argued that positive discrimination was necessary to establish balance in the workplace, adding further that even feminists did not oppose positive discrimination as once before.

Women's General Status in Turkey

The respondents were asked about their perceptions of women's general socio-economic standing in Turkey in terms of the family, economy, society, and politics. They seemed to draw a mostly pessimistic picture of women's general status in Turkey. This type of reaction may be seen as a combination of the respondents' personal experiences and the current thinking about women lacking sufficient rights and not being treated fairly. Respondents belonging to higher socioeconomic strata and who experience better treatment at home and the workplace acknowledged that the conditions were much worse for women in the lower rungs of income level as well as for women residing in the rural and eastern regions of Turkey.

Regarding the general status of women in Turkey, physical violence, honor killings, and economic independence were the most emphasized topics by all respondents. *LA2*, who had a different story than the rest of the respondents, was born, lived, and married in Romania. She migrated to Turkey at a young age, married for a second time, and earned her living by cleaning houses. Her story continued with a series of physical and emotional abuses from her second husband, a Turk. She expressed her feelings about her husband's nonsecret mistresses, told calmly of one incident of her husband beating her with a chair, after which she fled to the local police station to file a complaint but was told that there would be no solution. *LO1* claimed that she had no economic or social independence and believed that there is no equality between men and women in Turkey. Based on personal experience, *HE3*, *LO1*, and *SE* put it simply as,

> It is a difficult task to be a woman in Turkey.

Discussion

The results based on the perspectives of the respondents indicated—despite an acknowledgement that progress has been made in recent years—a general dissatisfaction with the situation of women in present-day Turkey.

The analysis of results about the family values, roles, and relationships represent a culturally based duality of circumstances for twenty-first century Turkish women. It reflects the tension between "the rising tide of conservatism" and secularism as women seek equality in the workplace and elsewhere in society. This has been discussed by other researchers in the context of a society which has undergone 30 years of rapid economic change, a massive transfer of rural populations to urban centers, and the rise of a powerful political party that has successfully fused Islamic and traditional values with economic liberalism (e.g., Aycan, 2004; Berkman & Ozen, 2008; Carkoglu & Kalaycioglu, 2009; Dedeoglu, 2010; Dedeoglu, 2012; Fikret-Pasa et al., 2001; Goksel, 2013; Kagıtcıbasi, 1998; Ince, 2010).

Relevant to family roles, the work–family balance is a critical issue governing women's success (Konrad, 2007; Predmore, Greene, Goma, Manduley, & Abdulahad, 2009). All 16 respondents seemed to have recipes for obtaining the balance between their family roles and the requirements of work. All claimed positive attitudes about work routine from families and spouses. None of them mentioned the demands of being a working mother and a spouse as insuperable barriers. However, the details of the discussions about how they coped with such issues such as childcare, the time spent with family, managing the budget, and spousal demands, as well as fulfilling their roles as employees, indicated how challenged they are as women, both mentally and physically. This is in line with the patterns reported in other studies (e.g., Aycan, 2004, p. 473; Peris-Ortiz, 2012; Sumer, 2006). An alarming point was one respondent's approach to the chronic physical violence by her spouse, though not being prevented from working as a laborer. It may be argued that this type of relationship is a result of two factors: The family's need for additional income and thus the husband's grudging tolerance for having a working wife; and the woman's cultural conditioning overcoming the fear of abusive behavior. This is in accord with the behavioral patterns revealed in national statistics regarding the reactions of abused women. An engrossing aspect of the violence issue is the attitude of abused women with 44.4 % of urban women and 64.5 % of rural women agreeing that a good wife should not argue with her husband; furthermore, 10.6 % of urban women and 25.6 % of rural women think that men can physically abuse their wives (TurkStat, 2013). Also, based on the interview results in this study, there is the realization that violence against women is not confined to any one social stratum.

The causes for the divorces of respondents were not any different from the general population of Turkey or any other developing nation: Incompatibility, family interference, infidelity, economic problems, mental and physical violence, and others. It is important also to highlight that the divorce is relatively high among those respondents who are the most educated and those who claim to have the capacity to support themselves. The overall divorce rate in Turkey increased by 2.7 % in 2012 (Turkstat, 2013). The divorce rate is generally higher in the Western more secular regions of Anatolia as opposed to the more patriarchal regions of eastern Anatolia. Dayioglu and Kirdar (2010) also refer to the participation of single women in the workforce as being higher as well as the gap between married and single women widening over time in urban areas.

The respondents mostly indicated their ability to overcome gender-based difficulties at work but nonetheless recognizing the reality of the "glass ceiling" and a concerted effort to prevent women from reaching higher administrative posts. This is also consistent with the current literature (e.g., Aycan, 2004; Ayranci & Gurbuz, 2012; Weyer, 2007). One of the respondents, employed at a university, mentioned her male colleagues' negative reaction to the idea of electing a female rector, which is consistent with the following statistical data. Of the 170 occupants of the highest university administrative post (e.g., rector), slightly less than 6 % are women (TurkStat, 2013). This mirrors the widespread bias women confront in Turkey and is supported by various international studies. Another report provided by Eurostat in 2013, based on data gathered from 50 large publically listed Turkish companies,

states that only 10 % of the executives and 9 % of the nonexecutives are women. In Turkey's public sector, 9.3 % of the managers are women and, notably, 36.6 % are judges (Eurostat, 2013). But of the 25 members of Prime Minister Erdoğan's cabinet, only one, as of the first quarter of 2014, is a woman.

The respondents addressed a number of factors working against women reaching senior positions but patriarchal bias was the most prominent. In effect, women's psychological dispositions made them unsuitable to be managers because of their emotional approach to decision-making; women have less time because of family obligations to devote to work; women are less mobile when it comes to travel-related work; and women are not free to attend dinners with clients or colleagues after work. The cliché of it being "a man's world" was repeated by almost all respondents, which reflects the feeling of being undervalued and male-dominated in the workplace. These perceptions, other than surfacing in international and national statistics, are noted also in other studies (e.g., Adler, 1993; Adler et al., 2000; Aycan, 2004; Kabasakal et al., 2004; Sinangil & Ones, 2003).

A notable cluster of responses was about the comparison of the support attitudes of male and female colleagues. None of the respondents reported tangible support from female colleagues. Most either personally experienced or observed same sex conflict and rivalry among women during episodes with colleagues or management. This finding raises the issue of the lack of sufficient organized empowerment networks among women in order to overcome gender barriers in the workplace (Kanter, 1977; Huang & Aaltio, 2014; Koyuncu et al., 2014). Jabes's study (1980), however, revealed a supportive relationship between female peers and emphasized the need for having more women in managerial positions to create a more inclusive environment for women. Our study in the twenty-first century Turkey highlights the need to establish a more beneficial and less biased work environments for women.

Mobbing was on most of the respondents' social and work life agenda. Only one spoke emotionally about her own experience, about "shutting down" when that happens, but all acknowledged that women are being treated differently by men because of their gender both at work and at home and referred to their observations about mobbing in their work environment. They all acknowledged that women are being treated differently and still perceived as subject to male domination based on their real-life observations. Also, as noted by most of the respondents in this study, women have to invest more physical and mental capital and devote more time than men to succeed at work. Studies also report that women become exhausted by the challenges of getting recognized in the work place (e.g., Morrison, 1992; Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1992). In addition, studies report that successful women are most likely to overcome mobbing and discrimination (e.g., Bible & Hill, 2007; Burke, Koyuncu, & Fiksenbaum, 2006).

A striking result emerging from the interviews was the stress-inducing attempts of sexual harassment both by colleagues and by customers. Respondents spoke about the incidents as well as their personal efforts to avoid any contact with the abusers. It may be argued that any work environment laden with such issues causes significant amounts of psychological consequences, including posttraumatic stress as discussed by Schneider, Swan, and Fitzgerald, (1997) and job-related issues

(e.g., Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008). Those respondents who were exposed to various types of discrimination in their work environment emphasized the term gender abuse and believed that they were intentionally precluded from further advances in their careers (e.g., Bell, Mclaughlin, & Sequeira, 2002).

Positive discrimination favoring women was one of the points that the respondents, except one, reacted to negatively as reflected in such a simple response as, "I don't need it."

The conclusions drawn from the interviews pointed to the negative aspects of being a woman in Turkey. The respondents' opinions addressed the tensions emerging from the duality of values between secularism and patriarchy. Negative opinions were expressed about the inequality between women and men in the society and the workplace, including mobbing, access to social and educational resources, as well as various forms of violence against women—economic, sexual, emotional, and physical. Although the respondents did not always report violent incidents, they knew that women contend with this reality every day.

In summary, our results indicate a list of shortcomings that characterize women in the workplace and women in general. The experience of the participants should be understood within the sociocultural and political contexts of Turkey. In last few decades, significant reforms have been enacted to correct gender inequality and empower women but they still must overcome inertial challenges of "the rising tide of conservatism."

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The qualitative research dimensions of this chapter had a number of limitations. First of all, the findings were confined to a small sample of working women that limited the scope for constructing substantial and widely applicable conclusions. One reason for this was the length of the interviews. The topics related to the research question were open to emerging ideas as each interview progressed. Thus, the duration of the interviews for some of the participants consumed more time than had been anticipated. Consequently, the number of pages of the transcriptions was voluminous, causing a relatively complex phase of data reduction and organization.

Another limitation was the profile of the participants. They represented a limited range of demographic characteristics of age, location, ethnicity, as well as secular and religious values. A greater number of participants with a more diversified profile could have added more depth to our findings and possibly have generated more themes. Moreover, the distribution of the sectors, companies, and types of employment were also limited to a somewhat narrow range. A further limitation was the work schedules and location of participants, such as the remote city of Kars located at the extreme east of Anatolia, causing time and place constraints in the conduct of the interviews.

Future research might include women from a more diversified geographical profile, which would permit the researcher to more accurately compare culturally based attitudes toward women from different regions.

Further research may explore the sector-based comparisons in terms of gender equality for a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities of women's work life. This would enable the researcher to meaningfully compare the sector-based environmental differences.

A comparative study on Turkish men's attitudes regarding women in the workplace and society would be highly recommended not only because it would be a valuable contribution to the literature but because it would enable the researcher to interpret the other side of the gender equality issues.

Conclusions

Social and work life opportunities for women get better in concert with improved economic and educational conditions, but they do not necessarily overcome gaps in gender equality. In Turkey, as elsewhere, sociocultural factors significantly govern the extent and quality of women's participation in the workforce. In this research, women's opportunities and constraints were discussed as themes of family values and roles, work–family balance, opportunities and challenges in work life, and perceptions about being a woman in Turkey.

This qualitative study aimed to add to the current knowledge of studies about women extracted from personal experiences, perspectives, and considered opinions generated from in-depth semi-structured interviews of a selected group of working women. It did so in the larger framework of contemporary women based on statistical analyses from a variety of sources and scholarly works. Of special note, is the historical context of the radical secular reforms—initiated after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of Republic of Turkey—that directed the cultural compass of Turkey away from the Islamic East to the Secular West. Secular reforms, however, entered a new phase in the 1980s with the signing of UN gender reform conventions and Turkey's candidacy for admission to the European Union. A significant portion of these reforms, as noted in this chapter, have been implemented by the present administration of Prime Minister Erdoğan (2002–2014) and at a time when Turkish society is moving in a more conservative direction.

The findings from the respondents generally pointed to the unsatisfactory standing of women in Turkish society as well as in work life. Nevertheless, there have been significant improvements since the signing of CEDAW in 1985, including amendments to the Turkish Civil and Penal Codes and the Constitution. Moreover, there have been concerted efforts by the office the General Directorate of Women's Status, a division of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, and over 200 vigilant women's organizations working to bring these many reforms to fruition (Directorate-General, 2012; Sahin, 2012).

Turkey is one of many countries promoting significant reforms that have the capacity to correct gender inequalities and empower women. The challenges are profound but they are not insurmountable.

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Chapter 7
Israeli Women—Changes and Their Consequences

Dahlia Moore

The many macrolevel demographic, economic, ideological, and religious changes that Israel has gone through in recent decades brought about significant transformations for women. Similar changes, with similar consequences, can be seen in many of the western societies. This chapter deals with some of the consequences discussed by Gutek (2001): topics that have disappeared over the past 20 years (e.g., the legitimacy of women's work), important topics that were not studied or could not be studied 20 years ago but are studied now (e.g., women as leaders), previously neglected topics (e.g., stereotyping), and rapidly emerging topics (e.g., mentoring, effects of preferential selection, and sexual harassment; Gutek, 2001, pp. 380–381).

Though still not equal to men, the prevalent consensus in Israel and most western societies is that women *should* be equal. Even those who do not consider themselves "feminists" tend to believe in equal opportunities and equal pay for both genders. Many also agree that although men and women may perform the same jobs in different ways, they may still carry them out equally well and that the dissimilarity between them should not lead to inequality (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

The impact of macrolevel changes is not uniform across all groups and categories within societies, and egalitarian and equal-worth ideals are not spread evenly. In Israel, as in all western societies, some segments maintain more traditional beliefs concerning the social roles of men and women and the division of labor between them, while others are more egalitarian. The main cultural areas in which changes may have occurred and are examined in this chapter include self-attribution of traits and locus of control, gender identities, the gendered division of labor, perceptions of family and work roles, and stereotypes against women.

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Self-Attribution of Traits

Culture is instilled in members of society through socialization processes that begin in early childhood. These processes define for each social category, in each society, what are considered "right" or "wrong," "proper" or "improper" traits, preferences, values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors for members of that society.

Though for many years, personality traits were gendered, so that masculine traits (e.g., aggressive, dominant, competitive) were considered more appropriate for men, whereas feminine traits (e.g., gentle, affable, considerate) were considered more appropriate for women. However, repeated applications of Bem's (1981) Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) have shown that, in most studies, there are between 5 and 8 trait factors, not just the two dimensions of femininity and masculinity. The strongest factors are usually the *instrumental* factor (including such traits as analytical, decisive, leader, and assertive) and the *expressive* factor (including such traits as nurturing, understanding, sympathetic, and loyal; e.g., Moore & Aweiss, 2004). In recent decades, research in Israel found greater variability in the personality traits that men and women attribute to themselves, allowing women to consider themselves assertive, competitive, and ambitious without losing their femininity, while men may consider themselves warm, understanding, and kind without becoming weak or unmanly (e.g., Berry & Bell, 2012; Moore, 2003).

Self-attribution of instrumental ("masculine") traits has been associated with more effective coping behaviors than self-attribution of expressive ("feminine") traits (Leung & Moore, 2003). Therefore, it is not surprising that women in Israel and elsewhere tend to self-attribute instrumental traits more than men self-attribute expressive traits (Moore, 1999).

These issues are of special importance in societies where the proportion of women who turn to masculine organizations or occupations has increased in recent years (Dinella, Fulcher, & Weisgram, 2014). Similar trends in women's employment can be seen in Israel (Moore, 1992). These changes are associated with normative changes in gender-role attitudes and in the division of labor between men and women (Baral & Bharagava, 2011). It seems that changes in the gendered perceptions of traits may also be involved. If so, women may have to elaborate the gender scheme to include traits that were hitherto considered masculine, especially when they work in masculine organizational settings (or jobs) in which such traits are required for job performance.

As more women enter jobs that were considered male-type until a few decades ago (e.g., doctors, lawyers, and managers), their work environments should be examined to determine whether the organizational setting strengthens the self-attribution of some traits. Such an examination was carried out in 1999, in one of the most "masculine environments": the Israeli police force.[1]

[1] The "masculinity" of an organization is determined by three factors: The proportion of men employed in it; the type of tasks required in the majority of its jobs; and the characteristics required for performing the work. The Israeli police force is a masculine organization according to all three criteria: Men constitute 80% of all its workers; the tasks defined by its charter include high risk, high responsibility, protection of civilians and their rights, the use of physical force, and field

A "masculine" organization was chosen because in most western societies the pressure to espouse "masculine" traits is stronger than the pressure to espouse "feminine" traits: the former are more highly valued in these societies than the latter. In addition, in this specific masculine organization, occupational socialization is synonymous with organizational socialization so that the process of occupational socialization is "tailored" to its specific organizational needs because of the monopoly that the police force has on all aspects of law enforcement in most western societies. Most police officers are male (McElhinny, 1994; Morgan, 1994). For women, joining the police force may be construed as "atypical" as they tend to be less power-oriented than men (Waddington, 1994).

In Israel, where army and police are interrelated, and militarism has become an inseparable component of the civic culture, women who join the police force may be even more disadvantaged than policewomen in other countries (Shadmi, 1993): military officers join the police force as ranking officers and require only a short course in which their military skills are adapted to the civilian scene. As more men become military officers than women, women hardly ever join the police force as officers (Shadmi, 1993).

Despite the limitations, the numbers of women joining the Israeli police force has increased in recent years.[2] The salary increases and the social benefits (subsidized daycare, pension plans, etc.) that were offered to all police personnel (but especially to officers) in the 1980s served as an added incentive for both genders to join the Force. In addition, a growing awareness of policy changes in western countries regarding the integration of women in field jobs encouraged more women to turn to operative jobs and, at the same time, enhanced the system's willingness to accept them. In 1995, women constituted about 20 % of the entire police force and formed about 24 % of all the officers (though only 2.7 % of the highest three ranks; Israeli Police, Annual Reports, 1995).[3] Still, their distribution among the specific units shows that women were but 5 % of the riskier units (like bombs disposal, detective squads). In contrast, they constituted 70 % of the Passport Control units at the airport and over 80 % of all administrative workers (Asadi, 2010; Shadmi, 1993).

One explanation for the de-facto sex-segregation in organizations such as the police is that the penetration of women into these organizations threatens their social order, weakening or "contaminating" the masculine unity (Morgan, 1994). In addition, women who join such organizations have a dilemma: acting feminine they may find their behavior labeled "inappropriate"; acting in accord with job requirements they may find their behavior labeled "unfeminine" or "male-like"

(operative) work. The characteristics necessary to perform this work are also considered masculine (i.e., authority, forcefulness, and dominance).

[2] Until the early 1960s, very few women were employed by the Israeli police force, and they too were all in female-type jobs (as secretaries and typists). The growing need for police workers in the 1960s–1970s led to some policy changes that enabled women to join a variety of hitherto male-type jobs, and women were encouraged to join the force. These women were only partly integrated, as just a few of them were given field jobs, while the majority was still placed in administrative jobs at headquarters. Thus, the policy change was not implemented: In 1976, for example, women constituted but 7 % of the officers (see also Jones, 1986; Pitman & Orthner, 1988).

[3] No updated proportions were published in recent years, but the numbers seem to remain similar to those reported in 1995.

(Banihani, Lewis, & Jawad, 2013). Choosing to maintain femininity, says Shadmi (1993), women in the police force will "pay" by not being promoted. Choosing to be "unfeminine" women may be considered gender-atypical or aggressive achievers and be rejected by their peers. Whether they choose the "feminine and inappropriate" strategy or the "unfeminine and atypical" one, women are forced to make decisions, choices, and compromises that their male colleagues do not need to consider, and whichever their choice or decision, women—unlike men—have a "price" to pay (Hannagan & Larimer, 2010). Moreover, both these strategies force women to compromise the gender scheme. If, indeed, men and women are socialized into differentiated social roles (Bem, 1981; Cohen, 1991), men who join the police force operate in accord with the gender scheme but women do not (Cameron & Nadler, 2013). This is, perhaps, one of the less discussed reason for sex-segregation and women's preference for female-type jobs and organizations.

A third alternative with which women can minimize the negative consequences of such choices is enlarging the gender scheme to include—in addition to feminine traits—some of the less stereotypical characteristics, and/or those "masculine" characteristics that are not in direct contrast with the basic feminine ones (e.g., being analytical, hard working, and self confident). Thus, without renouncing their gender identity, these women are able to infuse this identity with new and context-relevant meaning (Hanappi-Egger & Kauer, 2010). This is especially salient among women who participate in specialized organizational and/or occupational courses, and women whose tenure in the organization is longer because these women will identify more strongly with the organization's goals and values.[4]

Analyzing the responses of 500 Israeli police men and women, Moore, (1999) showed that women in the Israeli police force believed they were highly feminine and men believed they were highly masculine. Moreover, when self-attribution of the concrete traits "masculinity" and "femininity" were examined, most men and women reported that only the gender-appropriate one applies to them (i.e., men said they were masculine and women said they were feminine. The proportion of those who reported both as high or both as low is negligible). However, when self-attribution of other traits was examined, the analysis showed that men and women in the police force reported having similar traits. As hypothesized, both were similarly optimistic, independent, understanding, and assertive.

The similarity may be due to a tendency of people with certain traits to choose specific organizations whose requirements fit their traits and value orientations or to organizational influences that reinforce some traits among its workers. The relationship between traits and context can also be considered simultaneous and dialectic in the sense that people with specific traits choose to work in organizational settings that fit their traits, but once in the organization, the environment strengthens the traits that are related to performing the required tasks.

[4] The courses available in the Israeli police force are many and diverse. Some of them are compulsory, like the basic course, which all new recruits must participate in within 6 months of entering the organization. In these courses, police men and women are introduced to the organization's methods of operation, techniques and procedures, and to its ideology and norms. Other courses that are more specific and professional, like courses for detectives, forensic technicians, or high-rank officers, are voluntary, and are based on individuals' abilities and commanding officers' recommendation.

Whether traits are context-induced or the choice of context is determined by existing traits, several interrelated conclusions may be drawn. First, the findings indicate that the gender scheme is more flexible and context-related than previously assumed. While it is true that men and women behave in gender-typical ways, the gender scheme is flexible and allows for variation for both sexes (and there is no reason to assume that the two groups employ diverse cognitive processes when forming their gender schemes (see Moore, 1994). Thus, women in "masculine" organizational settings adapt their gender scheme and modify the definition of what it means to be "feminine." For them, there is no contrast between being feminine and being assertive, dominant, and analytical. It seems that even when they are employed in female-type jobs (like secretaries), women in the police force are influenced by the organizational context.

In addition, the finding according to which women claimed to be highly feminine even when they espouse "masculine" traits may also mean that the femininity/masculinity distinction cannot be treated as a clear-cut dichotomy. It seems that "feminine" and "masculine" may have different meanings for different people so that they aggregate different traits under their personal definitions for "masculine" and "feminine." It may also be interpreted as indicating that the social construction of masculinity and femininity is weakening, and that there is a more flexible perception of these concepts that allows people to include in them components that were not hitherto considered consistent with the other gendered traits.

Another possible conclusion is that necessity may strengthen some traits and diminish others, though it does not alter the basic gender rendition. Being independent, analytical, assertive, dominant, and aggressive are usually considered "masculine" traits, but they are necessary characteristics for some aspects of performing police work. The data showed that women espoused them as much as men. Moreover, the levels of "feminine" traits like shyness, being considerate, warm, soft-spoken, and gullible—a probable hindrance for police work—were as low among women as they were among men. Thus, traits, too, are perhaps not as immovable as usually depicted. When a specific trait is essential for task performance, it may gain salience so that when self-attributing traits, the individual will perceive that trait as more applicable and befitting to himself or herself (Witt & Wood, 2010).

Still, gender differences in the police force do exist. Women tend to be segregated into specific jobs even when they attain high ranks (and the ranks of the sampled women are not lower than those of the men). The jobs they enter are distinct from men's jobs in the degree of femininity required (or tolerated) in them, the authority levels they contain, and the amount of influence on policy-making decisions they enable (Wilson, Stancliffe, Parmenter, & Shuttleworth, 2011).

In a more recent study (Moore, 2007), based on a representative sample ($N=800$) of the entire working population in Israel, a more significant shift was found. In this study, too, 32 of the BSRI traits were examined, 16 of them, according to Bem (1981), are "feminine" traits, and 16 are "masculine."[5] A principle component analysis shows that as in previous studies, the traits create eight factors that explain 55 % of the variance (see Tables 7.1, 7.2).

[5] The whole list of Bem's was examined in previous studies in Israel (e.g., Moore, 1995, 1996). Based on item-to-total correlations, all gender-neutral traits were removed and only relevant items were retained.

Table 7.1 Personality traits-2007: Principle component analysis matrix. (Communalities and factor loadings from Moore, 2007)

	Mean	SD.	Extraction	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Compassionate	6.31	0.989	0.594	0.755	0.111	0.012	0.017	0.011	0.041	−0.030	0.096
Sympathetic	6.16	1.145	0.558	0.706	0.189	0.060	0.085	−0.056	0.063	0.061	0.049
Sensitive	6.26	1.126	0.532	0.701	0.031	−0.014	0.042	−0.014	0.086	−0.074	0.160
Warm	6.10	1.202	0.568	0.669	0.282	0.154	0.062	−0.008	0.026	0.085	−0.069
Understanding	6.36	0.919	0.515	0.661	0.224	0.068	−0.049	−.018	−0.033	−0.107	0.091
Soft spoken	5.59	1.533	0.429	0.519	0.212	0.179	−0.005	0.120	0.015	0.219	−0.142
Gentle	5.78	1.309	0.518	0.495	0.042	0.378	0.110	−0.226	0.093	0.221	−0.094
Yielding	4.96	1.728	0.521	0.471	−0.074	0.231	−0.345	0.173	−0.164	0.213	−0.137
Loyal	6.58	0.892	0.368	0.464	0.180	0.129	0.126	−0.039	0.063	−0.250	−0.142
Polite	6.19	1.108	0.428	0.461	0.185	0.287	0.129	−0.249	0.104	0.090	0.020
Analytic	5.97	1.224	0.345	0.334	0.271	−0.165	0.274	0.102	0.006	−0.035	0.215
Assertive	5.80	1.321	0.630	0.149	0.736	−0.038	0.129	0.103	0.001	0.193	−0.024
Strong personality	5.89	1.267	0.599	0.195	0.716	−0.007	0.171	0.123	0.047	−0.035	0.028
Independent	6.11	1.276	0.529	0.102	0.686	−0.019	0.005	−0.031	0.051	−0.190	0.087
Decisive	5.70	1.328	0.550	0.276	0.626	−0.092	0.118	0.117	−0.061	0.115	0.167
Cheerful	5.86	1.383	0.449	0.119	0.568	0.261	0.028	−0.172	−0.026	0.098	−0.056
Leader	5.59	1.508	0.578	0.244	0.560	−0.110	0.385	0.193	−0.036	0.052	0.065
Forceful	5.99	1.248	0.477	0.363	0.465	−0.046	0.247	0.110	0.186	0.124	−0.051
Gullible	3.95	2.098	0.586	0.099	0.037	0.747	0.011	0.051	0.112	−0.019	−0.014
Shy	4.25	1.928	0.457	0.148	−0.052	0.652	−0.055	−0.005	−0.010	−0.063	−0.022
Childlike	3.20	2.071	0.552	0.046	−0.106	0.621	0.145	0.096	−0.016	0.146	0.318
Defend my beliefs	5.59	1.649	0.480	0.277	0.291	0.361	0.059	0.166	−0.074	−0.367	−0.131

Table 7.1 (continued)

	Mean	SD.	Extraction	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ambitious	5.32	1.797	0.681	0.147	0.272	0.045	0.757	0.073	−0.055	0.040	0.009
Competitive	4.62	1.956	0.664	−0.103	0.143	0.088	0.730	0.090	−0.206	0.127	0.162
Flatterable	5.03	1.897	0.479	0.288	0.078	0.075	0.464	0.339	0.120	0.030	−0.198
Aggressive	3.19	1.912	0.713	−0.093	0.022	0.080	0.041	0.830	−0.005	0.035	0.070
Dominant	3.75	1.912	0.568	−0.039	0.229	0.017	0.269	0.645	0.006	0.047	0.152
Feminine	4.88	2.319	0.755	0.214	0.176	0.162	−0.051	0.043	0.801	0.080	−0.007
Masculine	4.09	2.334	0.778	−0.006	0.103	0.034	0.098	0.032	−0.853	0.148	0.075
Athletic	4.09	2.028	0.630	0.046	0.140	0.056	0.142	0.063	−0.063	0.760	0.010
Individualist	4.90	1.741	0.585	0.031	0.024	0.117	0.068	0.064	−0.010	−0.058	0.747
Take risks	4.83	1.733	0.505	0.142	0.262	−0.074	0.017	0.173	−0.152	0.323	0.504

Table 7.2 Personality traits—2007: Total variance explained

Component	Extraction sums of squared loadings (= Initial eigenvalues)		
	Total	% Variance	Cumulative %
1	6.721	21.003	21.003
2	3.021	9.440	30.443
3	1.902	5.945	36.388
4	1.534	4.792	41.180
5	1.235	3.861	45.041
6	1.096	3.424	48.465
7	1.080	3.374	51.839
8	1.031	3.223	55.062

The analysis shows that 11 traits form the first—*expressive* factor, explaining 21% of the variance (including 10 of the originally "feminine" traits: compassionate, considerate, warm, sympathetic, sensitive, gentle, soft-spoken, yielding, loyal, and understanding; and one trait-analytic—that was previously considered "masculine"). Seven of the originally "masculine" traits form the second—instrumental—factor (assertive, strong personality, independent, decisive, cheerful, leader, and forceful; explaining 9.4% of the variance).[6] The differences indicate that the expressive dimension is more resilient and unchanged whereas the instrumental one is less so: it is weaker, and includes fewer traits than hypothesized. However, this is but a partial picture.

Examining the self-attribution of each trait separately (see Table 7.3) shows that gender differences exist only in 19 of the 32 traits. The self-attribution of the other 13 traits (including traits like ambitious, individualist, shy, assertive, analytic, and leader) was similar for men and women. Of the 19 traits in which gender differences were found, 16 were self-attributed by women *more* than by men; only 3 were self-attributed by men more than by women: competitive, athletic, and masculine. It is interesting to note that most (12) of the 16 traits in which gender differences were found, were originally "feminine" traits. The rest (4) were originally "masculine" and are now self-attributed by women *more* than by men: strong personality, independent, forceful, and defend my beliefs.

In summation, the gender schema has changed. Instrumental traits are now mostly gender-neutral and men and women self-attribute them equally. The expressive traits remain mostly "feminine" and women self-attribute them more than men, though men self-attribute some of them more than they self-attribute some of the

[6] Less variance is explained by the other 6 factors that include 1–3 traits in each. These factors represent the *negative* "*feminine*" traits (gullible, shy, childlike, explaining about 6% of the variance); "*personal attainment*"(ambitious, competitive, flatterable, explaining less than 5% of the variance); *negative* "*masculine*" traits (aggressive and dominant, explaining less than 4% of the variance); *gender identification* (feminine and masculine, explaining about 3% of the variance); and *separateness from the collective* (individualism and risk-taking, explaining about 3% of the variance).

Table 7.3 Gender differences in self-attribution of traits. (*N* (females) = 460, *N* (males) = 340)

	Trait	Sex	Mean	SD	*t*
1.	Compassionate	Women	6.41	0.892	3.430**
		Men	6.17	1.093	
2.	Sympathetic	Women	6.30	1.049	4.102**
		Men	5.97	1.241	
3.	Sensitive	Women	6.35	1.110	2.853**
		Men	6.13	1.136	
4.	Warm	Women	6.21	1.155	3.273**
		Men	5.94	1.246	
5.	Understanding	Women	6.46	0.821	3.880**
		Men	6.21	1.022	
6.	Soft spoken	Women	5.73	1.432	3.078**
		Men	5.39	1.644	
7.	Gentle	Women	5.88	1.282	2.588**
		Men	5.64	1.334	
8.	Yielding	Women	4.92	1.794	−0.745
		Men	5.01	1.637	
9.	Loyal	Women	6.71	0.737	5.005**
		Men	6.40	1.041	
10.	Polite	Women	6.33	0.975	4.093**
		Men	6.01	1.245	
11.	Analytic	Women	6.03	1.192	1.437
		Men	5.90	1.263	
12.	Assertive	Women	5.87	1.300	1.668
		Men	5.71	1.347	
13.	Strong personality	Women	6.01	1.255	2.921**
		Men	5.74	1.269	
14.	Independent	Women	6.25	1.210	3.512**
		Men	5.93	1.342	
15.	Decisive	Women	5.70	1.381	−0.011
		Men	5.70	1.255	
16.	Cheerful	Women	5.90	1.347	1.068
		Men	5.80	1.430	
17.	Leader	Women	5.62	1.528	0.626
		Men	5.55	1.481	
18.	Forceful	Women	6.17	1.143	4.994**
		Men	5.73	1.338	
19.	Gullible	Women	4.12	2.129	2.665**
		Men	3.72	2.036	
20.	Shy	Women	4.29	1.992	0.813
		Men	4.18	1.838	

Table 7.3 (continued)

	Trait	Sex	Mean	SD	*t*
21.	Childlike	Women	3.13	2.138	−1.147
		Men	3.30	1.976	
22.	Defend my beliefs	Women	5.80	1.574	4.258**
		Men	5.31	1.707	
23.	Ambitious	Women	5.27	1.872	−0.905
		Men	5.39	1.690	
24.	Competitive	Women	4.36	2.008	−4.431**
		Men	4.98	1.828	
25.	Flatterable	Women	5.16	1.944	2.255*
		Men	4.85	1.817	
26.	Aggressive	Women	3.29	1.972	1.674
		Men	3.06	1.822	
27.	Dominant	Women	3.84	1.954	1.568
		Men	3.63	1.849	
28.	Feminine	Women	6.17	1.208	25.093**
		Men	3.02	2.275	
29.	Masculine	Women	2.83	2.093	−23.058**
		Men	5.83	1.310	
30.	Athletic	Women	3.88	2.071	−3.418**
		Men	4.38	1.935	
31.	Individualist	Women	4.86	1.769	−0.785
		Men	4.96	1.703	
32.	Take risks	Women	4.76	1.801	−1.217
		Men	4.91	1.633	

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$

hitherto “masculine” traits (sympathetic, sensitive, and polite, for example, are attributed by men more than traits like decisive, assertive, and forceful). This may indicate that men value these traits and consider them more desirable than some of the “masculine” traits.

These findings seem to indicate that the social construction of masculinity and femininity has changed. Instead of the clear-cut distinction between “feminine” and “masculine” traits, there is today a more flexible perception of these concepts (i.e., androgyny) that allows people to include in their gender schema components that were not hitherto considered consistent with other gendered traits. Women today may see themselves as highly feminine but also as ambitious, decisive, and independent, whereas men may see themselves as highly masculine but also as loyal, sensitive, and considerate (Lengua & Stormshak, 2000; Moore, 2007). Table 7.4

Table 7.4 Bem's personality types by gender

Personality types		Gender		Total
		Women	Men	
Undifferentiated	Count	78	91	169
	%	25.7	34.3	29.7
Feminine	Count	76	39	115
	%	25.0	14.7	20.2
Masculine	Count	46	70	116
	%	15.1	26.4	20.4
Androgynous	Count	104	65	169
	%	34.2	24.5	29.7
Total	Count	304	265	569
	%	100	100	100

Cramer's $v=0.207$, $p\leq0.000$

shows that androgyny is the prevalent type for women, while the undifferentiated is the most common for men. Neither the "feminine" (for women) nor the "masculine" (for men) types are prevalent.

The combination of instrumental and expressive traits is advantageous for two reasons. First, it denotes individuals who are more flexible and adaptable than those who are either masculine or feminine (Smith, Ellis, & Benson, 2001). Second, it incorporates two routes for attaining internal locus of control—the instrumental and the expressive means of attaining control.

Locus of Control

The traditional approach to locus of control refers to assumed internal states that explain why certain people actively and willingly try to deal with difficult circumstances (internal control), whereas others do not (external control; Lefcourt & Davidson-Katz, 1991). This approach to locus of control assumes that internal control is based on stable personality traits, such as information seeking, alertness, and decision making, all of which are *instrumental* characteristics (Mirowsky, Ross, & van Willigen, 1996). In contrast, individuals who lack internal control see life situations as dependent upon luck, God, the situation, or the behaviors of other individuals.

The existing measures of locus of control do not take into account the possibility of alternative ways to attain mastery or control that individuals may apply. The alternative approach suggested by Moore (2003) is that other stable—expressive—traits like empathy or the ability to rely on friends to attain one's goals is an alternative means of attaining control. Thus, expressive individuals may increase their control over life events (i.e., internal locus of control) through their control over social relations. This is an innovative viewpoint according to which the locus

of control approach that distinguishes between internal and external control should be elaborated and modified. It indicates that individuals, who lack *instrumental* internal locus of control, may still have *expressive* internal control, i.e., they may attain internal control by using alternative means. Though the study was conducted in Israel, it is logical to assume that its findings are relevant to other societies as well.

The ability to "tap" both instrumental and expressive sources of control is possible for individuals who adopt both types of traits. This enables individuals to shift from one source to the other according to context rather than losing control, or being compelled to use the same type of control even when it is less appropriate or productive (Sharpe, Heppner, & Dixon, 1995). If rational, instrumental actions do not lead to desired consequences, androgyny (i.e., the type of personality that is high on both instrumental and expressive traits) enables individuals to turn to expressive means to attain the same end rather than developing a sense of lack of control (Moore 1999). Findings of researches done by Moore and Aweiss (2004) and Moore in Israel show that instrumental control is not the only means of attaining and maintaining self-efficacy.[7] Expressive control was just as prevalent, and the two mechanisms are *not* mutually exclusive. Members of both genders add expressive means of control to their repertoire of tools without relinquishing instrumental control, but men use expressive control as a means to attain life satisfaction more than women, which may indicate that the use of such nonconventional behavior is accorded greater legitimacy among already advantaged men than among the less advantaged women. For women, choosing such means is still perceived as "acting according to their nature," i.e., not the rational, objective, practical way. Still, as more women now include instrumental traits in their gender schema together with expressive ones, and these traits are associated with stronger internal control, women seem to aspire to greater control over their lives, being less willing to settle for a dependant role. This is in accord with the growing numbers of women who join the labor market, searching for meaningful careers (Sarrasin, Mayor, & Faniko, 2014).

The fact that expressive means of attaining control is possible and socially sanctioned, may indicate that a change has already occurred, and it will become legitimate for women as well. This may even provide women with an advantage in the future.

Gender Roles

Although the extent and prevalence of the gendered division of labor vary from one society to another, the general pattern according to which men are considered the major breadwinners and women are the major homemakers exists across societies. In Israel, the family and domestic roles of women are still highly traditional, plac-

[7] Even western approaches, according to which rational and assertive behaviors are the basis of perceived control, seem to accept that in other societies where less equitable practices may dominate, individuals may turn to noninstrumental means to attain control (Lefcourt, 1981, 1983).

ing motherhood at the core of women's lives and aspirations (Moore, 1999), but financial necessity often forces them to seek employment. Women's and mothers' participation in the labor market needs justification, because being employed outside the home detracts and distracts women from their primary familial obligations (Marks, Lam, & Mchale, 2009; Minnotte, 2012).

The growing participation of women in the Israeli labor force enabled more women to discover the benefits of work: economic independence, self-actualization, a source of identity and interest, control over their lives, and wider, more diversified social networks, they often want "the best of both worlds," namely a family with children *and* a job or career. Consequently, women's perceptions and preferences concerning work outside the home and its relationships with family life have changed significantly. More women now attach high value to their jobs than before (Moore & Toren, 1998). As noted earlier, this change occurred in Israel somewhat later and at a slower rate than in other western countries, mainly because of the persistence of traditional family values, the result of which is that the great majority of women are not willing to give up marriage and/or having children.

However, researchers show that gender-role attitudes have changed in the past decades, especially among working women. Women espouse egalitarian gender attitudes today more than in the past,[8] and the change is more noticeable among women than among men (Crosby & Ropp, 2002). In addition, the studies show that working women are more egalitarian than nonworking women (McCall, 2000). The evidence regarding changes in men's gender-role attitudes and their participation in domestic responsibilities is less clear, (Noonan, 2001). But they, too, seem to be changing. Moore, (1996) shows that in Israel, both men and women see men's family roles as men's most important roles; even more important than their work roles. Hence, family roles are now considered of the same importance for both men and women (see also Rudy, Popova, & Linz, 2010). Though they agree on the importance of family roles, men and women still differ when they evaluate work roles: whereas women tend to accord these roles great importance for both genders, men tend to see them as important for men, but far less important for women.

On the whole, men's perceptions of the time they devote to domestic obligations are similar to women's. However, men claim that they spend more time taking care of spouse and paying bills, while women invest more time in child care and education. As child care is usually more urgent and inflexible, women's perceived burden is still stronger than men's.

Moreover, as the traditional division is weakening, new patterns emerge. Some people—both men and women—seem to be "family oriented" in the sense that they accord high importance to the family roles and a lower importance to the work roles of both genders. Others—both men and women—seem to be "work oriented," i.e., they accord high importance to the work roles of both genders and a lower importance to the family roles. Still others rank all roles as of high or low impor-

[8] Egalitarian attitudes mean "accepting both women exhibiting traditional male role behaviors and men exhibiting female role behaviors. Therefore, an egalitarian individual would not be prone to gender bias, whether the attitude object is male or female."

tance. (Kjeldstad & Nymoen, 2012). Explanations of differences in gender roles' perceptions focus either on differences in traits (Ridgeway, 1993), or on diverse structural limitations on work flexibility that constrain the emphasis on family roles (Pedersen, Minnotte, Kiger, & Mannon, 2009). Although men still tend to perceive women's domestic roles as more important than their work roles (as the traditional division of labor predicts), they perceive their own roles as more balanced (i.e., similar importance is attributed to both roles).

Because the homework dichotomization is weakening, people have a wider variety of traits, roles, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors to choose from (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). This flexibility of choice can be seen in changes both in the domestic and the work spheres (e.g., more women enter male-type occupations, and/or full-time careers, and men seem to contribute more to the domestic sphere than in the past (Adler, 2002; Williams, 2000).

Moore and Toren (1998) addressed the importance women ascribe to work and family as representing four distinct types: "traditionals"—who emphasize only the family (34.2 %), "careerists"—who emphasize only work (4.5 %), "combiners"—who emphasize both (50.7 %), and "personals"—who emphasize neither family nor work (10.7 %).

The study, based on a representative sample of 3000 working women, showed that the large group of "combiners"—women who attribute high importance to family *and* work—was more work-oriented and committed than could be expected in a family and child-centered society such as Israel. As mentioned before, Israel is a latecomer regarding changes and innovations of traditional family formations, a phenomenon that has been reported earlier in other modern countries (e.g., Craig & Mullen, 2010; Windebank, 2012; Zosuls, Miller, Ruble, Martin, & Fabes, 2011).

There were also significant differences among the four types in almost all the variables and measures Moore and Toren (1998) examined. The "traditionals" had more children than all other groups (with "combiners" as close second), and more among them were married. They were also older than other women. Moreover, they worked in lower status jobs, fewer among them held positions of authority, they worked fewer hours, and more among them were in female-type occupations. Still their wages were highest (though the differences among "types" was not statistically significant) because of the Israeli taxing system.

The group most different from the "traditionals" is the "personals," not the "careerists," as could perhaps be expected. The "personals" had fewest children, fewer among them were married, they were younger than all other groups, and their education was higher. The data also showed that their seniority (in terms of years in the labor market) was lowest, their occupational SES was highest, and their wage per hour was higher than most, even though fewer among them had children.

Moore and Toren (1998) concluded that working women are divided according to their emphasis on family roles: on the one hand, those who value family highly—the "combiners" and "traditionals." On the other hand, those who do not ascribe high importance to family, namely the "careerist" and "personal" (self-focused). The emphasis on the work role seems to act as a second tier of dissimilarity. These differences have a significant influence on the perception of role combination as

conflictual or beneficial, with "combiners" seeing the existence of diverse roles as multiple sources of satisfaction rather than causing conflict.

Role Combination

Conceptualizing the family–work relationship as conflictual has dominated the research literature as well as popular opinion and discourse for several decades (e.g., Coser & Rokoff, 1971; Goode, 1960). This conflict, it was argued, mainly afflicts working mothers who have to allocate scarce resources, such as commitment, time and energy between their family, and work obligations.[9]

But there is contradictory empirical evidence regarding the impact of heavier load on role conflict. Some research shows that role conflict is stronger for working mothers (Ruble, Cohen, & Ruble, 1984), while other research arrives at the opposite conclusion (Meisenbach, 2010; Zosuls et al., 2011). Several factors were offered as explanations for the inconsistent findings: historical changes (Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber, 1983), spouse participation at home (Epstein, 1988), and developing strategies for reducing time pressure (Jang, Zippay, & Park, 2012). However, even the greater family burden does not necessarily result in role conflict. To the contrary, combining diverse roles is often perceived by these women as beneficial (Crosby, 1991).

When dealing with the predicaments of working mothers most studies focus on time limitations, assuming that when work demands and family obligations are incompatible, women tend to give priority to their children and family over their work and careers (Hochschild, 1997). However, this is true mostly in emergencies. Under regular conditions, this can no longer be taken for granted for all working women. Since the feminist movement and the significant increase of women and mothers of young children in the labor market in the 1970s and 1980s, the perception of "the ideal mother" has greatly changed: the traditional motherhood role is no longer sacrosanct; a good mother is not necessarily one who "sacrifices" herself for her children, or "has all the time and care to give" (Williams, 2000). Moreover, many now believe that children's well being is not hurt by the fact that a mother works outside the home.

In modern, developed countries, these normative changes are manifest in demographic shifts. Marriage rates have dropped, divorce rates are up, women have fewer children and at a later age, more among them are single mothers, and they tend to participate in the labor market for longer periods of their lives. It is important to note that recent ideological and actual transformations took place not only in the USA and Western Europe but have reached more traditional societies too, such as Italy and Spain (where a growing number of women delay childbearing, and fertility rates have dropped dramatically (Garcia Martin, 2001)).

[9] Recent analyses of the work–family interface have again turned to focus on the issue of time, i.e., working hours, time bind, time squeeze, time allocation, meaning of time, etc. (Hochchild 1997; Jacobs & Gerson 2001; Thompson & Bunderson, 2001).

Similar processes are taking place in Israel, changing the involvement of women in the family, and increasing their investments in education and occupational careers. These processes are slower than those in western countries because Israel is a family-oriented and child-centered society due to its particular historical, religious, and cultural traditions. Giving up motherhood for an occupational career is still not an endorsed lifestyle choice among large parts of Israeli women as compared to several countries where the childless "career women" is more common and normatively accepted.

These changes in women's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors led some researchers (e.g., Kjeldstad & Nymoen, 2012) to question the taken-for-granted notion of competition and conflict and to suggest that the combination of multiple roles does not only cause stress, strain, and fatigue but may have positive effects, such as expansion and accumulation of resources, enhancement of self-confidence, meaning and identity, satisfaction, and multiple success (Forste & Fox, 2012; Minnotte, 2012).

Consequently, in contrast with "scarcity" or "depletion" perspectives, the "enrichment," or "enhancement" models were introduced. The main argument of the enhancement approach is that people's resources are not fixed and that engagement in multiple roles may expand existing resources and even create additional ones. A multiplicity of roles, rather than being a detrimental burden, can be an enriching benefit to the individual. Sieber (1974), one of the first to articulate this proposition from a sociological–psychological viewpoint, distinguishes four enrichment processes of role "accumulation": (1) increasing role privileges, (2) attaining overall status security, (3) obtaining resources for status enhancement, and (4) enriching women's personalities and ego gratification. The benefits of multiple role engagement are reflected in diverse measures of well-being (Baral & Bhargava, 2011), and they have positive effects, such as self-confidence, satisfaction, and multiple sources for success (Hill, 2005). Similar findings were obtained in Israel as well (Moore, 2007).

Current approaches tend to view combining family and work as beneficial and enriching rather than conflict producing. According to these approaches (e.g., Warner & Hausdorf, 2009), women who ascribe high importance to *both* family and work (the "combiners") will report stronger satisfaction with their lives than women for whom only one life domain is highly salient (Minnotte, Minnotte, Pedersen, Mannon, & Kiger, 2010).

Recent studies show that the subjective experience of a growing number of working women and mothers is no longer that of conflict. Combining family obligations and work roles can be viewed as a coping strategy of women in an era of societal transition "… offering women a new scenario of options and opportunities." (Hakim, 2002).

An example of the positive effects of role combination may be seen in Calandra's (2002) research dealing with the problem of combining research and teaching in academia, according to which women university professors who balance teaching and research enjoy more rewards than women in "traditional" jobs, and that the secret to getting both family and work roles done is to have a lot of energy and commitment, a desire to do them, and a lot of support both at home and at work. Calandra

(2002) concludes that women who want children and also aspire to develop an occupational career will be happier and more successful doing both than foregoing one for the other. Crosby, (1991) describes a woman who had a family as well as a demanding job—"This woman … enjoyed and felt invigorated by the challenges of contemporary role combination." (Crosby, 1991, p. 61). Juggling gave her a sense of accomplishment.

Additional evidence for the advantages of engagement in multiple roles comes from a study of Israeli faculty women that shows that the most productive researchers were also mothers of the largest number of children (Toren, 2000). This seemingly counterintuitive finding shows that such combinations may produce beneficial consequences and enhanced balance. Toren, (2000) claimed that her interviewees declared that being out on maternity leave actually helped them in their research work and that their family gave them strength. In fact, these women express the enrichment or enhancement point of view that participation in nonwork roles can actually support, facilitate, or enhance work life. A very similar conclusion is reached in a study of American professional women, according to which "… workers' activities and responsibilities in nonwork domains may actually energize them for work and enhance work attitudes." (Kirchmeyer, 1992, p. 776).

Another Israeli study of mothers who turn to higher education (universities and colleges) after their youngest child goes to school, shows that rather than expressing feelings of guilt, respondents said that studying makes them better mothers and being mothers makes them more attentive students. In the same vein, research on women in management positions found that respondents felt that nonwork role experiences (child rearing and caring) provided opportunities to enrich their interpersonal skills at work (Ruderman, Ohlcott, Panzer, & King, 2002). Put another way, skills and resources obtained in one role can be applied to fulfill tasks in other role areas.

In a mixed and dynamic sociocultural environment in which individuals receive ambiguous messages as to life roles' salience, curtailing career or family may constitute a coping and balancing strategy, and the combination of both may constitute an alternative strategy.[10] Assigning importance to both domains is regarded here as an adaptive coping mechanism to changing circumstances on the economic–occupational and ideological–cultural levels.

Examining whether both genders today see role combination as possible, even beneficial, rather than conflictual, Moore (2007) asked a representative sample of over 800 men and women the question: "There is a lasting debate concerning women's ability to combine family and a career successfully. Here are 5 often heard claims. With which of them do you agree?": (1) There is no problem today in combing family and career—many women do it successfully (19 %); (2) It is possible to combine family and career—each woman finds her own solutions if she encounters difficulties (36 %); (3) Women with both careers and families have to deal with

[10] A similar hypothesis was advanced by Marks and McDermit (1996) that "People with more balanced role systems will report less role strain, more role ease, greater well being, and more positive role specific experience than people with less balanced role systems."

unending pressures (21 %); (4) It is very difficult to combine family and careers. Women can develop careers until they have children, but when they become mothers—they must limit their work obligations (19 %); (5) It is impossible to combine the two—the idea that like men, women can develop careers when they have families is an illusion (6 %).

Though the difference between men and women in the mean response to this question is not significant, there is some difference in the distribution, with more women emphasizing the pressures that women encounter when they combine family and work, and men divided into those who see benefits in role combination, and those who consider it difficult or impossible.

Though it may be beneficial, the dual commitment is not an easy lifestyle choice, and the question is—how do women cope with the complications and ambiguous messages? How do they resolve the problems or reduce the inherent strains? What characteristics enhance their ability to combine the two worlds?

A large part of family–work studies examine practical coping strategies, such as working part-time, choosing less demanding jobs, and hiring help for child-care and housework, or on the other hand, delaying marriage and childbearing, having fewer children, and so on (Moore & Gobi, 1995). Both strategies are examples of cutting back time or tasks in one role-domain so as to be able to invest more resources in the other.

Turning to female-type occupations as a strategy to limit their work involvement is one of the main solutions that women used to choose. This type of solution implies that women believe that work contributes more to creating pressures, although in reality, domestic responsibilities account for a greater part of the strain. But the number of women who choose an alternative strategy—that of limiting their domestic obligations in order to devote more time to their work roles—is increasing. Women who choose this strategy are less home-oriented and attribute less importance to their traditional feminine roles (Craig & Mullan, 2010). This strategy, and the perceptions of gender roles that accompany it, are more prevalent among women who work in gender-atypical occupations that require academic education (Moore, 1996).

Moore (1995b) examined the sources of stress when combining the two roles in a study that compared university professors in five nations: Australia, Bulgaria, Israel, the Netherlands, and the USA[11]. University professors were chosen for several reasons. First, this is one of the high status male-type occupations women turn to in growing numbers. Second, although cultural differences exist, the job characteristics of university professors in diverse societies are comparable. Third, being a high status occupation associated with liberal attitudes, Moore (1996) assumed that less gendered division of labor will be found among them so that both men and women will attribute similar importance to both their work and family roles. Finally, this occupation is comparable (at least in domain) to one of the major female-type oc-

[11] Israeli schoolteachers were chosen as a comparative baseline because they are in a traditionally female-type occupation, and in the more traditional of the examined societies.

cupations: school teachers, in which a high proportion of the female work force is employed (and a sample of school-teachers was drawn for comparison).

Analyzing samples from diverse societies showed that cultural differences influence the perceptions of role conflict, burden, and gender roles of women in these societies. The study also showed that in all examined societies home burden contributed to role conflict *more* than work burden. For women who work in male-type occupations, where working hours are more numerous and less flexible, domestic obligations seem to be the major source of role conflict even though they devote less time to these duties. This finding indicates that either the meaning of work as the main cause of role conflict has changed in the 1990s, or it was misplaced in the first place. Blaming work for creating role conflict may be traced to several, mostly non-egalitarian, social expectations: (1) The traditional division of labor that would lead people to expect domestic responsibilities to be women's primary roles so that any obligation that detracts from their ability to perform their primary roles is seen as causing role conflict; (2) The lack of social and technical facilities (such as day-care centers, domestic help, heavier domestic workloads at a less industrialized world) that have created a then-justified basis for these beliefs regarding women's work; (3) Paternalistic interpretation of women's work behaviors and needs; and (4) Actuarial bias according to which most women are pressed for time, having to juggle their responsibilities (e.g., Collins, 2011).

Thus, it may be the occupation type they choose (and the characteristics and preferences that led to these choices), not some gendered predisposition that facilitates role conflict. It seems logical to assume that as more women enter male-type occupations, and the division of labor becomes more egalitarian, the emphasis on work as creating conflict will decrease even further, diminishing the actuarial basis of the stereotypical perceptions of women's work.

The findings for the male-type occupation (and the one sample of school teachers) also indicated that there may be differences in the basic dispositions or attitudes of workers who turn to male-type occupations and those who turn to female-type ones. Occupational choice is not random, so that those who enter female-type occupations and those who enter male-type ones may have different predisposing characteristics. Workers in female-type occupations seem to choose a "limited work role" strategy while workers in the male-type occupations seem to choose a "limited family role" strategy.

Whereas individuals with different characteristics self-select themselves for different occupations; occupations also shape the behaviors of those who enter them. If predispositions determine the time-allocation strategy that will be employed, then women with different characteristics will turn to different occupation types, and the strategy they espouse will reflect their preferences. If, on the other hand, the occupation imposes the strategy, then women have less freedom to choose the strategy and are "forced" into certain occupations in which they can implement the strategy that fits their needs. The different strategies may also be due to a combination of the two so that workers with a certain disposition turn to occupations in which a specific time-allocation strategy is required while workers with different dispositions turn to occupations in which a different strategy is more prevalent.

It may also be that work in male-type occupations is adjusted to the traditional division of labor that attributes greater importance to men's work roles than to their family roles and therefore, *all* workers in them are forced to follow the "limited family role" strategy. In contrast, female-type occupations have no inherent or pre-determined strategy and therefore workers in them can prefer to emphasize either the family sphere or the work domain. In either case, women cannot be treated as a homogeneous group, for whom a single and specific strategy is applicable.

Moore and Toren (1998) analyzed the work–family intersection (whether conflictual or beneficial) as perceived and felt by women and examined women's subjective orientations, preferences, and attitudes to family and work. Their study, based on 3000 Israeli working women drawn in 2000, focused on work–family orientation as the degree of importance that individuals attribute to their engagement in each domain, assuming that the subjective dimensions affect the objective accommodations and trade-offs that women make to multiple role obligations in their lives (see also Hakim, 2002).

They hypothesized that if one adopts the scarcity-conflict approach in reference to the family–work problematic then the logical coping strategies to overload and conflict would be the avoiding or curtailing certain roles and tasks, role articulation, role contraction, priority scaling, compromise, balancing, sequencing, etc. This would force women to choose to limit either their work involvement or their family involvement (Forste & Fox, 2012; Jang et al., 2012). According to the "curtailing" model, combining roles provides no benefits and the sense of pressure and conflicting demands may even hinder women's performance.

If, on the other hand, one accepts the enrichment or enhancement perspective that views a multiplicity of roles, though not stress-free as potentially beneficial, then combining career and family roles could be a better solution than avoiding one of them. According to this view, these two important life areas may enrich each other and their combination has positive results, even if either or both roles are limited (e.g., Craig & Mullan, 2010). Those who choose to engage in both roles will see themselves as benefiting from both so that the one augments and contributes to the other. Thus, even when fulfilling tasks that are related to one role, the other role enriches the way women perform those tasks, etc. Put in another way, spillover from one domain to another can actually be advantageous, and moreover, the enrichment argument assumes that the benefits of multiple roles outweigh the costs associated with them, leading to net gratification rather than strain.

Moore and Toren (1998) concluded that women's positive attitudes toward both family and work should signal to employers that married women, with or without children are not necessarily less motivated, or committed to their jobs than single women who are supposedly not hindered by family duties and demands (e.g., Ferree 2010).

Moreover, these findings are compatible with the enhancement model (Ruderman et al., 2002; Rothbard, 2001): women for whom both family and work are highly important and valuable find the combination as an enriching experience. It increases their self-worth, broadens and diversifies their social networks, and empowers their position in the family. In addition, the study showed that "Combiners" adhere to more gender-egalitarian values pertaining to work roles in general, and they are more willing to make tradeoffs at work to accommodate their family needs.

Since both family and work are sanctioned and endorsed in the sociocultural context, engagement in both roles and regarding them as highly important appears to be a functional coping mechanism in a complex and changing environment where old and new norms coincide. Moreover, this combination may also be regarded as an integrating mechanism linking family and work through individuals who fulfill roles in both domains.

This is not to say that this kind of combination is easy to implement in practice by individual women and families. It does, however, mean that employers do not have to worry about women's work involvement, nor about their familial responsibility and commitment but rather aim to establish legal, institutional, and organizational arrangements that will make the combination of family and work more rewarding for women, as it is for men.

Are the Stereotypes Changing?

Sex-based stereotypes, like all stereotypes, result from the cognitive process of categorizing social groups, and although they are often clear and obvious, they may also be hidden or implied, turning blatant stereotypes into more difficult-to-detect prejudicial behaviors (Moore, 2011). "Benevolent sexism" (i.e., "a subjectively favorable, chivalrous ideology that offers protection and affection to women who embrace conventional roles." Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 110), is an example of such stereotypes which lead to gender inequality. Women often endorse benevolent sexism (especially in the most sexist cultures), and are rewarded for conforming to the patriarchal status quo (Krefting, 2003).

As stereotypes derive from cultural values, attitudes, and norms, they may change when society changes. The stereotypes in work settings are expressed in selection decisions, interpretation of actions, and performance evaluations, and they reinforce stereotypic expectations, fortifying them against information that may challenge or discredit them. The result is self limiting behaviors of women (Krefting, 2003).

The gendered traits and the division of roles discussed earlier in this chapter are often associated with—and strengthened by—stereotypes and gender ideology, that is, perceptions, expectations, and beliefs concerning the appropriate roles of women and men in family and society (Auster, 2001). If traits are becoming less gendered, and gender roles are changing to allow men and women a more egalitarian division of labor, are the salient stereotypes against working women changing as well? This issue is of grave importance for socialization processes as well as for women who make atypical life choices that may compel them to go against the norms or social expectations (Cleveland, Stockdale, & Murphy, 2000).

If the stereotypes are not weakening as quickly as behaviors of individuals, unconventional behavior will not be sanctioned or legitimized. As Davies Netzley (2002) shows, feminine personality is still considered more suitable to female-type occupations whereas masculine personality is still considered more suitable to male-type occupations. She claims that gender stereotypes are still used to justify

the gendered hierarchy of occupations, so that other things being equal, male-type occupations have higher prestige.

Stereotypes are among the previously "neglected topics," according to Gutek (2001). Research in the last decades provides mixed findings concerning changes in stereotypes, with most studies showing that there is no change or even a strengthening of gender stereotypes (so that even new domains like virtual service providers on the Internet suffer from the same gender stereotyping seen in actual customer services, thus reinforcing the existing gender divisions). Other studies show a reduction in stereotypic attitudes and perceptions. Valentine (1998) found that it is mostly men with low scores on self-esteem who tend to have negative stereotypes and oppose the employment of women, while men with high self-esteem scores tended to approve of women working. It is logical to assume that the opposition to women will be even stronger against women in managerial or male-type jobs.

Most studies examine work-related stereotypes; fewer studies focus on stereotypes concerning women's family roles (Lips & Lawson, 2009). Research of work-related stereotypes focus mostly on male-type or managerial jobs (Pelham, Hetts, & Stratton, 2001). Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, (2002) claim that there has been no significant change in the emphasis that men and women place on stereotypical masculine characteristics of managers, and show that although managerial stereotypes place less emphasis on masculine characteristics than in earlier studies, a "good manager" is still perceived as predominantly masculine.

Stereotypes concerning women in these jobs deal with two issues: the necessary characteristics of managers or workers in male-type jobs, and whether women have them; and the debate as to whether women perform this type of jobs differently from men, and the devaluation of their work investments if different performance is assumed. Rutherford (2001), for example, maintains that the two issues may explain women's lack of progress to the top of organizations, and claims that men seem to be able to hold on to the most powerful positions in organizations because the stereotypes favor them. Moreover, she argues that a large number of women in management positions does not lead to a more feminized management style. "Stereotypes of women still act against their acceptance into positions of power while men's ability to adopt traditionally feminine skills of communication means that women's supposed advantage may have been leapfrogged" (Rutherford, 2001, p. 344). This finding concurs with Moore's (2007) finding according to which although women self-attribute masculine traits more than men self-attribute feminine ones, men use feminine traits as an alternative means of attaining control over life situations more than women, for whom these means are not considered legitimate (at least in Israeli society).

Similar findings were found in Poland in Tomkiewicz, Frankel, Adeyemi-Bello, and Sagan, (2004) study in which they compared attitudes toward women managers in Poland and the USA. Their results suggest that Polish women encounter stereotypic barriers when they aspire to managerial careers and that Polish males express more stereotypic attitudes toward women managers than do American males. Similarly, Owen, Scherer, Sincoff, and Cordano, (2003) compared the stereotypic perceptions of women managers in the USA and Chile and found that men in both cultures had more stereotypic and negative perceptions of women managers than

did women, and that in the USA both males and females had less stereotypic perceptions of women managers than Chileans.

Examining women's performance in situations in which the stereotypes lead to expectation of poor performance, Sekaquaptewa and Thompson (2003) show that this was indeed detrimental to women's performance. Men's performance was not affected by such expectations, and this may act as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Even when they work in similar jobs, men and women still employ different strategies because of stereotypes, claim Millward and Freeman (2002), who tested the hypothesis that role expectations may constrain or facilitate innovation. They found that innovative solutions were attributed more often to a male than a female manager, whereas adaptive solutions were attributed more often to a female than a male manager, and attributed the differences to women's tendency to avoid risk of failure or mistake, the risk of criticism, and the risk of not receiving credit for ideas.

Moreover, Krefting (2003) shows that women find it difficult to prove they have the skills to "play the game" according to men's rules and politics, while men presume they have the skills. Consequently, women remain on the margin of high-power hierarchies. A similar finding was reported by Toren and Moore (1998), showing that academic institutions do not take into account "potential for success" when they contemplate the advancement of women, but they do when considering men's advancement: women have to provide proof of their ability to succeed in academia, while men only need to prove they have the potential to succeed, and the "burden of proof" is, therefore, harsher for women than for men.

Another category of studies reveals that women's family roles may still be a major cause for devaluing their skills. Cuddy et al. (2004), for example, claimed that even at the beginning of the new century, one of the reasons women fail to advance is that when working women become mothers, they are ascribed greater warmth and their "homemakers" stereotyping strengthens, but their perceived competence as "professionals" declines. In contrast, working men who become fathers gained perceived warmth without losing their perceived competence. Moreover, these stereotypic perceptions had a significant impact on hiring, promoting, and investing in working mothers relative to working fathers or childless employees. Similarly, Mueller and Yoder (1997) showed that women employed in gender atypical occupations were stereotypically considered less expressive and socially distanced than those employed in typical occupations.

Other studies place the blame for inequality—at least in part—on women. Examining why women are underrepresented in international management, Fischlmayr (2002), acknowledges that the main factors are the companies' reluctance to send women abroad because of stereotypical views of decision makers and the prejudices women are expected to face abroad, the career demands of their spouses, and the small number of women in top management. However, she also adds as a factor "women's own fault for not being selected" (Fischlmayr, 2002, p. 773), claiming that they lack self-confidence, exhibit stereotypical behavior, and underestimate their abilities. She concludes that women themselves contribute to their under representation in international management. Feminist studies, however, contest these explanations (Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004).

Attempting to refute the stereotypes, some studies provide evidence that the stereotypes lack substance. Hayes, Allinson, & Armstrong, (2004), for example, found no support for stereotypic characterization of women managers and women in general as being more intuitive than their male equivalents. They even show that female nonmanagers are more analytical and less intuitive than male nonmanagers, and more analytical than female managers. Similarly, Gottfried, Gottfried, Bathurst, & Killian, (1999) claim those working mothers who retain most of the family burden still invest as much as men in their work, and Moore (2009) shows that men and women place the same importance on both their family and work roles.

Other studies that challenge the influence of stereotypes deal with the impact of family on women's work. Gottfried et al. (1999), for example, contend that maternal employment appears to have no adverse consequences on child development. Indeed, the children of employed mothers seem to benefit from their mothers' employment in many ways (e.g., they tend to be more independent and self-confident), and they tend to have less stereotyped attitudes about gender roles than do children whose mothers are unemployed. Their mothers are not as overstressed or dissatisfied as the stereotypes previously assumed, assert Crosby et al. (2004), no matter how many children they have. Prior findings denigrating single child mothers and glorifying eight children mothers were not replicated, though childless women were still evaluated less favorably.

The varied findings concerning the stereotypes may indicate that some of the stereotypes in advanced western societies are changing. Not as fast as gender roles and traits, perhaps, but ideological change can be seen and has the potential to legitimize even further changes.

Even in a traditional society like Israel, examination of the stereotypes in 2007 shows changes (Moore, 2009). Nine prevalent stereotypes were analyzed: (1) Working women are not as good mothers as nonworking women; (2) working women are not as good spouses as nonworking women; (3) raising children hinders women's careers, not men's; (4) for most women having a family is more important than a professional career; (5) men are the main breadwinners for their families; (6) men get most of their satisfaction in life from their work, less from their family; (7) men are more loyal to the workplace than women because they must provide for their families; (8) for most men, a successful careerist woman is a less desirable spouse; (9) it is justified that men's salaries are higher than women's when in similar work (see Table 7.5).

Respondents were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with each stereotype on a scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 6 (totally agree). Principle component factor analysis shows that these stereotypes form two factors. The first includes the two stereotypes comparing the motherhood and spousal relations of working and nonworking mothers (items 1 and 2). These stereotypes are *not* strongly supported by either men or women (the means for women are 1.97 and 1.84, respectively, for men—2.21 and 2.12), indicating that Israelis do *not* think that working women are worse mothers or spouses than nonworking women. The rejection of these stereotypes is stronger among women than among men ($t = -2.65$ and -3.15, respectively).

Table 7.5 Gender differences in perception of stereotypes (*t* test)

		Sex	*N*	Mean	SD	*t*
1.	Working women are not as good mothers as nonworking women	Women	461	1.97	1.259	−2.651**
		Men	340	2.21	1.302	
2.	Working women are not as good spouses as nonworking women	Women	461	1.84	1.143	−3.149**
		Men	339	2.12	1.332	
3.	Raising children hinders women's careers, not men's	Women	457	4.39	1.468	4.781**
		Men	340	3.87	1.543	
4.	For most women having a family is more important than a professional career	Women	455	4.15	1.419	0.497
		Men	329	4.10	1.442	
5.	Men are the main breadwinners for their families	Women	461	3.73	1.757	0.070
		Men	337	3.72	1.635	
6.	Men get most of their satisfaction in life from their work, less from their family	Women	451	3.29	1.542	5.299**
		Men	334	2.72	1.442	
7.	Men are more loyal to the workplace than women because they must provide for their families	Women	461	3.28	1.756	0.044
		Men	337	3.27	1.685	
8.	For most men, a successful careerist woman is a less desirable spouse	Women	446	2.86	1.510	1.831
		Men	335	2.66	1.508	
9.	It is justified that men's salaries are higher than women's when in similar work	Women	459	1.89	1.355	−3.612**
		Men	340	2.26	1.510	
10.	**stereo1 (1 and 2) (Cronbach α=0.79)**	Women	460	1.9065	1.09860	−3.146**
		Men	338	2.1627	1.18666	
11.	**stereo2 (3–9) (Cronbach α=0.68)**	Women	427	3.6417	0.96828	3.716**
		Men	314	3.3790	0.93802	

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$

The second factor relates to the seven more general stereotypes concerning gender roles and preferences. Responses to these items show that Israelis support most of them, but not all. In most cases, women are *more* stereotypic than men. They believe, for example, that "raising children hinders women's careers, not men's" more than men believe that. Their belief may be due to their first hand knowledge of the price they pay when they become mothers: heavier burden, more time pressure, expectations that women will shift the center of their lives to their homes when they become mothers, and so forth (see also Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Lai & Hynie, 2011).

Women also believe that men get most of their satisfaction in life from their work more than men, indicating, perhaps, that women have not yet realized the change

that men's responses seem to indicate: family is of great importance for them today, and is now considered a legitimate source of satisfaction.

Both men and women still see men as the "main breadwinners for their families," and perhaps this is the reason why they both believe that "men are more loyal to the work place than women." There are no gender differences concerning these issues, but despite these beliefs, women still reject the claim that "men should earn more than women" more strongly than men. Hence, they seem to be indicating that although the burden of breadwinning is still mostly men's burden, as domestic responsibilities are mainly women's burden, when they do the same type of work, they should earn equal wages (see also Tharenou, 2013).

Though most of the examined stereotypes are still held by both men and women, and in some of them women are even more stereotypic, some of them are weakening. But is that true for all segments of Israeli society? Examination of the 2007 data shows that there are no differences between religious and secular Israelis regarding the stereotypes concerning motherhood and partnership of working and nonworking women (see Table 7.6), and the stereotypes are rather weak. However, there are some interesting differences between them in the more general stereotypes.

Religious men believe in the "men the breadwinner" stereotype more than all other groups, and they find "career women" the least desirable. Secular men, on the other hand, think that men get their satisfaction from work, not from their families *less* than all other groups, while secular women think so *more* than all other groups. Collectively, these findings seem to indicate that the more traditional segments of Israeli society have changed less than the less traditional, secular segments. However, a closer look at the data shows that religious women seem to be less supportive of the stereotypes than their secular counterparts! Hence, it may be assumed that some changes in the traditional segments of society are occurring, led by women.

Still, findings from a previous study (Moore, 2007) show that religious women work fewer hours and more among them are in part-time jobs than secular women, their accumulated number of years in the labor market, and tenure in current jobs are lower, fewer among them are in positions of authority, they are in lower status jobs, and they work closer to home so that the time they spend traveling to work is shorter than that of secular women. Their work patterns seem to reflect a belief that women should choose occupations and jobs that will minimize role conflict and take family considerations and responsibilities into account ("minimizing work role" strategy—see Moore & Gobi, 1995). They seem to think that women should enter jobs in which skills do not deteriorate to enable them to leave work when family obligations necessitate it (e.g., when their children are young or when their work interferes with that of their spouse).

It is not surprising, therefore, that religious women retain negative beliefs and work-related stereotypes more than secular women. They also accept the negative stereotypes against working women according to which they are but secondary providers, and cannot invest in their careers as much as men or risk being poorer mothers and wives. Moreover, researchers show that the impact of religion is unchanged by women, no matter what they do, and its impact is even strengthening among diverse groups (like those who go through religious fortification, especially among

Table 7.6 Stereotype differences between religious and secular men and women (ANOVA; Averages are not exactly the same because of missing values in religiosity)

		Women		Men		Main effects		Gender X religiosity interaction
		Secular ($N=207$)	Religious ($N=164$)	Secular ($N=195$)	Religious (109)	Gender	Religiosity	
1.	Working women are not as good mothers as nonworking women	1.83	1.88	1.98	2.30	7.058**	2.874	1.960
2.	Working women are not as good spouses as nonworking women	1.79	1.72	1.94	2.15	7.460**	0.307	2.010
3.	Raising children hinders women's careers, not men's	2.90	2.83	2.52	2.78	4.539**	0.386	1.842
4.	For most women having a family is more importantthan a professional career	2.96	3.03	3.00	3.26	0.796	0.504	1.259
5.	Men are the main breadwinners for their families	4.09	3.96	3.86	4.33	0.003	1.158	6.556**
6.	Men get most of their satisfaction in life from work, less from their family	3.28	2.93	2.50	2.61	27.822**	1.755	3.790*
7.	Men are more loyal to the workplace than women	4.50	4.27	3.76	3.74	30.829**	1.404	0.698
8.	For most men, a successful careerist woman is less desirable	3.51	3.43	3.42	3.81	0.551	0.763	3.086*
9.	It is justified that men's salaries are higher than women's when in similar work	1.66	1.91	2.00	2.44	15.880**	9.719**	0.791
10.	**Stereo1 (1 and 2)**	1.78	1.79	1.94	2.18	8.481**	1.632	1.933
11.	**Stereo2 (3–9)**	3.55	3.42	3.15	3.39	11.619**	0.157	6.184**

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$

adolescent girls and new immigrants from the USA (Sands & Roer-Strier, 2004). Even when religious women attain higher education than their mothers, and this provides them with greater freedom, it is men who define what women will learn, how much they can learn and in which institutions.

However, Blumen (2002) claims that among Ultra orthodox women, exposure to modern values of work and gender leads to discontent, which is suggestive of private resistance and the modification of women's personal values. Still, as these women are very religious, a dent in the armor is but a slight lessening in traditional divisions.

Conclusions

Structural, macrolevel factors (e.g., education level, the degree of sex segregation in the labor market, availability of child-care facilities, tax exemptions for working mothers or dual-worker families and other measures of industrialization) should be included in the analysis of changes in the lives of women as they contribute to our understanding of differences among societies.

The changes are difficult to attain. Women must first become aware that they are discriminated against and deprived of equal status as a group and identify with the group despite the possible differences between them. Second, women must realize that their inferior position in patriarchal societies is the result of a structuration process dominated by men and that the process can be influenced by collective action (i.e., joint women activities for the attainment of common interests, and the establishment of organized women's movements or pressure groups).

Also, analysis of the Israeli sociohistorical processes seems to indicate that attempts to advance women's issues through activity in male-dominated social movements are futile. Joining such movements in which women are forced to depend on the good will of mostly male policy- and decision-makers did not increase equality for Israeli women in a significant manner. Although some laws were passed in their favor, the sociocultural changes they brought were minimal.

Women's organizations that espoused derivative ideologies (rather than competing ideologies), like NAAMAT and WIZO,[12] did in their earlier days, had but limited freedom of action, and provided superficial and marginal changes in women's life conditions. They may have also bound women's actions, and confined them to activities that did not jeopardize the social systems created and maintained by male-dominated ideologies. Only when competing (mostly feminist) ideologies appeared in Israel and were espoused by both existing and new women's organizations were

[12] These are the two largest women's organizations, and they focused on creating daycare centers, leading the fight for new mothers' rights (e.g., both organizations fought for the creation and implementation of the laws according to which mothers of young children work an hour less every day, but are paid for that hour.

women able to denounce the structuration processes and fight for change in the patriarchal social structure.

Thus, the dissatisfaction with social systems directs the structuration processes away from reproducing the existing sociocultural systems and toward social change. The gendered division of labor is weakening so that women not only join the labor force, they may also opt for careers in male-type occupations that demand intense involvement and investment of time and energy.

Some of the noteworthy consequences of these changes include the emergent legitimacy for a growing flexibility in the gender schema of men and women, the increased egalitarianism in gender roles and the weakening of gender stereotypes that limited the behaviors of both genders. The less rigid gender schemas allow men and women to join occupations that require behaviors that were considered typical of one gender, not the other (e.g., women managers and men kindergarten teachers). Most men and women still choose gender typical occupations, but the variety of options for both genders somewhat increased. It also changed the division of roles between men and women. Though men are still considered the main breadwinners and women—the homemakers, the balance has somewhat changed between the 1980s and the beginning of the new millennium, a trend that seems to continue and even gain momentum in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The change is slower in the more traditional segments of society, and religious women still adhere to the traditional gender roles more than secular women. But for them, too, some changes have occurred and their support for the division of roles is weakening so they are less stereotypic than religious men.

Although in many western societies stereotypes against working women and their ability to successfully combine family responsibilities and work obligations are less relevant today than they were in the past, these stereotypes are still prevalent (Lyness & Terrazas, 2006), especially among the more tradition-oriented segments in societies. It seemed logical to assume that as more women entered male-type occupations, and the division of labor became more egalitarian, the stereotypes will weaken, diminishing the actuarial basis of the stereotypical perceptions of women's work. The change is rather slow and diverse explanations were suggested for their perseverance (e.g., Eckes, 2002).

Many of the explanations present the tendency to accept the traditional division of labor as the basis for agreement with the stereotypes against working women and the devaluation of their work investments, especially against women who are mothers and wives. Orthodox women tend to support libertarian, egalitarian ideologies *less* than secular and nontraditional women. Such women who strongly support the traditional gendered division of labor tend to have heavier family responsibilities than women who do not support it (i.e., the former get married more, and have more children than the latter). Because accepting the stereotype means lowering expectations regarding women's ability to succeed at work, those who accept the stereotypes tend to believe that it is still difficult (or even impossible) for women to successfully combine family and career. This belief is expected to hinder the ability of women to succeed in the labor market. In contrast, women who do not accept the stereotypes are expected to believe that role combination is possible, and as a result,

will express greater life satisfaction. This is expected to be most salient among women in female-type occupations as they are in jobs that enable them to combine the roles more easily.

In this view, gender stereotypes are ideological and prescriptive rather than simply descriptive. Their influence on women's employment is unlikely to diminish simply with the passage of time or accumulating evidence on women's capabilities. While insightful, alone this framing leads to the pessimistic view that ambivalent attitudes toward women are intractable.

As a result, today Israeli women face all the problems which women in other achievement-oriented societies have to face, but their plight is aggravated by the complexity of Israel's immigrant society and its diverse structure of religiosity. Hence, the growing possibilities of joining atypical occupations call for a re-examination of the stereotypes concerning women and their work, the formation of models for imitation and identification, and a more thorough examination of the factors involved in the structuring of labor markets.

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Chapter 8
Gender and Culture: A Russian Perspective

Irina A. Shmeleva and Ludmila G. Pochebut

Introduction

Russia has always been, and still remains, a polyethnic and multicultural country. According to the most recent census of 2012 (GKS, 2012), the population of Russia numbered 142.86 million and comprised 189 distinct ethnic groups, including 66.2 million males and 76.7 million females. According to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, ethnic identity is determined by the person him- or herself, and is fixed during the National census. We need to stress here that the English term "Russian" has two meanings, indicating both ethnicity for ethnic Russians and nationality for Russian citizens (transliterated as Rossyjane). In this chapter, the term "Russian" will be used to refer to ethnic Russians, who make up 80.9 % of the country's population (111.02 million) and constitute the largest ethnic group. Tatars form the second largest group, accounting for 3.87 % of the population (5,310,000 people), followed by Ukrainians (1.41 %, or 1,928,000 people); Bashkirs (1.15 %, or 1,584,000 people); and Chuvash, Chechens, and the ethnic groups of Dagestan (Lezgins, Avars, Dargwa, and Kumyks), who make up 1.0 % of the population (from 1,413,000 to 1,501,000 people), (GKS, 2012).

According to Sikevich (2011), Russia is a uniquely asymmetric Federation, with a multitude of disparate ethnic groups residing within its borders, and almost no monoethnic geographical territories. This leads to unique kinds of interethnic and intercultural relations at the psychological level, and equally unique kinds of multinational relations at the political level. Russia is also a country that covers a vast territory, and, at the same time, has very low population density. There is a considerable gap in the level of economic development between the citizens of large cities and the provincial regions of Russia. The National Human Development Report for

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the Russian Federation (2013) refers to significant regional disparities, with only 20% of the population living in more prosperous regions. This is one of the reasons for the large discrepancy between worldviews and social behaviors of people in different parts of Russia (Gefter, 2012).

As Russia is still in the midst of a profound social transition that began more than 25 years ago, it continues to face high levels of interethnic tensions, evident in ethnic conflict and aggression, internal migration, and ethnic prejudices (Soldatova, 1998). These processes are accompanied by interethnic struggles for power, prestige, and privilege, in which ethnic identity serves as a form of psychological defense (Sikevich, 2011).

Sikevich (2011) argues that the semantic notion of "culture" in the polyethnic context of Russia is not equal to that of "ethnicity." Culture, arguably, is the foundation or basis of ethnic self-consciousness and identity (Sikevich). Memories of the historical events of the nineteenth and twentieth century still influence multiethnic relations and interethnic tensions within the country. Gender and culture are interrelated. Expectations about attributes and behaviors of women and men, and the relations between them—in other words, gender—are shaped by culture (Williams, 2001; Best & Williams, 2001; OECD, 2012).

Gender research, amid the conditions of acute social change and upheaval that characterize Russian society right up to the present, has become particularly crucial. The UN Millennium Development Goals (2000), among other things, outlined the task of promoting gender equality and empowering women. In Russia, males and females of all ages have equal access to education, with 10% more women than men availing themselves of higher education (Women and Men in Russia, 2012). Nevertheless, positions of influence in government agencies reflect an imbalance in power along the lines of gender. A previous study (Shmeleva, 2013) found that between 2008 and 2011 only three of the 18 Federal Ministers were women, with only one remaining at the present time (i.e., 2014). Only two of the 54 Federal Agencies of Executive Power are headed by women. Only two of the country's 83 regions have female governors, and only 14% of senators and deputies in Russia's national assembly are women. This imbalance is evident in professional self-realization with regard to both salary differences and career prospects. Political participation of women in Russia remains very low compared with that of other European countries (UNDP, 2010).

Problems of gender inequality are not just women's issues in Russia; they affect the male population, as well, and are particularly acute. One of the most striking problems is the difference in life expectancy between men and women—women in Russia live 12.3 years longer than men (UNDP in Russia, 2011; Baskakova, Mezentseva, & Zotova, 2006). This difference in life expectancy is one of the highest in the world according to UN. Between 1991 and 2001, life for men expectancy in Russia fell from 68.5 to 58.5 years for men, climbing up to a little over 63 years in 2010. The UNDP in Russia, 2011 notes that Russia has been unable to overcome the high mortality rate among Russian men since the 1960s. The reasons for the low life expectancy of men in Russia, according to the report, are alcohol consumption, tobacco, road accidents, industrial accidents, physical trauma, and a high suicide and murder rate (UNDP, 2010; Shmeleva, 2013). Also the Gender Inequality Index in Russia is quite high according to the World Economic Forum (2013).Thus,

problems of gender in modern Russia need to be examined not only at the political but also at the psychological level. In the following section, we review studies on Russian Culture carried out by European and Russian researchers.

Studies on Russian Culture

From ancient times, Russia has attracted travelers, writers, and scholars as a uniquely enigmatic place (see, for example, *La Russie en 1839* by Marquis de Custine (Custine, 1996). George Gorer (1962), British anthropologist, also wrote a book on Russian culture (*The People of Great Russia: A Psychological Study)* examining characteristics of Russians and their cultural traditions. Margaret Mead (1932) and Clyde Kluckhohn (1992) also wrote about Russian cultural development. Western scholars, however, have not elaborated these compelling observations in any systematic way. In a work by a group of European and American authors devoted to the interaction between cultural and biological factors in ontogenetic development, the Russian context was not mentioned at all (Keller, 2002). At the same time, interest in the Russian cultural context arose at the end of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century in connection with global and European projects examining value systems, and employing methodologies outlined by Inglehart (1997), Hofstede (2001), Hofstede, and Minkov (2010) and Schwartz (2004). Furthermore, in the past few years, Western scholars have published research that examines Russian culture (Brandt & Henry, 2012; Gelfand, LaFee, Fahey, & Fenberg, 2013). Still, Russian ethnic and cultural diversity remains underrepresented in European and American psychological studies (Jurcik, Chentsova-Dulton, Solopieiva-Jurcikova, Ryder 2013). In order to delineate gender differences in the context of gender and culture, we need to focus first on the cultural dimensions of the problem that are specific to Russia

According to Hofstede et al. (2010), the cultural dimension scores for Russia are distributed in the following way: power distance 93; individualism 39; masculinity 36; uncertainty avoidance 95, pragmatism 81; and indulgence 20. Russia has one of the highest power distance scores (6th rank in the world) that are between those of Romania, Panama, Guatemala, and Slovakia. Russia's score on individualism/collectivism is below average on the scale and, therefore, it is more collectivistic society occupying place between Suriname and Croatia. As Barndt (2012) shows, the Russian scores for individualism are between those of Iran and Brazil, and for gender empowerment between Vietnam and the Philippines.

Ethnic and cross-cultural psychology studies began to appear only at the end of 1990s in Russia (Lebedeva, 1997). These covered a broad spectrum of topics including, the psychology of ethnic and national relations, social-psychological aspects of adaptation and migration, ethnic conflicts, values, interethnic tensions, and ethnic tolerance (Lebedeva, 2001; Pochebut & Shmeleva, 2005; Pochebut, 2012; Shmeleva, 2006; Sikevich, 2011; Soldatova, 1998). Unfortunately, gender issues were not the primary focus of these studies, and were not included in the publications mentioned above.

Studies by Russian researchers are not well represented in English speaking journals for several other reasons. They include language barriers (the papers are for the most part written in Russian); the underrepresentation of Russian psychology journals in Scopus and Web of Science databases (only three are indexed); and the country's long period of isolation from the global scientific community, especially in the social sciences. One of the aims of this chapter is to close this gap and to shed light on gender and culture studies in Russian psychology, which have been neglected in the literature at a global level.

Our chapter also aims to provide a survey of gender and culture studies in a polyethnic Russian context. We take as a starting point the perspective that the interaction of culture and gender is based on the intersection of multiple influences: biological differences and psychological characteristics, as well as cultural practices, and ecological, social, political, and historical factors (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Best & Williams, 2001). In our analysis, we will view gender differences from the perspective of a number of psychological constructs, in line with Best and Williams' work. The goal of this chapter is to present a comparative analysis of various ethnic groups living in Russia with regard to characteristics relating to gender issues.

Method

In this chapter, we employed the methodology of narrative meta-analysis (Kornilov & Kornilova, 2010) and systematically examined papers that studied gender differences in the context of ethnic groups residing in the Russian Federation. In contemporary Russia, psychological research and analysis of the interrelationship of gender and culture is limited. The studies are published primarily in the form of monographs (of which there are few), articles in peer-reviewed journals (there are no special journals for cultural, gender or cross-cultural psychology studies), and PhD thesis summaries (peer-reviewed by three "opponents").

A scholarly search of the Russian Scientific Electronic Database E-library (http://elibrary.ru/) in January 2014 by the authors, using the keywords "gender" or "gender research," yielded over 14,800 results. These were works published in Russian over a 15-year period, beginning in 1999. Of these, only 10 %, or just over 1480 articles, were studies related to the field of psychology. The rest covered such fields as sociology, philosophy, linguistics, etc. A search using the keyword "culture" led to over 602,502 results, but a combination of the keywords "culture" and "gender" led to just over 70 results. Only ten of these were related to the field of psychology. As the E-library database includes primarily papers and books published in Russian, we can only conclude that these issues have up until now received scant attention in Russian psychology.

In our view, one of the most promising and relevant sources for meta-analysis of culture and gender studies are PhD theses summaries, which are peer-reviewed publications of 25–30 pages. We argue that an analysis of PhD theses reveals the

most current tendencies in the development of this scholarly field. Of the 7676 psychology dissertations that were defended in Russia between 2000 and 2012, only 106 (i.e., less than 1.5 %) were devoted to gender research. According to Nazarova (2013), we can differentiate two major groups of studies. The first (57 %) focused on the study of gender traits in the personality over various ages and examined gender characteristics of the intellect and abilities, behavioral and leadership qualities, and gender perceptions and representations. We agree with the author that these studies are more concerned with sexual dimorphism than gender research itself. The second group (43 %) was more immediately concerned with the field of gender studies per se, and touched upon such issues as gender socialization, mechanisms of gender identity, the psychology of gender relations, and the applications of gender theory. Most of the participants in the gender research were adults, teenagers, and students, and only a few studies looked at gender issues in early childhood and late adulthood.

For our analysis, we selected 59 PhD thesis summaries published from 2000 to 2013 in the Russian National Library database featuring the keywords "gender" and "culture." Among them, 81 % were studies of gender issues in monoethnic groups, mostly Russians (80.9 % of the population), and only about 19 % could be described as cross-cultural research that compared different ethnic groups. In cross-cultural research, ethnic Russians were compared with other ethnic groups living in Russian Federation, among them ethnic groups of the North Caucasus (Ossetian, Ingush, Chechen, Lezgin, Avar, Kumyk), Siberia (Buryat, Yakut, Khaka), the Volga region (Tatar), and Komi living in the northwest of Russia. It is these groups that will be discussed in this chapter.

Of the research topics, those concerning gender socialization (20 studies) were most numerous, followed by professional self-realization and gender organizational behavior (18 studies); family relations (8 studies); gender roles in politics and the media (7 studies); and gender, culture, and aggression (6 studies).

The studies we selected for this chapter were then grouped according: family relations and family gender roles in various Russian ethnic groups; gender and culture differences in professional self-realization and organizational behavior; gender self-identification; gender and cultural differences in aggressive behavior; and gender and cultural stereotypes in the media, political discourse, and practices in current-day Russia. Our research involved both cross-cultural analysis and the study of the interactions between gender and culture within the framework of a single, predominantly Russian culture.

According to Berry et al. (2002), "most of the social behaviors studies still derive from the interests of Western psychologists, using concepts rooted in Western thinking about human behavior. There is a need for more indigenous approaches to these, and other, social behaviors, before we can say that the area as a whole is well understood" (p. 84). Apropos of the above observation, we made it a priority to select studies for the analysis on the basis of whether the authors were themselves representatives of the cultures they examine.

The methodologies the authors employed were based on Western concepts and research tools, although approaches specific to Russia were also used. The research methods derived from Western psychology are as follows: Bem Sex-Role

Inventory (Bem, 1987), Osgood Semantic Differentiation Scale (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957), Kelly Repertory Grid (Fransella, Bell, & Bannister, 2004), the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (16 PF) (Cattell, Eber, & Tatsuoka, 1970), the Buss–Durkee Hostility Inventory (Buss & Perry, 1992) and others. One third of the research methods used were developed in Russia and have never been translated into other languages. These included several questionnaires concerning social and ethnic identity, types of aggressive behavior, and sociocultural adaptation (Pochebut, 2012).

In the meta-analytical study we present in this chapter, our main goal was to cite a broad sampling of research carried out in the polyethnic and multicultural environment of Russia, demonstrating that representatives of various ethnic groups exhibit both general and specific characteristics related to gender self-realization, identity, behavior, family and organizational relations, etc.

Meta-Analysis of Research on Gender and Culture

The Russian National Library Database shows that the gender research in Russian scholarship is multidisciplinary and concerns such fields as sociology, philosophy, linguistics, and psychology. Taking the field of psychology as a point of reference, we should make a few remarks concerning the notions of "sex" and "gender" in Russian psychology, in particular. The term "sex" appeared in Russian psychology texts for the first time at the beginning of the twentieth century in the works of Lazursky (1874–1917), Basov (1982–1931), and Blonsky (1884–1941) in the context of views on ontogenetic development (Shmeleva, 2002). In the mid 1960s, the study of sexual dimorphism or di-psychism continued in the research of Ananiev (1966), the founder of the St. Petersburg School of Psychology. Ananiev's research from the mid 1960s onward reveals the unequivocal influence of sexual dimorphism on the neuropsychological and general somatic development of the individual. He viewed sex as an integral trait of the individual and of the organization of the genotype, and tried to determine how sex influences the individual's psychological characteristics and behavior (Ananiev, 1980). The notion of "gender" appeared in Russian scholarship later, at the end of the 1990s, and from that moment on the distinction between the psychology of sexual differences and gender psychology has been maintained in Russian psychology, following the line of research of Western psychology.

Gender Studies of Family Gender Roles and Professional Self-Realization in Different Ethnic Groups

We assume that the family is considered to be one of the primary influences in gender socialization (Kon, 2003). Thus, we begin our description and analysis with the results of a recent and very detailed study of gender roles in family relations in different ethnic cultures (Khudalova, 2013). Khudalova's research focuses on

gender self-realization in the family in Russian and Ossetian cultures. The author herself is Ossetian. The participants of the study were 102 Russians and 254 Ossetians between the ages of 20 and 60, all residents of the city of Vladikavkaz, in the republic of North Ossetia-Alania (Northern Caucasus). The results point to a culturally specific difference that significantly influences self-actualization (the possibility to realize one's full potential) and the acquisition of gender roles in a family. The author identified this factor as "temporal orientation." This manifested itself as placing a high value on the past, and strong adherence to traditions and cultural norms, in Ossetian culture, and an orientation toward the future, innovation, and changing traditions and norms in Russian Culture. The study revealed that cultural differences were evident in benchmark notions of family self-realization, gender divisions of social roles in the family, and attitudes toward marriage. Ossetian culture encourages the dependent position of woman in a family and the dominance of a man; it restricts the aspirations for self-actualization in women. The author concluded that Russian culture, for the most part, supports egalitarian relations between spouses.

Gender and cultural differences between Ossetians and Russians were observed in the degree of self-realization of women in a family as opposed to professional self-realization. Khudalova's research also showed that up to the age of 40, Russian women are focused more on professional self-realization; only after the age of 40 do they shift their attention to the sphere of family. Before the age of 40, Ossetian women focus on self-realization in marriage, and after forty, their interest in professional self-realization increases. The Republic of North Ossetia-Alania (Northern Caucasus) is characterized by both monoethnic and mixed marriages (one third of all marriages). According to Sikevich, before 1991 (i.e., during the Soviet era) multiethnic marriages were not common, but at the same time were not conflictual. During the past 20 years, they have become more infrequent, and they break down more often. In light of these facts, examining the social representations and views of Russians and Ossetians, both men and women, in family dynamics become meaningful and urgent. It was important to establish the degree to which expectations in observing cultural norms correspond to the views and representations of women and men.

Thus, the Khudalova (2013) study examined the social representations of family relationships of Russian women about Russian and Ossetian men; of Ossetian women about Russian and Ossetian men; of Russian men about Russian and Ossetian women; and Ossetian men about Russian and Ossetian women. The participants were asked to express their views on the behavior of men and women within the family. The results of the study showed that Russian women view Russian men as capable of building family relations on egalitarian principles, respecting their wife's opinion, and sharing responsibility for financial wellbeing and security in the family on an equal basis. In childrearing, they respect the decisions and choices of their offspring, are faithful to their spouses in marriage, etc.

In contrast, Russian women perceive Ossetian men to dominate their wife and children, to base their relationships and childrearing practices on ethnic and cultural traditions, and not to adhere to egalitarian principles in family life. Ethnic Russian men have a positive attitude toward egalitarian relationships with Russian wom-

en, but claim that Ossetian women are not ready for egalitarian family relations. Ossetian men claim that Russian women aim to be a dominant force in the family, which distinguishes them from Ossetian women, who follow their husband's orders. In the view of Ossetian men, Russian women are prepared to take on the role of head of the family. They are not prepared to give up their careers for the sake of the family, are willing to take on the financial responsibility for the family, and strive to have their own savings, independent of their husband's. According to Ossetian men, Russian women usually do not pay sufficient attention to raising children in the spirit of national traditions.

The views of Ossetian women on Ossetian men are very close to the views of Russian women on Ossetian men within the family. They stress that Ossetian men do not recognize egalitarian relations, subordinate the wife and children to their will, try to raise their children according to national customs and traditions, and refuse to help their wives in household chores. In contrast, the views of Ossetian women on Russian men within the family suggest that men are willing to build egalitarian relationships and are even prepared to cede the role of head of the family to the wife. They respect the choices and decisions of their children, but do not cultivate sufficient respect for national customs and traditions in their childrearing practices. At the same time, they not hesitate to help their wives in the household chores.

Khudalova's research (2013) demonstrated that in the views of both ethnic Russians and Ossetians, Russian culture in family relations is considered more modern, and is characterized by more egalitarian norms. Furthermore, a certain masculinization of women and feminization of men in the family may be observed. Ossetian culture idealizes the subordinate position of the woman in the family, and the dominant role of the man. Ossetian family relations are deeply embedded in traditional cultural norms for gender roles, characterized by inequality in family relations.

Gender Research on Family Relations in the Context of a Single Culture

Another study (Boldyreva, 2006) suggests that attitudes toward gender determine the choice of family models. The participants in the study were Russian students, 176 men and 195 women, aged 17 to 22 years old, from several colleges and universities in the city of Voronezh. Nearly all the participants (97.4 % of the respondents) were raised in traditional families. Based on the findings, the author proposes six models of the family: (1) the partnership model; (2) the dominant-dependent model; (3) the patriarchal model; (4) the matriarchal model; (5) the sponsorship contract; and (6) the dependent contract (nonworking man and woman = relatives provide for the family). The results of the research revealed that attitudes toward gender influence the family model: 42.5 % of men and 36.6 % of women choose the partnership model; 53.5 % of men and 59.6 % of women choose the dominant-dependent model; 4 % of men and 3.8 % of women are not oriented toward family life. The study showed that the younger generation in the Russian provincial city is inclined to choose the dominant-dependent model of the family, and just over a third of the respondents are favorably disposed toward the partnership (egalitarian) model.

A study of the relations between spouses in monoethnic Russian families of entrepreneurs was carried out by Levkovich (2004). The participants were married couples from Moscow and the Moscow region, with both spouses aged 42 years or younger. The study looked at 26 families with an entrepreneur-husband, and 26 families with an entrepreneur-wife. The results of the study showed that the level of conflict in families with an entrepreneur-wife was significantly higher, and the stability of family relations significantly lower than in families in which the husband was the entrepreneur. In families in which the wife was an entrepreneur, husbands were dissatisfied that their wives did not pay enough attention to home and family; that they tried to shift the burden for caring for home and family onto the husband; that they did not share their problems and professional setbacks with the husband; and that they were too independent (i.e., they did not fulfill the roles that cultural norms assigned to them). In families with an entrepreneur-husband, lack of attention to family life on the part of the husband led to disruption in spousal relations, mutual mistrust, and feelings of anxiety, and psychological disturbance in the wife.

The three studies (Boldyreva, 2006; Khudalova, 2013; Levkovich, 2004) analyzed above indicate that gender roles in family relations are embedded in ethnic and cultural traditions, and that culture influences gender roles and relations. The culture of Russians seems to be more modern, whereas the culture of Ossetians tends to be more traditional when two cultures are compared. In comparison with Ossetian culture, Russian family relations seem to be more egalitarian, and Ossetian family relations more hierarchical (Khudalova). At the same time, in the choice of family models, preference is given primarily to the traditional hierarchical model over the partnership (egalitarian) model, even within the Russian ethnic group (Boldyrev). The third study cites cases of instability within families in which women try to combine family and professional roles (Levkovich).

Professional Self-Realization

The specifics of professional self-realization in an individual depend in large part on the expectations and requirements of a culture in the realm of self-realization and organizational behavior. This section examines the research carried out in North Ossetia, Dagestan, and Central Russia. Gadzhieva (2000) studied the influence of gender stereotypes on professional self-realization in Dagestanian and Russian culture. The participants were 250 government employees and researchers representing Dagestanian (the city of Makhachkala, Republic of Dagestan) and Russian (the city of Moscow) ethnic groups. The results showed that in Dagestanian culture, professional self-realization is governed by cultural norms, meaning that such notions as mastery, competence, and personal development are associated with gender and ascribed to men. According to Dagestanian cultural norms, professional self-realization is the privilege of men, and is connected with the ambition to achieve social recognition, freedom, and dominance in the community. The Dagestanian culture limits the professional self-realization of women. They are not allowed by their families to achieve professional self-realization and are expected to fulfill the

role of housewife. This stereotype about the woman's role solely as housewife is shared by both gender. In Russian culture, self-realization depends on individual needs and personal attitudes, involves ambition for creativity, and is motivated by an urge toward affiliation. Both genders share these views.

Here, we see once again how disparate cultural norms, more traditional versus more modern, influence gender-specific professional self-realization. In the traditional cultures of the North Caucasus (Ossetia, Dagestan), professional self-realization is limited for women, and tends to privilege men. In Russian culture, the norms are more egalitarian and hold equally for men and women.

Gender Stereotypes

A study by Mahakova (2007) examined the influence of gender stereotypes on the behavior of *Russians* and *Buryats* (an ethnic group native to Siberia) in commercial and business organizations, focusing on their management styles. The participants were 204 executives (102 males, 102 females), working in Moscow and Ulan-Ude (Republic of Buryatia). The results of the study suggested that the male executives were oriented toward the development of the company as a whole, and that the employees in these companies showed a greater readiness to accept the values of company culture. This tendency was amplified if male executives adhered to the behavioral stereotypes of the patriarchal leader. In organizations managed by men, women displayed the stereotypical behavior of the follower rather than the leader. In contrast, the female executives were oriented toward establishing favorable or positive relations with the personnel, and the stereotypical behavior of follower was evident to a far lesser degree. Female executives displayed paternalistic attitudes and behaviors (i.e., attitudes or actions of a person, organization, etc. that protect their subordinates, in this case the employees, and give them what they need, but do not give them responsibility or freedom of choice in their value orientations). According to Cheng (2014), paternalistic leadership (or *emic* leadership style) entails elements of an authoritarian, benevolent, and moral character, and is purported to be the dominant leadership style in Asia. On the whole, paternalism was more evident among ethnic Russian executives than Buryats. Cultural differences were also observed: Buryat executives are more inclined to patriarchal management styles than their Russian counterparts.

Pamfilova (2006) examined the perception of gender stereotypes in two ethnic groups: Tatars (an ethnic group from the Volga region) and Russians. The participants in the study were schoolteachers: 165 men (81 Tatars and 84 Russians), and 194 women (93 Tatars and 101 Russians) from the ages of 25 to 40. The study showed that the gender stereotypes held by the teachers were evident in their notions about ideal, or typical, women and men. Russians and Tatars expressed different gender stereotypes. For the Russian group, the masculinization of female and the feminization of male stereotypes and the integration or coalescing of images of male and female were evident. In perceptions of the *ideal* and *typical* Russian

woman, both by women and men, masculine traits dominated. In the stereotypical perception of a *typical* male among ethnic Russians, both men and women, masculine qualities predominated, whereas in the stereotypical perception of the *ideal* man, feminine qualities were dominated. For Tatar women, the masculine stereotype of woman was less attractive. Among Tatar women, feminine qualities predominated. For Tatar men, stereotypes signifying the masculine were attractive in men, but not in women. Among Tatar men, the stereotypes of the *ideal* and the *typical* man were not contradictory, the author concludes.

Grigorieva (2006) studied gender-specific leadership traits among students in Moscow. The participants were college students (341 women and 312 men) and 56 professionals, representing groups of ethnic Russians, several Northern Caucasus ethnic groups, and Tatars. The results revealed that both the official leaders (the class monitors) and the informal leaders (people with the ability to manage emotions in a student group) displayed an androgynous type of gender identity. According to the author, this facilitated socio-psychological adaptation[1] and the personality development of an effective leader. Male and female students, regardless of ethnicity, expressed their interest in fulfilling leadership roles and pointed out the possibilities of achieving them. Among college students, the traditionally masculine leadership role was also described in terms of traditionally feminine traits, such as sympathy or kindness and a readiness to offer help. There were no gender prejudices concerning gender and leadership roles. There were, however, prejudices concerning ethnicity. Students from the group of ethnic Russians expressed the undesirability for the formal leadership positions being occupied by those students representing ethnic groups from Caucasus. This indicates the clear presence of tensions in ethnic relations between these groups.

Gender identity

In the Siberian city of Irkutsk and the city of Ulan-Ude in the Republic of Buryatiya, the influence of gender identity on role behavior was examined by Byzova (2006). The participants were 93 women, Russians and Buryat, between the ages of 17 to 67, with higher or mid-level education. The results of the study suggested that women's gender identity covers a broad and flexible range of behavioral roles. These roles included the acceptance of masculine, feminine, and androgynous types of behaviors, on the one hand, and a blurring of the boundaries of effective behavior, which can lead to misunderstanding and conflict, on the other. The conclusion of the author is that both in contemporary Russian and Buryat cultures, traditional notions about gender roles are blurred. The study showed that androgynous gender identity is widespread among women who participated in the research, irrespective of their cultural identity. Such androgynous identity provides women with emotional comfort and self-confidence. Women of the androgynous type described them-

[1] Social psychological adaptation is understood (in Russian psychology) as a process and the result of interaction of a person with the social reality

selves from the perspective of both feminine and masculine characteristics. Their value orientation was directed both toward family welfare and social success. They aspired to internal as well as external comfort in life, and declared having the inner strength and reserves of energy necessary for achieving their goals.

Khabarov (2003) studied gender identity characteristics of modern adolescent Yakuts (indigenous ethnic community of the Far North). The participants were 128 boys and 150 girls between the ages of 14 and 17 residing in Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in Siberia. The author observes that the leveling of traditional male and female gender roles in the Yakut rural community is a modern trend and argues that heretofore, due to the geographical location of this ethnic group, including the harsh northern climatic conditions and traditional culture of reindeer breeding and migration with the herd through the Tundra, traditional ethnic gender differentiation was important for survival. For this reason, masculinity in men was valued particularly highly. Governed by ecological factors and cultural traditions, Yakuts traditionally pay more attention to boys than to girls in childrearing and education. Both parents and teachers demand more of boys than of girls. However, a tendency toward the leveling of gender markers was observed, with boys displaying traditionally feminine traits and girls displaying masculine traits. Nevertheless, both girls and boys valued their mothers more highly than their fathers. They described their mothers in masculine terms, as being more responsible, communicative, and fair-minded than their fathers. They described their fathers as passive but cruel: aggressive from the point of view of boys, and irresponsible from the girls' point of view. The role of father in the rural Yakut family is becoming degraded due to a low level of education and high alcohol consumption. Today, the single-mother family is a widespread model in Yakutia. According to the author, a "strong negative" influence of female teachers on the gender identification of boys may be observed. The author argues that due to high representation of women in educational system, Yakut teenager boys do not develop a strong male gender identity (Khabarov). The study revealed that there is a trend toward androgyny in Yakut teenagers, characterized by a combination of both masculine features (such as independence, aggression, and self-confidence) and feminine features (cunning, credulousness, and inconsistency).

The above studies (Byzova, 2006; Khabarov, 2003) suggest that there is a trend toward androgyny as a form of gender identity in both women and men, irrespective of ethnic and cultural influences. It is worth noting that all three studies under consideration were carried out in Siberia—a geographical territory with harsh environmental and climatic conditions.

As we indicated in the introduction to this chapter, interethnic tensions (caused by high migration levels) and open ethnic conflict still exists over a large expanse of territory of the Russian Federation, especially in major urban areas. For this reason, examining gender and aggression among various cultures was especially compelling and important to us.

Gender and Aggression

An initial study on aggression was conducted by Isaeva (2008) among residents of the city of Makhachkala in Dagestan (North Caucasus), including both *Russians* and representatives of the peoples of Dagestan: the Avars and Kumyks. The participants were 314 girls and 316 boys, teenagers between the ages of 10 and 15 years. The results showed that latent (hidden, not demonstrated openly) aggression was characteristic of all the adolescents. Gender differences were evident in the demonstration of aggression. Boys acted out aggression more openly than girls, and physical aggression predominated in the structure of boys' aggressive behavior. Among the girls, verbal and oblique forms of aggression dominated. Cultural differences were evident among ethnic Russians and Avarian teenagers that were expressed in the form of a greater suspiciousness and tendency to take offense among the Avar boys. They did not express their aggression verbally, however. The Russian boys were more open and trusting, and less suspicious; they more often expressed their aggression verbally.

Gender differences in displays of aggression among adolescents were also studied in the Irkutsk oblast and in Buryatia, in the Siberia region (Ivanova, 2002). The participants were 200 girls and 180 boys, Russians and Buryats, middle and high school students between the ages of 11 and 17. Gender differences were evident: a heightened aggressiveness was observed among the girls, which manifested itself as rebellion against traditional views on femininity. The Russian girls actively engaged in masculine behavior, as well as oblique aggression, such as gossiping, spreading rumors, rejecting those who had offended or hurt them, breaking off relations, and open expressions of anger. In their reactions, the Buryat girls displayed more irritability, negativity, and more oblique aggression. Gender similarity was evident in the fact that no difference in displays of physical and verbal aggression between boys and girls was observed.

Nechepurenko (2009) examined gender differences in social views on aggression of the people of the Northern Caucasus, including, Ossetians, Ingushes, Chechens, Lezgins, and ethnic Russians. The participants were college and university students in Moscow, 852 women and 492 men. Uniformity in social attitudes toward aggression was observable. Both young men and young women considered aggression to be an evil. This was interpreted as the essence of social views about aggression. Gender differences were evident in the fact that aggression of individuals of the opposite sex was unequivocally interpreted as evil, while aggression displayed by members of one's own sex might not be an evil, but rather the consequence of an excess of emotion. The results showed that men display male aggression exclusively as a physical act, as the use of force to coerce another person in order to achieve a desired result, as a means of justifying oneself in a dispute, or to affirm one's superiority in striving to acquire social status. The women viewed female aggression as the use of force, assault, and pain. Such displays of aggression elicit fear in women, as results demonstrated. Emotionality and hypersensitivity were found to be significant characteristics of female aggression, but not of male aggression. A similarity in the young men and women's views about female aggression was evident.

All participants in all cultures considered aggression to be evil but different patterns and manifestations of aggressive behavior were observed in or ascribed to different cultures and different genders. Masculinity was correlated with the manner in which aggression was manifested according to gender roles.

Gender Stereotypes in the Russian Mass Media and Politics

The fact that ratings, surveys, and public statements all suggest that women are still virtually absent from Russian politics (Vartanova, Smirnova, & Frolova, 2013) informed our choice of this section in the chapter. This tendency goes against the global trend. According to the Human Development Report published by UNDP in 2014 (HDP, 2014), Russia ranked 57th in the Gender Equality Index. The current data of international organizations places Russia 84th in the number of women in politics. Russia comes in well behind not only the Scandinavian countries, but also a number of Latin American and African countries. We suggest that active deliberation and discussion of gender problems in the public sphere—in both society and politics—is essential for achieving serious change. Here, we believe, psychological research can play an important role.

Steinberg (2004) argues that there is hidden discrimination against women in Russian society. The author cites two reasons for this: (1) women were excluded from the ranks of candidates running for political office because they had fewer financial, organizational, and information resources at their disposal; and (2) there is no anti-discrimination legislation in the sphere of labor and family relations. Stubborn stereotypes that insist that it is normal for women to be confined to tending the hearth and raising children have taken root in the social consciousness. There is a gender imbalance in Russia in the professional sphere—teachers, nurses, and salespeople are primarily women, while executives and managers of almost any rank are typically men. Gradually, an attitude toward men as managers and bosses and toward women as guardians and service staff has taken shape. The notions of a leader and a male are strongly correlated in the Russian mind. However, women in Russia have a higher educational level than men.

We argue that the construction of gender identity takes shape through language, religion, education, and upbringing. Additionally, the mass media influence the formation of cultural and gender stereotypes, inculcating them in the social consciousness. Furthermore, the gender stereotypes that exist in the mass consciousness are reproduced by the mass media. A monograph by Selivanova and Mokronosov (2007) reveals how perceptions of gender are represented in the contemporary Russian media. The authors demonstrate that current-day media in Russia remains a mouthpiece for patriarchal gender culture, reinforcing the subordinate position of women. The authors view Russian gender stereotypes as twofold: patriarchal and contemporary. The patriarchal stereotype was prescribed in the Code of Daily Rules, Advice, and Instructions of the Novgorod Republic, later systematized by the

spiritual counselor of Ivan the Terrible (Ivan IV), and published as a book known as Domostroi (2012), or The Household System. In addition to instructions about faith and honoring the czar, Domostroi contained rules governing the principles of patriarchal organization in daily life, upholding the rights of despotic power of the head of the family, as well as the rules for raising children and advice on personal and social relations. The traditions of *Domostroi* became deeply rooted in the Russian collective unconscious, and echoes of it still reverberate today, as demonstrated by various scholarly studies. Later, patriarchal stereotypes reappeared in the nineteenth century Russian Orthodox-philosophical literary tradition, and in contemporary life they are reproduced by the mass media.

The authors elucidate the following principles in the patriarchal stereotypes: "The man is the head of the family," "A woman's place is in the home," "Children are the most important thing in a woman's life." At the same time, the authors note that the contemporary image of a woman in patriarchal mass consciousness is a collection of negative character traits, expressed, for example, in proverbs and sayings about women's intelligence: "A woman's hair is long, but her mind is short." At the present time it is common for Russian men to talk about "women's logic," as opposed to the "iron logic" of men[2].

In the media, such stereotypes connected to the role of women in politics are also evident: "Women and politics are mutually exclusive"; "Even the participation of women in power does not guarantee their equality with men"; "The dominant position of men in contemporary Russian society strengthens the stereotype of the effectiveness of male superiority." The authors of the study also observe that this fosters a problem of so-called gender technologies, which facilitate the acquisition of power by men and create barriers for women.

In analyzing news and talk shows on a number of different TV channels, the authors came to the conclusion that masculine domination in society is based in part on its representation on TV. Political activity is shown to be an exclusively masculine sphere of self-expression. Men express more relevant social ideas: issues concerning gender inequality are virtually ignored on TV shows. The image of women is discussed in patriarchal terms, creating an optimal model of female self-realization as mother, housewife, and companion of a famous man. The problems of the female population of Russia are viewed in TV shows exclusively from the perspective of motherhood and childbearing. The authors conclude that the woman, as a participant in social life, is forced into the background due to the valorization of the role of women and the exclusion of men from the process of childrearing. Shwalb and Shwalb (2014) also confirm the decline of the role of the father in families in their research. As Selivanova and Mokronosov (2007) conclude, mass media in Russia perpetuates patriarchal representations of the role and image of women. At the same time, citing the linguistic research of Goroshko (1999), they showed how the gender

[2] The meaning of this expression "women's logic," as opposed to the "iron logic" of men is that men have a very "logical" clear mind and logic, logical consequence, but women's logic is different, the logical consequence they use does not correspond to the rules of logic (logical science), it is not clear to men how women make decisions, what arguments they use and so on. It is a very popular point of view in everyday life in Russia. Of course, no scientific evidence was ever found.

differences are reflected in the lexical structure of the Russian language, using the notion of the "Russian woman" as an example. They point to a dearth of negative qualities among words expressing this notion. In fact, there was a high incidence of positive lexemes: self-abnegation, self-sacrifice, and goodness[3]. The image of the Russian woman in linguistic consciousness is consistent with descriptive representations by both men and women, and, on the whole, offers a positive view of the image of women. Thus, a paradox is evident: the negative gender stereotypes that are deeply rooted in mass consciousness contradict the positive characteristics of the image of women in the Russian lexicon. These findings are born out in the following study.

Vartanova, Smirnova, and Frolova (2013) carried out an analysis of gender issues in the mass media during the election campaigns of 2007 and 2011. The study was based on the content analysis of texts published in mass-circulation Russian newspapers and magazines in 2011. The data they gathered supported the hypothesis about gender inequality in Russian political power structures. At the same time, they noted a shift in the political activity of women in Russia. The results of the study showed that the issue of gender in pre-election campaigns of seven parties that ran in the 2011 Russian Duma elections came to light primarily in social programs promoted by the parties: family, motherhood, and children; women's rights under labor law. The authors found the party programs to be effectively archaic and lagging behind current social realities. Russian politicians still perceive the social role of women within the framework of traditional patriarchal culture: tending the family hearth, bearing and rearing children, working outside the home, but not playing a significant role in society, politics, or in government. In the mass media, however, the number of articles that make a connection between political realities and gender equality issues has increased in volume, which, in the opinion of the authors, suggests that the potential for democratic development is growing in society.

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate that in the multicultural environment of Russia, representatives of ethnic groups have specific characteristics in terms of gender roles. We have shown that Russia is a diverse canvas that has absorbed multiple cultural features of various ethnic groups residing throughout Russia. As we made clear in our introduction, a number of gender problems exist in modern Russia that needs to be examined also at the psychological level. Gender and culture are interconnected, and gender and cultural traits from a psychological perspective are characterized by a multifactor interdependence that is interwoven into a broader sociological and political context.

[3] According to the Russian culture <self-abnegation, self-sacrifice> are considered to be positive characteristics of a person.

Russian culture, according to Hofstede et al. (2010), is more collective than individualistic, more feminine than masculine, with a rather high level of power distance. Over time, changes in the cultural values in Russia articulated on the basis of Schwartz' (2004) methodology have been observed (Lebedeva, 2001; Shmeleva, 2006). This trend in changing values takes the form of aspiration toward greater independence and self-direction, and lower conformity and traditionalism. This can be explained by the ongoing period of social transition that began in Russia 25 years ago. Data obtained from the European Values Survey 2007 also shows a decrease in the level of conformity and traditionalism (Magun & Rudnev, 2010) in Russia. This trend is reflected in our chapter on the case of ethnic Russians. Other ethnic groups, residing in the North Caucasus, Siberia, Volga and northwest regions, demonstrate higher levels of adherence to traditional cultural norms in gender relations in the family, professional self-realization, organizational behavior, and gender self-identity.

Our meta-analysis demonstrates that although the traditional patriarchal norm is still dominant among Russians, the major ethnic group in Russia, there are indications of the preference for egalitarian gender relations in families and organizations. Russians increasingly express egalitarian attitudes and behavior, although traditional stereotypes still exist. In comparison with traditional cultures of the other ethnic groups, Russian culture is more modern.

The traditional cultures of ethnic groups from the North Caucasus (Ossetians, Dagestanians) are still strongly embedded in traditional norms and behaviors. The representatives of these groups show a preference for traditional hierarchical and patriarchal family norms in culture. These norms indicate that men dominate women in family relations, and enjoy freedom of opportunity in their professional self-realization. Women's gender roles are largely limited to family and childrearing, where no professional self-realization is allowed. These cultural norms militate against egalitarian gender roles, relations, and behavior. As it was shown, the opportunities for self-realization among Russian and Ossetian women differ. Within Russian culture, the ambition of women for professional self-realization, and on far greater egalitarian principles, is acknowledged and appreciated by men. An intracultural conflict of values is evident in Ossetian culture, in which the attitudes toward professional self-realization of men and women differ. The professional self-realization of men is highly valued, but the professional self-realization of women is limited. In Ossetian culture, women are more inclined to fulfill their roles as housewife and to pursue professional self-realization only after the age of 40. Ossetian men are generally not supportive of career advancement in women.

Members of ethnic cultures from the northwest of Russia, the Volga region, and Siberia demonstrate their preference for traditional gender roles. The femininity of women and masculinity of men help individuals, primarily women, avoid interpersonal conflicts and achieve success. Views on the attractiveness of traditional gender stereotypes expressed by Tatars and Buryats differ from the views of Russians. At the same time, in spite of cultural differences, androgynous features in gender identification are highly valued as adaptation strategies in the contemporary everyday life of Yakuts and Buryats. Therefore, the regional policy for Yakutia,

where the indigenous people of the Far North reside, should take into account the importance of the traditional cultural values and practices of this ethnic group.

Uniformity in negative social attitudes toward aggression was observed among the ethnic groups of Russians and Ossetians, Ingushes, Chechens, and Lezgins (North Caucasus). At the same time, all cultural groups demonstrated differences in latent (hidden) levels of aggression, correlating to gender differences in how this aggression was expressed. These findings are of great significance in light of the high migration levels from peripheral republics and regions to the center of Russia, primarily to large cities, where the level of ethnic tension and conflict remains high.

We conclude that the social-individual nexus in gender relations in Russia is characterized by an inherent contradiction. A profound and visible contradiction exists between individual trends toward modern culture in gender relations and the patriarchal gender stereotypes that still prevail in social discourse, politics, and on the societal level, and which are reinforced by mass media. Not only is there support in Russian media for patriarchal gender stereotypes, but also gender problems are underrepresented and misrepresented, or not discussed at all. Russian women are underrepresented on the political and decision-making levels, although they demonstrate a preference for egalitarian relations.

More psychological research is needed to understand the specificity of gender and cultural interrelations from the perspective of the polyethnic and multicultural development of modern Russia. These studies should take into account the ecological dimension, including the geographical regions of residence—rural versus urban, small versus big city, provincial versus capital city (Moscow or Saint Petersburg)—and the imbalances in regional economic development.

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Chapter 9
A Broader Conceptualization of Sexism: The Case of Poland

Małgorzata Mikołajczak and Janina Pietrzak

One way in which sexism is distinct from many other types of prejudice is its ambivalent nature. Women are either revered or reviled, depending on whether they fulfill or violate expectations concerning their gender roles (Gaunt, 2013; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Ambivalent sexism theory (AST; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2011) describes the underlying ideologies, and the varied consequences of such ambivalent attitudes. The aim of this chapter is to extend the theoretical framework of AST by incorporating new dimensions that correspond to the lenses through which women are perceived, constraining them to certain societal roles. These lenses create expectations, which, if violated, lead to hostility. If not violated, they circumscribe women's opportunities for personal and professional growth and achievement.

As these expectations spring from social, cultural, and historical norms, AST, developed on relatively homogenous samples (Glick & Fiske, 1996), might not encompass some important aspects of sexism in groups with different economic, cultural, and historical backgrounds. Though the underlying ideologies behind the existing dimensions appear to be universal (Glick et al., 2000), they are likely not exhaustive, and their manifestations might not be identical everywhere.

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Pervasiveness and Subtlety of Sexism

Sexist beliefs can be defined as any “beliefs that maintain or promote inequality between women and men” (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 2009, p. 137). Such beliefs are not by definition negative, though their consequences are (e.g., Cikara, Lee, Fiske & Glick, 2009). Gender inequality, a hierarchy in which men generally have more power than women (United Nations Development Programme, 2009), is bolstered by sexist beliefs. In an analysis covering 57 countries, Brandt (2011) showed not only that sexism is more present in countries with greater gender disparities, but also that it reinforces gender hierarchy over time.

The manifestations of sexism are multifold. They range from overt, clear demonstrations of hostility—such as disparagement of women in leadership positions (e.g., Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012)—to much subtler, unconscious expressions of assumptions regarding gender predispositions and roles, such as “protecting” a girlfriend from engaging in professional activities that involve an element of danger (Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, & Hart, 2007). Traditional beliefs about gender roles and sexist attitudes undoubtedly affect expressions of sexism (e.g., Siebler, Sabelus, & Bohner, 2008, Study 2; Diehl, Rees, & Bohner, 2012). However, differences between cultures, between social contexts, or over time will also to some extent determine how sexism is expressed. Sexism that would be easily expressed in one context will be masked in other contexts, where it might lead to repercussions. For example, a woman is more likely to be the target of derogatory comments about her looks from a stranger on the street than in her office, where a sexual harassment policy is enforced (Ayres, Friedman, & Leaper 2009; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Acknowledging that social conditions affect how sexism can be observed and defined, researchers have attempted to identify underlying ideologies that undergird its more or less obvious, and more or less conscious, manifestations (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995).

Ambivalent Sexism Theory and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

The emphasis on women being “wonderful” (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989, 1994), seen in many cultures, underscores that sexism cannot be measured with single-dimension tools that focus only on negative attitudes. AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001) addresses this complexity by postulating that even some positive attitudes toward women promote gender inequality by defining acceptable behavior in quite narrow terms. Insofar as women are seen through the lens of traditional homemaker, wife, mother, or young innocent, their activities outside of these roles are seen as transgressions, and will elicit hostility. Ambivalence toward women stems from the inevitable interdependence between the genders, which, according to the authors, is

most prominently expressed in paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexual relationships. Depending on whether the interdependence is turned into competition or cooperation, it generates hostility or benevolence, respectively. Male power might take the form of domination or protective paternalism; distinct gender traits and roles might be attributed as either competitive or complimentary; and heterosexual relations might be either adversarial or intimate. Either aspect of the sexist belief system—positive or negative—can be activated in a given moment (Glick et al., 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Women who adhere to traditional gender roles, such as mothers not employed outside of the home, or demure young women, will tend to trigger a benevolent response. Women who veer away from social norms, such as lesbians or high-powered politicians, are more likely to trigger hostility (Becker, 2010). Those whose identities do not unambiguously match or mismatch the stereotype, such as working mothers, might evoke ambivalent responses, or responses that align with the aspect of the woman that is currently most salient: a working mother might prompt benevolence on a playground and hostility at a board meeting, for instance.

The alluring aspect of benevolence sexism (BS) is that it can be subjectively experienced as positive, by both the perpetrator and the target—its romantic tone does not fit into lay definitions of sexism, which sound harsh, intentional, and purely negative. Still, subjectively positive attitudes might lead to outcomes that are not in truth beneficial. The detrimental impact of BS, both in the public and in the private domains, is well documented. It increases women's self-objectification (Calogero & Jost, 2011), changes self-presentation to a more traditional one (Barreto, Ellemers, Piebinga, & Moya, 2010), hinders cognitive functioning (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007; Dumont, Sarlet, & Dardenne, 2010), lowers performance expectations (Gervais & Vescio, 2012), and minimizes motivation to act for social change (Becker & Wright, 2011; Ellemers & Barreto, 2009), cementing gender hierarchies at home that then translate into the public sphere (Cikara et al., 2009).

AST claims to identify universal dimensions grounded in a theory of gender relations and there is evidence for its universality. The most comprehensive comparison so far included data from roughly 15,000 participants in 19 countries (Glick et al., 2000). Results showed that the BS–HS (hostile sexism) distinction was observed in all the countries analyzed. Moreover, these two forms of sexism were correlated positively in most countries (0.80 to 0.90 at the societal level).

Critique of the ASI and the AST

Although the distinction into hostile and benevolent attitudes have been observed in samples from the countries characterized by different gender relations (Glick et al., 2000), various scholars have criticized AST as culture-specific (Gibbons, Hamby, & Dennis, 1997; Hayes & Swim, 2013; McHugh & Frieze, 1997). The development of the scale used to measure it, the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) was conducted mainly on white middle-class US student samples (4 out

of 6 samples used for scale development—roughly 90 % of all participants—were student samples; Glick & Fiske, 1996). This casts some doubts on the adequacy of the content of its dimensions: such circumscribed samples might not reflect sexism as it is observed in the whole of society. Even within cultures, evidence shows that education level correlates negatively with both hostile and benevolent attitudes, and age positively correlates with BS (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Glick et al., 2002). Such differences could be even greater between cultures.

According to McHugh and Frieze (1997), gender role attitude scales always measure gender ideologies in a specific socio-historical context. In their critique, they acknowledge that the ideologies underlying AST might be emic to a great extent, but are dubious of the way the dimensions are operationalized in the ASI. The authors illustrate their point by referring to items concerning feminists (e.g., "Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men"), which implicitly assume the existence of feminist movements worldwide. This assumption can easily be contested—as McHugh and Frieze assert, while feminists likely exist everywhere, they are not likely to be perceived the same way everywhere, nor are they likely to be making similar demands worldwide, because the status of women is very different in different countries.

Gibbons et al. (1997) go further with their critique, noting that scales developed in one context and merely translated into other languages based on the assumption that the constructs they tap into are equivalent in all cultures. Their critique of AST concerns the universality of gender differentiation: although the concept itself might be considered etic, its content might vary between cultures. To support this claim, they refer to China where, unlike the USA, it is an ideal man, not woman, who is considered superior in knowledge of arts and culture (Chia, Allred, & Jerzak, 1997). Due to the differences in the content of the constructs, as the authors conclude, people may respond to ASI items without finding them relevant or meaningful in their lives.

A study on four US ethnic groups (African-, Asian-, Latina/o- and European-American; Hayes & Swim, 2013) calls into question the universality of the AST dimensions even within the USA. Specifically, concerns arose with regard to overall model fit, differences in group means on the BS subscale, convergent validity of the ASI among men (in all four groups), and the reliability of the BS subscale in two groups (the Latina/o, $\alpha = 0.62$; and the African-American, $\alpha = 0.67$). Hayes and Swim (2013) conclude that the BS scale may not be an adequate tool for measuring sexism in different sub-populations within the USA. It is possible that, as Gibbons et al. (1997) note, "traditional" role differences are expressed differently in different groups, or on only one or two of the subdimensions of BS.

Given these findings, it is worth considering whether sexism could and should be assessed with regard to underlying ideologies beyond those measured by the ASI. We consider, below, a number of facets of gender attitudes, including but not limited to the subdimensions of BS, that could be relevant in groups other than student samples. We focus on gender attitudes in Poland, considering historical and cultural factors that could determine present-day gender relations.

The Polish Context. Cultural and Historical Background of Gender Relations

Various scholars (e.g., Boski, 2006; Fidelis, 2004, 2010; Graff, 2000; Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012; Janion, 1996, 2006; Walczewska, 1999) have proposed that gender attitudes in Poland have been influenced by a unique blend of factors: romantic models, nineteenth century patriotic sentiments, Catholic Church teachings, the sociocultural inheritance of the real socialism, and the rapid system transition of the late twentieth century. We will discuss how these elements in Poland's history might drive gender relations in Poland today, and how they can be relevant to the maintenance of gender inequalities.

Romantic Models and the Nineteenth Century Patriotic Sentiments

There is still a strong sense of a heroic past in Poland due to a continued, centuries-long struggle for sovereignty (Boski, 2006). In the sixteenth century, Poland was an empire, and gender relations at the time consisted of the "nobility's gender contract" (Walczewska, 1999), according to which men-knights protected women-damsels from the brutalities of the world outside the home (cf. the "Victorian" dimensions of AST). Men's chivalry was, however, contingent on women being "ladies." This included an emphasis on appealing to men, through appearance and through behavior (Hoffmanowa 1876, cited by Walczewska, 1999).

In the nineteenth century, constraints were imposed on the female body through new fashions underlining "femininity"—decency, modesty, grace—and de-emphasizing earthier, corporeal aspects such as reproductive functions and sexuality. Women were superficially deprived of sexuality, or judged harshly for expressing it.

The Partitions allowed another key aspect of Polish womanhood to emerge. During these periods, motherhood was seen as the manifestation of female citizenship: the Polish mother-patriot bore and reared future generations who would fight for and populate a new Poland (Budrowska, 2000). In this way, the national discourse concerning gender roles placed women in traditional roles—as "Mother-Poles"—even though their social roles in this era encompassed far more than simple home-making (Graff, 2010).

The Catholic Church

As a dominant cultural institution (Public Opinion Research Center, 2013), the Catholic Church is a shaper of gender attitudes in Poland (Boski, 2006; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014b; Pietrzak & Mikołajczak, 2011): although religiosity varies between rural areas and cities, still 70 and 55%, respectively, consider themselves

religious (Public Opinion Research Center, 2014). The Catholic religion focuses on women's role as mothers (Janion, 1996, 2006). John Paul II, "the Polish Pope," emphasized the unique role of women in society, the female vocations of motherhood and homemaking (1988, 1995). According to these teachings, women play a vital role in society as faithful and fecund wives, whose identities revolve around their family and whose needs are the needs of their families. The empowering aspect of womanhood—the creation of life—is made salient (Adamiak, 1997; Świstow, 2006), while at the same time it is clear that a woman prioritizes her family above herself, and if she has no family, is inevitably unfulfilled. Due to the overwhelming presence of the Catholic Church in Polish public discourse, these assumptions have seeped into popular culture (Łaciak, 2012), even among non-Catholics.

Communism and System Transition

While in the 1950s, the USA saw a return to domesticity for women (Friedan, 1963) after a period of active participation in the labor force through the war years, in Poland women working outside the home continued to be the rule, rather than the exception, throughout the communist era (Fidelis, 2010; Frąckowiak-Sochańska, 2011; Gal & Kligman, 2000; Malinowska, 1995). The principle of gender equality was formally guaranteed in article 66 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic from 1952. However, the same article simultaneously placed emphasis on special protections for "mothers and children," implicitly accentuating that women, not men, would bear the onus of childcare. Women were targets of special state policies prohibiting them from jobs that posed risks to their reproductive capacities (Fidelis, 2010; Walczewska, 1999), which was seen as a kindly consideration, to protect their health and help them reconcile family and work responsibilities (Fuszara, 2002).

Women not only worked but also took care of their husbands, children, parents, and homes. They were expected to embrace these roles as inherently rewarding, and a way to pursue self-realization (Fidelis, 2004; Frąckowiak-Sochańska, 2011). Women's alleged resourcefulness and capability in the face of the variety of challenges that communism supplied were a way to task them with the responsibility for a well-functioning home. This led to the so-called managerial matriarchy (Titkow, 1995, 2007), wherein women were exceptionally powerful privately, within the home, while publicly their needs and problems were considered negligible (Marody & Giza-Poleszczuk, 2000; Titkow, 2001).

When Poland came out of the era of communist rule, in 1989, the rejection of socialism for a free market system was attended by a rejection of policies that artificially leveled social groups, creating or restoring "natural" hierarchies, also with respect to gender relations (Johnson, 1997; Stulhofer & Sandfort, 2005). Professional advancement was not seen as a priority for women (Desperak, 2009; Desperak & Rek, 2008; Lisowska, 2009; Reszke, 2001), and, even when successful in their careers, women still primarily wanted to be mothers (Łaciak, 1995).

Adequacy of the AST Dimensions in Poland

These differences in the roles and perceptions of women brings us to consider how sexism is manifested among cultural groups that have not followed the same historical trajectories as educated middle-class groups in the USA. Although hostility, the gender power structure, and heterosexuality can plausibly be expected to translate well into other cultures, it is particularly likely that the traits and dispositions ascribed to men and women—gender differentiation—will vary among cultures (Gibbons et al., 1997). Men have higher status in most known cultures (Stockard & Johnson, 1992) and so are likely to be tasked with protection of the "weaker" groups, including women. This is likely to breed paternalistic attitudes (Jackman, 1994). Heterosexual intimacy, rooted in human reproduction, is an important source of life satisfaction across cultures (Brehm, 1992). However, the particular social roles that men and women play, and so the attributes they are ascribed, though likely to be complementary, will depend on the specifics of the cultural, religious, and historical backdrop. Complementary gender differentiation as measured by the ASI presumes that men possess mainly agentic traits, which are complemented by women's communal, expressive traits (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In Poland, women are not considered as purely communal (Titkow & Domański, 1995, Titkow, 2007). As outlined above, historical circumstances have led to a cultural belief in women's competence and ability. Accordingly, our data (Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014a) support the notion that, in Poland, protective paternalism and heterosexual intimacy are defined in line with the ASI, while complementary gender differentiation is not.

(Ambivalent) Sexism More Broadly

In this section, we will delve into aspects of sexism that are not encompassed by AST that we consider central to the perception of women and to the explanation of gender inequalities in Poland. Specifically, on the basis of a qualitative and quantitative data (Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014a) as well as theoretical assumptions described below, we distinguish three additional springboards for sexism: the conviction that the fundamental role of a woman is that of the mother (together with the assumption that women's goals should be subsumed under others' goals and needs), the responsibility for aesthetics that is placed upon women, and a belief in women's resourcefulness.

Motherhood

The ideology of motherhood equates the female gender role with that of a mother and is an extrapolation of female traits and roles related to biological motherhood. Similarly to the assumption that people are not complete without being romanti-

cally involved, the notion of womanhood as motherhood states that women cannot find true life fulfillment unless they are mothers (Arendell, 2000; García & de Oliveira, 1997; John Paul II, 1988, 1995). As a result, it is common to assume that women work only out of economic necessity—if they had the freedom to choose, they would devote themselves entirely to the rewarding roles of wife and mother (Desperak, 2009; Gorman & Fritzsche, 2002).

Motherhood is probably the most important aspect of femininity in Poland (Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012). Accordingly, all women are perceived as actual or potential mothers (Budrowska, 2000; Heinen & Wator, 2006) and are expected to view themselves solely through a sentimentalized "good mother" stereotype (Gorman & Fritzsche, 2002; Mottarella, Fritzsche, Whitten, & Bedsole, 2009; Świstow, 2006; cf. Badinter, 2012; de Beauvoir, 1949; Łaciak, 2012). Through motherhood, women can realize their fullest potential as women, Catholics, and Poles at the same time (Adamiak, 1997; Walczewska, 1999).

The ideology of self-sacrifice that goes along with being a mother proposes that women are the embodiment of altruistic spirit (Janion, 1996, 2006). This trait prescribes a shift of focus from the self to others—primarily to one's partner and children, but also to wider social collectives (Hamer, 2012)—and occupation of caretaking and supportive roles (cf. compulsory altruism, Land & Rose, 1985; ethics of care, Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982). Traits such as renunciation, sacrifice, care, and understanding are cherished as uniquely maternal traits, and as such highlight gender differences in predispositions to fulfill certain social roles (Hoffman & Hurst, 1990).

Aesthetics

The popular notion of women as the fair gender is reflected in the emphasis on appearance as a dimension of evaluation of women (Etcoff, Stock, Haley, Vickery, & House, 2011). Indeed, physical appearance is often deemed the essence of femininity: from a very early age, girls are socialized and encouraged to take care of their outward appearance in a way that boys are not (Blaise, 2005). Women are more likely to be described in terms of their appearance, regardless of context (e.g., Lake, Snell, Gormley, & Lethbridge-Cejkku, 2013). Moreover, they are encouraged to link their self-esteem with assessments of their appearance by boys and men (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Puvia & Vaes, 2013) and are expected to take efforts to achieve heightened beauty (Forbes, Collinsworth, Jobe, Braun, & Wise, 2007). When they do so, they are socially rewarded (Swami et al., 2010): for example, women who adhere to the aesthetic norms by wearing make-up are evaluated not only as more attractive than women without make-up but also as more competent, likeable, and trustworthy (Etcoff et al., 2011). The importance of aesthetics is also visible in dating and courtship scripts (Laner & Ventrone, 1998, 2000), according to which the woman is expected to be more preoccupied with her appearance during a first date than is the man.

The femininity of Polish women is often defined through attractiveness and a modest, appropriate appearance that conveys "self-respect" (Korolczuk, 2009, 2012; Mandal, 2003; Odrzygóźdź & Sarnecka, 2006). Thus, the aesthetic prescription goes beyond the narrow definition of physical appearance (or sex appeal), referring to the appropriateness of a woman's behavior in general. The ideology of aesthetics also dictates that women should take care of not only their own appearance (Gromkowska, 2002; Korolczuk, 2009) but also the appearance of their environment (i.e., their home and their family members; Titkow, Duch-Krzysztoszek, & Budrowska, 2004).

Resourcefulness

Although the distinction into : they are self-reliant, able to take care of themselves, and withstand the challenges placed before them. Due to this virtue, women constitute "the backbone of society," especially in trying times (e.g., Campbell, 1984; Janion, 2009). Resourcefulness can be considered as a "female" competence juxtaposed with competence in the "male," cognitive sense (e.g., intellectual abilities; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Resourcefulness as the capability of multitasking is reflected in the overachieving superwoman syndrome (Shaevitz, 1985; cf. Slaughter 2012), or—less optimistically—in the contented slave syndrome (Domański, 1992).

Even though women in Poland are often considered as competent as men (Pietrzak, Mikołajczak, Chroł, & Markiewicz, 2011), this does not translate to equal status or compensation. Women's competence is expected to be tacit; self-sacrifice requires that women eschew the vanities of appreciation or reward for their efforts. As, according to these notions, women gain personal fulfillment in the home, they do not have the same need for appreciation in professional settings as do men. Indeed, providing a subjective sense of control over domestic decisions reduces women's interest in workplace power (Williams & Chen, 2013).

Consequences for Women

The proposed dimensions of sexism—motherhood, aesthetics, and resourcefulness—are of substantial importance for the everyday lives of women, to the extent that they contribute to justifications of the existing gender hierarchy. For example, the maternal prescription is related to that of a homemaker (Kosakowska, 2004; Karasiewicz & Kosakowska, 2008), which often limits women's career opportunities. Cultural expectations that a woman will prioritize children above all else lead to an (unconscious) assumption that her commitment to the job, the effort she puts into it, will falter (Desperak, 2009), resulting in a motherhood penalty (Auleytner, 2008; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Similarly, although the altruistic self-sacrifice ingrained in the motherhood dimension is cherished as a human trait, it is seen as part of the private (not public)

sphere, propelling women to put in their time and efforts in voluntary work benefiting their family and community, without any formal compensation (cf. Brickell & Chant, 2010, for an overview). Since “work” is still equated exclusively with paid employment (Waring, 1988), reproductive and domestic work performed by women remains unacknowledged by society (Desperak & Rek, 2008).

The aesthetic prescription, similarly to western beauty ideals (Jeffreys, 2005; Wolf, 1991), is oppressive to women to the extent that it requires time and effort to conform to, and serves as the basis for evaluation of women in the public realm. Actually, any mention of appearance at all, independent of valence, has been shown to negatively influence favorability ratings of and likelihood of voting for a woman running for Congress in a nationwide sample of US online users (Lake et al., 2013).

Moreover, emphasis on female appearance may lead to sexual objectification of women. Studies on show that a bodily focus not only reduces ascriptions of competence-related traits such as intelligence but also warmth-related capacities such as morality (e.g., Cikara et al., 2009; Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009). An appearance focus is also detrimental to women’s self-perceptions: women who are asked to use make-up consider themselves less competent when they are expecting to be judged, and have a stronger tendency to self-objectify (Puvia, 2011). This carries with it a variety of negative consequences, such as body shame, decreased self-confidence, diminished overall mental well-being, and an increased belief that existing gender relations at the societal level are fair (Calogero, 2012; Calogero & Jost, 2011; Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009).

Female resourcefulness may justify second-shift expectations (Hochschild & Machung, 2003)—a phenomenon showing how discrimination can be quantified by the time spent performing routine nonpaid activities related to childcare and house duties. Women who enter the job market are expected to continue performing duties related to childcare and homecare, whereas men’s home responsibilities tend to be limited to nonroutine activities. This is borne out by statistics showing that the women in Poland and 25 other member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2014) spend almost twice as many hours on unpaid, household-related work than do men. This is not balanced out by time spent performing paid labor: women work for pay about 65 % of the time men do. It appears then that admiration and celebration of women who are capable and resourceful leads to an expectation that they will, in fact, be able to perform all duties involved in both the professional and the private realms, without need for personal leisure time (Titkow et al., 2004).

Validation Studies

To broaden the concept of ambivalent sexism proposed in AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996) by including additional dimensions, which we considered crucial in the Polish context, we developed a new measure of sexist attitudes. The development of the new scale was stepwise. In the qualitative stage—based on cultural analysis, two

focus-groups interviews (one with seven students, one with four working adults), and input from competent judges $(N = 8)$ —we generated 122 items for the scale that would exhaust the variety of occurrences of the “old” and the “new” dimensions of sexism in Poland, and the content of which would be both adequate and meaningful to participants. Twenty-two back-translated items from the original ASI were also included in the initial pool of items. Following the qualitative stage, the structure of the scale was explored and confirmed empirically. The main study was run on a sample of online users $(N = 1200)$ that was representative for Poles aged 18–50 in terms of gender, age, and educational level. In the studies that followed, we used both student $(N = 351)$ and non-student samples ($N = 156$; passengers of local and long-distance trains). Details on construction and validation of the new scale, together with its psychometric properties, are provided in Mikołajczak and Pietrzak (2014a).

The scale includes the original subscales of BS (protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy; Glick & Fiske, 1996), an HS subscale, and our three new subscales. The motherhood subscale measures both the importance of motherhood to womanhood (e.g., “A woman’s most important role is that of a mother”) and the notion of female sacrifice (“The needs of her husband and children should be more important to a woman than her own”). The aesthetics subscale covers items relating to the importance of female appearance (e.g., “A real woman’s appearance is always impeccable”) but also about a woman ornamenting a man (“A woman must remember that she should make her partner look good”) and her social environment (“A clean house is a woman’s best calling card”). Finally, the resourcefulness subscale items assess resourcefulness as a typically feminine skill (e.g., “A woman can find a way out of even a hopeless situation”).

The hostile component of each new dimension is included in the hostile subscale. Hostility related to the motherhood dimension is expressed in the idea that women use the self-sacrificing notion to their advantage (e.g., “Women are always underlining how much they sacrifice for others”). In the case of aesthetics, hostility is reflected in the notion that women actually gain from being the fair gender (e.g., “Looks are more helpful than know-how for women’s career advancement”). For resourcefulness, hostility is assessed with the conviction that if women express that they are having difficulty, they are doing it for manipulative reasons, rather than the problems being valid (e.g., “Women often make mountains out of molehills”).

Subsequently, in correlational and experimental studies with Polish participants, we tested the links between the proposed dimensions and evaluations of women (Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014a). Our results indicate that mothers who act outside their role (e.g., single mothers who actively demand child alimony from their spouses) are perceived as over-entitled by hostile sexists, but also, independently, by participants who hold strong motherhood beliefs. We also found that endorsement of motherhood beliefs was linked to lower admissibility of abortion as a woman’s choice (even when controlling for participant’s conservatism and religiosity).

Beliefs concerning women’s aesthetic prescriptions were positively linked in our studies to the measures of beauty ideals: the importance attributed to women’s beauty and expectations that beauty cannot be achieved without effort (Forbes et al.,

2007). We also found that the more strongly participants endorsed aesthetic beliefs, the more likely they were to judge a female job candidate as incompetent when asked to focus on her appearance.

Finally, we observed that people held similar expectations of men and women in the working context, but expected more—in terms of household chores and childcare—from an ideal woman than from an ideal man in the domestic domain. These expectations were moderated independently both by motherhood and resourcefulness beliefs: the more strongly participants believed in the importance of motherhood and resourcefulness of women, the more they assumed an ideal woman should devote more time to unpaid work than should an ideal man.

Discussion

Expressions of sexism have been affected by the changing norms over time (e.g., McHugh & Frieze, 1997). These expressions are also affected by the changing context (Pateman, 1989; Walby, 2005): for example, people are more egalitarian in the employment (public) domain than in the social (private) domain (Anderson & Johnson, 2003). They can also be affected by cultural norms, which determine not only how sexism manifests but also the underlying beliefs that drive sexist attitudes and behavior (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2008).

We propose that the three new aspects of sexism outlined above help explain the stability of gender inequality despite changing external circumstances. We submit that they are not only relevant in Polish society, but that beliefs about motherhood, aesthetics, and resourcefulness are important elements of gender relations in other countries as well. As Glick and Fiske (1996) claim, "hostile and benevolent sexism have their roots in biological and social conditions that are common to human groups" (p. 492)—and we elaborate below how concepts similar to the new dimensions can also be found across cultures.

Concepts related to the motherhood prescription appear global, derived from the fact that mothers are considered primary child-rearing agents across cultures and species (Mariko, 1989; Mealy, Stephan, & Abalakina-Paap, 2006). Motherhood has been celebrated in various cultures over centuries, indicating its near-universal significance (Cusack & Bhreathnach-Lynch, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 1997). This celebration is accompanied by the so-called motherhood mandate—the notion of motherhood as a chief prescription in a woman's life (Russo, 1976).

Self-sacrifice, which in our research is a key facet of motherhood, is observed in gender roles in Asian cultures. For example, an attitude of self-sacrifice and "competence without complaint" are aspects of gender role internalization among Chinese women (Tang & Tang, 2001). Similar notions of "sanctified motherhood" as reflected in marianismo and a self-sacrificing woman syndrome (Hryciuk, 2012; Lara-Cantú, 1989; Mealy et al., 2006; Stevens, 1973) appear in Latina/o cultures. Women who endorse marianismo work outside the home to support their families, but are unlikely to prioritize career over family. Such idealization of mothers,

granting them the sense of moral superiority, and providing plentiful social rewards, has as its implication a resignation from the pursuit of status outside the home.

Beauty is seen as a signal of reproductive potential, both in men and women (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Jackson, 1992). In this respect, beauty standards are universal in the human species. At the same time, evidence indicates that cultural differences (e.g., Sorokowski & Butovskaya, 2012), individual differences (Swami et al., 2010; Swami & Tovee, 2013a), and situational factors (Swami & Tovee, 2013b) can affect attractiveness ratings. Therefore, we tap into the generic notion of the importance of aesthetics to womanhood (Jeffreys, 2005; Wolf, 1991), without defining what particular practices it denotes. The normative expectation for women to be attractive can be observed worldwide (Furnham & Mak, 1991). For example, one of the components of Chinese women's gender internalization includes notions such as "I can't feel confident unless I feel attractive," and "No matter how I feel I must always try to look my best" (Tang & Tang, 2001). Relationship ideals include attractiveness (having a nice body, being good looking) as a prescription for women among men in the USA and China (Lee, Fiske, Glick, & Chen, 2010).

Expectations of female resourcefulness seem to be less universal (e.g., Rudman et al., 2012). Resourcefulness is likely to be a part of women's stereotypes in cultures and groups that have undergone particularly oppressive circumstances, and where men could not be counted on to protect the group (e.g., Diekman, Eagly, Mladinic, & Ferreira, 2005). The literature on African-American women describes a similar construct, termed inner strength, which is a theme in womanhood observed among black, but not white women in the USA (Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Buchanan, 2008). Though superficially positive, it too has negative consequences for a woman's health, relationships, and stress levels (Woods-Giscombé, 2010) as well as job opportunities (Reynolds-Dobbs, Thomas & Harrison, 2008). The aforementioned research by Tang and Tang (2001), indicating "competence without complaint" as an aspect of Chinese womanhood, also aligns with these expectations. At the same time, these mechanisms do not appear to be observed in Latina/o families in the USA (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Herrera & DelCampo, 1995), indicating that, at least in this group, other factors interfere with the development of superwoman expectations.

Limitations

Even from the short review above, it is clear that our new dimensions of sexism will not have universal content or structure. Motherhood has different meanings in different cultures (Badinter, 2012; Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2010). Reverence for mothers might be especially important in cultures where family is important (Mealy et al., 2006), such as collectivist cultures (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). In these same cultures, where group goals are paramount, the notion of female self-sacrifice might be of greater importance. The burden of beauty placed upon women appears to be common among various cultures (e.g., Forbes et al., 2007), but might be affected by women's opportunities to achieve high sta-

tus through other means, such as through professional achievement (cf. Webster & Driskell, 1983). Aesthetic prescriptions for women have remained in play despite their economic progress over the years (Jeffreys, 2005), and appearance does play a role in professional advancement (Lake et al., 2013). However, the degree to which appearance is a woman's main asset has shifted and can be expected to shift further.

Additionally, it should be verified how social class and other status characteristics might intersect with gender to dictate how women are perceived and treated (Glauber, 2007; Settles et al., 2008; Walker & Barton, 2013). Motherhood, aesthetics, and resourcefulness could be quite differently construed among working class women. For example, not all women have a choice whether to stay at home or to work when they become mothers; this will necessarily affect how women who are and are not employed are perceived (e.g., Gorman & Fritzsche, 2002). Moreover, where good parenting requires a woman's constant presence, women might be reluctant to become pregnant for the fear of losing income (Charkiewicz, 2009; Hays, 1996; Urbańska, 2012). Finally, in contexts where childcare is not readily available outside the home, attaching an ideology to the role of mother can inhibit social policy change that would allow more mothers to work, i.e., through development of government-run childcare services (Heinen & Wator, 2006; Orloff, 2009).

For these reasons, we remain cautionary about the extent to which these new dimensions, developed with Polish samples, will be useful for other cultural and socioeconomic contexts, and over time. Although we provide some evidence to support our claims that the new dimensions are distinct from the existing ones, the adequacy of the dimensions to other contexts and their predictive power needs to be empirically tested before any claims on universality can be made.

Future Directions

The expansion of the concept of sexism discussed in this chapter is part of a progression toward a fuller, more exhaustive conceptualization of gender attitudes that lead to inequality. There are a number of avenues to consider for future research.

For example, it would be interesting to test how the broader concept of sexism can be tested against existing models of social change (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). We speculate that, similar to the original BS dimensions, endorsement of the proposed dimensions of sexism will increase perceptions that the existing gender inequalities are just (Jost & Kay, 2005), both among men and women. A corresponding decrease in group-level negative emotions would likely reduce the willingness to engage in collective action among women themselves (Becker & Wright, 2011). On the other hand, resourcefulness as a notion of female competence should increase perceived group efficacy, which has led to increased support for collective action in previous research.

It is also plausible that the beliefs related to the proposed dimensions could be linked to the content of gender identity (Becker & Wagner, 2009). Women endorsing such beliefs should have a more traditional gender identity, and so be less likely

to support typically progressive collective action. However, the phenomenon of "politicized motherhood" (Hryciuk, 2012; Werbner, 2007) indicates that maternal identity could lead to increased support for collective action, aimed at benefiting the family or the community, not women as a group. If motherhood is considered a source of moral authority (Mealy et al., 2006) and an empowering factor for women (Adamiak, 1997), then it is possible that an emphasis on motherhood will increase political mobilization for better policies regarding work–life balance (e.g., child-care, family benefits, flexible working hours). Unfortunately, it is likely that these "supermoms" simply will not have the time to engage in calls for social change.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have presented a broader view of sexism, encompassing dimensions along which women are judged that have an impact on their everyday lives as well as their long-term goal pursuits and outcomes. We believe that incorporating these three dimensions: motherhood, aesthetics, and resourcefulness, into research on gender inequality will allow for more nuanced and accurate portraits of sexism to be uncovered. Although these dimensions might not be as relevant in some cultures and groups as in others, neglecting them entirely misrepresents women's situation in the world today.

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Chapter 10
Perception of Gender Differences in Competition in the Post-Socialist Hungary

Márta Fülöp and Mihály Berkics

Introduction

According to the social role theory of Eagly (1997) gender stereotypes reflect the actual and real roles men and women take in the society. The Hungarian society advocated gender equality for more than 40 years and men and women participated in the labour force equally. However, many studies showed that in spite of the gender egalitarian practice the values related to motherhood and family, women's employment and the like have remained rather traditional. After the political changes of the 1990s the Hungarian society introduced market economy and competition in many spheres of life appeared and became a must. This chapter is going to present how young men and women perceive themselves and the ideal man and woman in terms of masculinity and femininity and competition, and also presents the results of a qualitative research that was carried out in the business context and investigates the gender differences in competition in a highly competitive social environment.

According to Hofstede (1980) one of the most fundamental ways societies differ is the extent to which they prescribe different roles for men and women. Hofstede (1980) described masculinity–femininty as a cultural dimension. A society was considered masculine if it rewarded stereotypically masculine behaviours such as toughness and assertiveness, materialism, ambition, focus on status, power and achievement through competition. A society was considered feminine if it rewarded

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such stereotypically feminine characteristics as nurturance, sociability, cooperation and pursuing common goals. Hungary did not participate in the original Hofstede (1980) study; therefore, there is no data about masculinity and femininity from the 1970s available. However, based on a small-scale study later, Hofstede (2001) placed Hungary among highly masculine societies (score 88).

In another large-scale international comparative study, the GLOBE[1] study (House, Hanges, Javindan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004), gender egalitarianism was measured. Gender egalitarianism reflects the degree to which men and women perform common tasks and are treated equally with respect to status, privilege and rewards in the society. It reflects societies' beliefs about whether members' biological sex should determine the roles they play in their homes as well as business, organizations and community (Emrich, Denmark, & Hartog, 2004). Gender egalitarianism was measured with two items. One asked if boys and girls are equally encouraged to attain higher education, and the other asked if males and females have equal likelihood to serve in high office. It was found that in terms of societal practice (what respondents perceive as reality) Hungary and other post-socialist countries (e.g. Russia, Poland, Slovenia) had the highest average in gender egalitarianism, meaning that they perceived the practice of their society in the questioned issues the most egalitarian among the examined 62 countries; however, in terms of societal values (what respondents consider "normative") these countries were among the last ones. Not only the Scandinavian but also West and South European and Latin American countries had higher averages (Emrich et al., 2004). This indicates that although Hungarian middle managers perceive men and women have equal chances to serve in a high office in the Hungarian society, their actual values reflect a more conservative attitude. These results can be partly explained by the social–political history of the Hungarian society after the Second World War. Since 1948 to 1956 Hungary was a strictly communist country, and after the 1956 revolution against Stalinism it became a more liberal socialist country. The socialist system, with its "state feminism" presented women's employment as an ideological necessity (Neményi, 1996). In Hungary, just like in the other former socialist countries based on a Soviet model, forced industrialization required a large workforce, and therefore, equal rights for women were proclaimed in the economic, cultural, social and political as well as in other areas of life (Tóth, 2004). The dual-earning family was an ideological expectation, a norm and a reality because families needed both incomes. This policy, the "state socialist women's emancipation project" (Fodor, 2004), within a very short period of time reached the goals that seemed to be unattainable by the Western feminist movements, i.e. women's mass entry into the workforce (Kende, 2000).

Until the political changes in 1989 the female employment rate was significantly higher in Hungary than in countries of the EU (as an average 20% higher) and even several percent higher than in the Scandinavian countries that traditionally led the international list of women's employment rates (Nagy, 2001). According to Fodor (2004), who compared Hungarian and Austrian women's position in the labour market and in management roles, by the end of the socialist period Hungarian women

[1] Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Research Program

had much better positions in both. However, what the Western feminist movements fought for and considered an achievement for women, a large number of women in socialist Hungary accepted with ambivalence, not as an accomplishment of a modern society and the proof of gender equality but as a burden and a constraint of political decisions (Fodor, 2004; Nagy, 2010; Pongrácz & Molnár, 2011). The societal practices and the societal values clearly differed.

When the economic demand for women's labour decreased there was a shift towards emphasizing the mother's central role in children's early care, and the 3 years long maternity leave (GYES) was introduced in 1967. As a result of this, women could get back to more traditional family roles, and this fit the more conservative gender role expectations of the society that had survived underneath the actual social reality of full-time working women. Still being a permanent full-time mother was rare, and at the time of the political changes in 1989 the majority of women were employed (75.5 %), most of them full time (Tóth & Somlai, 2004). Conversely, after the 1989 regime change as a kind of rebound effect of forced emancipation and as a consequence of Hungarian women's ambivalence towards being "emancipated", a conservative shift took place. The nostalgia for the traditional family strengthened in Hungary just like in most of the post-socialist countries. There was a revival of conservative attitudes and a temporary re-traditionalization of gender role expectations emphasizing women's return to the home, and family became more important than any career, social position or social and political activity (Spéder & Kapitány, 2013).

In the 2002 ISSP[2] study 61 % of the population agreed to a certain degree with the statement that "Having a job may also be important, but what most women really desire is a home and children" and 54 % believed that being at home and working in the household can also be satisfying for a woman (Tóth & Dupcsik, 2008). In 2006 the results of the European Social Survey (ESS) indicated that among the 24 EU member states, Hungarians agreed the most with the item "A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family" (Takács, 2008). This shows how at the practical level traditions may be broken by economic necessities, structural constraints and forced ideology, while at the level of values traditional beliefs can be maintained and may remain mainly untouched (Spéder & Kapitány, 2013).

In the socialist era women had more or less equal opportunities outside the home, but inside the home the traditional gender role practices existed. The tension between the concept of the full-time working woman who has equal rights and opportunities with men and the traditional role of a wife and mother has been present from the very beginning of the communist system and has been fully prevalent after the democratization and the implementation of the capitalist market economy as well (Tóth & Somlai, 2004).

Kende's (2000) research indicated that around the millennium two parallel and contrasting trends existed in terms of women's role in the family. One was women's own initiative to establish equality and emancipation and their demand to have

[2] International Social Survey Programme

equal opportunities for a career and income and to establish space for themselves in leadership positions as well. The other was the need for the traditional female roles. In her in-depth interviews with 24–25 year-old young Hungarian women she identified three groups of women based on their views: those who had *purely egalitarian* views (men and women are equal in the family and have to share all tasks; career for a woman is an equally important goal as family life); those who had purely *conservative views* (priority of motherhood over career, male dominance), and finally those who had *contradictory views* (when the interviewees' beliefs and their actual life decisions were not in harmony).

After the millennium, other data also reflect opposite tendencies, i.e. the strengthening of the importance of both work and career and the homemaker mother's role. Pongrácz and S. Molnár (2011) found that while in 2000, the majority believed that mothers having a full-time job affected the family life negatively, in 2009, this opinion was moderated. Parallel to this the status of housewives has been increasingly accepted among highly educated women as well. Altogether, the rate of people with traditional views on family roles has decreased between 2000 and 2009 while the group of those with ambivalent opinion has grown.

Gender Stereotypes and Competitiveness

According to Best's (2003) definition, gender stereotypes are psychological traits and behaviours believed to be differentially associated with women and men in a particular cultural group. Williams' and Best's model (1982) proposed that biological differences (e.g. females bear children) lead to a division of labour, i.e. women being responsible for child care and domestic activities and men being responsible for providing and protection. Gender stereotypes evolved to support this division of labour. In their 30-country study, Williams and Best used the Adjective Check List and asked participants to indicate if those adjectives rather characterize males of females. They found high pancultural agreement, suggesting a "psychological universal" when it comes to gender stereotypes. In all countries men were viewed as active, strong, critical, conscientious, extraverted and open. Women were viewed as passive, weak, nurturing, adaptive and agreeable. In a 14-country study by Williams and Best (1990) each participant had to describe himself/herself and his/her ideal self along an adjective list of masculine and feminine characteristics. Men in all countries were found to be more masculine than women, further reinforcing the conclusion that gender stereotypes are relatively stable around the world.

Van de Vliert (1998) compared 42 countries in terms of masculinity and femininity and found that men reported to be more competitive, especially in countries with high masculinity index. Competitiveness had been traditionally considered also in the psychological literature a masculine trait (Hofstede, 1980), and numerous studies indicated that men are more competitive than women (e.g. Ahlgren & Johnson, 1979) Williams and Best (1990) in their 30-country study found that men in each culture were more often characterized by competition. The traditional evolutionary

perspective states that competitiveness is more important for the reproductive success of males than of females (Buss, 1999). According to developmental psychologists boys are socialized to be competitive. Ahlgren and Johnson (1979) studied the social motives of 2nd and 12th graders. In all age groups boys endorsed competitive social behaviours more ("I like to do better work than my friends") than girls did.

The view that males are more competitive prevailed for a long time and started to change only in the last two decades, as there have been a growing number of studies proving that women can be as competitive as men, but the manifestation of their competitiveness is different. Evolutionary psychologists started to change their view. Geary (1998) stated that among primates female–female competition is just as frequent as male–male competition, but it is not so much about mates than about securing better resources (i.e. more food) for the offspring, and as a consequence securing its survival. In case of humans the main area of competition also differs because the focus of female–female competition appears to be presenting physical attractiveness as that is what is associated with male choice. Men, however, compete for socio-political power and for material resources as these make them valuable for women. Male–male competition, therefore, focuses on the acquisition of social and material indicators of cultural success while the main areas of female competition are appearance, popularity and preservation of good sexual reputation (Cashdan, 1998). A cultural comparative study of Fülöp (2012) carried out among university students in three culturally, politically and economically different countries (Hungary, Canada and Japan) confirmed this. All respondents answered an open-ended question "What do you think about gender differences in relation to competition?" In all three groups the most frequently mentioned area of competition in case of women was "appereance", and competition for partners also appeared among the five most frequently mentioned fields. In contrast to this, in all three countries men were perceived to compete primarily for money, work/position/power/success and also physical strength.

Men and women differ also in their competitive strategies. Savin-Williams (1987) in an ethological study of adolescent social groups found that both adolescent boys and girls form a dominance hierarchy, but there are sex differences in the stability of the social hierarchies and the degree to which dominance displays are direct or indirect. Boys' dominance formation is immediate, direct and overt, and they use more physical assertion, while girls are superficially polite at the beginning, use less physical aggression and more than half of their dominance-related behaviours are indirect. Girls try to avoid open competition, apply less visible methods to block their rival in winning in order to preserve interpersonal harmony (Hughes, 1988). Laura Tracy (1991) interviewed a hundred women between the age of 15–75. She found that women had been socialized to deny their competitive strivings and apply instead indirect, manipulative techniques to reach their goal. Several studies point to female–female competition involving rather relational aggression, which includes gossip and other tactics that attempt to exclude the competitor from the social group (e.g. Simmons, 2002). In her Hungarian, Canadian and Japanese comparative study, Fülöp (2012) found that in all three countries, participants perceived women to have a hidden and more manipulative competition style while men show

open and direct competition. All these studies suggest that competitiveness is a trait that is present in both sexes, however its manifestation is more in line with gender role expectations and gender role stereotypes.

According to Eagly's (1997) social role theory, gender stereotypes derive from the actual division of work between men and women. People are expected to have characteristics that equip them for the activities typical of their sex. In a society in which the majority of women are housewives and/or are in caretaking roles and men are the breadwinners, men are assumed to be dominant and independent because they have higher status. According to Hunyady (1996), stereotypes are dynamic; they undergo changes as social groups change their status and their characteristics within the society. Therefore, in a society with a state-socialist concept of gender equality in which men and women participated in the labour force equally, as it was the case in Hungary between 1948 and 1989 for four decades, the stereotypes related to men and women should have reflected this, and gender role expectations towards men and women should have been rather similar to each other. Research however showed that values related to gender roles and gender role distributions remained rather traditional in spite of an ideology and employment practice that was much more emancipated than in Western Europe or in the USA at that time (Fodor, 2004). Nguyen Luu (2001) studied gender stereotypes and perception of the ideal man and woman among 17–19 year-olds in Hungary in two time periods: soon after the political changes in 1991 and almost a decade later around the millennium. In both time periods men were characterized by more stereotypically masculine traits, e.g. strong, brave, ambitious, confident, aggressive; while women by more stereotypically feminine traits, e.g. domesticated, emotional, gentle, dependent, vulnerable. The potential that the gender-egalitarian socialist ideology did have some short time effect was reflected in the difference in the results of the 1991 and 1999 studies. In 1991, shortly after the political changes, gender stereotypes were less traditional than those 10 years later.

Nguyen Luu (2001) however did not study competitiveness as a trait that has been part of gender role stereotype studies and may have had special significance in a post-socialist country like Hungary. In the transition of post-communist states to market economy, competition has been a key concept. Since 1989, competition, a previously ideologically denied and banned phenomenon, has become a highly required and praised one at all levels of the society, from politics to everyday individual life in Hungary. The appearance of market economy resulted in high-level unemployment replacing full and basically guaranteed employment, and as a result of this intense competition in the job market, the growing number of enterprises all required a competitive spirit from both male and female job seekers and employees. These transformations shifted the nature of the personal and social skills necessary for success. Being able to compete, to stand up after losing and to withstand the stresses of competition is a requirement of both men and women in the present day Hungarian society and labour market (Fülöp, 2005).

As there have been no recent studies about gender role stereotypes of young Hungarians and no study that included competitiveness, the goals of the first study were to reveal what kind of gender stereotypes are present among Hungarian young

adults two decades after the political changes, how much the masculine stereotype prevails and to what extent young men and women ascribe macho characteristics, including competitiveness, to the ideal man and the ideal woman, and to what extent they endorse those characteristics related to themselves. The ideal woman and ideal man are not simple stereotypes; they contain a positive attitude, a desire and a wish. They show in what way young, highly educated Hungarian adults and university students wish for as a partner and what they would like to be themselves as a man or a woman (Best, 2003).

Study 1: The Perception of the Ideal Man, the Ideal Woman and the Self Among Hungarian University Students The study was conducted with a sample of 166 Hungarian university students. The sample had a balanced sex ratio (86 women, 80 men), the mean age was 22.7 years (SD = 4.9 years). The participants represented different majors like management (n = 91), psychology (n = 41), physical education (n = 18) and pedagogy (n = 9; 7 did not respond).

The applied method was the macho self-concept measure of Monika Sieverding (1997, 2002). Sieverding (1997) intended to study the relationship between the macho self-concept and men's health-related attitudes in Germany, and in order to do this she created a semantic differential of adjective pairs. In order to operationalize the macho self-concept, a picture of the Marlboro Man[3], an exceedingly masculine cowboy figure in the tobacco advertising campaign for Marlboro cigarettes was used. In Sieverding's (1997) study respondents first were asked to list the characteristics/adjectives that according to them apply to the Marlboro Man. Based on the open-ended answers, 13 adjective pairs were chosen to investigate the macho self-concept, i.e. independent–dependent; confident–insecure; tense–easygoing; shy–not shy; self-sufficient–helpless; weak–strong; healthy–sick; masculine–feminine; cool–not cool; sovereign–not sovereign; successful-unsuccessful; gentle–tough; calm–distressed.[4]

The present research started with a pilot study involving a group of 30 Hungarian university students who were asked to evaluate the Marlboro Man along Sieverding's (1997) adjective pairs but were also asked to list adjectives that they thought were missing from the original set. The most frequently mentioned three traits were added together with their opposites to the original list, i.e. competitive–non-competitive, sexy–not sexy and sociable–withdrawn. A total of 16 pairs of adjectives were presented to the participants: 13 of them came from Sieverding's (1997) research and 3 pairs were added based on the pilot study. Respondents had to evaluate themselves (perception of the self), the "ideal man" and the "ideal woman" along the six-point bipolar trait scales.

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[3] http://www.gla.msstate.edu/mmsoc/subliminal/marlboro.html

[4] We translated the exact terms of the adjectives directly from German to English and did not use the translation that Sieverding (2002) later presented in English.

Results and Discussion

The bipolar adjective scales were analysed both at the level of individual trait pairs and at the level of their factor structure and the resulting "mental map" of representations. First the perception of the "ideal man" and the "ideal woman" of the whole group was compared (paired-sample *T* test). Significant differences were found along all of the adjective pairs but two (calm–nervous; withdrawn–sociable). The "ideal man" was found to be significantly more independent, more confident, more self-sufficient, cooler, more successful and also more competitive than the "ideal woman". The ideal woman was however considered more shy, more feminine, gentler and sexier than the ideal man (see Table 10.1).

When the sample was divided by sex, there were very few significant differences. Young Hungarian men and women basically agree what kind of characteristics have to present in an "ideal man". There were significant differences only in three dimensions: young men considered the "ideal man" weaker, gentler and less sexy than young women did. To state it from the young women's perspective, the ideal man is stronger, tougher and sexier, somewhat more "macho" than from the perspective of young men (see Table 10.2).

While there was a high agreement among men and women about the "ideal man", the perception of the "ideal woman" differed a lot, indicating a significant disagreement between the genders on the ideal characteristics of a woman (see Table 10.3).

The results show that young men visualize the "ideal woman" significantly weaker, less independent, less confident, less self-sufficient, less cool, less sovereign, less successful, less competitive and more shy and distressed than youngw

Table 10.1 Characterization of the ideal man and the ideal woman (only significant differences; the smaller the number—highlighted in italic—the more characteristic is the first adjective)

Adjective pair	Ideal man	Ideal woman
Independent–dependent	*2.28*	2.67***
Confident–insecure	*1.54*	2.16***
Tense–easygoing	4.60	*4.44**
Shy–not shy	5.01	*4.04****
Self-sufficient–helpless	*1.50*	2.27***
Weak–strong	5.22	3.92***
Healthy–sick	1.36	*1.22**
Feminine–masculine	5.44	*1.33****
Cool–not cool	*2.55*	2.81**
Sovereign–not sovereign	2.13	2.37**
Successful–unsuccessful	*1.69*	2.15***
Gentle–tough	2.56	*1.55****
Competitivenon-competitive	*2.77*	3.35***
Sexy–not sexy	2.01	*1.47****

Paired-sample *T* test
$*p<0.05$; $**p<0.01$; $***p<0.001$

Table 10.2 The perception of the "ideal man" (only significant differences; the lower the number—highlighted in italic—the more characteristic is the first adjective)

Adjective pair	Men	Women
Weak–strong	*5.10*	5.34*
Gentle–tough	2.76	*2.36**
Sexy–not sexy	2.26	*1.76***

Independent-sample *T* test
*$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$

Table 10.3 The perception of the "ideal woman" (only significant differences; the lower the number—highlighted in italic—the more characteristic is the first adjective)

Adjective pair	Men	Women
Independent–dependent	3.01	*2.36***
Confident–insecure	2.56	*1.78****
Shy–not shy	3.74	*4.31***
Self-sufficient–helpless	2.64	*1.93****
Weak–strong	*3.48*	4.34***
Cool–not cool	3.04	*2.59***
Sovereign–not sovereign	2.68	*2.08****
Successful–unsuccessful	2.43	*1.90****
Calm–distressed	2.15	*1.78***
Competitive–not competitive	3.62	*3.09***

Independent-sample *T* test
**$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$

women who in turn consider the "ideal woman" significantly stronger, more confident, more self-sufficient, more sovereign, cooler, more successful, more competitive and less distressed and shy than young men do. Young men's stereotype of the ideal woman is more traditional, more feminine than young women's stereotype.

When, however the self-evaluation of young Hungarian men and women was compared there were no significant gender differences along most of the characteristics. Differences were found only along three adjective pairs: women reported themselves to be healthier, gentler and not surprisingly more feminine than men, meaning that the self-perception of the participant young women and men was basically the same along the provided dimensions (see Table 10.4).

When the self-perception and the ideal view of their own sex were compared both groups demonstrated significant differences along the majority of the examined dimensions. Both men and women saw themselves significantly less independent, less confident, more tense, more shy, more distressed, sicker, less cool, less successful, less sexy and less sociable than the ideal of their sex. Men also perceived themselves less self-sufficient and weaker than the ideal man, while women did not perceive a difference along these dimensions. Both groups considered itself equally sovereign and competitive with the ideal of their gender. Along most of the dimensions both men and women considered the ideal representative of their own sex more masculine than themselves (see Table 10.5).

Table 10.4 Self-evaluation of young men and women (only significant differences; the lower the number—highlighted in italic—the more characteristic is the first adjective)

Adjective pairs	Men	Women
Healthy–sick	2.04	*1.72**
Feminine–masculine	4.80	*2.20****
Gentle–tough	2.84	*2.29****

Independent-sample *T* test
**p*<0.05; ****p*<0.001

Table 10.5 Men's and women's self perception and perception of the ideal woman and man (the lower the number—highlighted in italic—the more characteristic is the first adjective)

	Ideal man	Man—self	Ideal woman	Woman—self
Independent–dependent	*2.15*	2.77***	*2.36*	2.99***
Confident–insecure	*1.48*	2.85***	*1.78*	2.94***
Tense–easygoing	4.64	*3.56****	4.48	*3.57****
Shy–not shy	4.94	*3.85****	4.31	*3.91**
Self-sufficient–helpless	*1.54*	2.15**	1.93	2.05
Weak–strong	5.10	*4.49***	4.34	4.29
Healthy–sick	*1.48*	2.04**	*1.22*	1.72*
Feminine–masculine	5.40	*4.80***	*1.35*	2.20***
Cool–not cool	*2.46*	3.16**	*2.59*	3.34**
Sovereign–not sovereign	2.25	2.39	2.08	2.20
Successful–unsuccessful	*1.69*	2.67***	*1.90*	2.51**
Gentle–tough	2.76	2.84	*1.49*	2.29***
Calm–distressed	*1.79*	2.85***	*1.78*	3.02***
Competitive–not competitive	2.73	2.94	3.09	3.16
Sexy–not sexy	*2.26*	2.99**	*1.47*	2.79**
Sociable–withdrawn	4.55	*3.87***	4.61	*3.91***

Independent-sample *T* test
**p*<0.05; ***p*<0.01; ****p*<0.001

It was also examined how men's and women's self-concept and the opposite gender's characterization of the "ideal man" and "ideal woman" relate to each other. An opposite tendency emerged from the results. If women's self-concept and men's stereotype of the "ideal woman" is compared then women consider the "ideal woman" more macho than themselves, while men consider the "ideal woman" more feminine and less macho than the actual self-concept of the participating women. For example, men consider ideal a more insecure, more helpless, weaker, less confident, gentler, less competitive, less confident, but sexier, healthier, less distressed, more feminine, more sociable and more easygoing woman. If the ideal is a value to strive for then, in contrast to this, the participating women would like to be more masculine than they actually are (see Table 10.6).

Table 10.6 Men's and women's self perception and perception of the ideal woman and man (the lower the number—highlighted in italic—the more characteristic is the first adjective)

	Man—self	Ideal man according to women	Woman—self	Ideal woman according to men
Independent–dependent	*2.77*	2.41*	2.99	3.01
Confident–insecure	*2.85*	1.60***	*2.94*	2.56*
Tense–easygoing	3.56	*4.55****	3.57	*4.40****
Shy–not shy	3.85	*5.07****	3.91	3.74
Self-sufficient–helpless	*2.15*	1.47***	2.05	*2.64**
Weak–strong	4.49	*5.34****	*4.29*	3.48**
Healthy–sick	*2.04*	1.24***	*1.72*	1.23*
Feminine–masculine	4.80	*5.48***	*2.20*	1.30***
Cool–not cool	*3.16*	2.64**	*3.34*	3.04*
Sovereign–not sovereign	*2.39*	2.02*	2.20	*2.68**
Successful–unsuccessful	*2.67*	1.69***	2.51	2.43
Gentle–tough	*2.84*	2.36*	*2.29*	1.61*
Calm–distressed	*2.85*	1.89***	*3.02*	2.15**
Competitive–not competitive	2.94	2.81	3.16	*3.62**
Sexy–not sexy	*2.99*	1.76***	*2.79*	1.48***
Closed–open	3.87	*4.82****	3.91	*4.47***

Independent-sample *T* test
*$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$

If men's self concept and women's stereotype of the ideal man are compared then there is also a gap. Women expect the "ideal man" to be more masculine (e.g. independent, confident, strong, tough) and—similarly to man's view about the ideal woman—healthier, sexier, more easygoing and more sociable, i.e. more biologically fit and attractive than the actual participant men in this research consider themselves (see Table 10.6).

For the bipolar adjective scales regarding perceptions of the self, the "ideal woman" and the "ideal man", a pooled principal component analysis (PCA) yielded two uncorrelated factors containing a total of 10 items and accounting for 46.2 % of the variance. (Oblique rotations produced inter-factor correlations around or less than 2, thus the two-factor orthogonal PCA was interpreted.) One factor was labelled as "toughness", the other as "attractiveness" (see Table 10.7).

These two factors are in accordance with studies that show that people's evaluations of others typically occur on two dimensions, one dimension representing traits related to an individual's power, ability and status and the other concerning likeability and agreeableness (Williams & Best, 1990) or along competence versus warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Power and competence are attributed more to men, while likeability and warmth more to women.

Table 10.7 Results of the principal component analysis (oblique rotation) of the bipolar ratings (pooled across the three rated objects). From each pair, the trait in the same direction as the component is highlighted in italic

	Component	
	Toughness	Attractiveness
Self-sufficient (vs. helpless)	0.782	
(Weak vs.) *strong*	−0.704	
(Shy vs.) *not shy*	−0.652	
Confident (vs. insecure)	0.608	
Competitive (vs. not competitive)	0.585	
Independent (vs. dependent)	0.565	
Sexy (vs. not sexy)		0.710
(Tense vs.) *easygoing*		−0.693
Calm (vs. distressed)		0.673
Healthy (vs. sick)		0.638

The bipolar item “feminine vs. masculine” could not be included in the model due to cross-loading, but it was still of interest regarding the study. Therefore, it was kept as a single-item measure. Self-repeated measures 2 (ideal woman and ideal man) x3 (two factors and the single item “feminine vs. masculine”) mixed analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted. For “feminine vs. masculine” a significant interaction was found: while male and female participants gave almost the same ratings to the “ideal woman” (1.30 vs. 1.33) and the “ideal man” (5.42 vs. 5.50), they did differ in their ratings of themselves (4.80 vs. 2.21; $F(2)=180.427$, $p=.000$). In other words, there was a consensus between female and male participants about how feminine the “ideal woman” and how masculine the “ideal man” should be, and there was an expected difference between their ratings of themselves, men considering themselves more masculine and less feminine than women and vice versa.

There were also significant differences among ratings of the three objects along the two factors (see Fig. 10.1). While women and men participants rated themselves and the “ideal man” in a very similar way along both toughness and attractiveness, the “ideal woman” was perceived differently, was rated significantly higher on the “toughness” dimension by female participants ($t(145.338)=-5.709$, $p=.000$). While female participants perceived themselves equally tough with the “ideal woman” (no significant difference was found between their self-perception and the perception of the “ideal woman”: $t(82)=0.760$, $p=.449$), male participants characterized the “ideal woman” as being significantly less tough than the participating women characterize the “ideal woman” and themselves.

In the case of attractivity the picture was different. Men and women evaluated the attractivity of the “ideal woman” equally high and they evaluated their own attractivity equally low. There was however difference in the attractivity they attributed to the “ideal man”. Female participants rated male attractivity somewhat higher than male participants ($t(161)=-1.986$, $p=0.49$). All “ideal” characterizations differed significantly from the self-perception, “ideals” were considered significantly higher in “attractivity”.

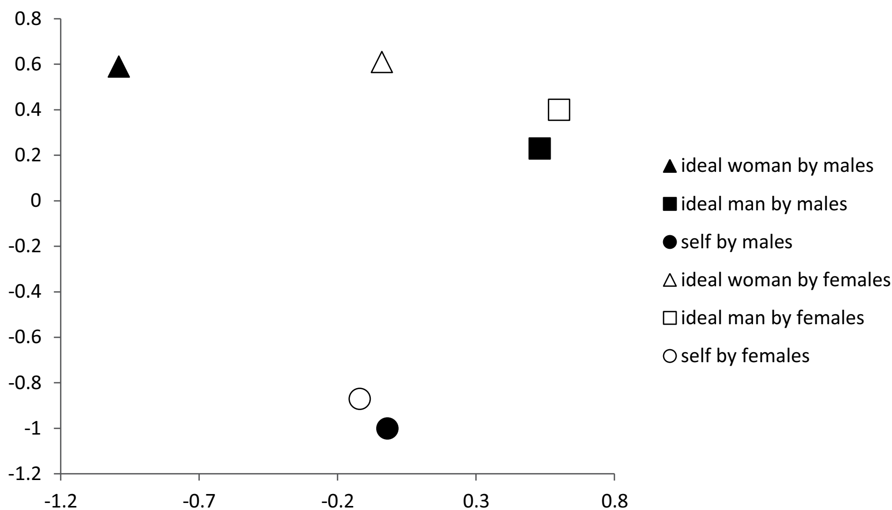

Fig. 10.1 Ratings of the three objects by female and male participants. The numbers represent factor scores. *Horizontal axis:* toughness. *Vertical axis:* attractiveness

The participating young men rated themselves significantly less attractive and tough than the "ideal man", while the female participants differed from their ideal only in attractivity, not toughness. The ratings of the three objects in the two-dimensional factor structure are shown on Fig. 10.1.

The characteristics of the ideal woman and man give a clear picture to women and men what they are supposed to emulate as their proper gender role in society. But it is not indifferent who sets up the ideal picture of men and women: the men or the women. If they differ in this view, there is a different striving and motivation, and women and men construct their identities around this image. While young men and women characterized themselves almost identically along the "macho" dimensions, their ideals differ. Young women wish to be more "macho" than they actually are and consider a more "macho" man ideal than the actual young men around them are. Young men also wish to be more "macho" themselves, however they consider a more feminine and "less macho" woman ideal than the young woman actually are around them. In other words both young men and women want to be more masculine than they actually are, but young men want much more feminine women while young women want slightly more masculine men. In terms of attractivity there is much more agreement, both men and women find ideal more attractive partners than themselves. The results show that Hungarian young women have less conservative gender role ideologies then Hungarian men when it comes to the "ideal woman"; however both men's and women's expectations of the "ideal man" are traditional: be highly masculine.

In terms of competitiveness no gender difference was found in the self-evaluations (i.e. young men and women rated themselves equally competitive). They also attributed equal level of competitiveness to the "ideal man"; however there

was discrepancy in the competitiveness of the "ideal woman". Women consider a more competitive woman ideal than men. The participant men's self-reported level of competitiveness corresponded with what participating women consider ideal for men, while the participating women's self-reported competitiveness was significantly higher than what the participating men consider ideal.

According to previous research men increase their attractiveness by being competitive (Riskind & Wildon, 1982), but in case of women just the opposite happens. Being competitive makes both men and women look more masculine, and this is beneficial for men but detrimental for women in social and romantic relationships. Van de Vliert and Janssen (2002) found that countries with a high index of competitiveness are happier if women are less competitive than men. They also found that a society is the most unhappy if both men and women are highly and equally competitive. It seems that across societies deviation from the stereotype that women are less competitive costs subjective well-being. However, in the labour market both men and women have to compete and have to be able to be successful.

Competing in the Labour Market

As it was described previously, after the 1989 political changes the official discourse was divided. During this time, gender role expectations partly became more traditional than they had been in the socialist time and sought to maximize the differences between the sexes. Furthermore, gender role partly became more modern and sought to minimize the differences and emphasized non-discriminative practices in the workplaces and encouraged women to pursue high ambitions.

There are several studies that investigate if women and men have equal chances to get ahead in the competitive job market and corporate ladder in Hungary. Basically all studies point to men's competitive advantages and women's lack of equal chances to get into managerial or leadership positions in spite of all the legislations against discriminations. Despite all the social and economic changes in recent decades and the high proportion of women in tertiary education, only a third of managerial positions are occupied by women in Hungary, and in the top positions their presence is only symbolic (10%) (Nagy, 2012). While these statistics reflect a significant imbalance, they are almost the same as the EU average (32% managerial positions and 11% top positions), Hungary is not exceptional in this respect, showing that women compete unsuccessfully for leadership positions all over Europe (Nagy, 2012).

There are many obstacles blocking real growth in women's participation in senior management. Hungarian researchers, similar to researchers from Western Europe or North America, discuss the glass ceiling (vertical block) and the glass wall (horizontal segregation; women working in feminized jobs) effects that contribute to women's more limited career opportunities and advancement to high-level managerial positions (Nagy, 2012). Coinciding with the traditional gender role expectations that are still prevalent in the Hungarian society, research with Hungarian women shows that their personal motivation is much lower when it comes to

securing managerial jobs. They do not really want to compete and climb to the highest levels of the corporate ladder because they do not see that career can be reconciled with motherhood and family life (Pongrácz, 2001). In fact, the proportions of being single and being divorced among female executives is significantly higher than among male executives (Nagy, 2001). The career plans of young women and men are already different from the start, with young women having internalized the traditional gender role expectations of Hungarian society. A study of graduates in international relations revealed that even if women and men are keen on working on their career intensively as it starts, women later perceived their intimate relationship as a more important priority, while men prioritized career building (Budavári, 2008).

It is also a competitive disadvantage that female executives bear the double burden because—as it was discussed previously—there are only limited changes in connection with work–life balance in Hungary. The Hungarian labour market does not offer sufficiently flexible or atypical working arrangements and part-time work for mothers with small children (Nagy, 2013).

The social context is not welcoming either. Hungarian society is strongly prejudiced against women leaders and prefer men to women, for example in promotion, reward and wages. Women's competencies and skills are often undervalued by their environment, thus men's higher competence is anticipated (Nagy & Vicsek, 2008). According to Nagy's (2010) studies, male managers do not consider female managers as respectable competitors. They do not acknowledge their performances and the majority of them do not support creating a balance between women's childbearing and career building. This is clearly different from the Western European attitude. Wajcman (1998) found a positive attitude towards these issues among male managers in the UK.

Due to these multiple factors, women start the competition for leadership positions with a clear disadvantage and need extra effort, abilities and skills to be able to obtain leadership positions. Nagy (2012) refers to these complex causes as the metaphor of the labyrinth, since women face more than one obstacle. In spite of this, Hungarian female managers do not want to get "unfair" treatment. A great majority of them reject the notion of positive discrimination (Nagy, 2012); in other words, they want to compete on equal grounds. It is however a question to what extent this is possible, what kind of competitive strategies women apply and have to apply in order to compete successfully in the corporate world and what kind of price they have to pay for not being in accordance with the gender role expectations that prescribe less competitiveness for the ideal woman than for the ideal man.

The second study that is presented in this chapter was part of a larger investigation aimed at revealing how competition is perceived by business people more than two decades after the political changes. Its goal was to understand how business people construct the meaning of competition, what kind of personal attitudes characterize those in leadership positions, what kind of competitive strategies they apply in their work and how they handle competition among their subordinates. It also aimed at investigating how business leaders view the role of gender in competition in business life. In the forthcoming section this latter part of the research will be presented.

Study 2: Hungarian Business Leaders' Perception of Gender Differences in Competition in the Business Life The research was carried out with 202 business people in Hungary; 139 (69 %) of them were men, 63 (31 %) were women. The age range was 22–69 years and the average age was 42 years (SD: 11.31). According to their occupation they were entrepreneurs and company owners (40 %), directors of a company (30 %), CEOs (20 %), bankers (5 %), economic experts (2 %) and salespersons (2 %). Approximately one-third of the respondents were from Budapest and 70 % of them were from smaller towns of Hungary.

In-depth interviews were carried out, recorded and transcribed. In order not to influence the respondents to focus on potential gender differences the question was posed in the following way: "How do you see the role of gender in competition in general and in the business life?" The answers were analysed for content. Qualitatively different contents were categorized. Besides the qualitative analysis, the categories provided the bases for some basic quantitative analysis as well. The research was anonymous and the respondents gave their consent about participation.

Results and Discussion

Women's and men's competition in the business life was perceived to be different by the majority of the interviewees (81 %), and the proportion of the men and the women interviewees who were of this opinion was the same (men: 82 %; women: 85 %). Those who did not perceive differences emphasized mainly the role of personality as a more decisive factor in determining competitive behaviour than being male or female.

> I can't really see any difference. I know competitive women and competitive men as well. I don't think that this has something to do with their sex, it is rather related to personality factors i.e. how much a person is a competitive type of person. There are however physiological differences that determine at which field they can compete with success: in some jobs men and in some other jobs women have more chance. (42 year-old man, business owner, small town)

Those answers that emphasized that there are gender differences in competition were sorted into three main categories: differences in the *intensity* of the competitive drive (i.e. men or women are more or less competitive), differences in the *area* of competition and differences in the *mode* or *style* of competition. As respondents may have mentioned not only one type of answer but several (e.g. mentioned both area and competitive style differences) responses in the three different categories do not necessarily add up to only 100 %.

The majority of those who stated that women and men are different in competition did not conceptualize this difference in terms of the degree of the competitive drive. Only 37 (23 %) stated that either men (16 %) or women (7 %) are more competitive. "To me the competitive, 'fight for all' role is still the man's role." (56-year-old man, regional director)

> Men want to win over everyone … they want to be the alpha male in the hen-yard. As far as I can tell, this is much more important for men than for women…. I experienced it only among very few women that they wanted to be the number one….(26-year-old woman, foreign company, salesperson)

> In my opinion women are more competitive both in the private and the business life. They are more forceful and push their way forward they make use of any means and do whatever it takes in order to get ahead. (36-year-old man, software company owner)

Instead of the intensity of the competitive drive the majority of the respondents emphasized that men and women compete in different areas and in different manners. Altogether 60 respondents (36 %) mentioned that men and women differ in their preferred *areas* of competition, among them more women (68 %) than men (23 %). In accordance with previous research with university students of Hungary, Japan and Canada (Fülöp, 2012) both business women and business men emphasize that women compete in their appearance and their romantic partner, while in case of men the most frequently mentioned area is money and finances and also physical strength.

> Men compete in their strength, but women understandably in their appearance and in a cunning way. Women use their seductive power. (31-year-old man, commercial director of a foreign bank)

> Women watch more carefully how another woman is dressed, how she moves, how she behaves, what kind of guy she has, what kind of car that guy has, what does she do in the workplace, how she is promoted. (32-year-old male, commercial director)

> Men compete in their financial status, in their sexual attractivity, what kind of chick they have, how clever they are. In case of women many times it is the man they have as a partner who is the competitive object, then their appearance, their age and also how clever they are. (38-year-old man, CEO, town)

The respondents also mentioned several *behavioural dimensions* along which women and men are different in terms of competition. The main dimensions were: open/direct versus hidden/indirect way of competing, fair versus unfair (manipulative), aggressiveness and using seduction as a competitive strategy. They also described the characteristics of within sex versus cross-sex competition.

More than half (56 %) of those who perceive gender differences in competitiveness in the workplace mention that there is a difference between men and women in terms *openness* and the majority of them (88 %) stated that while men compete openly women hide their competitiveness, and only 12 % of them stated the opposite, namely that women are the ones who compete openly. There were only men who had the perception that women are more direct in competition, however there were none among the interviewed business women who said so.

> If a man competes with a man it is usually very open, it is obvious that they are fighting. I would compare this to a cock fight. It is almost visible how they fluff up their feathers…. Women do not undertake the open fights. This is an advantage for them. Men do not even notice that a woman competes with them. When a woman competes with a woman, unfortunately we much sooner start to use different sneaky tactics. Many times the rivals don't even know that they are competing with each other, because they choose indirect solutions. They for instance say something about the other to somebody what will return to the person

> via a number of channels. It belongs to the female nature that we do not embark on open fights. (51-year-old female, head of department of commerce, Hungarian town)

> Two men may stab each other or may call for a duel, but so far I haven't seen any men who would backstab his rival in such an insidious way as a woman. (31-year-old male business executive)

Several studies found that there is a tendency in women to hide their competitiveness in order to comply with the feminine stereotype. The social expectation towards girls is that they should be nice and not competitive (Tracy, 1991; Fülöp, 2012); however for women in leadership positions this is almost impossible. But open and direct competition in the business environment seems to be a challenge for Hungarian women.

Being *manipulative* is a version of the open/direct and hidden/indirect dimension. Altogether 37 (22 % of those who see gender differences) respondents, the majority of them women (31) considered women in the business world unfair and dishonest and manipulative competitors. They manipulate relationships within the social group, they whisper, spread rumours, backbite to inflict psychological pain on their—mainly—female colleague rivals in order to gain power and dominance. There was no reference at all to men competing in a manipulative way. "Women manipulate men: I am the unprotected woman, you are the gallant man." (39-year-old, company director, Budapest)

> Women are much more tricky and it is not always public how they compete. I have such acquaintances who always intrigue against each other, but when they meet in a party they talk to each other as if they have been old good friends. (49-year-old female company owner)

> They intrigue without limits, they gossip where they can and they always know to exactly whom they just have to drop a piece of 'information' about the rivals. This is an unscrupulous type of person. (50-year-old woman, director of an accountancy company).

The perception that women compete in a manipulative way was also found in Fülöp's (2012) previous study when Canadian, Japanese and Hungarian university students' perception on gender differences in competition were compared. Although this statement appeared in all three groups, it was the most frequent among the Hungarian respondents and almost non-existent among the Canadian respondents.

While indirect forms of aggression (manipulation) were mentioned exclusively in relation to women business leaders, almost half (41 %) of the group that claimed gender differences in competition mentioned men and women in leadership position differing in their level of *overt aggression* as well. The majority (67 % of this group) considered women more aggressive.

> They are tough (i.e. women), due to overcompensation. Until they are not in a leadership position they apply more subtle means, but the moment they are, they unleash their aggression. (30 year-old male, CEO)

> Women are much more aggressive. They are awfully tough. A good business woman is much tougher than a businessman and more cruel as well. (39 year-old man, CEO, Budapest)

According to Nagy (2001), women face double standards in terms of their behaviour. Even if their behaviour is less extreme than their male colleagues, they may

still be viewed in a negative light simply because the threshold of "acceptable" behaviour is often lower for women. International studies also find that women are called too aggressive at work, but this is not the case with men; however, many studies show that men in fact are more aggressive in offices than women (e.g. Rutter & Hine, 2005). Sheryl Sandberg (2013), the CEO of Facebook, in her book "Lean in" explains the double bind women have to face. Men are continually applauded for being ambitious and powerful and successful, but women who display these same traits often pay a social penalty by being called, e.g. "bossy", which has been used exclusively in relation to women and symbolizes the stigmatization and trivialization of female leadership.

The stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) states that if a woman demonstrates competition in areas of competence and strives for dominance, it may be seen as harsh, leading to being perceived as aggressive because it violates the stereotype of women being high in warmth and low in competence and being a subordinate rather than a leader. Being competitive is a competence trait (along with, e.g. confident, independent, intelligent). Therefore, women may be seen as nice and warm to the extent that they do not compete with men or other women. Those who step outside the stereotypical gender role expectations (i.e. gender deviants) can suffer severe backlash. This means that in case a woman is openly and directly competitive she is viewed as aggressive and unlikable (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004).

Another explanation for the perception that business women are more aggressive than business men can be the fact that women are disadvantaged in competition in the business sector because they face a double standard about their performance, i.e. they have to perform better to be evaluated on the same level (Nagy, 2001). As Nagy and Vicsek (2008) put it, women always have to prove that they are good managers, whereas men have to prove to be bad. Women in leadership positions are in a catch-22. They tend to feel obliged to play up classic male characteristics like assertiveness and toughness in order to be taken seriously. However, when they acculturate themselves to the required masculine toughness in their workplace they are seen as overly aggressive while men are rather considered strong and definitive if they execute the same behaviour. If they hide their strong desire and use indirect forms of aggression they are seen as manipulative.

Seduction as a typical feminine competitive tactic was mentioned by a small group of the respondents (13 %). This is a tactic that can be applied by those business women who are sexually attractive to men. There were equal percentage of men and women who stated that women use sexuality to seduce men in order to get ahead in the organizational hierarchy.

> There are women who put forward their femininity, all their seductive power, all their sexual attractivity and all their available skills as women. (50-year-old woman, director of an accountancy company)

As a contrast to this, almost equal number of respondents (11 % of all; equal percentage of men and women) stated that in order to be competitive and be a high achiever in a male-dominant work environment, women lose their femininity and sexual attractivity.

> "Women become 'business domina' and 'female macho', there is a total reverse of roles." (39-year-old CEO from Budapest). "There is only one type of business woman: tough, straightforward and masculine." (35-year-old man, CEO)

These two different standpoints show that female leaders have to cope with multiple, complicated expectations. They have to work in a dominantly masculine environment. While Nagy (2001) found no difference between Hungarian male and female managers in terms of their values, these values and characteristics were mainly stereotypically masculine. They are in a catch-22 in this respect as well. If they behave in a feminine way, they may be not seen competent and taken seriously; however, they may be attractive to men and accused by using their sexuality for power. However, if they show competence, assertiveness and strong ambition like men, they are seen as masculine and deviant from the expected female role. Two contradictory expectations and it is almost impossible to fulfil both equally.

The participants also spontaneously went into characterizing competitive processes *between women* and competitive processes *between men.* Cross-gender competition was not directly characterized. Due probably to evolutionary causes it was found that in a competitive situation men pay spontaneously more attention to men and women spontaneously more attention to women (Cashdan, 1998). There were many more remarks that focused on how women compete with women than how men compete with men. The latter apparently was taken much more for granted as something that there is not much to speak about. Almost one-third (30%) of the respondents characterized competition among women in the workplace as *destructive*, full of ill will, envy, jealousy, non-cooperation and aggression, while the very few remarks that concentrated on men competing with men (altogether 7 respondents) depicted men to be more constructive, more tolerant, cooperative and helpful with their male rivals and employees.

> Men are 'alpha-males'. They are like deers. When two deers fight, this fight reveals which of them is stronger and after that they leave each other alone. But when women find out that somebody is their enemy they start a long process of undermining the other and for sure it ends up in hatred. While rivalry between men may end up even in friendship, e.g. male roommates remain friends for long, women quite often leave the 'ground' as enemies. (38-year-old man, executive director, Hungarian company)

> If another woman moves fast up on the career ladder they may say that she is a 'whore', if she moves slowly then she is a 'sloth'. I have some female colleagues with whom I regularly talk and I cannot find any among them who would say kind things about another woman or another female business partner. (32-year-old, male, commercial director)

> We had to lock the fridges in all of departments, because a female colleague brought a piece of roasted chicken leg for lunch and another female colleague—almost everybody suspects who she was—grabbed it, nibbled it and then put it back to the fridge. (31-year-old man, CEO, Budapest)

> The most drastic is if a woman has a female boss. If the employee is prettier than the boss, the boss will be envious, will be jealous and will abuse her power, she feels that she can do whatever she wants to with the female employee and will treat her cruelly. (27-year-old female, chief accountant, Hungarian town)

This phenomenon does appear not only in the Hungarian corporate world but also was repeatedly found in previous research in, e.g. the USA as well, that women leaders do not express solidarity towards their female competitors and colleagues, just the opposite, they try harshly to block their way towards higher positions (Sandberg, 2013; Tracy, 1991). This phenomenon was called "queen bee" referring to a woman who used her position to keep "worker bees" down. Preventing the advancement of women below her is one way for a queen bee to reduce the number of competitors for resources and positions (e.g., promotion opportunities, Staines, Tavris, & Jayaratne, 1974). Research also suggests that once a woman achieves success, particularly in a gender-biased context, her capacity to see gender discrimination is reduced (Ellemers, 2004).

While same-sex competition is expected, cross-sex competition is less addressed in spite of the fact that in most of the educational institutions, boys and girls, and in the job market, men and women have to compete with each other. This affects women and men differently. The prohibition for a woman to compete with a man is deeply rooted in the society, the woman who does so, can be seen as a "castrator" or "bitch" (Tracy, 1991). It was found that when women have to compete with their male colleagues, they tend to shy away and underrate their performance (Niederle & Vesterlund, 2005), while men compete eagerly with women. Because women tend to compete in a destructive way with other women, they rather block each other's advancement and at the same time they shy away from competition with men. Their chances to get ahead in an intensively competitive workplace context are limited. The higher up they are in the hierarchy the more they have to compete with men; the less they allow other women to get to those levels, the less women competitors they will find.

Although the interview did not ask anything specific about women's competition in the business life, the majority of the participants spoke especially about women and elaborated on women's and not on men's competitive behaviour. In addition, almost half of all the respondents (43 %) had at least one negative comment on women's competition. In contrast to this, it was striking that men's competition in the business life was taken for granted and was criticized or seen as explicitly negative only by 10 (5 %) participants.

The interviewees also characterized the workplace as a competitive context and its different effects on women and men. The *glass ceiling effect*, the different barriers in the careers of high achieving women, were spontaneously mentioned by half (52 %) of the respondents, 47 % of men and 62 % of women.

> For women it is more difficult to get ahead, to obtain a higher position. In most of the cases it is for sure true what the feminists say that women start from a disadvantaged position…it is more difficult for them to get a leadership position, they have to prove more themselves and that they are really good. (36 year-old man, software company owner)

> A woman is for sure more emotional and it is much more difficult for her to take a role that requires extreme toughness and to trample over everything without any inhibition in order to reach a goal. A woman is psychologically and emotionally more susceptible to influences …therefore it is easier for men to be successful in the business life. (29-year-old woman, leading financial expert, Budapest)

A quarter of the respondents (25 %) considered *family life and career in a woman's case incompatible* (22 % of men and 33 % of women). Because women have to divide themselves between family and career, they are not able to achieve so much.

> A woman has to make a decision about what she wants. Either she wants a career, what she may want even when she has a child, but then she must come back to work when the baby is 2 months old, or she wants to be the cohesive power of her family and she wants to raise her own child until the child starts to attend kindergarten, in this latter case it is impossible to dream about a career. (25 year-old, male, research and development director)

> The woman who wants a leadership position and a family at the same time becomes overexhausted, there will be family conflicts in the background and reversed roles. (39-year-old male, CEO)

> Most of the women in leadership positions have no children and no family. (59-year-old female, company owner)

There were altogether nine interviewees (seven men and two women) who even had the firm opinion that *women should stay away from competition* in the business world and from leadership positions at all. Those who had this extreme traditional views were mainly young men.

> Women should not compete, they should serve their husband, they should serve their family, they have to bring up the children and not to contemplate on how to trample on others, how to kick or sword down others, but on how to be happy. Women don't need to compete and participate in the economic life. At home it should be always the woman who is the dominant, at home all women should be minister of finances and then there would be no problem. (32 year-old man, CEO, Budapest)

> Leadership is not for women, they have to give birth and breast feed (29-year-old male, CEO)

> You might call me a disgusting male chauvinist pig, but in my opinion women have their traditional role, that has been there for thousands of years. This role has its roots in the ancient societies, therefore it is not by accident that in the most of the modern societies, men are still in dominant positions. Men used to hunt, while women took care of the household and brought up the children. Because men were moving around in bigger territories, therefore they had to be able to make different decisions than women. (31-year-old male, CEO, town)

Summary

The first study showed that young Hungarian women and men report equal level of competitiveness, so the drive to compete is not different in case of young men and women. While women's ideal is an even more competitive and masculine woman, men's idea is a less competitive and more feminine woman. This anticipates potential conflicts and frustrations both in the workplace and in romantic relationships.

The second study found that business leaders' attitude toward male and female managers' competition is strikingly different. While men's competition is basically taken for granted, does not evoke keen attention and does not initiate numerous comments, women in leadership positions are seen in a very negative light and

there is a lot to say about their competitive behaviour. The results coincide with Nagy's (2012), which showed that there are prejudices against female managers, no matter how highly trained and well positioned they are. The main characteristics of the competition of Hungarian women in leadership positions are the same that have been found in other countries, namely that women either compete in a hidden and manipulative way or they are overly aggressive and more masculine than men, not only fighting against their male rivals but also actively blocking their female rivals as well. This study demonstrates that in spite of the gender-egalitarian labour force practice of the socialist system for almost 40 years and the continuing gender-egalitarian democratic discourse since the transition in 1989, women's competition and competitive women evoke more tension and are seen in more negative light than men's competition and competitive men in Hungary.

Both male and female respondents in managerial positions shared the same stereotypes regarding gender differences in competition in business life, i.e. female managers proved to be not less prejudiced than male managers. Women respondents just like men questioned their female colleagues' level of career commitment, aggressiveness and leadership abilities. This is also in harmony with the international results. Wajcman (1998) found that even women express a clear preference for male managers. As Nagy (2001) concluded, women themselves make a strong contribution to the perpetuation of stereotypes and, paradoxically, block their own way to acceptance as managers.

The present results indicate that there is no clear role definition for an ambitious and competitive woman in the workplace in Hungary. Women in leadership positions are in a "catch-22" situation, dangling between two opposing sets of expectations because both being feminine and being masculine are seen as negative; therefore, they have to be conscious of which leadership traits they cultivate to achieve success.

According to the resource control theory (Hawley, 1999) there are two different strategies to acquire dominance and resources: the coercive, aggressive, threatening strategies and the pro-social, cooperative strategies. Hawley (1999) found that the most successful in gaining resources are those who apply a double strategy, both aggressive and pro-social. It was also found that among those highly dominant who apply the double strategy, there are equal number of males and females, so this strategy applies to both genders (Hawley, Little, & Card, 2008). Being able to achieve a dominant status and being respected are however not the same. Hawley et al. (2008) found that those who apply the double strategy are not rejected for their aggression in the USA, irrespective of their gender. It seems that Hungarian women in leadership positions can hardly choose the double strategy. They have difficulties to combine caring femininity with assertive masculinity. According to Tracy (1991), women competing at the workplace should construct new models of how to accept their ambition and desire for power and use affirmatively, as a challenge to self and to others and as a way to enhance rather than destroy their relationships, in other words how to combine ethic of success with ethic of caring in competition in the workplace (Tracy, 1991).

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Chapter 11
Development of Gender Prejudice from Childhood to Adulthood: A Spanish Perspective

Soledad de Lemus, Pilar Montañés, Jesús L. Megías and Miguel Moya

Development of Gender Prejudice from Childhood to Adulthood: A Spanish Perspective

The development of intergroup prejudice is a subject of great interest in social psychology (e.g., Aboud, 2005, 2008; Bigler & Liben, 2007; Enesco & Guerrero, 2011). In fact, there is broad consensus that implementing preventive interventions with children is one of the best ways to prevent prejudice when such children become adults (Stathi, Cameron, Hartley, & Bradford, 2014). In the specific case of gender prejudice, many efforts have recently been made in countries such as Spain to implement measures aimed at reducing gender-based discrimination. In Spain, two pieces of legislation have guided such efforts: (1) the Act on Comprehensive Protective Measures Against Gender-Based Violence (*Ley Orgánica 1/2004 de Medidas de Protección Integral contra la Violencia de Género*), a pioneering act, and (2) the Act on Effective Equality Between Women and Men (*Ley Orgánica 3/2007 para la igualdad efectiva de mujeres y hombres*). In education, for example, a special gender equality program promoted by the regional government of Andalusia (in southern Spain) has been active since 2006 (Consejería de Educación de la Junta de Andalucía, 2006, 2007). Although some changes derived from this legal framework have corrected the power imbalance between men and women to some extent, discrimination against women still exists in the patriarchal Spanish society. This is shown by the persistence of gender-based violence (WHO, 2002), the pay gap (Sanz de Miguel, 2010), and sexual discrimination at the workplace (Martín Artiles, 2006). According to social psychologists, sexist ideology has a pervasive role in perpetuating these inequalities (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Pratto & Walker, 2004). We

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argue that a better knowledge of the factors that influence the development of sexist attitudes will facilitate the design of specific interventions aimed at reducing such attitudes from early stages of human development.

Internal and External Factors that Explain the Development of Prejudice and Stereotypes During Childhood

The interest in the study of intergroup prejudice has promoted multidisciplinary research in the fields of social and developmental psychology (Enesco & Guerrero, 2011). The growing interest of both disciplines in exploring intergroup prejudice has led to an increase of theoretical and empirical studies on this subject in recent years (e.g., see the monograph devoted to the study of intergroup prejudice in the Spanish journal *Anales de Psicología* 2011, as well as international journals such as the *European Journal of Social Psychology* 2010, and the *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 2007). These and other previous studies have led to the two main theoretical approaches that explain the emergence of prejudice during childhood (see Martin & Ruble, 2010).

The first approach focuses on analyzing the cognitive processes of individuals that lead to the development of prejudiced beliefs (e.g., Aboud, 2005; Martin & Ruble, 2004). These models mainly focus on the influence of internal variables following classic cognitive theories such as genetic-developmental theories (Piaget, 1966; Kohlberg, 1966) and theories based on the concept of *schema* (Bem, 1981; Markus & Oyserman, 1989). They also highlight the influence of *motivational* factors associated with individuals' need of identifying with a group and having a positive status (Tajfel, 1981). The need for identification is one of the basic motivations during childhood. For instance, Kohlberg (1966) states that gender identity is achieved by the age of 2 years. According to cognitive theories based on the concept of schema (Bem, 1981; Markus & Oyserman, 1989), once individuals self-categorize as members of a group, they process and interpret information based on such membership (Martin & Halverson, 1983). Cognitive models of the development of prejudice also give great importance to the *levels of cognitive and emotional development* of individuals at different ages, based on the Piagetian model (see Aboud, 2005). Studies on this issue have shown that individuals first develop the ability to categorize (e.g., colors, food); this is followed by the concept of the self (i.e., personal identity), social identity (i.e., group membership), and finally empathy and the ability to take perspective (Berger, 2012). Through this cognitive progression, boys and girls learn the concepts, traits, and behaviors that are socially accepted for the various social groups (e.g., men and women). In short, according to this approach, social attitudes are mediated by self-identification processes (Nesdale, Kiesner, Durkin, Griffiths, & Ekberg, 2007) and the cognitive development of individuals (Aboud, 2008).

The second approach is that of theories based on social learning. According to them, the development of prejudice and stereotypes is strongly influenced by

variables that are external to individuals (e.g., Bussey & Bandura, 1999). The social learning theory posits that children learn discriminatory behaviors by *modeling*, that is, by observing other people who are important to them and imitating their behavior (Bandura, 1986). Models are more or less imitated depending on how attractive (i.e., pleasant, powerful, or involving higher social status) or familiar they are. From this approach, parental figures are considered particularly relevant as socializing agents of their children (e.g., Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Leaper, 2002; Leaper and Friedman, 2006; McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003). Although the influence of parents is important, there is not always a direct relationship between their prejudice and that of their children (Enesco & Guerrero, 2011). Other contextual factors or socialization figures (e.g., school, peer groups, the media) may have a strong impact on the development of prejudice in children. According to the social learning theory, learning can take place even if the child does not imitate the behavior immediately. The child also learns the characteristics of the situation, recognizes the victim of discrimination, and understands the consequences of the behavior for the model. Although the consequences for the model (i.e., punishment or reward) are particularly important, only rewards seem to lead to the long-term maintenance of behavior (Bussey and Bandura, 1999).

Despite the differences between the focus of the cognitive and social learning approaches, they both acknowledge the importance of both internal and external variables (cf. Aboud, 2008; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Today, any psychosocial analysis of prejudice requires explanatory models in which both types of variables are considered. Bigler and Liben (2007) have recently proposed an inclusive theory that considers both internal (i.e., cognitive and motivational) and external (i.e., social) variables to explain the development of intergroup prejudice and stereotypes. Developmental intergroup theory (DIT; Bigler and Liben) proposes a model based on three processes: determining the relevance of certain personal characteristics, categorizing people based on such relevant characteristics, and developing stereotypes and prejudices about such social groups. These three processes involve the cognitive skills of individuals and are also influenced by the messages conveyed by society and the situations observed by children in their environment. In short, current theories suggest that both environmental factors and internal or cognitive factors are important to understand the process through which stereotypes and prejudices develop during childhood (Aboud, 2008; Bigler & Liben, 2007; Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Gender Prejudice

Gender prejudice, also known as sexist ideology, is one of the main pillars that support the patriarchal system and inequalities between men and women (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Pratto & Walker, 2004). Accordingly, the study of sexism as a legitimizing ideology of gender inequalities has led to important theoretical developments and empirical evidence. Over the last two decades, many studies have been

conducted on "new forms" of sexism (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995). Such forms are new in that they were not explored by classic literature on prejudice and have only recently started to receive interest. Furthermore, "new" does not mean that they *evolved* from more traditional forms. Traditionally, sexism has been conceptualized as hostility of men toward women (Cameron, 1977). However, this concept does not explain the "positive" characteristics of the feminine stereotype (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993) or the negative effects of behaviors that are apparently benevolent and flattering to women (Jackman, 1994; Major & Vick, 2005; Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, & Hart, 2007; Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005).

One of the theoretical proposals that has had the strongest influence on the analysis of these "new forms" of sexism is ambivalent sexism theory (AST), proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996, 2001). According to these authors, two expressions of gender prejudice coexist: hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS). HS refers to the classic concept of prejudice. It is defined as combative hostile ideology toward women based on the belief that men should have more power than women (i.e., dominative paternalism) given that the characteristics of men are more valuable than those of women (i.e., competitive gender differentiation). It is also based on the idea that women are dangerous because of their sexuality and men should control women's attempts to usurp their power using their sexuality, among other strategies (i.e., heterosexual hostility). By contrast, BS is a more subtle sexist ideology based on protective paternalism. It is based on the belief that men should protect women because they are sweet and fragile and therefore depend on them. It highlights positive stereotypical characteristics of women as wonderful, sensitive, and kind creatures (e.g., Eagly & Mladinic, 1993). Yet, it assumes that men and women have different characteristics (i.e., complementary gender differentiation) and that the characteristics of women are more appropriate for certain roles (e.g., domestic and care-related activities) that exclude them from the public sphere. Finally, BS highlights that men need women as intimate partners, as heterosexual intimate relations are essential to achieve true happiness (i.e., heterosexual intimacy).

Both HS and BS function as legitimizing ideologies that complement each other to justify and maintain gender inequality in many different countries and cultures, including Spain (Glick et al., 2000, 2004). HS is targeted as a punishment for women who transgress established gender roles, while BS acts as a reward (e.g., protection, idealization) for women who behave according to traditional gender roles.

Similarly to research conducted in other countries, studies in Spain have revealed that scores obtained in HS and BS scales are correlated with other measures of gender ideology[1]. Specifically, both HS and BS have been found to be correlated with traditional sexism measured with the *Escala de Ideología de Género* (Gender Ideology Scale; Moya, Expósito, & Padilla, 2006; Expósito, Moya, & Glick, 1998; $r = .46$, $p < .01$ for HS and $r = .28$, $p < .01$ for BS), neosexism—a new form of negative attitudes toward women focused on the work environment—($r = .39$, $p < .01$

[1] In all the correlations presented below between one type of sexism and another variable, the influence of the other type of sexism is statistically controlled and data reflect the scores of men and women combined unless otherwise stated.

for HS and $r = .17$, $p < .01$ for BS—only men; Expósito et al., 1998; Moya & Expósito, 2001), and rape myths ($r = -.45$, $p < .01$ for HS and $r = -.29$, $p < .01$ for BS; Frese, Moya, & Megías, 2000). Such correlations were always higher with HS than with BS, although it is interesting to note the existence of correlations with BS. Importantly, ambivalent sexism (AS) has not been found to be correlated with measures of social desirability (Moya & Expósito, 2008).

The concept of AS assumes that HS and BS must be positively correlated. That is, individuals who endorse HS will also tend to endorse BS and vice versa. This idea has been confirmed by the studies conducted (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000). Research carried out by Glick et al. (2000) with participants from 19 countries revealed that Spain was the country in which the highest correlations were found between HS and BS: $r = .49$, $p < .01$ in males and $r = .64$, $p < .01$ in females. Data obtained by Moya and Expósito (2008) in a study conducted with 2833 Spanish males (with a mean age of 32.7 years) and 2400 Spanish females (with a mean age of 28.3 years) confirmed the moderately high correlations found between both types of sexism: $r = .53$ in males, $p < .01$ and $r = .58$, $p < .01$ in females.

With regard to the relationship between HS and BS and sociodemographic characteristics, studies conducted with Spanish samples have shown clear differences between the scores of males and those of females. In the samples mentioned above, Moya and Expósito (2008) found that males scored significantly higher than females both in HS (2.82 versus 1.96) and in BS (2.68 versus 2.37), although differences were greater in HS than in BS; similarly to the results of studies performed in other countries, females rejected HS more than BS, while males showed the opposite pattern. This has been observed even at very early ages. For example, Lameiras and Rodríguez (2002) explored a sample of 406 Spanish students attending *Educación Secundaria Obligatoria* (compulsory secondary education—ages 12–16). In their study, mean scores of girls were 2.00 in HS and 2.70 in BS while those of boys were 3.20 and 2.82 in HS and BS, respectively.

Other studies conducted in Spain have shown the possible consequences of both BS and HS regarding gender discrimination (e.g., Durán, Moya, & Megías, 2011; Expósito, Herrera, Moya, & Glick, 2010; Moya et al., 2007). Overall, they have revealed that the sexist ideology attributed to a social actor (usually a man) influences individuals' reactions toward behaviors performed by such actors, particularly when they are imposing or violent. For instance, Moya et al. (2007) conducted three studies in which they explored women's reactions to ostensibly protective restrictions (i.e., BS). Overall, results showed that only benevolently sexist women accepted a protectively justified (hypothetical) prohibition but mainly when imposed by a husband (not a coworker). These authors concluded that fusing benevolence with dominance and protective paternalism can lead women (especially those who are high in BS) to accept different types of restrictions (e.g., the prohibition of driving on a long trip or opposition to an internship that involved interviewing criminals). Expósito et al. (2010) found that women's BS (but not HS) predicted viewing a husband as more threatened by his wife's promotion at work and more likely to perpetrate violence toward her. They concluded that women high in BS may embrace traditional roles in relationships partly to avoid antagonizing male partners, thus maintaining the status quo.

In a different line of research conducted in Spain, Durán et al. (2011) explored how the sexist ideology attributed to men who performed abusive and violent behaviors toward women influenced people's reactions to such behaviors. Specifically, Durán et al. (2011) portrayed a hypothetical marital vignette in which the husband forced his wife to have sex. Results showed that participants (i.e., women and men) who learned that the husband was high in BS (versus those who received no information about the husband's sexist ideology) ranked sexual marital rights (for him) and duties (for her) more highly, and regarded forced sex as rape to a lesser extent. The higher participants' BS scores were, the stronger these effects were. In another study (Durán, Moya, Megías, & Viki, 2010, Study 1), Spanish high school students read about a rape committed by a boyfriend or husband who was described either as benevolently sexist or not. Participants' BS scores predicted greater victim blame when the rapist was described as a husband (but not a boyfriend) who held benevolently sexist attitudes.

Ambivalent Sexism: Empirical Evidence of Internal and External Factors Involved in its Development

A peculiar feature of sexism compared to other types of prejudice (e.g., religious or ethnic prejudice) is that contact between the in-group and the out-group naturally increases with age, as a consequence of heterosexual intimacy. In the gender relations that take place during childhood, prejudice toward the out-group and self-imposed segregation at times of recreation and leisure typically prevail (Martin and Ruble, 2004; Powlishta, 2003; Powlishta, Serbin, Doyle, & White, 1994; Serbin, Connor, Burchardt, & Citron, 1979; Subirats & Brullet, 1988). Yet, during adolescence, although the stereotypes and prejudices developed during childhood persist, heterosexual individuals presumably start to feel strongly attracted to people of the other gender (Maccoby 1998; Underwood & Rosen, 2009). Based on the AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996), Glick and Hilt (2000) proposed a theoretical model of the development of AS. Along the lines of current theoretical proposals on the development of stereotypes and prejudice, this model considers both internal (e.g., motivational) factors of individuals and external factors to individuals (e.g., social influence) to explain the development of AS. Below, we provide an analysis of the empirical evidence that illustrates this development of gender relations, with a special focus on the evidence obtained in Spain.

Gender Prejudice During Childhood

During childhood, categorization and intergroup hostility as a result of social comparison usually prevail in gender relations (Glick & Hilt, 2000; Maccoby, 1990, 1998). Several studies have consistently revealed the existence of openly negative attitudes toward the other gender and voluntary segregation between boys and girls

during early childhood (Martin & Ruble, 2004; Powlishta, 1995). Among the possible causes of this "voluntary segregation" Glick and Hilt (2000) highlight both *cultural* aspects (e.g., the way families and society in general pay attention to gender in the clothing chosen for boys and girls, the way of talking to boys and girls, etc.; sexism transmitted through the media, toy advertisements, etc.) and *motivational* aspects (i.e., the desire to identify with a group and differentiate oneself from other groups; Tajfel, 1981).

The need for identification is one of the basic motivations during childhood (e.g., Kohlberg, 1966; Maccoby, 1998), and gender is one of the most accessible and salient categories to establish a categorization and social comparison between groups (Martin & Ruble, 2004). The distinction between genders emerges during early childhood. Various studies have shown that most boys and girls distinguish and use gender labels between the ages of 18 and 30 months (Campbell, Shirley, & Caygill, 2002; Poulin-Dubois, Serbin, & Derbyshire, 1998; see Martin & Ruble, 2010) and self-categorize according to such labels (Stennes, Burch, Sen, & Bauer, 2005; Thompson, 1975). Moreover, identification of gender categories is related to a higher preference for elements that are typically associated with one of the two groups, such as toys (e.g., truck, doll, Zosuls, Ruble, Tamis-LeMonda, Shrout, Bornstein, & Greulich, 2009), and colors (e.g., pink, blue, Karniol, 2011; see Navarro, Martínez, Yubero, & Larrañaga, 2014, for a replication in Spain). From the age of two and a half or three years, boys and girls learn gender stereotypes and also their relationships with gender status differences (Martin, 2000). For example, when 3-year-old boys and girls are asked to identify the gender of a character that shows anger (an emotion typically associated with ways of exerting and showing power and status in patriarchal models), they choose the masculine gender in most cases (Leinbach & Fagot, 1993, cited by Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinback, 2000).

Researchers have found evidence of openly negative intergroup relations between boys and girls from childhood (Martin & Ruble, 2004; Powlishta, 1995); for example, 3-year-old boys and girls are reluctant to interact with peers of the other gender (Serbin, Connor, Burchardt, & Citron, 1979). Self-imposed segregation according to gender tends to increase throughout childhood (see Maccoby, 1998, 2002). Around the age of 5, individuals evolve toward competitive gender differentiation (e.g., Martin, Ruble, & Szkrybalo, 2002), according to which both boys and girls interact almost exclusively with members of their gender in-group, showing a clear preference for in-group members (i.e., in-group favoritism) and rejection of the members of other groups (i.e., out-group rejection/denigration). Gender differentiation increases with the development of gender constancy, that is, the realization that gender is a stable category over time throughout different contexts or situations (Kohlberg, 1966; Stangor & Ruble, 1987). Gender constancy helps consolidate individuals' knowledge of which behaviors are appropriate for each gender (Lutz & Ruble, 1995). For instance, Spanish girls score higher in empathy and positive-cooperative conflict-resolution strategies than boys since childhood, and these differences increase with age (Garaigordobil & Maganto, 2011), whereas boys use more aggressive conflict-resolution strategies (Garaigordobil & Maganto, 2011) and already show more direct forms of aggression at primary school (Albadalejo-Blázquez, Ferrer-Cascales, Reig-Ferrer, & Fernández-Pascual, 2013). In short, groups formed during childhood have the same characteristics

and play the same role as the social groups of adults; in other words, group membership provides distinctiveness, social identity, a feeling of belonging and mutual support for both boys and girls (see Brewer, 2007).

However, variables that are external to individuals (i.e., situational variables) also strongly influence the emergence of conflictive relationships between groups. The evidence available shows that boys and girls are socialized differently (cf. Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Therefore they assume a series of social norms and patterns of behavior that are adequate according to the specific context and their own gender. Boys and girls who are exposed to environments in which gender categories are often used are more likely to use such labels to organize their social world (Bigler & Liben, 2007). According to the developmental intergroup theory, developed by Bigler and Liben, gender-based categorization becomes socially salient through explicit cues such as clothing or language. Furthermore, social influences occur both explicitly (e.g., lyrics of songs or rhymes) and implicitly (e.g., nonverbal behavior of adults, observation of interactions between genders and certain social roles in society). In most schools, for example, role distribution according to gender is clear. According to data obtained in the Spanish region of Andalusia, female teachers predominate at initial stages of education (92 % of female teachers in preprimary education) while the percentage of male teachers increases in higher courses (51 % male teachers in secondary education). In addition, organizational and managerial positions are usually held mostly by men (65 % in primary education and 79 % in secondary education; Junta de Andalucía 2005). Furthermore, several studies exploring the transmission of different models of behavior for boys and girls at school have found differences in the interactions between teachers and boys and girls. Both male and female teachers devote more time and pay greater attention to boys than girls (Delamont, 1984; Subirats, 1986), give more feedback to boys than girls on their work (Freixas & Luque, 1998), and give more praise and educational support to boys than girls (Spender & Sarah, 1993).

Another socializing agent of major importance is family. There is broad empirical evidence of the influence of parents on the development of sexist attitudes in their children. Regarding the development of attitudes toward gender roles, a meta-analysis that included 43 empirical studies concluded that parents and children significantly share beliefs on gender roles (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). Specifically, studies show that mothers have a significant importance in transmitting traditional roles to daughters (e.g., Eccles, Jacobs, & Harold, 1990; Ex & Janssens, 1998; Kulik, 2004; Moen, Ercickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Smith & Self, 1980). In the Spanish population, Montañés, de Lemus, Bohner, Megías, Moya and Garcia-Retamero (2012) found evidence of the transmission of benevolently sexist beliefs from mothers to their adolescent daughters. The BS of both mothers and daughters was even found to be a negative predictor of the academic performance of daughters mediated by their motivation to get an academic degree. The authors of that study did not have access to father-daughter dyads to explore the influence of the sexism of fathers on the sexism of their daughters. Another study with a Spanish sample of 2867 participants (764 mothers, 648 fathers, 768 adolescent daughters and 687 adolescent sons) analyzed the intergenerational connection between the sexism of both parents and that of their sons and daughters (Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2011).

The study revealed positive correlations between mothers' sexism (HS, BS, AS) and their daughters' sexism (HS, BS, AS) and the BS of their sons; the authors also found positive correlations between fathers' sexism (BS, AS) and their sons' sexism (HS, BS, AS, neosexism) but did not find any relationships between the sexism of fathers and that of their daughters (Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2011). The authors of the study suggest that in the future it would be interesting to explore the mechanisms or processes that may explain this relationship (i.e., imitation, deliberate transmission of ideology or other sources of influence such as religion, politics, or sending one's children to certain schools or enrolling them in certain activities; Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2011).

Another important variable that should be considered to understand the development of gender stereotypes and prejudice is the prevailing culture and its manifestations through materials that children are exposed to: for example, traditional stories (Colomer, 1994; Turin, 1995) and games or toys that are differentiated according to gender (Martínez Reina & Vélez Cea, 2006). In Spain, an analysis of 20 classic children's stories published at the end of the 1980s (i.e., Almodóvar, 1987) revealed that the number of male protagonists was higher than that of female protagonists and that in 90 % of cases females were depicted as subordinate to males, even when they were queens or princesses. In addition, 80 % of the females depicted in these stories were in charge of household tasks, while 75 % of the intellectual activities described (referring either to professional or conflict resolution activities) were performed by males (Pérez-Grau, 2006). In fact, the latest report on the campaign of toy advertisements conducted in 2010 by the *Observatorio Andaluz de Publicidad No Sexista* (the Andalusian observatory of non-sexist advertising, an advisory body of the Spanish regional government of Andalusia) reported that 63.49 % of the advertisements for toys and games analyzed that year in Spain contained sexist treatment. A high percentage of such advertisements (85 %) promoted models that consolidated traditional patterns for each gender (e.g., toys related to household tasks for girls) and 17 % of advertisements promoted beauty standards that were considered as a synonym of success and were always targeted at girls (Observatorio Andaluz de la Publicidad No Sexista, 2010). In short, boys and girls are constantly exposed to models associated with gender through stories, games (including video games), films, and television (see the review conducted by Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

From an early age, the behavioral manifestations of boys and girls indicate that both groups assume social norms and patterns of behavior perceived as adequate according to the specific context and their own gender. According to Pellegrini and Long (2003), during the time that both gender groups spend separately during childhood, boys develop the necessary skills to maintain their dominance and status, using physical violence in games. For example, groups of boys tend to organize themselves very quickly according to a hierarchy, while hierarchies are less marked in relationships between girls (Savin-Williams, 1980). Further, boys appropriate themselves of larger territories in games (Thorne, 1986) and are more likely to interrupt girls' activities (Subirats & Brullet, 1988). Overall, boys' games are usually exclusive for boys; they tend to refer to heroes and adventures and imply danger and aggressiveness, without developing romantic ideals (Flannery and Watson 1993). However, these "scripts" or patterns of behavior can later become behaviors

of protection and paternalism of boys toward girls during adolescence, and boys often act as strong and brave “knights” once other interpersonal motivations come into play (Glick & Hilt, 2000). By contrast, girls are socialized to be passive and adhere to traditional roles (Rudman & Glick, 2008). From an early age they learn scripts based on fairytales that encourage them to become “princesses” highlighting the importance of physical appearance and the goal of finding a “Prince Charming” who will take care of them and protect them (see Rudman & Glick, 2008; Walkerdine, 1984). From the age of 4, girls prefer romantic fairytales while boys prefer adventure stories (Collins-Standley, Gan, Yu, & Zillman, 1996). The romantic idealization of males as knights in shining armor who take care of and “rescue” helpless females, internalized during childhood (e.g., Prince Charming, knight errant, protector, hero) is activated by adult women at an implicit level, which implies that such associations (e.g., men-savior) are strongly learned and rooted in the memory of women (Rudman & Heppen, 2003). In short, during childhood, relationships between girls and boys are characterized by “gender segregation” due to internal (i.e., cognitive) and external (i.e., socialization) factors (Maccoby, 1998). In fact, games shared by boys and girls tend to be limited to those initiated by teachers or other adults (Fabes, Martin, & Hanish, 2003). At this stage, the behavior of boys and girls reflects competitive gender differentiation and the domination of boys in games and spaces, which is characteristic of hostile prejudice.

Gender Prejudice During Adolescence: Ambivalent Prejudice

The gender segregation that characterizes childhood decreases at the beginning of adolescence, when individuals start to interact more with and show greater interest in peers of the other gender (Cairns, Leung, & Cairns, 1995; Pellegrini, 1994). According to Glick and Hilt (2000), adolescence is the key period in the development of the foundations of AS that will later prevail during adulthood; these authors consider that this is due to biological factors (e.g., puberty) and social factors (e.g., expectations, social norms). During childhood, affiliation motivation is materialized into in-group identification and social comparison with the out-group; during adolescence, however, this motivation is transformed into a desire to generate a positive affiliation with people of the other group. During adolescence, individuals start to have a strong curiosity and interest in getting to know the other group; this is partly due to the motivation of *interdependence*, understood as the need to share a relationship with a person of the other gender for reproductive and affective reasons (see Rudman & Glick, 2008, Chap. 9). The search for heterosexual intimacy leads adolescents to develop attitudes and beliefs that allow them to approach members of the other gender group, who had been mostly ignored or even rejected until then. The emergence of heterosexual romantic impulses during adolescence interacts with the gender differentiation and power differences developed since childhood (Glick & Hilt, 2000).

In the process of developing new interactions of a romantic nature or to seek intimacy between the genders, adolescents tend to use gender clichés, stereotypes and scripts learned during their childhood and observed in their immediate environment through the media, games and other modeling processes mentioned above (cf. Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Louis, Stork-Brett, & Barlow, 2013). The analysis of the content of magazines targeted at adolescent girls shows that the main topics they cover are relationships, dates and tips to be attractive for boys (Pierce, 1990). In Spain, a comprehensive analysis of the content of magazines for adolescents conducted by the *Instituto Asturiano de la Mujer* (2005), the Women's Institute of the Spanish region of Asturias, revealed that such magazines promote the roles of "princess" for girls and "Prince Charming" for boys. An analysis of the contents of the covers of magazines for adolescents in Spain revealed that magazines targeted at girls use stereotypical models on their covers, imposing a model of ideal woman that requires physical and aesthetic perfection and does not correspond to reality (Blanco-García & Leoz, 2010). These influences are particularly significant during adolescence, given that gender role expectations increase in both female and male adolescents (Hill & Lynch, 1983; O'Sullivan, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2001).

According to the explanatory model developed by Glick and Hilt (2000), during the first stages of adolescence (i.e., pre-adolescence), boys and girls start to interact with members of the other gender and to develop gender subtypes (e.g., "tomboys"—girls that are not very feminine; "girls," "sissies"—effeminate boys, Six & Eckes, 1991). According to Glick and Hilt, boys start to rate stereotypically feminine traits very favorably and even to idealize them (e.g., warmth, sensitivity) and to develop benevolent attitudes toward certain subtypes of girls with whom they would like to have intimate relationships; by contrast, they negatively assess and direct their HS toward girls that pose a threat to male domination and that are perceived as competitors (e.g., those who do not have stereotypically feminine traits, excel at school or are determined to have a career). As girls start to have romantic relationships with boys, they tend to act as "objects of love," assuming the benevolence into which they were socialized and conferring great importance to their ability to attract partners of the other gender (Martin, Luke, & Verduzco-Baker, 2007). On the other hand, the "chivalry" of boys is important at the beginning of intimate relationships: they take the initiative and actively try to seduce the girl; girls, by contrast, remain passive, try to attract the boy and in most cases decide who they want to have sexual relations with and how far they want to go in such relations (Rose & Frieze, 1993). Benevolent attitudes, which are congruent with the romantic scripts of girls' childhood (Feiring, 1996; Holland & Einsenhart, 1990; Rudman & Glick, 2008), are seen as more socially desirable than hostile attitudes; adolescent girls feel attracted to boys defined as benevolently sexist the more experience such girls have in intimate relationships (Montañés, de Lemus, Bohner, Moya, & Megías, 2013) or the more accessible their experience in intimate relationships is (Montañés, Megías, de Lemus, & Moya, in press). These data confirm that BS has a reinforcing effect for adolescent girls, efficiently and insidiously maintaining traditional gender roles.

The changes in gender relations during adolescence increase the complexity of sexist attitudes and do not imply a decrease of prejudice but rather a change in the

way it is expressed (Furman & Wehner, 1997; Glick & Hilt, 2000; Maccoby, 1990). According to Glick and Hilt, intergroup hostility does not disappear but instead becomes conditional (e.g., boys who used to say they hated girls may now only feel degraded by some specific types of females such as feminists; see Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997). In line with the predictions of the model proposed by Glick and Hilt, de Lemus, Moya and Glick (2010) corroborated in Spanish samples that, despite the overall decreasing trend of sexism with age (Lameiras & Rodríguez, 2002, 2004; de Lemus, Castillo, Moya, Padilla, & Ryan, 2008), the increase in early experiences of intimate relationships between adolescents predicts an increase in AS in individuals of both sexes. Specifically, after statistically controlling for the effect of age, they observed that experience in romantic relationships predicted higher BS in boys in general and higher HS only in younger boys (ages 12–14). As for girls, their experience in romantic relationships was correlated with higher scores in HS but not in BS. More recent studies with an experimental design showed that the accessibility of intimate relationships increased both HS and BS in boys and BS in girls (Montañés et al. in press). This confirms the influence of intimate relationships on the sexism of adolescents of both genders. This may indicate that adolescents activate sexist ideology, particularly in the intimate relationship environment, as a form of control to ensure their partners adjust to the traditional gender roles and stereotypes they have learned from early childhood.

Results of the above-mentioned studies (de Lemus et al., 2010; Montañés et al., in press) corroborate the proposal made by Glick and Hilt (2000). Specifically, boys assume benevolent attitudes as they start to become interested in having relationships with girls, perhaps as a way to explain their attraction to them without contradicting their prior hostility during childhood. BS makes it possible to reconcile affection for female partners with traditional roles. Moreover, from an instrumental point of view, assuming benevolently sexist beliefs may increase boys' chances of success in trying to initiate intimate relationships, given that adolescent girls rate profiles of benevolently sexist boys as the most attractive (Montañés et al., 2013).

In short, there is little empirical evidence available so far on the subject and results need to be corroborated experimentally by longitudinal studies; yet, the findings obtained so far in Spain suggest that having experience in romantic relationships (i.e., having had previous dates) or thinking about them (i.e., making them accessible) may initially not decrease but rather increase gender prejudice (de Lemus et al., 2010; Montañés et al., in press) or increase girls' ratings of potential benevolently sexist heterosexual partners compared to non-sexist ones (Montañés et al., 2013).

Conclusions

As proposed by the main current theoretical approaches of social and developmental psychology, both internal factors (i.e., cognitive development, motivation) and external factors (i.e., social influences) are keys to understand the development and

maintenance of prejudice during childhood and later during adolescence. Specifically, gender prejudice differs from other intergroup conflicts in that males and females are segregated in various spheres of public life but have intimate and private relationships in other spheres (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996; Pratto & Walker, 2004). Considering this peculiarity of gender relations, we reviewed the theory of development of AS (Glick & Hilt, 2000), providing empirical evidence of its validity, mainly from Spanish studies. This theory postulates that culture is mostly responsible of the origins of gender prejudice during childhood; yet, motivational forces (e.g., in-group favoritism, out-group rejection) may be responsible for the strength of this prejudice during childhood (Brown, 1995). During this stage, relationships between the genders are characterized by hostility and segregation (Maccoby, 1998, 2002); during adolescence, however, prejudice evolves toward more ambivalent forms as a consequence of heterosexual dependence (Glick & Hilt, 2000; Rudman & Glick, 2008).

As interactions between boys and girls start to increase during adolescence, open hostility between groups decreases (e.g., Connolly, Craig, Goldberg, & Pepler, 2004). In this regard, intimate heterosexual contact facilitated by the growing romantic interest in members of the other gender can be seen as a way of reducing prejudice understood as intergroup hostility. However, more subtle forms of prejudice emerge and are particularly efficient at maintaining social inequality (e.g., Jackman, 1994; Major & Vick, 2005; Vescio et al., 2005; Moya et al., 2007). The initiation of heterosexual romantic relationships during adolescence promotes the maintenance of sexism, transforming it into more complex ideological structures based on ambivalence (i.e., including both positive–paternalistic–attitudes and negative–hostile–attitudes toward women). Thus, although romantic relationships may bring together both gender groups, this in fact tends to perpetuate rather than eliminate status inequalities (de Lemus et al., 2010; Montañés et al., in press).

The evidence presented in this chapter was obtained in the framework of developmental and social psychology. It highlights the importance of studying sexism from childhood and particularly of focusing on adolescence, considering motivational factors associated with the start of romantic relationships. Gaining greater knowledge of the mechanisms that lead to the acceptance of such sexist beliefs will help to develop effective interventions to reduce the impact of sexist beliefs and replace them with other beliefs based on equality between women and men (cf. de Lemus, Navarro, Velásquez, Ryan, & Megías, in press).

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Chapter 12
Gender Roles Within the Family: A Study Across Three Language Regions of Switzerland

Elena Makarova and Walter Herzog

Society, Family, and Gender Roles

The participation of women in paid employment has been increasing over the last five decades, involving changes in the family model. Societal changes with respect to women's participation in the labor market have attracted research which has focused on the impact of societal changes on the family and the work–family issues of working mothers and dual-earner couples (Botkin, O"Neal Weeks, & Morris, 2000; Eagly, Eaton, Rose, Riger, & McHugh, 2012).

In Switzerland, increasing female participation in the workforce since the 1970s has led to substantial changes in family models. Consequently, the proportion of families with men as the single earner has decreased. Simultaneously, the proportion of families where the man is the primary earner with full time employment, and the woman is the secondary earner with part-time employment, has increased considerably (SFSO, 2014a). However, it has been shown that in Switzerland, regardless of their employment status, women still perform the vast majority of household work and childcare (Herzog, Böni, & Guldimann, 1997; Gazareth, 2003). As a consequence, this chapter focuses on gender equality in Switzerland by analyzing the division of unpaid and paid labor between mothers and fathers within families in German-, French-, and Italian-speaking parts of the country.

Social structural theory suggests that differences in the distribution of women mainly in the household and men in the breadwinner role within the family are embedded in different societal roles, where men are associated with the greater power of the employment role and status and women with the less powerful status

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of the domestic role (Eagly & Wood, 1999, 2012; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). The societal division of paid and unpaid labor is shaped and preserved through "psychological processes that stabilize these societal practices by making them seem natural and inevitable to members of the society." (Eagly & Wood, 2011, p. 765). Consequently, gender roles imply societal expectations towards family relationships and occupation of women and men. The process of how husbands and wives negotiate and coordinate their family and work lives is embedded and structured by gendered division of labor which varies across societies. Within societies, gender ideology, societal structures, state policies, and the welfare regime such as wages, the tax system and institutionalized childcare regulation influence the gender roles of women and men within the family. However, these societal mechanisms have been found—across countries—to have a stronger influence on women's choices than on men's with respect to the gender egalitarian division of paid employment, housework, and childcare. Women are primarily associated with a domestic role and they are more likely to adjust their involvement in paid employment to family needs; they therefore face more challenges in establishing a work–family life balance, especially within societies which provide less support for an egalitarian division of labor (Abele, 2013; Drobnič, & Blossfeld, 2004; Fuwa, 2004; Hofäcker, 2006). In line with this, in Switzerland the compatibility of family and working life was found to be generally more challenging for women than for men, as the negotiation of the division of labor between spouses followed stereotypical gender role patterns (Gazareth, 2003). Moreover, among couples with children, women's participation in the paid workforce is not only poorly supported by the difficult accessibility of formal daycare in Switzerland (Bühler, 2001; INFRAS, 2005; Stern, Banfi, & Tassinari, 2006; Stern & Felfe, 2010), but even discouraged through (a) the relatively high costs of child daycare for double earner couples, the tax system supporting the single earner family model, and (b) relatively high wage inequality, with women earning lower wages than men (Balthasar, Müller, & Maisenbacher, 2010; WEF, 2013).

During socialization, children internalize shared social beliefs and norms associated with gender-appropriate attributes and behaviors and gain skills and traits which support the societal division of labor (Eagly & Wood, 2011; Renfrow & Howard, 2013). In this process, the family has the most influential impact on children's socialization, because parents serve as major socialization agents and role models for their offspring (Herzog, 2002; Kuczynski & Grusec, 1997; McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003; Zosuls, Miller, Ruble, Martin, & Fabes, 2011). Moreover, social–cognitive research on role models has shown that parents serve as role models for their offspring at a very early age, with children more attracted to same-sex models (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). In line with this, research on children's and youths' role models found that the parent of the same sex was predominantly named as a role model, however, not exclusively (Bricheno & Thornton, 2007; Makarova & Herzog, 2014). Thus, within the family, mothers and fathers serve as role models of societal roles which are "differentially valued, with those ascribed to males generally being regarded as more desirable, effectual, and of higher status." (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 676).

Summarizing, we suggest that family socialization plays an important role in the maintenance and reproduction of embedded societal gender roles and gender

inequalities. We, therefore, focus on the analysis of the gender roles of women and men according to the gender division of paid and unpaid labor within the family.

Gender Division of Paid Labor

With respect to the division of women's and men's labor in paid employment, the dual-earner family has become the most common family model in the majority of OECD countries, whereas in Switzerland the most common household is one-and-a-half earner family model (OECD, 2012; SFSO, 2014b). Moreover, the employment rate of husbands and wives in Swiss families vary greatly depending on the presence of children (SFSO, 2014b).

Research on the gender gap in employment suggests that parenthood does not have the same impact on women's and men's careers. While for women, parenthood was linked to breaks in their professional career and a reduction in work volume, for men it was found to boost their career (Abele, 2013). Accordingly, in Switzerland, the highest proportion of dual-earner couples where both partners were 100 % employed occurred in 2012, in households without children (37.9 %). This proportion varied across the three language regions of Switzerland, where the highest percentage of dual-earner couples in households without children was in the German-speaking region (38.9 %), followed by the French-speaking region (34.9 %), and the Italian-speaking region (32.9 %). In contrast, the lowest proportion of dual-earner couples was found in households with children aged 0–6 years (11.7 %). However, the proportion of dual-earner couples in households with children under 6 years was considerably higher in the French-speaking region (18.3 %) compared to the Italian-speaking (10.9 %) and the German-speaking (9.2 %) regions. At the same time, the most common model with children under 6 in the Italian-speaking region of Switzerland was single earner households (36.2 %) with the man working 100 %. In the German- and French-speaking parts the proportion of single earner couples in households with children under 6 years was considerably lower (27.3 % and 18.4 % respectively) (SFSO, 2014b).[1]

The gender division of paid labor was confirmed in a series of studies on couples' life course employment. Thus, in various national contexts across 12 countries[2], the common tendency was that men were constantly employed and interrupted their employment for family reasons only in exceptional cases. At the same time, women's employment exhibited a great diversity across countries, with a relatively high proportion of married women working as secondary earners in part-time jobs in Western European countries. This study concludes that the prevalence of the single-earner family model as well as the dual-earner family model is shaped through societal institutions, policies, and cultural traditions within the country (Drobnič & Blossfeld, 2004).

[1] The calculation was performed by the first author using the data of the Federal Statistics Office of Switzerland (2014b). The calculation for the Romansh language region of Switzerland was not performed due to the incomplete data for this region.

[2] The study included the following countries: Belgium (Flanders), China, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and the United States.

In Switzerland, the proportion of women working part-time is remarkably high compared to other European countries (UNECE, 2011). In 2013, in Swiss households without children, 40.5 % of women were working part-time compared to 9.7 % of men. Moreover, in households with the youngest child under 14 years, 81.5 % of women were employed part-time compared to 9.0 % of men (SFSO, 2014c). It was however, suggested that part-time employment is disadvantageous for the life–work balance of women in Switzerland—especially for mothers—as they remain mainly responsible for household and childcare and endure the financial shortcomings of part-time employment (Bühler, 2001; Gazareth, 2003).

Gendered Division of Unpaid Labor

According to Miranda (2011) women carry out more unpaid labor than men in all OECD countries. Unpaid labor within the family is commonly conceptualized as maintenance of the household and childcare (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Fuwa 2004; Herzog et al. 1997; Mannino & Deutsch, 2007).

Household labor is defined "as the set of unpaid tasks performed to satisfy the needs of family members or to maintain the home and the family's possessions." (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010, p. 769). The tasks which are commonly summarized under the term of household labor are housecleaning, meal planning, cooking and cleaning up afterwards, grocery shopping, laundry, caring for sick family members, yard, house and car maintenance, taking care of family finances, and transporting family members (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Regarding the length of time needed for tasks and the frequency of task performance, household tasks can be divided into (i) time-consuming and frequently repeated *routine tasks* (i.e., laundry, cooking, cleaning, and shopping), which are commonly performed by women, and (ii) time-flexible *occasional tasks* (i.e., household repairs and yard care), which are commonly performed by men (Batalova & Cohen, 2002).

The concept of childcare has an inconsistent conceptualization in research on unpaid labor within the family, as some studies distinguish childcare as an independent construct and some studies include childcare in the construct of household labor within the family (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Studies which distinguish childcare from other household work show that there are not only disparities between men and women with respect to the amount of time spent with children, but also with regard to activities during childcare-time. Thus, a study in the German-speaking part of Switzerland showed that concerning the extent of parental involvement in childcare within the family, their activities can be divided into two components: (i) passive childcare (i.e., being with children during meals, outside activities, and shopping) and (ii) active childcare (i.e., playing, reading, and doing handicrafts). The results of the study showed, that in couples' households in Switzerland, women spend on average more time in active childcare than men, who however do show a broad range of time involvement in childcare (Herzog et al., 1997).

Qualitative research on the division of unpaid and paid labor within the family highlights the negotiation process between couples about the short term responsibilities for daily routine as well as about the long term power balance between spouses or partners (Mannino & Deutsch, 2007). Likewise quantitative research has pointed out the interdependence between husbands' and wives' involvement in housework and childcare on one hand and their involvement in paid employment on the other. What is unclear, however, is the causality of the relation between the division of employment and housework between women and men. Thus, a study in Germany demonstrated that a more egalitarian division of childcare, where fathers take more responsibilities for childcare, has a positive effect on women's employment (Cooke, 2004). At the same time, the longitudinal study suggested that women's employment and their employment history in the paid workforce during their life course influences the husbands' involvement in the household (Cunningham, 2007). It is clear, however, that the proportion of women's paid employment influences the proportion of their involvement in unpaid household labor (Artis & Pavalko, 2003).

Moreover, the division of household labor between women and men within the family is imbedded in the macrosocietal structural and cultural context (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Drobnič & Blossfeld, 2004; Fuwa, 2004). Consequently, a cross-national study using data from the International Social Survey Program of 22 nations[3] has shown that in gender-egalitarian countries[4] couples had a more equal division of housework (Batalova & Cohen, 2002). It is interesting, however, to note that societal structures and gender ideology were found to have a greater influence on the division of household labor than on childcare within the family (Mannino & Deutsch, 2007). Nevertheless, a cross-national study in 24 countries[5] showed that in countries with a prevailing ideology of more severe gender inequality, even women with an egalitarian gender ideology usually carry out the housework (Fuwa 2004). In line with this, a study in the USA has shown that women who endorsed egalitarian attitudes accomplished two thirds of household labor including childcare (Claffey & Mickelson, 2009). Thus, regardless of women's employment status they accomplish a larger proportion of household labor compared to men (Bartley, Blanton, & Gillard, 2005).

In summary, despite the fact that the role of women has changed in the labor market, the changes in the family roles of men and women take place particularly slowly (Gere & Helwig, 2012; Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kağitçibaşi, & Poortinga, 2006).

[3] The study included the following nations: Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, Great Britain, East Germany, West Germany, Hungary, Northern Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Slovenia, Sweden, Russia, and United States.

[4] According to the Countries' Gender Empowerment Index and to the gender division of labor in couples' households the following four countries were found to be most gender-egalitarian: Norway, United States, Sweden, and Canada (Batalova & Cohen, 2002).

[5] The study included the following countries: Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, East and West Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Norway, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, Sweden, and the United States.

Focus of the Study

The present study focuses on gender roles and attitudes towards gender roles within the family in Switzerland. In accordance with previous research on gendered division of labor within the family (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Fuwa, 2004; Herzog et al., 1997) the gender roles of women and men are conceptualized along three dimensions: *household*, *childcare*, and *paid employment*.

Based on the assumption that, for their offspring, parents serve as role models of gendered division of paid and unpaid labor within the family (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Makarova & Herzog, 2014), the study is aimed at investigating (a) gender roles within the *heritage family* of young adults, (b) young adults' views on gender roles within their *prospective family*, and (c) the influence of young adults' retrospective perception of their mothers' and fathers' gender roles on their attitudes towards gender role in the prospective family. In considering the gendered division of labor within the heritage and the prospective family, we hypothesized that the gender roles within the heritage family would be based on the traditional division of labor, where men are mainly responsible for income and women for household and child care. Our further hypothesis was that young adults would favor a more egalitarian division of labor between mothers and fathers within their prospective family than in their heritage family.

What is more, unlike previous research on gender roles based on one national sample or on the comparison of national samples of different countries, our study takes a comparative approach within one country by (d) analyzing gender roles of young adults' heritage family and their prospective view on gender roles across *three culturally different regions within the national sample* of Switzerland: the German-, French-, and Italian-speaking parts of the country. The differences between the three target regions are given by the cultural and language characteristics of the population in the German-, French-, and Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland (Lüdi & Werlen, 2005; Bovay & Broquet, 2004).[6] The multiculturalism of the country is rooted "in the ancient history of communities that have always lived in Switzerland." (Fleiner, 2002, p. 98). Thus, the national state comprises different sovereign cantons, representing diverse political units, languages, and religions.

A cross-cultural study by Hofstede (2006) found that the German- and the French-speaking parts of Switzerland differed along four measured dimensions of cultural differences.[7] The German-speaking region indicated a remarkably lower *power distance* score (region score 26/position 70) and was considerably higher on *masculinity* (region score 72/position 6), and on the *uncertainty avoidance* dimension (region score 56/position 50) compared to the French-speaking region

[6] The fourth, Romansh-speaking, part of Switzerland was not included in the study, because of difficulties in recruiting a sample with target characteristics from this language group, as it comprises only 0.5 % of the Swiss population (SFSO, 2014e).

[7] The Italian-speaking part was not included in the national sample of Switzerland. The differences between the German- and the French-speaking regions were not reported for the cultural dimension 'short/long term orientation' (Hofstede, 2006).

(power distance: score 70/position 22/25, masculinity: score 58/position 22/24, and uncertainty avoidance score 70/position 35/38). The differences between the two language regions were, however, less pronounced on the *individualisms* dimension (the German-speaking region score 69/position 16/17 and the French-speaking region score 64/position 20).[8]

With respect to regional differences in gender roles across the three language regions of Switzerland, our study had an exploratory character. However, we expected to identify gender role patterns shared across the three language regions as well as region-specific patterns of gender division of labor within the family.

Method

Procedure

The study is based on a quantitative survey conducted among university students in Switzerland (Makarova, Herzog, Weber, & Kipfer, 2013). The sample of students was chosen over a random sample of young adults based on the assumption that students represent "the leading edge of changes in a culture" (Georgas et al., 2006, p. 115) and serves, therefore, as an appropriate source from which to analyze changing tendencies in the family.

The administrative authorities of the universities in the three different language regions of Switzerland—the German-speaking part, the French-speaking part, and the Italian-speaking part—were asked for the authorization to conduct a survey of students at their universities. In total, six Swiss universities authorized the survey, with two universities in each of three language areas of the country.[9]

The students of the participating universities were contacted through the internal authorities of each institution, who were then responsible for the distribution of a mass-email in accordance with internal regulations. The email to students was prepared by the research team and translated into the corresponding language. It included a short description of the aims of the research project, the approximate time for completing the questionnaire, an invitation to take part in the anonymous survey, and the link to the online questionnaire. The survey of students from the German- and French-speaking parts took place in November–December 2011 and the survey of students from the Italian-speaking part in December 2011–February 2012.

The data from the online surveys were first checked for plausibility of the answers (i.e., checking for missing data and extreme scores) and then merged to one

[8] The region position on each cultural dimension is relative to in total 74 countries/regions represented in the study (Hofstede, 2006).

[9] The following universities participated in the study: in the German-speaking part the University of Bern and the University of Luzern, in the French-speaking part, the University of Neuchâtel and the University of Lausanne, and in the Italian-speaking part, the University of Lugano and the University of Applied Sciences and Arts of Southern Switzerland.

data file. The final data file also underwent a plausibility analysis in order to insure the correct matching of variables across the three different data sets.

Participants

The *overall sample* comprised 928 participants.[10] Of these, 46.7 % were students from the German-speaking part, 40.0 % from the French-speaking part and 13.4 % from the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland. With respect to study majors, the sample comprised students from social sciences (27.0 %), medicine (11.8 %), natural sciences (11.2 %), law (9.6 %) and economics (9.0 %). Participants were young adults aged between 17 and 25 years ($M = 21.6$, $SD = 1.95$). Female ($N = 721$, 77.7%) students were overrepresented in the sample compared to male students ($N = 207$, 22.3%).

The *subsample* for each language part comprised only participants who indicated the language of that target part to be their mother tongue. The sizes of the three subsamples mirrored the distribution of the languages in the population of Switzerland.[11] Thus, the subsample of the German-speaking part comprised 324 respondents (female 78.7 % and male 21.3 %), the subsample of the French-speaking part comprised 258 respondents (female 75.6 % and male 24.4 %), and the subsample of the Italian-speaking part comprised 80 respondents (female 78.8 % and male 21.3 %). With respect to students' sociodemographic characteristics, there were no significant differences according to the distribution of gender within each subsample, $X^2(2662) = .89$, $p = 64$. However, students of the subsample from the French-speaking part ($M = 21.1$) were on average younger than the students of the German-speaking part ($M = 21.9$) and of Italian-speaking part ($M = 21.8$), $F(2659) = 12.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$.

Measures

The questionnaire of the study was developed in German and then translated and back-translated into French and Italian. The divergences in the translation were discussed with native speakers and professional translators in each language. Afterwards, the questionnaire was pretested with native speaking students from each language part. The pretest was used to indicate the comprehension of the questions among the target group and to estimate the time needed to fill out the questionnaire.

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[10] Due to the study aim of assessing gender roles of mothers *and* fathers within the family, participants who grew up in a one-person household were excluded from the statistical analysis of the study.

[11] The distribution of the three languages in the population of Switzerland is: German-speaking 64.9 %, French-speaking 22.6 %, and Italian-speaking 8.3 % (SFSO, 2014e).

The *gender roles of mothers and fathers* were measured in retrospect (i.e., with respect to the gender roles of mothers and fathers in the heritage family of the participants) and prospectively (i.e., with regards to gender roles in their prospective family).

The *gender roles within the heritage family* were operationalized along three dimensions: household, childcare, and paid labor (Makarova, Herzog, Ignaczewska, & Vogt, 2012). Respondents were asked to answer the questions with respect to their mothers or fathers or to the persons who were in charge of them in the role of mother or father during their childhood. The participants were asked to estimate the percentage of their mothers' and fathers' involvement in household, childcare, and paid employment on a scale ranging from $1 = 0\%$ to $11 = 100\%$. Two questions were asked, one with respect to the gender role of the mother and another with regards to the gender role of the father: "To what extent did your mother/father (a) perform household tasks (i.e., cleaning, cooking, grocery shopping, laundry, and ironing), (b) take over childcare and (c) engage in paid employment during the time you were attending compulsory school?".

The *gender roles of mothers and fathers within the prospective family* were operationalized along the same dimensions: household, childcare, and paid labor. The questions with respect to mothers' and fathers' gender roles were: "What is in your opinion the ideal extent to which the mother/father should (a) perform household tasks (i.e., cleaning, cooking, grocery shopping, laundry, and ironing), (b) take over childcare and (c) be involved in paid employment?" (Scale: ranged from $1 = 0\%$ to $11 = 100\%$).

Results

Gender Roles Within the Heritage Family

Proportion of Mothers' and Fathers' Household Work, Childcare, and Paid Employment Within the Heritage Family

In analyzing differences between mothers' and fathers' household work, childcare, and paid employment within the heritage family, a paired *t*-test was applied. As Table 12.1 shows, the young adults of our sample grew up in families where mothers, compared to fathers, were to a significantly greater extent responsible for the household and childcare, whereas fathers were to a significantly greater extent than mothers, involved in paid employment.

Figures 12.1 and 12.2 illustrate the proportion of household work, childcare, and paid employment of *mothers and fathers in their heritage family* reported by young adults. The medians of mothers' household work (90 %), childcare (80 %), and paid employment (30 %) on the one hand, and the medians of fathers' household work (10 %), childcare (20 %), and paid employment (100 %) on the other, indicate the unequal gender roles within the heritage families.

Table 12.1 Gender roles of mothers and fathers within the heritage family: mean ratings

	Mothers	Fathers		
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*t*	*d*
Household	8.81 (2.32)	2.95 (2.12)	50.04***	3.28
Childcare	8.28 (2.41)	3.69 (2.10)	40.71***	2.02
Employment	4.50 (3.08)	9.59 (2.29)	−34.74***	−1.93

$N=928$, scale range from 1 = 0 % to 11 = 100 %, *t*-test significance: household $p=0.000$, childcare $p=0.000$, employment $p=0.000$, *d* mean differences effect sizes indicated by Cohen's *d*
$^{***}p<0.001$

Thus, the vast majority of mothers (81.7 %) were responsible for 60–100 % of the household. Most of the mothers (75.3 %) were also responsible for 60–100 % of the childcare. At the same time, around one quarter of mothers (24.0 %) were employed from 60–100 %. In contrast, only 7.5 % of the mothers carried out 39 % or less of the household work, 8.7 % of them took on 39 % or less of the childcare, and 56.0 % were involved in a less than 40 % part-time job. Some of the mothers carried out 40–59 % of household duties (10.8 %) and childcare (15.9 %), and were involved in a 40–59 % paid job (19.9 %) (see Fig. 12.1).

In contrast, the vast majority of fathers (88.1 %) were employed from 60–100 % and 58.6 % of them were working 100 %. At the same time, only 5.7 % of fathers carried out over 60 % of household tasks, and only 8.1 % of fathers were responsible

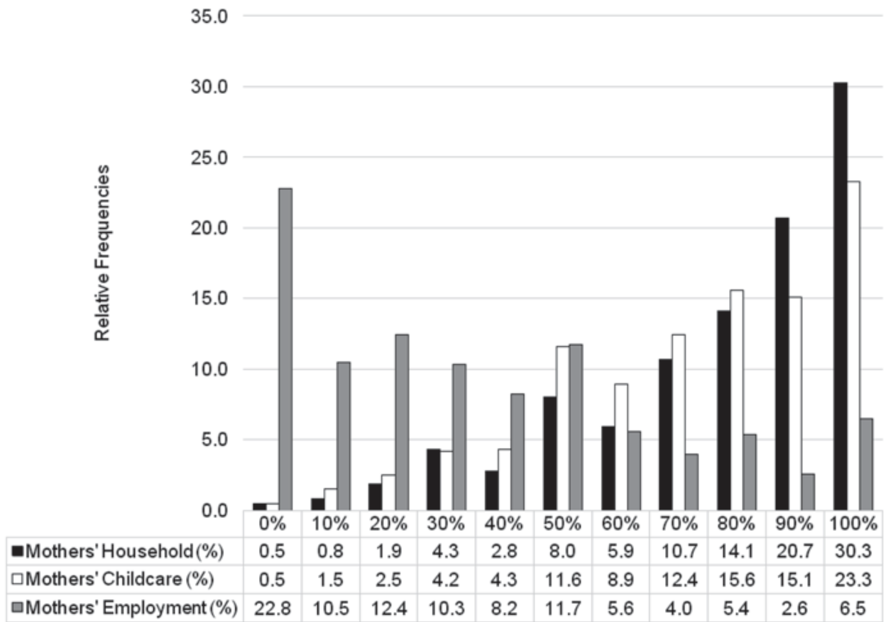
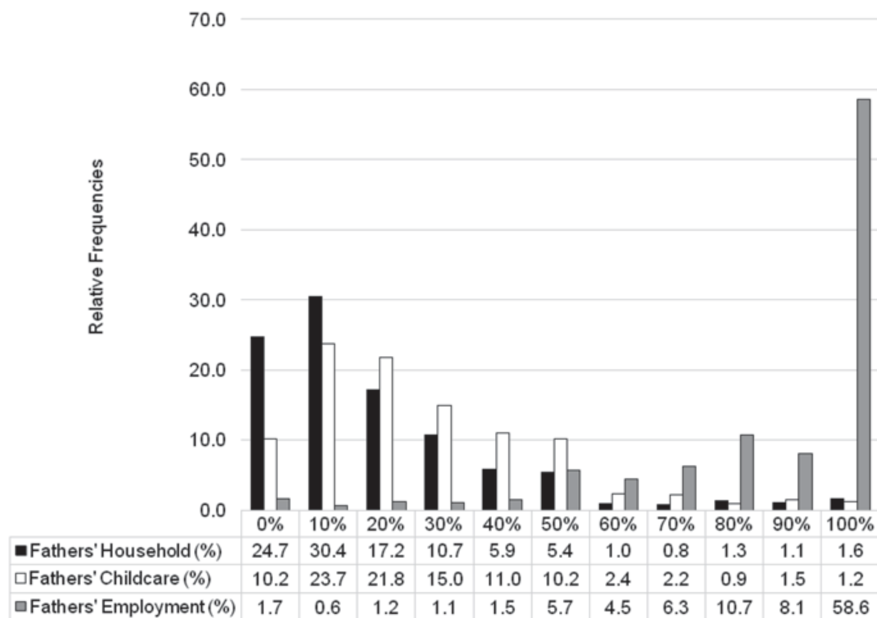


Fig. 12.1 Gender role of mothers within the heritage family: relative frequencies. (Scale range from 1 = 0 % to 11 = 100 %. Median: mothers household work = 10.00, mothers' childcare = 9.00, mothers' employment = 4.00)



	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
■Fathers' Household (%)	24.7	30.4	17.2	10.7	5.9	5.4	1.0	0.8	1.3	1.1	1.6
□Fathers' Childcare (%)	10.2	23.7	21.8	15.0	11.0	10.2	2.4	2.2	0.9	1.5	1.2
■Fathers' Employment (%)	1.7	0.6	1.2	1.1	1.5	5.7	4.5	6.3	10.7	8.1	58.6

Fig. 12.2 Gender role of fathers within the heritage family: relative frequencies. (Scale range from 1 = 0 % to 11 = 100 %. Median: fathers household work = 2.00, fathers' childcare = 3.00, fathers' employment = 11.00)

for 60–100 % of the childcare. Correspondingly, the vast majority of fathers were responsible for less than 40 % of the household (83.0 %), childcare (70.7 %), and paid employment (4.6 %). Some of the fathers carried out 40 to 59 % of the household work (11.3 %) and childcare (21.2 %), and were involved in 40 to 59 % paid part-time employment (7.2 %) (see Fig. 12.2).

Relationship Between Mothers' and Fathers' Household Work, Childcare, and Paid Employment Within the Heritage Family

The Pearson correlation coefficients showed that the proportion of mothers' household work was positively correlated with the proportion of mothers' childcare. Mothers' household work as well as mothers' childcare were negatively correlated with their involvement in paid employment. The same is true for fathers (see Table 12.2).

Moreover, the proportion of mothers' household work as well as the proportion of mothers' childcare negatively correlated with the proportion of fathers' household work and with the proportion of fathers' childcare. At the same time, the proportion of mothers' household work as well as the proportion of mothers' childcare was positively correlated with the proportion of fathers' involvement in paid employment (see Table 12.2).

Table 12.2 Gender roles of mothers and fathers within the heritage family: correlations

	Mothers' household	Mothers' childcare	Mothers' employment	Fathers' household	Fathers' childcare	Fathers' employment
Mothers' household	1	0.680**	−0.211**	−0.289**	−0.102**	0.213**
Mothers' childcare		1	−0.277**	−0.239**	−0.157**	0.270**
Mothers' employment			1	0.296**	0.205**	−0.350**
Fathers' household				1	0.447**	−0.191**
Fathers' childcare					1	−0.073*

N=928, Pearson correlation significance (2-tailed)
*p<0.05, **p<0.01

Sex Differences in Ratings of Mothers' and Fathers' Household Work, Childcare, and Paid Employment Within the Heritage Families

In order to analyze differences between female and male respondents' ratings on *mothers' gender role within the heritage family* a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was applied. The multivariate main effect indicated significant differences between female and male ratings, $F(3924) = 8.54,\ p < .001$, Wilks's $\lambda = .97, \eta^2 = .04$. The univariate tests showed significant sex differences with respect to respondents' ratings on mothers' household work, $F(1926) = 7.12,\ p < .01, \eta^2 = .01$, mothers' childcare $F(1926) = 9.50,\ p < .01, \eta^2 = .01$, and mothers' paid employment, $F(1926) = 8.16,\ p < .01, \eta^2 = .01$. The effect size indicated, however, small differences between female $(N = 721)$ and male $(N = 207)$ ratings: mothers' household work: female $(M = 8.92, SD = 2.31)$, male $(M = 8.43, SD = 2.32)$, Cohen's $d = -.21$, mothers' childcare: female $(M = 8.41, SD = 2.40)$, male $(M = 7.83, SD = 2.40)$, Cohen's $d = -.24$, and mothers' paid employment: female $(M = 4.66, SD = 3.12)$, male $(M = 3.97, SD = 2.88)$, Cohen's $d = -.23$.

In contrast, there were no significant differences between female and male respondents' ratings on *fathers' gender role in the heritage family* according to the MANOVA overall test, $F(3924) = 2.22,\ p = .08$, Wilks's $\lambda = .99, \eta^2 = .01$.

Gender Roles Within the Prospective Family

Proportion of Mothers' and Fathers' Household Work, Childcare, and Paid Employment in the Prospective Family

Respondents' ratings on mothers' and fathers' gender roles within their prospective family corresponded with their ratings on mothers' and fathers' roles within

Table 12.3 Gender roles of mothers and fathers within the prospective family: mean ratings

	Mothers	Fathers		
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*t*	*d*
Household work	6.25 (1.52)	5.16 (1.41)	16.93***	0.74
Childcare	6.57 (1.43)	5.66 (1.38)	17.76***	0.65
Employment	5.87 (1.71)	7.43 (1.91)	−19.39***	−0.86

$N = 928$, scale range from 1 = 0 % to 11 = 100 %, *t*-test significance: household $p = 0.000$, childcare $p = 0.000$, employment $p = 0.000$, d = mean differences effect sizes indicated by Cohen's d
$^{***}p < 0.001$

the heritage family. A paired *t*-test indicated that mothers compared to fathers were predominantly seen as responsible for the household and childcare, whereas fathers were associated with being responsible for family income to a significantly larger extent than mothers (see Table 12.3).

Figures 12.3 and 12.4 illustrate the proportion of household work, childcare, and paid employment of *mothers and fathers in the prospective family* of young adults of our sample. The median of mothers' household work (50 %), mothers' childcare (50 %), mothers' paid employment (50 %) as well as the median of fathers' household work (50 %), fathers' childcare (50 %), and fathers' paid employment (60 %) indicate the egalitarian tendency in mothers' gender role in the prospective family.

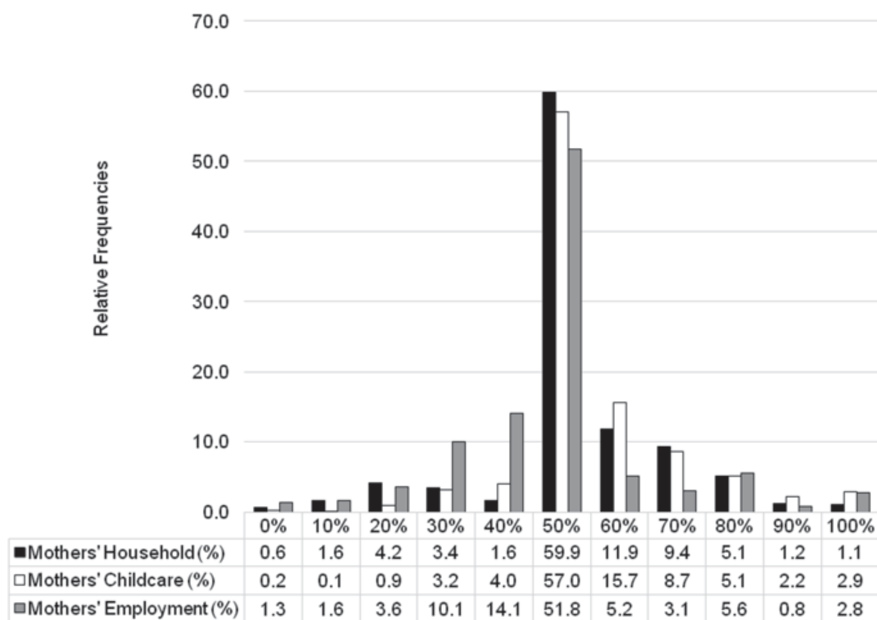
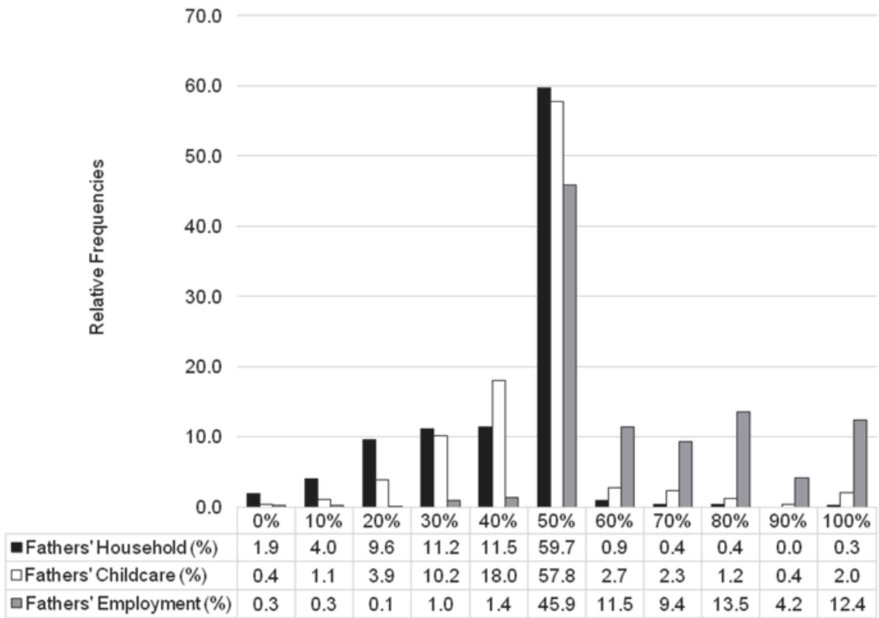


Fig. 12.3 Gender role of mothers within the prospective family: relative frequencies. (Scale range from 1 = 0 % to 11 = 100 %. Median: mothers' household work = 6.00, mothers' childcare = 6.00, mothers' employment = 6.00)



	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Fathers' Household (%)	1.9	4.0	9.6	11.2	11.5	59.7	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.3
Fathers' Childcare (%)	0.4	1.1	3.9	10.2	18.0	57.8	2.7	2.3	1.2	0.4	2.0
Fathers' Employment (%)	0.3	0.3	0.1	1.0	1.4	45.9	11.5	9.4	13.5	4.2	12.4

Fig. 12.4 Gender role of fathers within the prospective family: relative frequencies. (Scale range from 1 = 0 % to 11 = 100 %. Median: fathers household = 6.00, fathers' childcare = 6.00, fathers' employment = 7.00)

Consequently, with regard to the gender role of mothers in the prospective family the majority of young adults (73.4 %) rated the ideal extent of mothers' household work as being from 40 to 59 %. Also the ideal extent of mothers' childcare was rated by the majority (76.7 %) of respondents as being from 40 to 59 %. Finally, the majority of young adults (71.1 %) rated the ideal extent of mothers' involvement in paid employment as being between 40 and 59 % (see Fig. 12.3).

In line with this, the majority of young adults (72.1 %) rated the ideal extent of fathers' household work as being from 40–59 %; the majority of respondents (78.5 %) likewise rated the ideal extent of fathers' childcare at 40–59 %. Furthermore 58.8 % of young adults rated the ideal extent of fathers' involvement in paid employment as being between 40 and 59 % (see Fig. 12.4).

Relationship Between Mothers' and Fathers' Household Work, Childcare, and Paid Employment in the Prospective Family

The Pearson correlation coefficients showed that the young adults' picture of the gender roles in the prospective family corresponds with that of the heritage family. Thus, in the prospective family, the proportion of mothers' household work positively correlated with the proportion of mothers' childcare. Mothers' household work as well as mothers' childcare negatively correlated with their involvement in

Table 12.4. Gender roles of mothers and fathers within the prospective family: correlations

	Mothers' household	Mothers' childcare	Mothers' employment	Fathers' household	Fathers' childcare	Fathers' employment
Mothers' household	1	0.550**	−0.173**	0.107**	0.188**	0.367**
Mothers' childcare		1	−0.090**	0.043	0.384**	0.420**
Mothers' employment			1	0.354**	0.282**	0.090**
Fathers' household				1	0.426**	−0.262**
Fathers' childcare					1	−0.027

N=928, Pearson correlation significance (2-tailed)
** p<0.01

paid employment. The same is true with respect to the fathers' gender role within the prospective family (see Table 12.4).

In the prospective family, the proportion of mothers' household work as well as the proportion of mothers' childcare positively correlated with the proportion of fathers' childcare and with the proportion of fathers' involvement in paid employment. Also, the proportion of mothers' and fathers' household work positively correlated with each other (see Table 12.4).

Moreover, the participants' ratings on mothers' and fathers' gender roles in the prospective family positively correlated with the corresponding ratings within the heritage family: Mothers' household work, $r = .46$, $p < .01$, mothers' childcare, $r = .43$, $p < .01$, mothers' paid employment, $r = .40$, $p < .01$, fathers' household work, $r = .22$, $p < .01$, fathers' childcare, $r = .39$, $p < .01$, and fathers' paid employment, $r = .33$, $p < .01$.

Sex Differences in Ratings of Mothers' and Fathers' Household Work, Childcare, and Paid Employment in the Prospective Family

In analyzing differences between female and male respondents' ratings on *mothers' gender role within the prospective family* a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was applied. The multivariate main effect indicated significant sex differences, Wilks's $\lambda = .97, F(3924) = 9.85, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$. The univariate tests showed significant sex differences with respect to participants' ratings on mothers' household work, $F(1926) = 7.37, p < .01, \eta^2 = .01$, and mothers' paid employment, $F(1926) = 25.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$, but not with regards to mothers' childcare, $F(1926) = .60$, $p = .44$. The effect size indicated, however, rather small differences between female $(N = 721)$ and male $(N = 207)$ ratings: mothers' household work: female $(M = 6.18, SD = 1.39)$, male $(M = 6.50, SD = 1.87)$,

Table 12.5 Gender roles of mothers and fathers within the heritage family: mean ratings across the three language regions

	German-speaking part		French-speaking part		Italian-speaking part	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Household	8.87 (2.25)	2.59 (1.74)	8.61 (2.38)	3.15 (2.38)	9.50 (2.01)	3.11 (2.44)
Childcare	8.36 (2.21)	3.47 (1.70)	7.94 (2.59)	3.53 (2.21)	9.04 (2.10)	4.57 (2.81)
Employment	4.04 (2.84)	10.21 (1.80)	4.78 (2.95)	8.71 (2.55)	4.10 (3.62)	10.35 (1.72)

German-speaking part $n = 324$, French-speaking part $n = 258$, Italian-speaking part $n = 80$. Scale range from 1 = 0 % to 11 = 100 %

Cohen's $d = .21$, and mothers' paid employment: female $(M = 6.02, SD = 1.64)$, male $(M = 5.35, SD = 1.87)$, Cohen's $d = -.40$.

Ratings on *fathers' gender role within the prospective family* also differed significantly between female and male respondents according to the MANOVA main effect, $F(3924) = 10.69$, $p < .001$, Wilks's $\lambda = .97, \eta^2 = .03$. The univariate tests showed significant sex differences with respect to participants' ratings on fathers' household work, $F(1926) = 26.31$, $p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$, and fathers' childcare, $F(1926) = 18.63$, $p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$, but not with regards to fathers' paid employment, $F(1926) = 1.46$, $p = .23$. The effect size indicated, however, rather small differences between female $(N = 721)$ and male $(N = 207)$ ratings of fathers' household work: female $(M = 5.29, SD = 1.30)$, male $(M = 4.72, SD = 1.67)$, Cohen's $d = -.41$, and fathers' childcare: female $(M = 5.77, SD = 1.30)$, male $(M = 5.30, SD = 1.59)$, Cohen's $d = -.34$.

Comparison Across the Three Language Regions of Switzerland

Gender Roles Within the Heritage Family Across the Three Language Regions

Table 12.5 illustrates respondents' mean ratings of mothers' and fathers' household work, childcare, and paid employment within the heritage family for each subsample of the study.

To analyze differences in respondents' ratings on *mothers' gender role within the heritage family* across the three language regions of Switzerland, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was applied. The multivariate main effect showed significant regional differences, $F(6,1314) = 3.49$, $p < .001$, Wilks's $\lambda = .97, \eta^2 = .02$. The univariate tests indicated significant regional differences with respect to respondents' ratings on mothers' household work, $F(2659) = 7.74$, $p < .01, \eta^2 = .01$, mothers' childcare, $F(2659) = 7.01$, $p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$, and mothers' paid employment, $F(2659) = 4.60$, $p < .05, \eta^2 = .01$. The post hoc Bonferroni tests showed that within the heritage family, the proportion of mothers' household work $(p < .01)$ and

mothers' childcare $(p < .01)$ was significantly higher among mothers from the Italian-speaking part compared to mothers from the French-speaking part of the country. At the same time, mothers' paid employment within the heritage family was significantly higher in the French-speaking part compared to the German-speaking part $(p < .05)$. There were no other significant differences across the three language areas.

Respondents' ratings on *fathers' gender role within the heritage family* also differed significantly across the three language regions of Switzerland according to the MANOVA overall test, $F(6,1314) = 17.19$, $p < .001$, Wilks's $\lambda = .86, \eta^2 = .07$. The univariate tests indicated significant region differences with respect to respondents' ratings on fathers' household work, $F(2659) = 5.67$, $p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$, fathers' childcare, $F(2659) = 9.60$, $p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$, and fathers' paid employment, $F(2659) = 40.86$, $p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$. The post hoc Bonferroni tests indicated that within the heritage family the proportion of fathers' household work was significantly lower $(p < .01)$ among fathers from the German-speaking part compared to fathers from the French-speaking part of the country. The proportion of fathers' childcare in the Italian-speaking part was significantly higher than the proportion of fathers' childcare in the German- and French-speaking part $(p < .001$ and $p < .001$, respectively). Finally, the proportion of fathers' paid employment was significantly lower in the French-speaking part compared to the German- and Italian-speaking part $(p < .001$ and $p < .001$, respectively). At the same time, the proportion of fathers' paid employment in the German-speaking part was significantly higher than in the French-speaking part $(p < .001)$. There were no other significant differences across the three language regions.

Gender Roles Within the Prospective Family Across the Three Language Regions

Table 12.6 illustrates respondents' mean ratings of mothers' and fathers' household work, childcare, and paid employment within the prospective family for each subsample of the study.

To analyze differences in respondents' ratings on *mothers' gender roles within the prospective family* across the three language regions of Switzerland, a mul-

Table 12.6 Gender roles of mothers and fathers within the prospective family: mean ratings across the three language regions

	German-speaking part		French-speaking part		Italian-speaking part	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Household	6.71 (1.44)	5.08 (1.34)	6.03 (1.41)	5.24 (1.40)	7.10 (1.62)	4.65 (1.59)
Childcare	6.49 (1.22)	5.45 (1.10)	6.29 (1.27)	5.55 (1.34)	7.64 (2.06)	6.38 (2.44)
Employment	5.69 (1.64)	7.62 (1.82)	5.83 (1.48)	6.84 (1.61)	6.04 (2.33)	8.80 (2.13)

German-speaking part $n = 324$, French-speaking part $n = 258$, Italian-speaking part $n = 80$. Scale range from 1 = 0% to 11 = 100%

tivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was applied. The multivariate main effect showed significant regional differences, $F(6,1314) = 12.45$, $p < .001$, Wilks's $\lambda = .90, \eta^2 = .05$. The univariate tests indicated significant regional differences with respect to respondents' ratings on mothers' household work, $F(2659) = 17.14$, $p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$, and mothers' childcare, $F(2659) = 31.41$, $p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$, but not with respect to mothers' paid employment, $F(2659) = 1.55$, $p = .21$. The post hoc Bonferroni tests indicated that within the prospective family the proportion of mothers' household work and mothers' childcare among respondents from the Italian-speaking part was significantly higher compared to respondents from the French- and the German-speaking parts of the country (all differences indicated $p < .001$ significance level). There were no other significant differences across the three language regions.

Respondents' ratings on *fathers' gender role within the prospective family* also differed significantly across the three language regions of Switzerland according to the MANOVA overall test, $F(6,1314) = 20.95, p < .001$, Wilks's $\lambda = .83, \eta^2 = .09$. The univariate tests indicated significant regional differences with respect to respondents' ratings on fathers' household work, $F(2659) = 5.56, p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$, fathers' childcare, $F(2659) = 13.97, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$, and fathers' paid employment, $F(2659) = 39.60, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$. The post hoc Bonferroni tests indicated that the proportion of fathers' household work within the prospective family was significantly lower among respondents from the Italian-speaking part compared to those from the German- and the French-speaking parts of the country ($p < .05$ and $p < .01$, respectively). The proportion of fathers' childcare estimated by respondents in the Italian-speaking part was significantly higher than the proportion of fathers' childcare projected by those in the German- and French-speaking part ($p < .001$ and $p < .001$, respectively). Finally, the proportion of fathers' paid employment was significantly lower in the French-speaking part compared to that in the German- and the Italian-speaking part ($p < .001$ and $p < .001$, respectively). There were no other significant differences across the three language regions.

Discussion

Gender Roles Within the Family

The results with respect to gender roles within the heritage family are in line with findings of previous studies, showing that the young adults in our sample grew up in families with unequal gender roles division, where mothers were responsible for the household and childcare and fathers were the breadwinners (e.g. Bartley, Blanton, & Gillard, 2005; Drobnič & Blossfeld, 2004; Herzog et al., 1997). According to the effect size, the largest gap between mothers' and fathers' roles within the heritage families was in their involvement in unpaid household labor, while around half of the mothers took care of up to 90% of the household. Moreover, the large effect

size of childcare division indicates that mothers also took on a considerably higher proportion of childcare than fathers. Consequently 75.3 % of mothers were involved in more than 60 % of the childcare, while around half of the mothers took over 80 % of childcare. At the same time, around one quarter of mothers were involved in paid employment of more than 60 %. These findings are not surprising, as Switzerland is one of the OECD countries where more than half of the parents have a more traditional view on women's employment and their care commitments (OECD, 2012). Our findings also correspond with research on gender inequalities within the family (Bartley, Blanton, & Gillard, 2005; Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Herzog et al., 1997, OECD, 2012), suggesting that women's contribution to household labor is considerably higher than that of men not only in the traditional family model, but also in the one-and-a-half earner family model.

As household work in our study was operationalized as routine tasks found to be commonly performed by women (Batalova & Cohen, 2002), the proportion of men's household labor with respect to occasional tasks is not included in gendered division of labor in our study. Nonetheless, as routine tasks are the most time consuming and least pleasant, they are the tasks which indicate the extent of egalitarian division of unpaid labor within the family (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

The prospective views of the respondents in our sample on the division of unpaid and paid labor within their future family show that the division of labor between mothers and fathers in the prospective family is positively correlated with the division of labor young adults experienced in their heritage family. Nonetheless, our results also show that medians for the ideal proportion of mothers' and fathers' household labor and mothers' paid employment were 50 % and only the median of fathers' paid employment was 60 %. Consequently, the young adults in our sample indicated a tendency toward egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles within their future family. However, the effect sizes of the ideal division of mothers' and fathers' household labor, childcare, and their paid employment indicate the prevalence of the traditional gender roles within the prospective families. Moreover, the wish to have an egalitarian division of labor within the future family may be hampered through characteristics on the societal macro-level. As shown by previous research, the couples and spouse division of unpaid and paid labor is embedded in societal structures that can support or hinder an egalitarian division of labor within the family (Drobnič & Blossfeld, 2004; Fuwa, 2004). According to the wage equality survey provided by the World Economic Forum, Switzerland has a relatively high wage gap between women and men, with an average higher wage for men than for women (WEF, 2013). What is more, in Switzerland the wage gap between men and women was shown to exist throughout all economic branches (SFSO, 2014d). Further, the shortage of institutions offering formal daycare places for childcare in Switzerland and their relatively high cost for double earner couples (Bühler, 2001; INFRAS, 2005; Stern et al., 2006; Stern & Felfe, 2010) as well as the lowest enrolment of 3–6 year olds in early education compared to other OECD-countries (UNICEF, 2008) provide poor support for an egalitarian labor division within the

family. Moreover, although Switzerland scores relatively high (rank 9) on the overall equality index, it has a relatively low rank (39) with respect to gender equality in labor force participation compared to the higher ranks of more gender-egalitarian European countries such as Norway (ranked 13) or Sweden (ranked 16) (WEF, 2013). We therefore assume that the egalitarian division of labor between men and women in Switzerland is hindered by economic factors and family policies.

With respect to the link between unpaid household labor and paid employment within the heritage family as well as within the prospective family, our results show a negative relationship between unpaid and paid labor for mothers and fathers. Thus, for mothers as well as for fathers, more involvement in household tasks and childcare are associated with less involvement in paid employment and vice versa. Further, our findings suggest the interdependent relationship between mothers' and fathers' involvement in unpaid and paid labor, as a higher contribution of the mothers to household work and childcare is related to the fathers' higher involvement in the paid workforce. These findings are in line with studies which have shown reciprocal effects of the division of employment and housework between women and men in couples and spouses (Artis and Pavalko, 2003; Cooke, 2004; Cunningham, 2007). Interestingly, however, with respect to the relation between mothers' and fathers' involvement in unpaid labor, our results differ between gender roles within the heritage and prospective family. Thus, in the heritage family, a higher maternal contribution to household work and childcare is related to the fathers' lower involvement in household and childcare. In contrast, in the prospective family, the mothers' higher involvement in unpaid labor is linked to the fathers' higher involvement in the same tasks. The same is true for the relationship between mothers' and fathers' paid employment: there is a negative correlation in the heritage family, but a positive one within the prospective family. This difference can be interpreted through the "real"—gender unequal—division of labor between mothers and fathers within the heritage family and "ideal"—egalitarian—views on the division of labor within the future family. The findings of our study are based on cross-sectional and correlative data. They, therefore, do not prove causality of the relation between the division of employment and housework between women and men. However, they do support the idea that the power balance within the family is rooted in the negotiation process of couples and spouses (Mannino & Deutsch, 2007).

It is furthermore interesting that the young women in our study rated the mothers' involvement in household work, childcare, and the paid workforce within the heritage family higher than the young men in our sample did. At the same time, the perception of the fathers' gender role within the heritage family found more agreement among female and male respondents in our sample. With respect to ratings on the ideal division of unpaid and paid labor within the future family our results illustrated an agreement between female and male respondents' point of view on the ideal extent of mothers' childcare and on the ideal extent of fathers' paid employment. However, there were differences between female and male respondents' point of view on other aspects of mothers' and fathers' gender role within the future family. Correspondingly, the reasoning about endorsement of different gender roles

for men and women was found to be different among female and male young adults (Gere & Helwig, 2012). Thus, the perspectivity of the perception and interpretation of gender roles within the family has to be addressed in further research.

Gender Roles Across Three Language Regions of Switzerland

Our findings show differences with respect to mothers' and fathers' gender roles within the heritage family as well as within the prospective family across the three main language regions of Switzerland.

Comparing gender roles within the *heritage family* across the German, French, and Italian regions of the country, our findings illustrate that in each region fathers did less housework and childcare and had a higher rate of paid employment than mothers. In line with this, the findings of the cross-cultural study on family roles of mothers and fathers across 27 countries by Georgas et al. (2006) reported a universal pattern, namely that mothers were more actively involved in the household and in care of family members than fathers. At the same time, fathers in most countries were associated with the financial role, while mothers were rated highest on expressive and emotional roles (Georgas et al., 2006).

However, as shown in our study, the gender roles of fathers and mothers within the heritage family varied across the three regions. The heritage family in the French-speaking part of Switzerland was characterized by the highest paid employment of mothers and the lowest paid employment of fathers compared to other regions. At the same time, fathers in the French-speaking part made a relatively high contribution to household labor. Therefore, we suggest that the division of paid and unpaid labor within the family in the French-speaking region is more egalitarian compared to other language regions of Switzerland. In contrast, the gendered division of unpaid and paid labor within the heritage family in the Italian- and the German-speaking regions turned out to be more gender unequal compared to the French-speaking region. In both language regions, the gender role of mothers was characterized through a relative high involvement in household and childcare, and a relative low employment rate. At the same time, fathers of the Italian- and German-speaking parts indicated a relatively high employment and a relative low involvement in the household.

It was interesting to discover, however, that the fathers' involvement in childcare in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland was the highest compared to fathers' childcare in the German- and French-speaking regions, especially because the Italian-speaking region of the country is a positive exception with respect to the acceptance and accessibility of formal child daycare compared to the other language regions, where daycare places are scarce and the acceptance of formal daycare is lower (Bühler, 2001). Moreover, mothers in the Italian-speaking region also scored highest on childcare compared to mothers in the French- and the German-speaking regions of the country. We therefore suggest that not only societal structures and mechanisms, but also the prevailing sociocultural norms and values with respect to

childhood, motherhood, and fatherhood impact the gender division of labor within the family.

Overall, our findings with respect to gender roles within the heritage family are in line with previous research on gender division of paid labor in Swiss families (Bühler, 2001; Herzog et al., 1997), suggesting that young adults in the French-speaking part of Switzerland experienced in their heritage family a more egalitarian division of labor between mothers and fathers compared to young adults in the Italian- and German-speaking regions who grew up in families with unequal gender roles, where mothers were commonly responsible for the household and fathers were commonly the breadwinners.

The attitudes towards gender roles in the *future family of the young adults* in our sample were related to the differences in gender roles they experienced in their heritage family. However, the ideal proportion of mothers' involvement in the paid workforce did not differ significantly across the three language regions, but attitudes towards the ideal proportion of mothers' involvement in unpaid labor did. Accordingly, in the prospective family in the Italian-speaking part, the ideal proportion of mothers' involvement in household and childcare was rated higher compared with that in the French- and German-language parts and vice versa. The fathers' role within the prospective family in the Italian-speaking part was distinguished by relatively high involvement in childcare and the paid workforce. In the French-speaking part, the main characteristic of the ideal role of fathers was a relatively low involvement in the paid workforce compared with the Italian- and the German-speaking parts. These findings support the notion of the cross-cultural study on family changes across cultures by Georgas et al. (2006), suggesting that although socioeconomic development involves family changes "many cultural patterns in family life will continue to exist." (Georgas et al., 2006, p. 240).

Regarding our findings with respect to gender role differences between German-, French-, and Italian-speaking regions of Switzerland in the light of cross-cultural research on gender roles in Italy, Germany and France, we can identify similar patterns of gendered division of labor in a particular language region of Switzerland and in the neighboring country sharing the same language. Thus, using measurements of the division of household labor between couples, two studies in over 20 countries have both shown that wives in Italy accomplished the greatest amount of housework and wives in (West) Germany performed considerably more routine household tasks than husbands (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Fuwa, 2004). In line with this, the gender gap in unpaid labor in Italy was found to be remarkably larger than the OECD average, whereas Germany and France showed less gender inequality in the division of unpaid labor than the OECD average. However, in Italy, working fathers devoted more time to childcare than working fathers in France and in Germany (Miranda, 2011). At the same time, the enrolment of children in formal daycare in Italy and Germany was found to be lower than the OECD average: Germany was ranked 20th and Italy 23rd among 24 countries. Correspondingly, Germany and Italy showed a relatively low employment rate for women with their youngest child under the age of 3. In contrast, France was above the OECD average

and ranked 11th on the enrolment of 0–3 year-olds in formal childcare, while more than 50 % of women with their youngest child under the age of 3 were employed (UNICEF, 2008).

Conclusion

The study hypotheses with respect to gender division of labor within the heritage and the prospective families were supported by the findings. The study identified some universal patterns with respect to the prevalence of the domestic role of mothers and the breadwinner role of fathers within and across the three language regions of Switzerland. Moreover, as shown in our study, the young adults in our sample reported having more egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles within the prospective family. Consequently, the assumption can be made that the division of labor between women and men in Swiss families is moving towards more gender equality. This assumption is also supported by the remarkable improvement which Switzerland has achieved since 2006 according to the overall gender equality index of the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2013).

At the same time our study shows that the three language regions of Switzerland differ with respect to gender patterns in the division of paid and unpaid labor of mothers and fathers within the family, indicating more egalitarian gender role patterns in the French-speaking region of Switzerland and more traditional gender roles of mothers and fathers in the Italian- and German-regions of the country. The findings suggest that the differences in the mothers' and fathers' roles across the three language regions can be associated with culturally specific gender-role beliefs within each language region. Finally, based on the findings concerning gender-role patterns in the three neighboring countries sharing the same language as the three examined language regions of Switzerland, an assumption can be made that particular sociocultural values and norms attributed to women's and men's roles within the family are not only shared within a particular language region of Switzerland, but also across the corresponding national border.

However, due to the explorative character of our study, we did not attempt to identify particular variables responsible for the observed differences across the three language regions of Switzerland. Moreover, the generalizability of our findings is limited by being based on a selective sample of university students from one country. Nonetheless, our results highlight that addressing the cultural diversity within one country is a fruitful approach in studying gender across cultures not only between, but also within national states. Thus, further cross-cultural studies with representative data samples from different countries are needed in order to better understand the cultural and structural futures of gender role construction.

In sum, the results of our study underline the issue of gender inequality in the division of labor in the family and work life, and call into question the definition of culture within national borders.

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Chapter 13
The Land of Opportunity?: Gender in the United States of America

Deborah L. Best and Alexandra M. DeLone

This chapter examines research on gender as well as the current status of gender-related issues in the United States of America (USA). First, because much of the early psychological research on gender took place in the USA, an overview of that literature will be briefly highlighted to provide a foundation for current research. Next, current findings will be examined in various areas of gender equality, gender roles in the family, gender role development across the lifespan, and unhealthy gender-related behaviors. The chapter aims to provide an overview of gender issues and research in the USA.

Research Beginnings

When looking at the psychological literature that has investigated sex or gender, many of the early studies were conducted in the USA with white middle class adults and children. For example, during the early twentieth century, studies focused on sex differences in abilities (e.g., Thorndike, 1914) and often concluded that "the feminine mind" was different qualitatively and quantitatively from "the masculine mind." (Jastrow, 1918). This view seemed to be the prevailing one in spite of later research to the contrary. Hollingsworth's review (1918) of studies of cognitive abilities, conducted between 1916 and 1918, found no sex differences in spite of the traditional division of labor. A few years later, Starch (1927) concluded that the differences between the sexes in native intellectual abilities were "almost wholly negligible" and the education of boys and girls could be the same from the first day of school to the last.

By the 1940s, Klineberg (1940) noted that the subject of sex differences was one of the most controversial in social psychology, yet one of the most interesting.

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Recognizing the physical differences and role variation between the sexes had led to speculation about the psychological significance of these. Yet, it was only a few years before Klineberg's statement that women had been regarded as capable of coping with higher education and were admitted to college equally with men. Klineberg pointed out that this was happening despite the prevailing belief that there were intellectual differences between men and women.

Not surprisingly, many of the studies that followed could be labeled "Sex Differences in…" Through these early years, the topics were focused upon mental, cognitive, and perceptual differences, and somewhat later differences in personality and social behaviors were investigated. Tyler (1947) summarized the research noting that although the distributions were overlapping, males tended to be higher in mathematical, spatial, and mechanical skills while females were higher in verbal, perceptual, and memory tasks. Larger differences were found in interests, attitudes, and personality characteristics, with males showing more aggressiveness than females, and females showing more symptoms of neuroticism and maladjustment. Even into the late 1950s, Wechsler (1958) concluded that his findings confirmed "what poets and novelists have often asserted, and the average layman long believed, namely, that men not only behave but "think" differently from women." (p. 148).

These early studies laid the foundation for research looking at gender roles, stereotypes, and equality in the USA, and often it was assumed that their findings were normative around the world. Sherriffs and Jarrett (1953) created a scale of gender stereotyped behaviors and found high levels of agreement between men's and women's ratings. In the 1960s, personality research was dominated by the creation of self-descriptive questionnaires used to evaluate various aspects of personality. Many of these tests, such as the California Personality Inventory (Gough, 1966), included a subscale to measure masculinity and femininity. Objecting to the characterization of these concepts as polar opposites, scales were developed by Bem (Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), 1974) and Spence and Helmreich (Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), 1978) to look at ideal characteristics defined as masculine, feminine, and androgynous. These popular scales were translated and used widely in other cultures, often without consideration for culture-specific definitions of these concepts. Williams, Giles, Edwards, Best, & Daws, (1977) took a somewhat different approach and used a large list of positive and negative person-descriptive adjectives to assess both gender stereotypes and masculinity/femininity in the USA, and they compared their finding across 27 countries (Williams & Best, 1982/1990a). Subsequent questionnaire studies of gender equality in the home, workplace, and political arena proliferated in the USA.

Williams and Best (1982/1990a, 1990b) found that young adults in the USA differentiated between gender stereotypes, describing the female gender stereotype as more feminine (e.g., emotional, nagging, sentimental) than the male stereotype and the male gender stereotype as more masculine (e.g., adventurous, aggressive, strong) than the female stereotype. Some of the stereotyped items were incorporated into young adults' self descriptions resulting in the same level of differentiation. The adjectives used to describe the male stereotype were more active and stronger than those used to describe the female stereotype, but the female stereotype was only slightly

more favorable than the male. When the stereotypes were scored according to the Five Factor Model of personality, the male stereotype was higher on Extraversion, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, and Openness to Experience, and the female stereotype was higher on Agreeableness (Williams, Satterwhite, & Best, 1999).

Investigations into gender roles and stereotypes across the twentieth century provide a baseline for examining current twenty-first century views of women and men. These studies have also created tools for evaluating differences in gender equality for various groups of women in the USA (e.g., European-American, African-American, immigrant women). In the following sections, along with examining gender equality in the USA, gender roles and their development, and unhealthy gender-related behaviors will be discussed.

Gender Equality

Various gender inequities create the context for gender role behaviors as well as what children learn about them (Gelman, Taylor, & Nguyen, 2004). Thus, it is important to examine where those inequities occur. In the USA, and in many other countries, gender inequities can be seen in male–female participation in politics, education, work, and athletics.

The Political Arena The women's suffrage movement in Britain bubbled over into the USA with the World War I pacifist movement and women's desire for the rights to vote and work (Hochschild, 2011). In the USA, women's suffrage was a gradual process and the war provided the final push for women to gain the right to vote. Although today it appears that women in the USA have achieved equality in most realms, they did not get the right to vote in political elections (presidential) until 35 of the required 36 states ratified the Nineteenth Constitutional Amendment in 1920. In 1984, 64 years after the nation law was enacted, the last state, Mississippi, finally ratified the amendment (Brady, 2007).

Since the 1920 amendment was passed by Congress, women have not been barred from political participation or from running for any elected or appointed office. However, in 1972 only 3 % of members of the US Congress were women. That number has increased to 18.3 % in 2014 (Center for American Women in Politics, 2014). Of 189 countries classified by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2014) in terms of women in national parliaments, the USA ranks 83rd. Rwanda, Andorra, Cuba, and Sweden are ranked 1st through 4th with percentages of women ranging from 64.8 to 45 %, indicating that the USA is far behind.

Women of color constitute 4.5 % of the total 535 members of Congress. Of the 99 women serving in Congress, 30 (14 African-American, 7 Asian Pacific Islander, 9 Latina) are women of color, with only one serving as US Senator (Center for American Women in Politics, 2014). Looking at the highest governmental offices, of the 193 countries in the United Nations there are 20 countries with women Presidents or Prime Ministers (Centre for Women and Democracy, 2014). No woman in the USA has ever achieved that status.

Education Women have also advanced in regard to educational attainment. Higher educational achievement is associated with higher earnings, lower poverty, and lower unemployment, as well as higher job satisfaction. Across the years, women in the USA have increased their participation in educational opportunities (US Department of Commerce, 2011). From 1972 through 2008, college enrollment increased for both women and men, but the increase was greater for women (2008–72 % women, 66 % men). Between 1997 and 2007, the increase in female graduate students was double that of males. In 2010, women in the USA earned 58 % of Bachelor's degrees, 60 % Master's, and 52 % of doctoral degrees. Within each ethnic group, compared with men, women earned the majority of degrees at all levels (African American females > 65 %, Hispanic females > 55 %).

Although women have increased their presence in higher education, it is not consistent across fields of study. Women earn less than half of all bachelor's degrees in mathematics and physical sciences, less than 20 % in engineering and computer sciences, with a slight decline over the last decade. Women have earned the majority of degrees in health (nursing) and education (primary, secondary teaching) fields (US Department of Commerce, 2011). These educational differences lead to differences in employment opportunities, with more women working in lower-paying traditionally feminine jobs (e.g., elementary school teachers, nursing aids) than in higher-paying traditionally masculine jobs (e.g., engineering, computer science; (US Department of Commerce, 2011).

The World of Work For many women in the USA, their first foray into working outside the home came during World War II. Men went to war, and women went to offices and factories. Although most women returned to the home after the war, the social changes of the 1960s and 1970s led many women to seek careers outside the home. In 2012, in the work world, 57.7 % of women who were of working age (16 years of age and older) in the USA were employed outside the home, compared with 70.2 % labor force participation rate for men (United States Department of Labor, 2014). Labor force participation was around 57 % for European-American, Asian, and Hispanic women, but African-American women had a higher rate at 59.8 %. Labor force participation for mothers increased from 57 % for mothers of infants to 75.1 % for mothers with children 6–17 years of age (2012 annual averages). The largest percentage of women are in "pink collar jobs" in education and the relatively low-paying jobs within the health services industry (36.3 %) and the smallest percentage is found in higher paying mining and oil and gas extraction industries (0.2 %). In 2011, 8 % of female professionals were employed in the relatively high-paying computer and engineering fields, compared with 44 % of male professionals. Even though women have access to jobs, they are not well represented in the higher paying ones, nor are they paid as much for their work as are men. This inequality is evident throughout the STEM fields (Science-Technology-Engineering-Mathematics), the emerging high-paying fields for the twenty-first century (Ahuja, 2014).

Women have made gains in education and labor force involvement, but they have not yet achieved wage and income equity. In 2009, at all education levels, women earned about 75 % of what their male counterparts earn (US Department of

Commerce, 2011). Women are more likely to be living in poverty than men because of their lower earnings and because unmarried and divorced women are the more likely to have responsibility for rearing their children (Dell'Antonia, 2012). These economic inequalities are even more severe for women of color.

Although women in the USA have advanced in career opportunities, the number of women in senior executive positions has lagged behind that of men. Inequalities in authority, promotions, and income are often mentioned in regard to the "glass ceiling," the "unseen, yet unbreachable" barrier that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements." (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). *The Economist* Glass Ceiling Index, based on nine indicators such as labor-force participation and maternity rights, indicates that the USA is 17th, just above the OECD average, with the Nordic countries in the lead. In 2010, women held 42.7 % of senior management positions and 16.9 % of company board positions (The Economists, 2014). Over the course of their careers, both European-American and African-American women experience the glass ceiling in terms of income, particularly at the upper income levels (Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia, & Vanneman, 2001).

Athletics Title IX, a federal law which eliminated discrimination against women in educational programs and activities, was passed in 1972 but was not fully enacted until 1994 when it was amended to require equity in sports. Before Title IX was passed, physical activities for girls in high school and college were primarily cheerleading and dancing. One in 27 girls played high school sports, and there were virtually no college scholarships for female athletes (Title IX Info, 2014).

By 2008, 3 million girls were participating in high school athletics, comprising 41 % of high school athletes. In college athletics, there were 171,000 women athletes, 45 % of college athletes. Even though the number of women athletes has increased, their sports receive only 28 % of college athletic budgets, and there has been a dramatic decrease in the number of women coaches. In 1972, 90 % of women's teams were coached by females, but that number has dropped to 43 % in 2008 (Title IX Info, 2014). Thus, this larger number of female athletes have fewer women coaches to serve as role models and mentors for them.

At first glance, gender equality appears to be the norm in most political, economic, and social domains in the USA, but closer review reveals continuing inequity. These inequities have generated numerous interventions and policy implementations, but some inequities are slow to change. Similarly, some views of gender equality have not kept pace with the changes that have occurred.

Women's Views of Equality Although one would assume that educated women with employed husbands would be supportive of gender equality, Davis and Robinson (1991) found the opposite was the case in the USA, Great Britain, Germany, and Austria. Educated women with employed husbands were less favorable toward gender equality than were less educated women with no male wage earner. This surprising finding suggests that the relation between the division of labor and beliefs about appropriate gender role behaviors is quite complex. It is likely influenced by cultural practices and expectations emanating from the history, economics, and reli-

gious beliefs of society (Mukhopadhyay & Higgins, 1998). Jost, Banaji, & Nosek (2004) suggest that women who do not work but who have a working husband may view women favorably but feel as though gender equality is less important because of their own everyday role as a stay-at-home wife and mother.

Consistent with these findings in the USA, in their study of 33 nations Yu and Lee (2013) reported that in societies with fewer impediments for women there was greater approval of employed mothers, but lower levels of support for gender equality at home. They noted that reduction in barriers for women had the potential to push a society to become more liberal in regard to one aspect of gender ideology and more conservative on another aspect. Women in countries with fewer gender disparities express less support for gender equality within the home than those in countries with greater disparities, and that support declined more drastically than men's did. Less support for egalitarian gender roles in the private sphere is likely to lead to women having more childcare responsibilities, which could, in turn, decrease their likelihood of having similar work experiences as men.

Gender Roles in the Family

Parents as Role Models As discussed earlier, US women are pursing higher education by earning Bachelor, Masters, and Doctoral degrees at rates higher than ever before. This increase in education opens more employment opportunities and leads to much more diverse gender roles in the family, giving children more diverse models regarding appropriate behaviors for females and males.

Traditional gender roles, in which the mother stays home with the children while the father goes to work, are still common in the USA. According to the 2011 US Census Bureau, 23% of married mothers with children under the age of 15 stayed at home while their husbands worked outside of the home. Three percent of married fathers stayed at home while their wives worked outside of the home, and 66% of married couples with children reported both spouses worked outside of the home (US Census Bureau Office, 2011). With such diverse employment and family roles across both genders, it is interesting to examine research highlighting differing arrangements across gender roles.

Traditional gender roles are more prevalent in two parent households, no matter which parent or if both parents work outside of the home (Mattingly & Bianchi, 2002; Thomson, McLanahan, & Curtin, 1992). Moreover, women are the primary decision makers in regard to childcare and household chores. Despite the increase in women's participation in the labor force, there has not been an equal increase in the time men spend participating in household and childcare responsibilities (Zimmerman, 2000). Even when women are the "breadwinners" for the families, they still assume responsibility for the management of housework (Meisenbach, 2010).

Women who choose to stay at home with their children and women who choose to work outside of the home both report receiving negative messages from society about their individual choices. Stay-at-home mothers feel undervalued as

contributing members of society. Women who work outside of the home feel they are perceived as bad mothers, and they report high levels of guilt from spending so much time away from their children (Meisenbach, 2010; Zimmerman, 2000).

Men who choose to stay at home report higher levels of loneliness and isolation than stay-at-home mothers (Zimmerman, 2000). Indeed, stay-at-home fathers report much less participation in volunteer activities and daytime socializing with other stay-at-home parents (Zimmerman, 2000). Stay-at-home fathers may feel that they are not fulfilling their proper gender role as the provider and protector of the family (Meisenbach, 2010). Men who choose to stay at home because the role fits their beliefs about parenting may be more satisfied with their choice than fathers who take on the role for work-related reasons, such as job loss (Rochlen, McKelley, & Whittaker, 2010).

Despite varying societal messages, greater individual well-being and marital satisfaction occur when the partner expresses praise for the spouse's contribution to the family unit (Meisenbach, 2010; Thomson et al., 1992; Zimmerman, 2000). Devising a partnership and system that works for each individual family leads to well-functioning couples, no matter what role each parent plays in the family.

Children's Home Responsibilities In addition to seeing parents play different roles in the family, children are also assigned household tasks that carry implicit messages about appropriate gender roles. In a recent study looking at children's home responsibilities, European-American, Hispanic-American, and African-American fifth graders (mean age 11.8 years) reported both their instrumental (e.g., setting tables, making beds) and emotional (e.g., caring for siblings) caregiving tasks on four different occasions (Giles, Cantin, Best, Tyrrell, & Gigler, 2014). Hispanic and African-American children reported doing more chores than European-American children, particularly caring for younger siblings. All children contributed to the household work and responsibilities, but girls had twice as many chores as boys, particularly meal preparation and cleaning. Girls also spent almost twice as much time doing their chores as boys. Girls had more responsibility for siblings, and boys were given more instrumental responsibilities, such as locking doors before leaving the house. As is evident from the gender and ethnic differences in task assignment, children learn aspects of their roles in the context of familial responsibilities. Perhaps these early learning experiences provide the foundation for the gender differences that are consistently seen in adulthood with men contributing less to housework and childcare than women.

Family: Dating, Marriage, and Parenting

When looking at gender differences within the family, it is important to examine the relationships between women and men, which serve as the basis for family life. Over the years, dating, marriage, and family relationships have become less traditional in the USA.

Dating and Marriage For most ethnic groups in the USA, the notions of love and partnership contend that love "happens" and should be the basis for marriage (Sautter, Tippett, & Morgan, 2010). Love cannot be planned or bought, and arranged marriages and intermediaries are viewed with disdain (Hardey, 2002).

Somewhat at odds with these traditional views of romantic, spontaneous love, internet dating has become a visible and accepted strategy for mate selection in the USA over the past decade (Sautter et al., 2010). Eleven percent of American adults and 38 % of those who are currently "single and looking" for a partner have used online dating sites or mobile dating apps (Smith & Duggan, 2013). Many know someone who has found a spouse or long-time partner via online dating. Internet daters are more likely to be males with education beyond the high school level and who live in an urban or suburban community (Sautter et al., 2010). Younger adults are more positive about technology and internet dating than older adults, and online dating is most common among Americans in their mid-20's through mid-40's (Smith & Duggan, 2013). Negative attitudes about internet dating are related to safety, deception, and views regarding the type of people who participate in online dating sites. In the USA, social networking sites are playing a more prominent role in navigating the world of dating and romantic relationships (Smith & Duggan, 2013).

Central to romantic relationships are preferences for various characteristics in potential mates. Buss (1989) and his colleagues (Buss et al., 1990; Shackelford, Schmitt, & Buss, 2005) found that American women's and men's mate preferences were similar to those found in 32 other countries. Compared with men, women placed more value on social status and financial resources in long-term mates, as well as dependability, stability, education, and intelligence. Conversely, men valued good looks, health, and desire for home and children more than women did.

For many couples, dating leads to marriage, but marriage has become less prevalent in the USA over recent years. At the end of 2011, 51 % of all American adults were married and 28 % never had been, down from 72 % and up from 15 % in 1960 (Cohn, Passel, Wang, & Livingston, 2011). The median age of first-time newlyweds (age 29 for men, 27 for women) is at an all-time high because some are delaying marriage for career reasons. More than 60 % of all ethnic groups were married in 1960, but today 55 % of European-Americans, 48 % of Hispanics, and 31 % of African-Americans are married.

Marriage customs in the USA have become less formal over the years, but most young women still expect the man to propose marriage to them (Parkin, 2012). No longer do men feel the need to ask the father of the bride-to-be for permission to marry the daughter, but many still discuss marriage with the woman's parents (Parkin, 2012). Weddings range from small affairs with an authorized public official and only a few witnesses to huge celebrations with many guests and parties.

Parenting Often one of the traditional reasons for getting married is that the couple would like to have children (Cherlin, 2013). However, with more liberal sexual mores and economic changes that require more education for jobs, marriage is being delayed, and having children out of wedlock is increasingly more socially

acceptable in the USA (Hymowitz, Caroll, Wilcox, & Kaye, 2013). It is no longer expected that an unplanned pregnancy will result in marriage. This has led to the disappearance of the "shotgun" wedding where the family of the pregnant girl "encourage" the reluctant groom into marriage (Akerlof, Yellen, & Katz, 1996).

In 2012, 48 % of first births were to unmarried women, but college graduate women continue to marry a few years before they have children (Martin, Hamilton, Osterman, Curtin, & Matthews, 2013b). For "Middle-American" women, those with less than a college degree, 58 % of their first births are out of wedlock. For them, marriage has shifted from being the cornerstone to the capstone of adult life (Hymowitz et al., 2013).

For parents, differential ideas about gender appear early. Before birth, after finding out their child's sex via ultrasound, parents describe girls as "finer" and "quieter" than boys, and boys are described as "more coordinated" than girls (Sweeney & Bradbard, 1989). American parents treat infants differently depending on whether they think they are interacting with a girl or a boy (Rubin, Provezano, & Luria, 1974; Seavey, Katz, & Zalk, 1975; Sidorowicz & Lunney, 1980). Girls are described as pretty and sweet, and are handled more gently than boys who are described as big and strong, and are bounced and handled more physically. These parental notions may reflect parents' memories of their own past as well as their assumptions about their child's future. However, parents in the 1950s would never have assumed their daughters would grow up to be soccer players in college, which would be a reasonable expectation for American parents in the twenty-first century.

Although American parents may treat boys and girls quite similarly, the same treatment may have differential effects. Gender lessons focus on specific behaviors, particularly during developmental transitions such as toddlerhood and adolescence when new skills are first emerging (Beal, 1994). Parents communicate the importance of gender by their reactions to their children's behavior and by family activities. Fathers are especially important in indicating which behaviors they consider appropriate, principally for their sons who generally have few male role models and whose deviations are more undesirable (Jacklin, DiPietro, & Maccoby, 1984; Langlois & Downs, 1980). Thus, parent behaviors as well as that of peers, teachers, and other socialization agents shape sex-appropriate behaviors, toy choices, playmates, and other activities, and these will be discussed in the following sections.

Development of Gender Roles and Beliefs

Along with early studies of adult gender roles and stereotypes, research in the USA has also explored how children acquire gender knowledge. Children in the USA typically stereotype objects as masculine or feminine as early as age 2 (Thompson, 1975; Weinraub et al., 1984), and by age 3–4 they identify toys, activities, and occupations as appropriate for one sex or the other (Edelbrook & Sugawara, 1978; Freeman, 2007; Guttentag & Longfellow, 1977). Along with learning about objects and activities, during the early preschool years, children also begin to associate various personality traits with women and men. By preschool, most children believe

women are gentle and affectionate and men are strong and aggressive. European-American children's knowledge of gender-trait stereotypes increases through high school, with the largest increases during the elementary school years (Best et al., 1977; Patterson, 2012; Williams & Best, 1982/1990a).

A similar pattern is seen with African-American children, though there is some evidence that they are learning to associate a slightly different set of traits with women and men, perhaps because the adult African-American stereotypes are somewhat less differentiated. In a recent study that asked African-American and European-American women and men to describe women of both ethnic groups, all participants rated women of their own groups as more attractive and nurturing (Beaulieu & Best, 2013). All participants perceived African-American women to be more aggressive and independent than European-American women. Interestingly, African-American participants viewed European-American women to be more promiscuous than African-American women. These findings suggest that views of women from different ethnic groups are not the same and perhaps are changing as cultural norms are changing in the USA.

Children's Playmates and Social Interactions

The Role of Siblings Children appear to learn gender roles and stereotypes without direct instruction, suggesting that gender-related messages are learned in the context of the family and in social interactions with peers. Rust et al. (2000) found that boys with older brothers and girls with older sisters exhibit more gender-typed activities than same-sex singletons, and both are more gender-typed than children with other-sex siblings. Having an older brother led to more masculine and less feminine behaviors for both girls and boys. Girls imitate male role models more than boys imitate girls (Bussey & Bandura, 1984, 1992), perhaps because it is more acceptable for girls to be tomboys than for boys to be sissies.

When looking at social learning aspects of gender socialization within the family, McHale, Updegraff, Helms-Erickson, and Crouter (2001) found that the gender orientations of older siblings were more consistent, powerful predictors of second-borns' gender role attitudes, sex-typed personality qualities, and masculine leisure activities than were those of parents. There was less evidence of sibling influence when looking at firstborns, suggesting little influence of social learning mechanisms. In contrast, sibling de-identification was apparent for firstborn boys' gender role attitudes and firstborn girls' feminine leisure activities, with firstborns becoming increasingly less like their siblings over a 2-year period. In addition, older girls with younger brothers were less traditional in their gender role attitudes, perhaps suggesting that girls reacted against younger brothers being granted special privileges because of being male. Thus, it is evident that family gender socialization processes may work differently for boys and girls within the same family.

The Role of Peers In addition to siblings, peers also play a role in gender socialization. Girls and boys as young as 21–24 months of age prefer same-sex play partners, and they shape gender-appropriate play by disapproving of cross-gender behavior (Fagot, 1985). Girls are less concerned than boys about cross-gender activities. However, boys define what is appropriate for boys, and boys' cross-gender activities quickly disappear. Martin, Kornienko, Schaefer, Hanish, Fabes, and Goble, (2013a) demonstrated that children chose to interact with peers based on their sex and with peers who engaged in similar levels of gender-typed activities. Gender brings children together based on their activities and over time they become more similar to the partners with whom they interact.

In the USA, children 4½ years of age spend three times more time with same-sex peers than other-sex peers, and by 6½ years of age this difference has increased to eleven times more time with same-sex peers (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1987). When looking at children's social interactions with peers, Maccoby (1988) noted three important gender differences. First, *gender segregation* of play groups leads to different activities and toy choices, which contribute to differences in intellectual and emotional development (Block, 1983). Second is the *dissimilarity of girls' and boys' interaction styles* with boys being more active and aggressive and girls disclosing more and avoiding conflict. Third, is *gender group asymmetry* with boys' groups being more cohesive and exclusive than girls' groups. Boys are most often in "packs" and girls in pairs. As children grow older, peer influences increase and help to structure the transition from childhood through adolescence into adulthood.

Adolescence and Older Adulthood

When children reach adolescence, same-sex friendships continue to be important, but in the USA, many adolescents have other-sex friendships (Sharabany , Gershoni, & Hofman, 1981). Dating may start and adolescents become more aware of their physical appearance, popularity, and social status. Athletic ability becomes especially important for boys' popularity, and physical attractiveness and family wealth (e.g., clothing, possessions) for girls (Adler & Adler, 1998). Prior to adolescence, doing well in school leads to social acceptance for both boys and girls. However, by late elementary school boys may downplay their academic success to maintain their social standing and to avoid being labeled as "nerds" (Adler, Kless, & Adler, 1992). Characteristics related to liking and social status appear to be the same for European-American, Latino, and African-American early adolescents (LaFontana & Cillessen, 2002). These valued characteristics, such as attractiveness of women and athleticism of men, are reflected in the gender stereotypes and roles of American women and men.

A familiar life course for young adults in the USA is to move through the normative experiences, such as finishing school, finding employment, getting married, and having children. As these developmental tasks come to an end, many middle-aged and older adults find that the familiar gender-related roles of breadwinner or mother are no longer central in their lives. Research has shown that as adults in

the USA age, they ascribe different gender-related personality traits to themselves (Strough, Leszczynski, Neely, Flinn, & Margrett, 2007).

Strough et al. (2007) found that younger (ages 18–29) and middle-aged women (ages 40–59) were more likely than the oldest-old women (over age 80) to endorse masculine personality traits as characteristic of themselves. American middle-aged women who are members of the "baby boom cohort" experienced the social and cultural changes of the second wave of the women's movement during their adolescence and early adulthood. In contrast, the oldest-old women had already established their identities and did not benefit from the career and educational opportunities afforded by the women's movement.

For men, the pattern was different, showing consistent identification with stereotypical masculine personality traits across much of the lifespan (Strough et al., 2007). By adolescence, boys identified with stereotypical masculine traits to the same extent as older men. Although women's assertiveness had changed as a function of historical time, men's had not.

Androgyny was greater among old-old (ages 70–79) and oldest old men (over age 80) compared with younger adults and adolescents (Strough et al., 2007). Men begin to identify with both masculine and feminine personality traits in their 70s. This "crossover" is due to the addition of feminine, expressive traits to their established identification with masculine traits in later life. For women, the pattern of age-related androgyny change is different. Compared with middle-aged and younger adult women, androgyny scores were lower for the oldest-old women (80 + years) indicating their relatively low identification with masculine traits. Overall, it appears that with age, American adults move beyond the dualisms of "masculine" and "feminine" (Labouvie-Vief, Chiodo, Goguen, Diehl, & Orwoll, 1995) and increasingly describe themselves in both masculine and feminine terms (Sinnott, 1984).

Unhealthy Gender-Related Behaviors

Because gender roles lead to differences in the control that women and men have over their socioeconomic status and their social lives, gender is an important determinant of mental health and resilience as well as mental illness. Gender differences can be seen in the unhealthy relations between women and men as well as in the rates of various mental disorders.

Violence against Women In the USA, a country with a strong legal system and a culture that appears to respect women, one would not expect to find a substantial level of abuse directed at girls and women. However, of girls aged 12–16 years, 83 % have experienced some form of sexual harassment in public schools (AAUW, 2001), 25 % of college women have experienced complete or attempted rape during their college years (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000), and 25 % of all American women have been victims of attempted or completed rape (Black et al., 2011). Most female victims are raped before the age of 25, and almost half are under the age of 18 (Black et al., 2011). The Federal Bureau of Investigation estimates that only

46 % of rapes and sexual assaults are reported to the police. US Justice Department statistics are even lower, with only 26 % of all rapes or attempted rapes being reported to law enforcement officials (Feminist.Com, 2014).

Sexual and gender-based violence are associated with both short- and long-term problems, such as physical injury and illness, psychological symptoms, economic costs, and death (Rees et al., 2011). Moreover, the cycle of violence is perpetuated by what children see. Boys who witness their fathers' violence are 10 times more likely to engage in spouse abuse when they are adults than boys from nonviolent homes. (Department of Justice, 1993).

Mental Health Issues In the USA, as is true around the world, mental illnesses affect women and men differently. Some disorders are more common in women, and some express themselves with different symptoms. In 2012, 18.6 % of all US adults aged 18 or older (43.7 million adults) were estimated to have any mental illness in the past year (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013a). Among all adult age groups, women were more likely than men to have any mental illness in the past year (22.0 % vs. 14.9 %). Mental illness varied by race/ethnicity ranging from a low of 13.9 % among Asians, 16.3 % among Hispanics, 18.6 % among African-Americans, and to a high of 19.3 % among European-Americans.

Looking more closely within specific diagnostic groups, gender differences are evident. Although depression affects both men and women, more women than men are likely to be diagnosed with depression in any given year. For adults with a major depressive episode in the past year, there were more women than men (8.4 % vs. 5.2 %). Contrary to the stereotype that older women are more depressed than younger ones, rates were almost twice as high for younger (ages 18 to 25; 11.6 %) than older women (ages 50 or older; 6.5 %; US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013b). Women are 70 % more likely to experience depression in their lifetime than men, and non-Hispanic blacks are 40 % less likely to experience depression in their lifetime (Kessler et al., 2003). When looking at younger ages, in 2012 for youths aged 12–17, females were almost three times more likely than males to have had a major depressive episode in the past (13.7 % vs. 4.7 %), and these rates have remained stable since 2004.

Recently, clinicians and researchers have recognized that in the USA about 13 % of pregnant women and new mothers have depression (Office on Women's Health, 2009). Pregnancy and motherhood are developmental periods of life that are relevant to women's gender roles. Although the cause of postpartum depression is unknown, hormonal and physical changes after birth and the stress of caring for a new baby may play critical roles. Mothers who experience postpartum depression tend to be younger, African-American, publicly insured, single, and less well educated (Wisner et al., 2013). Research has shown that a mother's postpartum depression can lead to her baby having language delays, increased crying and behavior problems, and difficulty in attachment with the mother (Office on Women's Health, 2009). As a result, the mother's depression can affect the whole family.

In contrast with women, men are more likely to be diagnosed with externalizing problems, such as alcoholism and antisocial personality disorder (Grant et al., 2004; US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013a). In a national epidemiologic survey in the USA in 2001–2002, DSM-IV alcohol abuse rates were significantly higher for males (6.93 %) than females (2.55 %), a ratio of about 2.72. This large gender difference was found among all ethnicities and within all age groups

Similarly, men are more than three times more likely to be diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder than women (Grant et al., 2004). Compared with whites, antisocial personality disorder was greater among Native Americans and lower among Asian-Americans. Antisocial personality disorder was more prevalent among younger men, ages 18–29, and among those with lower income and education levels. It is evident that gender, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity play important roles in how women and men deal with stress and mental health difficulties.

Conclusions

In the USA, the role of gender in the lives of individuals has changed throughout the last century. This chapter has briefly reviewed these changes and highlighted their impact on different developmental time periods. Because studies in the USA have historically been used as benchmarks for the role of gender in behavior, classic gender studies in the USA were reviewed as well as more contemporary research. The role of gender in mental, cognitive, perceptual, personality, and social behavior differences were investigated. Perhaps growing from the biological differences between females and males, cultural practices and traditions evolve and become part of the belief systems that impact daily life.

Strides have been made in gender equality in the USA in the realms of politics, education, career options, and athletics. However, certain differences in the roles men and women play in these arenas can be interpreted to show continuing gender inequality.

In family life, parents provide the primary role models and learning opportunities by which children come to understand the role of gender. Today, more than any other time in USA history, family gender roles are more diverse. American society offers mixed messages to both sexes about how individuals choose to support and care for their families. Even though it is clear that gender roles have changed over the years, American families continue to find it challenging to balance the numerous positives and negatives associated with diverse family circumstances.

In spite of many changes that have occurred, traditional gender roles are still prevalent in the USA today. From these grow expectations about appropriate gendered behaviors and stereotypic notions about the differential characteristics associated with the sexes. These are woven into the framework of the culture and become socialization models for children. Although the developmental mechanisms that lead to gender-related behaviors may be shifting with the passage of time, the more distal ones, such as the division of labor, politics, and social status, provide the

backdrop for more proximal mechanisms, such as family, peers, and household responsibilities. Differential socialization practices lead to the gender-related beliefs, roles, and behaviors that are observed in various family contexts across the USA, as well as variations seen between ethnic cultural groups.

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Chapter 14
Gender Stereotypes, Sexuality, and Culture in Mexico

Anna-Emilia Hietanen and Susan Pick

Introduction

Traditionally, gender inequalities have been very well defined in Mexico that has led to male dominance and female subordination. These inequalities are reflected in different fields: education, health, economics, and political participation (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2011). Cross-national gender equality comparisons, such as the Global Gender Gap Index and the Gender Inequality Index (GII), demonstrate that Mexico has still a lot to do in order to diminish the gender inequalities. The World Economic Forum introduced the Global Gender Gap Index in 2006 to measure gender-based gaps in access to resources and opportunities in individual countries. This index measures gender gap in economy, politics, education, and health. In 2013, among 135 countries, Mexico's rank was 68 out of 135 countries. In this index, the highest ranks represent the greatest discrimination. Mexico has improved its ranking in this index since 2009, gaining 16 places in 2013. An improvement in the percentage of female professional and technical workers and an increase in the percentage of women in parliament (from 26 to 37 %) have contributed to this result. However, in certain indicators, Mexico's ranking is considerably lower: in women's participation in labor force, the country is ranked 112, in wage equality, 106, and in women in the parliament, (despite the increase in recent years) 166 (World Economic Forum, 2013).

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (2013) also has developed its own indicators to measure gender equality. In 1995, the UNDP developed the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) with the objective of examining the relationship between gender inequality and economic growth. Due to the limitations of these two indexes, in 2010,

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the organism introduced a new instrument, Gender Inequality Index (GII). GII is a composite measure that reflects the loss of potential achievement in a country due to gender inequality in reproductive health, empowerment and the labor market participation. The higher the GII value, the greater the discrimination. In this index, Mexico is at place 72 out of 148 countries. The index measures maternal mortality rate, adolescent fertility rate, percentage of women in the parliament, population with at least secondary education, and women's labor force participation. (United Nations Development Program, 2013).

The national statistics confirm the gender inequalities. For example, in the labor market, half of the women, who receive remuneration for their work, earn less than two times the minimum wage[1], while only 32.2 % of the Mexican men are at this income level. Women do the majority of the household and familial work. Of all the work (remunerated and nonremunerated) women do, 76.9 % is domestic and 23.1 % is remunerated work, while men dedicate most of their time (78.1 %) to the remunerated work and only 21.3 % to the nonremunerated domestic work (Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, 2008).

In the case of the education, women's access has improved considerably, especially in the youngest generation. Unfortunately women still lag behind men in education: there are still more women (7.9 %) than men (5.9 %) who haven't started or finished even one grade in the formal education system (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía [INEGI], 2013). Even though the situation in terms of average years of study and literacy has improved for women, they are still underrepresented in higher education and as professional researchers (Frias, 2008). Furthermore, even if girls are excelling in school performance, gender discrimination is present in the form of the socialization of gender roles which lead girls to believe that they are second class citizens and that they should take care of other people's needs, rather than their own (Sánchez Bello, 2002). The traditional gender roles are perpetuated and transmitted in the school in several ways: through the educational materials and contents, relationships between the teachers and students, teachers and other teachers and students and other students and in spaces that are destined to play or to study (González Pérez, 2010).

Frias (2008) has developed Gender Equality Index in Mexican States (GEIMS) to measure gender gap in four different areas: economy, education, politics, and legal equality. According to her, in the field of education, the gender gap is smaller than in other areas: women have reached 65 % of equality. In legal and economic spheres the gender gap is around 42 %. The biggest gap is in the political sphere, where women have attained 26 % of equality with men. This index also shows that the gender gap varies across the country: the Federal District ranks high in gender equality in all four areas, but other states are far behind. Surprisingly, some of the poorest Mexican states, such as Yucatán, Puebla, Oaxaca and San Luis Potosí, rank among the most egalitarian states.

In recent decades, the situation for Mexican women has improved, particularly through legal reforms. Specific governmental entities, such as the Commission on

[1] Minimum wage in Mexico is less than five dollars a day.

Equality and the Commissions on Gender in the Congress (1998) and the National Institute of Women (2001), have been created to promote legal reforms and mechanisms and other actions to enhance and protect women's rights.

Regarding women's political rights, Mexico has also taken important steps to guarantee women's political participation. Since the Mexican women gained the right to vote and be political candidates in 1953, their political participation has gradually increased. The composition of the present Congress, elected in 2012, is close to the UN goal of 40 % of the women in decision-making posts. That is, 37 % of the members of lower chamber and 33 % of the senators are women (Excelsior, September 25, 2012). This growing presence of female representatives in Congress is partially due to the electoral reforms of 2008, which introduced a gender quota, establishing that at least 40 % of the candidates for deputies and senators must be women. However, the parties have found ways around these laws. For example, women candidates are chosen for districts where their party is known to have limited chances of success, or women are postulated only as substitutes for deputies and senators. There have also been cases in which women who have been elected as deputies have resigned from their post after the elections were in favor of a male substitute (husband, brother, uncle, etc.; Casas Chousal, 2011).

In addition, these electoral laws only apply to federal elections. At the local level, each of the 32 Mexican states has its own electoral legislation. While many federal entities establish a gender quota, in many cases, it does not apply to all local electoral posts or candidacies and sanctions for neglecting these quotas are not always clear (FLACSOinforma, 2012). Women's political participation at the municipal level is even more difficult; in 2011, only 6.8 % of Mexico's 2440 municipalities and 16 boroughs had female municipal heads or mayors (United Nations Development Program, 2012).

Especially at the state level, the legislation presents also other problems that affect legal equality between men and women. There are still laws that discriminate women or trivialize crimes against women. Frias (2008) points out that in the majority of the Mexican states, crimes and offenses like abusing a minor or harassing or raping a woman receive lesser punishment than stealing cattle. Only in 12 states (out of 32 states), stealing livestock receives lesser punishment than crimes and offenses against women. The rape within marriage was recognized as a crime by the Supreme Court in 2007, but this crime is penalized in less than half of the Mexican states. The differences can be seen also in the marriage laws; in 26 states, women have to wait between 180 and 360 days before being able to remarry, while men do not have such requirements (Frias, 2008).

In addition, the improvements in women's legal situation are not always reflected in practice or cultural ideas related to gender. Pick and Sirkin (2010) have demonstrated these cultural values in an interview with a young Mexican man who responded as a follower to the question about the new law on prevention of violence against women shows:

> Well, we hear there is a new law, but what good is it if we actually believe that men have the right to hit their wives, simply because they get exasperated with them? And anyway, we men need to get stuff out, and when we have the need to do so, we cannot control it (p. 32).

These examples show there are still great economic, social, and cultural barriers that obstruct the full development of women in Mexico. Thus, it is very important to change the legal framework and create services to address these gender inequalities. Such changes, however, are not sufficient as gender inequalities are perceived as normal within the culture and contribute to women's psychosocial barriers, such as fear, guilt, and shame that restrict access to existing opportunities.

In this chapter, we analyze gender inequality in Mexico in relation to cultural and social norms that affect women's sexuality and reproductive health. We also present the work of a Mexican NGO Instituto Mexicano de Investigación de Familia y Población (Yo quiero Yo puedo—IMIFAP), which addresses these sociocultural norms to enhance the empowerment of women and their right to make autonomous decisions about their health and sexuality.

Some Characteristics of The Mexican Society

In this section, we will present some general traits of Mexican culture and society related to gender and sexuality. Pressure to conform to social norms, paternalism, and fatalistic ideas restrict individuals' decisions and actions. In addition, traditional family and gender roles in Mexico are strict. They limit especially women's freedoms, but also define the conducts that are considered socially acceptable for men. In the following sections, we will discuss how these cultural and social characteristics affect also ideas and conceptions of sexuality and reproductive health in Mexico.

Societies have been classified as "tight" or "loose" according to the degree in which social norms influence its members (Gelfand, Nishii, & Raver, 2006; Pelto, 1968). In tight societies, the pressure to conform to socially accepted roles and norms is strong, while in looser societies, individuals have more opportunities to control their own decisions and there is less external pressure to adhere to traditional roles. The changes in external contexts, such as greater access to education and media, improved judicial system, improved health care, that give the individuals more possibilities to act outside of traditional social norms, can make a society become "less tight" (Gelfand et al., 2006; Pelto, 1968).

Tight societies are characterized by fatalistic ideas that leave individuals with little control over their own lives. In these societies, it is also more likely that social norms become personal norms (Valsiner & Lawrence, 1997). The idea that one has to conform to the socially acceptable role forms an important barrier to freedom of expression and action.

Mexico has traditionally been a tight and fatalistic society, which means that people tend to accept the external circumstances as they are, without trying to change their conditions (Pick & Sirkin, 2010). Faith in a higher power and destiny are strong. Even though the tightness of specific sociocultural norms depends on the particular community, several studies have shown that there are certain traditional characteristics that are prominent in Mexican communities: importance of the

family, high level of conformance to sociocultural norms, and subordination of personal goals to goals of the social group (Gregory & Munch, 1997; Hubbell, 1993; Malloy, Albright, Diaz-Loving, Dong, & Lee, 2004; Peterson & Hennon, 2006).

In Mexico, the pressure to conform to social norms is strong. This can be well illustrated by the concept of "well educated," or *bien educado*. In this case, education does not refer to formal education, but to the adherence to the accepted social norms. An individual that is *bien educado*, does what is socially expected of her and is obedient, respectful and is considered to have good manners. Often being *bien educado* means that the individual has to put aside his or her own interests and desires, as the external social demands are considered more important (Gongora Coronado, Cortes Ayala, & Flores Galaz, 2002; Peterson & Hennon, 2006).

Another characteristic of the Mexican culture, closely linked to the acceptance of tight social norms, is paternalism. This is the belief that authorities, priests, boss, father, or elders are believed to know better what is good for the individual. Individuals are not seen as capable of taking control over their lives. In Mexico, paternalism is a result of fatalism, lack of personal responsibility and the concentration of power, both in the political sense as well as in other social contexts (Pick & Sirkin, 2010). Paternalism also further strengthens these sociocultural characteristics. This kind of social system promotes dependence on paternalistic figures and diminishes people's capacity to make decisions for themselves. Paternalistic attitudes can be seen in relationships between politicians and citizens, teachers and students, parents and children, and employers and employees (Pick & Sirkin, 2010).

In cross-cultural studies, the distribution of power in societies has been measured for example with Power Distant Index (PDI) developed by Geert Hofstede (1980, as cited in Bastarrachea Arjona & Cisneros-Cohernour, 2006). PDI seeks to analyze the distribution of power and the extent to which ordinary citizens or less powerful members of the society submit to authority. In countries with high PDI, the power is more unequally distributed than in countries with low PDI that have more egalitarian power relationships. According to Hofstede (1980, as cited in Bastarrachea Arjona & Cisneros-Cohernour, 2006), in Mexico, PDI is high. This is consistent with the paternalistic attitudes; the low and middle classes in Mexico seem to feel that they are at the mercy of forces that they cannot control (Hofstede 1980, as cited in Guillén Mondragón, Montoya Flores, Rendon Cobian, Montano Hirose, 2002).

Psychosocial barriers, such as fear, guilt, and shame serve as an important psychological mechanism for maintenance and renewal of the prevailing social relationships. These barriers limit an individual's capacity of decision-making. In Mexico, living up to the standards of the community is predominant, and these psychosocial barriers regulate behaviors, as one fears being scorned if one does not fulfill the social expectations. These barriers affect especially women, as they are culturally expected to be submissive and obedient (Guendelman, Malin, Herr-Harthorn, & Vargas, 2001). However, the psychosocial barriers also regulate the decisions and behaviors of Mexican men (Pick & Sirkin, 2010).

Family and Gender Roles

While cross-cultural psychological studies seem to show that certain gender stereotypes—such as associating males with aggression, dominance, independence and power, and females with emotions, sensitivity, and submission—are wildly shared across the countries (in both traditional and egalitarian countries), the evaluation of males and females in traditional and egalitarian societies varies a lot (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1996). For example, Hofstede (1980, as cited in Bastarrachea Arjona y Edith J. Cisneros-Cohernour, 2006) has suggested that Mexico is a highly masculine society, which means that men dominate the significant part of the society, and the power structures and gender differences are great. In societies where masculinity is highly valued, gender roles are clearly distinct. Women are supposed to be tender, modest and interested in the quality of life, while men are expected to be tough, assertive and focused on material success (Anbari, Khilkhanova, Romanova, & Umpleby, 2003).

One example of high value given to the masculinity and the paternalistic culture in Mexico can be seen in family values. The Mexican family is a traditional one; strong parental authority is important and requires blind respect, obedience, interdependence, and discipline (Gregory & Munch, 1997). Submissiveness and dependence affect possibilities of autonomous development of the youth, especially girls, who are expected to be even more submissive than boys.

Everyone in the family has a specific role and is supposed to act according to the expectations of that role. Children, especially girls, are supposed to obey, be submissive, and not question parental authority. The patriarchal model implies the supremacy of the male and the subordination of the female. A woman is expected to respect her husband's choices and be docile, faithful, and dependent on men (Guendelman et al., 2001). As a mother, a woman has to be responsible for the emotional wellbeing and health of the family, preserves the honor and the dignity of the family, devotes herself to the family and always put other's needs before her own. However, this role of devotion and purity also makes women as mothers morally superior to men, who can be promiscuous and act more carelessly in public spaces (Natera & Holmila, 1990; Pastor, 2010). In Latin America, including Mexico, these ideas of how a "real woman" should behave are widespread. These ideas of moral superiority of women have been called marianismo, as Virgin Mary is seen as a role model for women. Marianismo emphasizes the value of self-sacrifice, abnegation, humility, and being submissive to men (Pastor, 2010; Stevens & Soler, 1974; Upchurch, Aneshensel, Mugdal, & Sucoff McNeely, 2001).

Marianismo can be seen as a form of ambivalent sexism. According to Glick and Fiske (1996, 1997, 2001, as cited in Marván, Vázquez-Toboada, & Chrisler, 2013), sexism is a multidimensional construct that includes both unfavorable and favorable beliefs about women. This is why these authors refer to ambivalent sexism and explain that there are two types of sexism: hostile sexism, which evaluates women negatively and expresses misogynistic attitudes, and benevolent sexism, which evaluates women positively, but in a stereotypical and restricted manner.

Both types of sexism contribute to maintain gender inequalities. Benevolent sexism expresses for example that as women are weaker than men, men should protect them. But it can also express that as women have certain positive qualities, supposedly characteristic to their sex (e.g., purity, resignation, tenderness, capacity to raise children), which is why they should behave according to the traditional gender roles (Cruz Torres, Zempoaltecatl Alonso, & Correa Romero, 2005).

Traditional family roles are not only limited to women, but also define a man's role in the family. The father has to be the provider, the decision maker and the protector of the family. At the same time, men are expected to show their masculinity by having sex with many women and making a lot of money. Such social expectations can be overwhelming for a man, especially if he has other interests, as an interview Pick and Sirkin (2010) had with Sergio, a man in his 40s, shows:

> I am exhausted. It is so hard to try to do everything my family expects from me, and they don't really care so much what I do as long as the neighbors get the impression that I do the right thing. I am not really interested in having many women or getting drunk and I can't get the job that I am "expected" to have, to make a lot of money, so that my family can show it off. But "real men" are supposed to do those things. It is somehow supposed to bring pride to the family and to the community (p. 32).

There are also other gender stereotypes that affect Mexican men. Even though inside a society there are multiple possible masculinities, there are certain models that are more dominant or hegemonic than others (Badinter, 1993; Burin & Meler, 2000; Connell, 2003). The dominant masculinity changes over time, and many men do not fulfill these rigid norms, but this hegemonic model of masculinity establishes pressures and limits that do affect the life of men (Connell, 1997; de Keijzer, 2001). Some of the characteristics of this dominant model of masculinity, also present in Mexico, include ideas about superiority of men; the need to prove the manhood constantly and to avoid showing "feminine" characteristics, and homophobia. Trespassing certain limits of what is considered feminine, for example certain attitudes or behaviors (e.g., express feelings such as fear, not to take risks, not to show strength, and depend on someone else), can cast a doubt on man's virility and masculinity (Badinter, 1993; Mora, 2006).

These kinds of expectations can affect for example men's role as fathers, as they are not supposed to express their feelings toward their offspring (Salguero Velázquez, 2007). The rigid masculine roles in Mexico also affect other areas in the lives of men. For example, health and taking care of oneself are not seen as important part of masculinity and talking about health problems is sometimes seen as a sign of weakness. This way, the masculine socialization can be an obstacle to preventive attitudes and behaviors in health (de Keijzer, 2001).

In the last decades, these traditional gender roles have started to change, as women are gaining more rights and more independence. Globalization, migration processes, and women's entrance to the labor market are all contributing to this change of traditional gender roles (Knapp, Muller, & Quiros, 2009).

Women are gaining more autonomy and power. As we mentioned above, women have greater access to education and political power than before. Especially legal reforms have improved women's situation, though gender inequalities are still

present in many fields. However, there has not been a corresponding change in the social roles for men. This can sometimes lead to use of violence by men as a means to address the perceived threat to their traditional gender roles (Jewkes, 2002). The results of the 2003 National Survey on the Dynamics of Relationships at Homes (ENDIREH for its Spanish acronym) seem to reinforce this observation. For example, 43 % of the women who do not suffer from any form of domestic violence, agreed with the statement "A good wife has to obey her husband in everything he orders," while among the women who do suffer from domestic violence, 32 % agreed. This might indicate that obedience of the husband may diminish the probability of domestic violence, while on the other hand, it shows that traditional gender stereotypes are still strong in Mexico. Other questions from this survey show similar tendencies. For example, when asked about who decides how the family's income is used, 64 % of the women who do not suffer from violence and 55 % of the women who do suffer violence answered that the decision is made by the husband. According to 48 % of the women who do not suffer violence and 41 % of the women who do suffer violence also claim the husband controls the birth control. In addition, women who suffer violence, tend to ask permission of their husband more often. For example, 35 % of the women who do not suffer violence and 41 % of the violence victims ask for the permission for remunerated work, and in the case of asking permission to visit family members, visit friends or to go out to movies, parties or to other activities, the percentages are 19 and 25 %, 19 and 24 %, and 22 and 33 % respectively for the women who do not suffer violence and those who do (Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, 2007).

This clearly shows that men are still in control of many activities related to their wives' or partners' personal liberty. In spite of the social and cultural changes, the family continues to preserve its central role as an important promoter and guardian of the social norms that regulate also the gender roles (Peterson & Hennon, 2006).

Sexuality: a Double Standard

Reproductive rights have gained certain institutional legitimacy, thanks to the activism of women's rights groups and the state's interest to disseminate its family planning programs. There have been more obstacles for the acceptance and legitimation of sexual rights, both in the case of heterosexual women and sexual minorities. The religious fundamentalism and right-wing governments have tried to restrict sexuality to reproduction in the context of marriage (Amuchástegui & Rivas, 2004).

The origin of values and norms related to sexuality in Mexico is diverse and complex. According to Amuchástegui and Rivas (2004), some pre-Hispanic indigenous cultures saw pleasure, eroticism, and reproduction as a gift from gods so that people could more easily bear all the misery in the world. The Catholic Church, however, suppressed these ideas after the Spanish conquest (Amuchástegui & Rivas, 2004).

Catholic moral is still tremendously important in Mexico in relation to sexuality, reproduction, and pleasure, as the ideas are linked to marianismo show. Even

though many changes have taken place, the Church still has important influence over these issues. Catholic ideologies that associate sex and sin are not the only ones to determine social and cultural norms in relation to sexuality; there are also discourses on sexuality and health. However, their influence depends largely on the contact the population has had with modernizing processes, such as public education, mass media, and migration processes (Amuchástegui & Rivas, 2004).

The practices, values, and social norms related to sexuality and reproduction are not the same in urban and rural and/or indigenous communities. In contexts where women have limited access to resources, their sexuality tends to be more controlled by men. Their social status is linked to their marital situation and women who are not married are little valued. Their mobility is restricted to spaces inside the family and there is little opportunity for remunerated work for women (Szazc, 1998). On the other hand, in less restricted contexts, where women can transit more freely and have more alternatives of residence and more opportunities to study and work outside of home, the social norms related to the women's sexuality are different (Szazc, 1998). For example, sexual initiation tends to happen later and is more related to the desires of women as compared to more strict contexts. In these less restricted contexts, women also tend to use more contraceptive methods. Expectations for men are also different in these contexts: romantic relationships are more equalitarian and fidelity is more expected from men. Premarital sexual experiences are also more accepted for women (Szazc, 1998). Thus, even though the gender roles and stereotypes limit women's independence in all social sectors and all generations, among the younger generations and medium and high classes, women tend to be more autonomous (Szasz, Rojas, & Castrejón, 2008).

In addition to age and access to economic resources, education is an important factor. Women's access to education has been associated for example with more active participation in the labor market, better employment conditions, and greater access to decision-making processes and positions (Frias, 2008). It seems also to be an important factor for the change in attitudes toward sexism. According to Cruz Torres et al., (2005), Mexican women with more formal education, tend to have less hostile or benevolent sexists attitudes. This happens also with men, although to a lesser extent. The lack of access to education means normally that women are more dependent on men, which might explain more sexist attitudes. The authors point out that education can be an important way to combat different forms of sexism in Mexico.

In Mexico, there is a clear double standard regarding the social and cultural norms associated with sexuality. While the cultural ideas that link sexuality to sin appear to be more associated with women, the discourses that link sexuality and health are more associated to the masculine sexuality (Amuchástegui & Rivas, 2004).

Women's sexuality is still significantly linked to marriage and reproduction. Women are not thought to express sexual desires (Amuchástegui & Aggleton, 2007). Social and cultural norms pressure women to use sexuality principally to succeed in getting and maintaining a marital relationship (Szasz, 1998). In this con-

text, woman's virginity is highly valued and girls learn that engaging in premarital sex risks harm their reputation (Carrillo, 2002).

There are two stereotypes for women in relation to their sexuality; there are women who do not express sexual desire and are passive, only reacting to masculine sexual demands so that they can get married and procreate, and there are sexually active women that are regarded as promiscuous and untrustworthy. The first type of woman is the one, men seek to marry; the second group of women is seen as utilized solely for sexual relationships (Paz, 1950; Szasz, 1998). Women that want to be seen as respectable do not express their sexual feelings even within a marriage, as sexual initiative or pleasure can be considered a sign of loose morals. A wife's sexual modesty and restraint, conversely, can be used as an excuse for men to seek extramarital relationships. These contradicting messages often lead to confusion, as it is impossible to fulfill both the sexual and maternal roles that are expected of women (Pick & Sirkin, 2010).

Cultural and social norms regarding sexuality also affect men. Sexuality in men is one of the principal ways of representing and reaffirming their masculinity; masculine power is expressed and measured trough sexuality (Szasz, 1998). Men are expected to sleep with as many women as possible (Marston, 2004) and extramarital sex is acceptable for them (Hernández, Alberti, Nuñez, & Samaniego, 2011; Natera & Holmila, 1990). Early sexual initiation can take place, not because the individual wants it, rather because the person is pressured by relatives or a peer group to prove his manhood (Amuchástegui & Rivas, 2004). It should be noted that even though homophobic ideas are widely spread in Mexican society, homosexual practices do not necessarily question the masculinity of the individual if the man involved is the one who penetrates or pays for the service (Szasz, 1998).

Thus, the sociocultural norms on sexuality affect both men and women and deviation from them can lead to social disapproval. Some studies suggest that even though moral discourses regarding sexuality, especially women's sexuality are strict, in practice these codes are often broken. For example, when it comes to female virginity, transgressions of Catholic moral codes are common. Even though it might seem that the norms are not very effective, the rules continue to exist precisely because of the transgressions are committed and acknowledged as such. (Amuchástegui, 2002).

Mexico is socially, culturally, and economically a very diverse country. Even though qualitative studies demonstrate that certain ideas about masculinity, feminity, and sexuality are widely present in Mexican society, they also show that there is a lot of diversity depending on the cultural context, age, and socioeconomic factors (e.g., Amuchástegui & Szasz, 2007; Szasz, Rojas, & Castrejón, 2008). Szasz et al., (2008) have demonstrated that men's sexual risk behaviors (e.g., not using protective methods in sexual relationships, having extramarital relationships) are connected to their ideas on gender equality in marriage. According to this study, there are less-sexual-risk behaviors among men who have more egalitarian ideas on marital relationships (expressed as an acceptance of wife's remunerated work and husband's participation in taking care of the children). Men who have more authoritarian marital relationships where male dominance is present, are more likely to present sexual behaviors that put their health or their partner's health in risk.

The studies presented above show that not all the Mexican men are happy with the double standard or with the social expectations on men's sexuality. The attitudes are changing, especially among younger men. For example a study by Ortiz-Ortega, Rivas-Zivy, Huerta, Salazar, & Gómez-González, (2004) showed that the young men who participated in the study were uncomfortable with some normative prescriptions of their gender in relation to the sexuality and pointed out that they had no spaces to talk about and reflect on these themes.

Women's Reproductive Rights in Mexico

Even though reproduction is a biological function, it takes place in a specific social context, and thus, is deeply rooted in social and cultural practices. Social scientists tend to emphasize the role of cultural and social organizations that configure meanings, regulations, representations and social arrangements in relation to reproduction in history (Connell, 2005, as cited in Sosa-Sánchez, 2013).

In Mexico, many prevalent social and cultural norms related to reproduction are based on the teachings of the Catholic Church. As Mexican anthropologist Martha Lamas (1997, as cited in González de León Aguirre & Billings, 2002) points out, in the Catholic idea of motherhood prevalent in Mexico, a woman should always put her children's interests and needs before her own. The value of a woman lies in her function as a recipient for new life. As motherhood is conceptualized not as a choice, but a natural "destiny," it is difficult for women to openly express if they do not want to have children. If they choose an abortion—legal or illegal, they often live with guilt, since socially it is thought that practicing their choice would not only mean that they have committed a crime or a sin, but also rejected the sublime destiny of motherhood (Lamas, 1997 as cited in González de León Aguirre & Billings, 2002).

These ideas are reflected in women's reproductive rights in Mexico, especially the legal interruption of pregnancy. In the Mexican legal system, each state decides its legislation on abortion. In all 32 states, abortion is legal in the case of rape or incest. In the case of ten states, the law establishes that abortion related to this reason can be done only during the first trimester; in 22 states, there is no time limit. Other legal reasons for abortion are: risk of death of the pregnant woman (25 states), malformation of the fetus (32 states), severe damages to the woman's health (13 states), forced insemination (11 states), economical reasons (if the woman has at least three children already, in one state), and simply a woman's will during the first 12 weeks of the pregnancy (one state). Guanajuato and Guerrero are the most restrictive states in the case of abortion, since it is legal only in the case of rape victims (Andion & Ramos, n.d.).

In 2007, Mexico City passed a law on abortion that allows fetal termination until the 12th week of pregnancy for every woman who wishes to have this procedure. Women's rights groups hoped that this would inspire other federal entities to pass more liberal laws, but the reaction was quite the contrary. Since 2008, 16 states have passed laws that include the idea that life begins at the moment of conception (The

Economist, September 3, 2012). In 2011, the Mexican Supreme Court discussed the unconstitutionality of these laws. Seven of the eleven judges[2] considered these laws unconstitutional, as they are contrary to women's reproductive rights. Due to the requirement of an eight-judge vote to deem laws unconstitutional, the action was desisted (Andion & Ramos, n.d.).

Legislation, however, is not the only problem. Access to abortion, even in the case of rape victims, in many states is difficult because of institutional obstacles, such as not receiving critical information and the prolongation of the authorization process (that in some cases takes so long that the abortion is not legally permitted anymore). According to the Grupo de Información en Reproducción Elegida (GIRE), the Mexican organization that promotes women's reproductive rights, there is little official information on women's access to abortion for cases of sexual violence, and the few statistics available on practiced abortions are considerably low in comparison to the statistic on high level of sexual violence in Mexico (Andion & Ramos, n.d.).

As abortion is considered a crime, with the exception of the specific cases mentioned by the law that depend on each state, there are also criminal consequences for women who practice abortion. In some states, women can be sent to prison for practicing an illegal abortion. In Sonora, the strictest state on this issue, the sentence can be up to six years of prison. In other states, the sanctions include community work, fines, and medical or psychological treatment. In the states of Jalisco, Tamaulipas and Yucatán, the objective of the medical treatment is "to reaffirm the value of maternity and the strengthening of the family," which shows a conservative and discriminative attitude behind this sanction (Andion & Ramos, n.d.).

As the differences in legislation shows, Mexican women's rights depend on the federal entity they live, but also on their socioeconomic status. For poor women, it is very difficult or impossible to travel from their state to the capital to abort, even if they are aware of this option. The criminalization of abortion and lack of knowledge on legal abortion leads to clandestine abortions that are often unsafe and characterized by a lack or inadequacy of skills by the provider, dangerous methods, and/or unsanitary conditions. According to Sousa, Lozano & Gadikou (2010) in Mexico, the probability that poor, indigenous, and noneducated women have an unsafe abortion is nine times higher than the probability of nonindigenous, nonpoor, and educated women. The women who live in the poorest states of the country are at major risk to have an unsafe abortion. These states also have the highest concentration of women that have sex and do not use (27 %) or have not heard about (9 %) modern contraceptive methods (Sousa, Lozano, & Gadikou, 2010).

The debate in the local Congress of the Federal District on the decriminalization of abortion in 2007 shows cultural basis in the arguments of the deputies who were against abortion. The deputies debated for example, that women should put others' rights before their own, even in the case of the unborn. According to the deputy Paula Adriana Soto Maldonado, even though a woman has a right to self-determination over her body, she can't use that right to affect the fetus, that is according to

[2] The two women judges of the Court had divided opinions in the matter; judge Olga Sánchez Cordero voted for the unconstitutionality of the act and judge Margarita Luna Ramos considered that the laws were constitutional.

the deputy, a "third party" that has to protected by the mother and the State and has an equal right to life, health and dignity as the woman (Asamblea Legislativa del Distrito Federal, 2007).

The deputies, who were against abortion, also justified their vision referring to men's rights; the right to the paternity should be recognized over the woman's right to decision on her body. The deputy Ezequiel Rétiz Gutiérrez pointed out that abortion excludes the men and leaves husbands and partners defenselessness. The abortion, according to this deputy, is not about the woman's right to decide, or the right to motherhood, as he put it. The abortion ignores man's right to fatherhood (Asamblea Legislativa del Distrito Federal, 2007).

And finally, decriminalization of abortion, according to the more conservative deputies would mean a transgression to the rights of women who want to have children and change social values related to the family. It would create a negative vision of pregnancy and would lead to lesser social acceptance of pregnancy and motherhood. As the deputy Margarita María Martínez claimed, the society could start to pressure women to abort (Asamblea Legislativa del Distrito Federal, 2007).

Implications of the Social and Cultural Norms on Sexual and Reproductive Health

Even when sociocultural norms and gender roles related to sexuality and reproduction might be transgressed, these norms have implications on sexual and reproductive health in Mexico by affecting the use of protective methods in sexual relationships. According to the National Survey on Demographic Dynamics 2009 (ENADID for its Spanish acronym), even though 99.2 % of the adolescents between 15 and 19 years of age knew how to use a condom or had heard about it, 61.8 % reported that they had not used a condom during their first sexual encounter and 24.6 % reported that they do not regularly use condoms when they have sex (SINAIS, 2008). Other statistics on the use of contraceptive or protective methods show that in 2009, 72.5 % of the women who were married or had a romantic partner used anticonceptive methods. Among indigenous women and women who lived in rural areas, the percentage was lower: 58.3 and 63.7 % respectively (Andión & Ramos, n.d.).

As these statistics show, the knowledge on different options is not enough to make people actually use them. The cultural values and norms play an important role, especially amongst the youth, those who have little formal education and those who live in more traditional contexts. In urban contexts, the use of contraceptive methods is socially acceptable for married women to prevent health problems and/or to avoid excessive economic burden to the family if they already have children. The use of these methods to increase sexual pleasure in young couples without children or persons who have sexual relationships without being married is not as acceptable (Szasz, 1998).

The classification of women in two categories according to their sexual activity plays an important function as well. If a woman wants to use contraceptive methods and she does not have children or is not married or wants to use condom at any age,

she can be classified to the category of the easy, sexually active and suspicious woman. Condom use is associated with promiscuity and occasional sex. There are cultural pressures for men to distrust women who use condoms or contraceptive methods and to look for a woman who has no sexual experience or shows no sexual desires when they are planning to establish a formal relationship (Szasz, 1998). In this context, to take the risk of getting pregnant or being infected by a sexually transmitted infection can seem a better option to a young woman than to appear to be sexually active and experienced and thus risk her reputation and social status (Amuchástegui, 2002).

Double standard on women and men's sexuality also leads to transmission of STIs. The acceptance of extramarital relationships for men and negative values associated to condom use also put married women at risk. According to the National Institute for Statistics and Geography, since 1983, in 93.8 % of the diagnosed HIV/AIDS cases among women aged 15 to 29, the infection was sexually transmitted through heterosexual relationships. Most of the women infected have reported to be in a stable relationship, which means they were infected by their partner or husband (INEGI, 2011).

The sexually transmitted infections and unwanted pregnancies are not the only health problems that myths and norms related to sexuality can cause. Studies show that sociocultural norms also affect women's sexual and reproductive health in other ways. In relation to women's reproductive health, breast cancer and cervical cancer present a severe public health issue in Mexico. In 2007, the leading cause of death among women aged 35 to 64 were malign tumors, 47 % of these tumors were breast and cervical cancer (Sistema de Indicadores de Géero, n.d). Even though Mexico now has a detailed action plan to prevent and detect breast and cervical cancer, extended access to these services is limited and health personnel is not always sufficiently trained (DiGirolamo & Salgado de Snyder, 2008).

Limited access to health services, however, is not the only factor that contributes to underutilization of health services. Prevalent myths also play an important role; women may resist screenings for cervical cancer out of fear that they might become sexually disabled (Bingham et al., 2003). Other factors related to the lack of prevention of cervical and breast cancer, are embarrassment of having the test taken by a male doctor or having to ask a partner's permission to get to the clinic (Givaudan, Pick, Poortinga, Fuertes, & Gold, 2005). Negative connotations of masturbation and touching one's own body, transmitted from generation to generation, also limit the prevention of breast cancer (Sánchez, Sánchez, Amador, & Saldívar, 2012).

Reducing the Barriers Regarding Sexual and Reproductive Health

In this section, we will discuss the Framework for Enabling Empowerment (FrEE), a theoretical model that explains how social development programs can enhance individual's empowerment by addressing contextual and personal factors (personal norms and attitudes), facilitating knowledge and skills and reducing psychosocial

barriers (Pick & Sirkin, 2010). The Mexican NGO Yo quiero Yo puedo (IMIFAP) has applied this model in its programs that have reached more than 20 million people in Mexico and abroad. In addition to the FrEE, two examples of successful programs in the field of sexual and reproductive health will be presented.

As we have shown in this chapter, sociocultural norms and psychosocial barriers, such as fear, shame, guilt and prejudice affect both women's and men's sexuality and reproduction in Mexico. Thus, any development program directed to improve sexual and reproductive health has to take into account both contextual factors, such available services and knowledge, and also the social and cultural norms associated to gender differences and sexuality. Promoting gender equality in sexual and reproductive matters is also essential to reach sustainable results.

Psychosocial and contextual factors are interrelated, both as barriers and as solutions. If these factors are addressed together in an integral manner, they can increase the possibilities and options for improving sexual and reproductive health. It is key to offer women and men more opportunities in the contextual level. These opportunities include for example improved access to health care, public policies that take into account the different need that men and women have regarding to sexuality and reproduction and education on safer sex practices. However, these contextual factors alone are not enough; it is also crucial to enable women and men to understand that they have the right to decide over their own lives. To this end, it is necessary that they overcome the social, cultural and psychological barriers that limit their development. As the social norms restrict women's sexuality more than men's, it is important to include strategies that promote women's empowerment and gender equality. The FrEE serves as a basis for effective development strategies in several fields, including sexual and reproductive health. The FrEE explains how individuals can reduce the psychosocial and cultural barriers that affect their capacity of taking autonomous decisions and develop life skills (e.g., assertive communication, decision-making, self-knowledge, management of emotion, self-efficacy) that let them act to enhance their well-being and that of their families and communities. FrEE is based on Nobel Prize Amartya Sen's Human Capabilities Approach (Sen, 1999) and the long field experience the Mexican non-governmental organization Instituto Mexicano de Investigación de Familia y Población (Yo quiero Yo puedo—IMIFAP) has working with marginalized populations in Mexico and elsewhere (Pick & Sirkin, 2010).

According to Sen, (1999), poverty is not only a matter of income deprivation or lack of material resources, but most importantly is linked to lack of freedoms and capabilities. Thus, in order to contribute to human development and reduction of poverty, it is key to broaden freedoms through the expansion of human capabilities. FrEE puts Sen's ideas into practice by conceptualizing how to facilitate social change through the interaction between a person, their context and psychosocial factors. The role of personal agency and intrinsic empowerment in development processes is emphasized (Pick & Sirkin, 2010).

The distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic empowerment is essential to FrEE. External empowerment is conditioned by the external context, for example laws and norms and material goods. People may change their behaviors to get material gains

or to respond to changes in a normative environment. The behavior changes are less likely to persist, however, if the external incentives disappear. Traditionally, many development programs have tried to change behaviors by focusing on the external context, not on the individuals as possible motors for change. FrEE, on the other hand, concentrates on intrinsic empowerment that emerges from the development of personal agency and a sense of freedom to choose. Internally motivated and voluntary behavior change linked to intrinsic empowerment is more sustainable in the long run (Pick, Beers, & Grossman-Crist, 2011).

FrEE explains that in order to change their conditions, people need to change the ways in which they react to different situations. When a person develops life skills, acquires adequate knowledge on specific themes and is able to reduce psychosocial barriers (shame, guilt, fear, resentment and prejudice) that limit her decisions and actions, she is better prepared to react to different situations in a favorable way, to make autonomous decisions and develop personal agency. Gradually, this process leads to behavior change and the development of personal agency (Pick & Sirkin, 2010). The process of intrinsic empowerment starts when the individual has modified her personal norms and behaviors and "applies the newly acquired competencies and self-confidence to actively promote changes in his social environment" (Pick & Sirkin, 2010, p. 86).

FrEE is the basis of all the "I want to, I can" programs Yo quiero Yo puedo (IMIFAP) has implemented both in Mexico and abroad. The "I want to, I can" programs facilitate the development of life skills and the reduction of psychosocial barriers by providing encouragement and opportunities to practice behaviors in different situations. The program methodology is experiential and highly participatory, which promotes the development of personal agency not only through the program contents (acquisition of specific skills and knowledge), but also through the methodology itself, as it gives participants opportunities to make their own decisions.

"I want to, I can" programs train local promoters who replicate the program with the target population. The training and replication process, on one hand, increases the development of personal agency in the participants, as they first develop their own skills and only after they have appropriated the program, they replicate it with others. The replication process makes the program more sustainable, as the replication of its contents continues after the formal conclusion of program activities. Most importantly, behavior changes at a personal level eventually lead to changes at a community level. This explains why the programs achieve results beyond initial targeted goals. Successful behavior change and the development of personal agency encourage the individual to take initiative to address other situations and to make positive changes in his or her life and community (Pick et al., 2011).

Here we present two examples of the "I want to, I can" programs in the field of sexual and reproductive health that enhance women's empowerment. These programs have showed positive results both in adolescent and adult participants, men and women.

1) "I want to, I can … prevent breast cancer and cervical cancer"
The objective of the program is to help prevent breast cancer and cervical cancer through development of life skills, reduction of psychosocial barriers, promotion of knowledge and

promotion of behavior change. The program has been implemented for example in rural communities in Oaxaca. Workshop contents and educational materials were developed based on a background research on target population's needs. In Oaxaca, local women were trained as health-promoters in a 1-week training program in which the women learned about the program contents and developed technical skills to be able to conduct a replication workshop. Afterwards, they replicated the program with other women. The program evaluation by Yo quiero Yo puedo (IMIFAP) shows that the workshops enhance the development of women's knowledge on their bodies, physical rights and risks and information on how to take care of their sexual and reproductive health. In addition, the participatory techniques of the workshops encourage the participants to develop their life skills, for example decision-making and communication skills (Givaudan, Leenen, Pick, Angulo, & Poortinga, 2008). There was also a short workshop for men focused on sexual and reproductive health, prevention of breast and cervical cancer and development of communication and interaction skills with one's partner. Especially in communities where traditional gender roles prevail, men's attitudes can pose an obstacle in the fight against the breast and cervical cancer (Givaudan et al., 2005). This is why working with men to increase their understanding of the health problems that can affect women and to improve their communication with their partners is important. The evaluation procedures implemented by Yo quiero Yo puedo (IMIFAP) in Oaxaca included comparing the number of Pap smear test taken in local health clinics before and after the program implementation and a questionnaire aimed at assessing knowledge, opinions, attitudes and behavior of the participants regarding the cervical cancer. 10 experimental and 6 control communities participated in the study. In 8 out of 10 experimental communities, information was obtained on Pap smear tests over two years (year before the implementation and year of the implementation of the program). In these communities, there was an increase from 22 to 27 % in Pap smear tests taken after the program. The analysis also showed that the probability of women having a Pap smear taken significantly increased in experimental communities in comparison to control villages. The participation in the workshops also contributed to increase in knowledge about cervical cancer and its prevention (e.g., Givaudan et al., 2008).

2) "I want to, I can … prevent HIV/AIDS"
The objective of the program is to promote HIV/AIDS prevention in elementary school students. To assess the effect of the communication-centered life skills program on norms, attitudes, behaviors and intentions towards communication about difficult subjects, such as sex and sexuality, Yo quiero Yo puedo (IMIFAP) implemented the program in Hidalgo and Campeche. 1581 low-income elementary school pupils participated in the study and were divided into experimental and control groups. 52 % of the total sample was girls (817) and 48 % boys (764). 30 teachers (both men and women) were trained to replicate the contents of the program in the experimental schools over 15 to 20 weeks. In addition to knowledge on sexuality and health, program included the development of following life skills: organization and productivity, self-esteem, problem-solving and negotiation, creativity, responsibility and decision-making, gender equality, communication and expression of feelings (Pick, Givaudan, Sirkin, & Ortega, 2007). The program evaluation was designed and implemented by Yo quiero Yo puedo (IMIFAP). The participants completed self-report questionnaires before and after the program. The evaluation instruments were designed to assess program's results on five dependent variables regarding communication about difficult subjects: attitudes, norms, self-efficacy, intentions and behaviors. The results show that the program had a significant impact on communication on difficult subjects in all five variables measured. The children were able to reduce psychosocial barriers (e.g., shame and fear) and develop competencies (communication skills and behaviors) that serve as protective factors for risk-behaviors in adolescence. After the program, the students also changed their perception about social practices and norms that they previously accepted (Pick et al., 2007). The change in perception of social norms is important; as Kirby (2003, as cited in Pick et al., 2007) has shown perception of social norms is a dominant factor in adolescent safer-sex behaviors.

Conclusions

Mexican society and culture have traditionally emphasized male supremacy and female subordination. In the last decades, international interest in women's rights, women's entrance to the labor market, the State's growing interest to promote gender equality, mass media, and migration processes, among other things, have slowly started to change prevalent gender roles.

In spite of the advances in gender equality, in many areas of life, for example sexuality, traditional gender norms still prevail. The norms and traditional notions concerning sexuality affect both women's and men's sexual and reproductive health and well-being in Mexico. Women are expected to be shy and not express sexual desires, while men are supposed to show their virility and masculinity by having multiple sexual partners (e.g., Szasz, 1998) These norms can lead to sexual risk-behaviors, such as not using protective methods during the sex (Amuchástegui, 2002).

In order to enhance sexual gender equality in Mexico, it is necessary to empower women so they can see they are capable of making independent decisions and act as agents of change in their own lives and communities. It is important to work with both men and women to fight hostile and benevolent forms of sexisms. In this empowerment process, development of life skills and reduction of psychosocial barriers are essential, as the conceptual framework FrEE presented in this chapter explains (Pick & Sirkin, 2010). Facilitating behavior change and personal agency are key to the sustainable social change regarding gender inequalities. Empowerment of individuals will gradually lead to change in social and cultural gender norms that will also benefit men, liberating them from strict and limiting gender roles.

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Chapter 15
For Men Life is Hard, for Women Life is Harder: Gender Roles in Central America

Judith L. Gibbons and Sandra E. Luna

In this chapter we describe gender roles and attitudes and how they are enacted in the seven Central American countries of Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. What are the challenges and opportunities that characterize women's and men's lives in Central America? What evidence is there for social change and what areas are fruitful directions for further study? In this chapter we provide statistical evidence for gender inequality as well as review the gender attitudes and stereotypes that foster, maintain, and legitimize gender inequality. In critiquing the extant literature, we draw upon contemporary perspectives for examining gender, including social construction and liberation psychology. In light of intersecting and nonorthogonal identities of class, ethnicity, and gender, we emphasize intersectionality—that women's and men's lives occur in niches that are uniquely dependent not only on gender but also on economic condition, ethnicity, and rural–urban residence. Throughout we emphasize the contributions of Latin and Central American perspectives on gender, including *machismo*, *marianismo*, *hembrismo*, and liberation psychology, an approach that focuses on the struggles faced by oppressed people. We also highlight the voices of women and men responding to the challenges they face. The quote in the title of this chapter derives from a saying that is common in Central America, "*La vida es dura.*" [Life is hard] (Lancaster, 1992). We argue that although life is hard for many in Central America, life is even harder for women than for men.

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Diversity Within Central America

Although the seven countries of Central America—Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama—share a geographic region and to some extent a common language (Spanish), they are linguistically, ethnically, and economically diverse. Guatemala alone boasts over 20 language groups and a diverse population made up of about 40 % indigenous Maya. According to the World Bank (2014) Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador are characterized as lower-middle-income economies (about $ 1000–$ 4000 average annual income) and Belize, Costa Rica, and Panama are classified as upper-middle-income economies (about $ 4000–$ 12000 average annual income). In terms of their histories, all of Central America shares a background of colonization and violence, but those histories vary, with Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador having emerged more recently from armed conflicts (World Bank, 2014).

Within Central America, women's and men's lives are heterogeneous. For example, the average income for urban women in Guatemala is about half that of urban men. However, indigenous women and women living in rural areas have an income of about one fifth that of urban men (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, PNUD, 2002). Similar disparities exist in Guatemala with respect to literacy; while 95 % of young adult nonindigenous women living in urban settings are literate, only 40 % of same-aged indigenous women living in rural areas can read and write (PNUD, 2002). Older women are more likely to be illiterate than are younger women. With respect to health care, women living in poverty have less access to services (PNUD, 2002).

Ideas about gender are context-dependent, contingent on the specific ecological niche. A gay man in urban Nicaragua described his strict gender socialization, "Since childhood my family kept saying that … I was a boy and had to act like a man. [I couldn't play with girls because] I was a man," (Ugarte Guevara et al., 2012). Likewise, Costa Rican women engaged in sex work revealed their views of gender roles in explaining their strategies for appealing to sex tourists, "We have a way of treating them that European women don't have … We don't feel anything for them, but we make them feel like kings," (Rivers-Moore, 2013, p. 160). Overall, it is clear that gender related issues—attitudes, roles, and experiences are diverse, not only by demographic category, but also by specific ecological niche.

Gender Disparities in Employment, Education, Health, and Political Participation

There are many different ways to compare men and women's standing, circumstances, and empowerment. All reveal that gender disparities in Central America are severe. According to a report by the World Economic Forum (2013) most Central American countries show gaps in the economic opportunities, educational

Table 15.1 Gender gaps in the seven Central American countries

Country	Overall rank	Economic participation	Education	Health	Political empowerment
Nicaragua	10	0.62	0.99	0.98	0.49
Costa Rica	31	0.60	1.0	0.97	0.33
Panama	37	0.71	0.99	0.98	0.18
Honduras	82	0.61	0.99	0.97	0.13
El Salvador	96	0.53	0.99	0.98	0.14
Belize	107	0.65	0.94	0.98	0.01
Guatemala	114	0.54	0.95	0.98	0.05

attainment, health indicators, and political empowerment of women and men (Hausmann, Tyson, Bekhuoche, & 2013). That analysis calculates the relative situations of women and men, rather than their absolute conditions. The report revealed that the seven countries of Central America have almost achieved gender equality in educational attainment and health, but that women lag far behind men in political empowerment and economic participation (Table 15.1).

A different analysis by the World Bank (2014) that tracked women's labor market participation over a decade, concluded that although gender parity has increased with respect to education, there have been few changes in women's labor participation. Women continue to work more often in the informal sector than do men, and work is highly gender-segregated. For example, most employees in the textile and clothing sector (*maquilas*) are female (World Bank, 2014). Although the *maquila* workforce is better paid than many other jobs, working conditions may be poor and the wages are not sufficient to support a family (Vargas-Hernández & Núñez-López, 2011).

A third gender inequalities index, the multidimensional gender inequalities index (MGII), is based on eight dimensions, consisting of identity, autonomy of the body, intrafamily laws, political activity, education, health, access to economic resources, and economic activity (Ferrant, 2014a). It thus addresses a wider range of conditions than most indices. Of 109 "developing" (defined as not part of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, the countries of Central America were mostly in the second quartile (i.e., ranked from 22 to 48), with Costa Rica showing the most gender equality and Guatemala the least. Inequality was most marked in the employment realm, and included both gender segregation and lower wages for women.

Men's and Women's Roles at Work and in the Family

Because work and employment are in the public domain, gender differences are easier to document than are gender roles within the home. As reported above, there are gender disparities throughout Central America with respect to the typical work

for men and women, as well as their earning power. In a case study conducted by Prieto-Carrón (2010), women reported gender discrimination, low wages, and difficulty in finding childcare (Prieto-Carrón, 2010). For example, a Nicaraguan woman claimed that in her job, "There is an injustice. Men always get preference when it comes to promotion. They get the best positions, better salaries, and incentives," (Prieto-Carrón, 2010, p. 4).

The informal economy includes all economic activities that are not state-regulated, including self-employment and small businesses. In Central America it accounts for about 50% of nonagricultural work (Wintour & Garzaro, 2013). In all Central American countries except Panama (there are no data for Belize) women are more likely than men to work in informal employment. The percentage varies from a low of 31.4% in Panama to a high of 62.2% in Guatemala. Workers in the informal economy include domestic workers and street vendors; both are more likely to be women than men. The lack of legal protection for domestic workers is a serious problem. In a case reported by Wintour and Garzaro (2013), a complaint to the Guatemalan Ministry of Labor by a housekeeper who had not received her wages was summarily dismissed.

Under some conditions, working, earning money, and owning land can be empowering. When her partner became ill, Zola of Belize had to find a way to earn money. She started by doing what she knew, making pastries. After she had built up a bit of money she was given a small piece of land that no one wanted. She built a house there, got a job, and planted crops. She presents her story as demonstrating her resourcefulness, independence, and transition out of helplessness (McClaurin, 1996). Similarly, Delfina of Guatemala said, "I love going to work. There, I talk to my colleagues who live in similar conditions as I do. One of them, her husband opposes her working, like mine does …. [My colleagues] tell me, 'Don't retire. Don't ever stop working.'" (Menjívar, 2011, p. 170–171). Like employment, land ownership, especially for rural women, can be a tool for empowerment (Deere & León, 2001; Ferrant, 2014a). Ferrant quotes one Latin American woman who said, "When the land is in my husband's name, I'm only a worker. When it is in my name, I have some position in society," (Ferrant, 2014a, p. 680).

In addition to the many challenges for employed women in Central America, for them there may be fewer distinctions between employment and work at home than for men (Prieto-Carrón, 2010). In a case study, Ana from Nicaragua reported that she went directly from her paid job to cooking and cleaning at home, "That does not leave any time for anything else." (Prieto-Carron, 2010, p. 3).

Studies on how people use their time around the world have shown that women do more unpaid care work, such as child or elder care, housework, and volunteer activities in the community than do men (Budlender, 2010). Although men may engage in more paid work than do women, in most countries men are left with more discretionary time than are women (United Nations, 2000). In a time-use study in Nicaragua, men spent more hours per day in paid employment than did women; women spent more hours per day in unpaid labor (Ferrant, 2014b). Overall, men had slightly more time left for discretionary activities such as leisure and personal care than did women. Nicaraguan women had less discretionary time than women

in Argentina, Japan, Korea, South Africa, or Tanzania, but slightly more than women in India (Ferrant, 2014b). It seems likely that the pattern of greater free-time for men applies to Central America as well as other countries around the world.

Paradoxically, in attempting to relieve the unequal burden on women, programs that aim to alleviate women's poverty may actually make additional demands on their time (Neumann, 2013). Drawing on research conducted in Nicaragua, Neumann showed that programs established by NGOs often require individual women to do substantial amounts of community work. They spend time scheduling and attending meetings, conducting surveys, going house-to-house collecting information. Although the women acknowledge that the work is rewarding, giving them a sense of accomplishment and empowerment, the costs are heavy. They get up even earlier to start the day's tasks; they allocate much of the housekeeping and cooking to their children; and they often face resistance from male partners. Neumann designates this added responsibility, the "triple role." She also points out that not only are the added responsibilities time-consuming, but they also foster an individualistic approach to problem solving; the focus on self-sufficiency may ignore structural approaches to community development (Neumann, 2013).

The additional work done by women compared to men extends to their commitment to and participation in parenting. A study of almost 5000 men from four Central American countries (Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua), revealed attitudes toward fatherhood (Ortega Hegg, Centeno Orozco, & Casillo Venerio, 2005) Men strongly endorsed the father's responsibility of financially supporting his children (78 %); however, 40 % said it was the mother's responsibility (more than the father's) to care for the children (58 % denied that, and the rest were uncertain.) However, when specific tasks were mentioned (feeding the children and changing diapers) men shifted the responsibility more toward the mothers; 66 % reported that it was the mother's job. In the same study, a father from Honduras said, "I concern myself with everything in the house, my children don't lack anything, [but] because of my work I don't have time to take care of them" (Ortega Hegg et al., p. 149). In a study in El Salvador, Gaborit and his colleagues found that young adolescents responded that a woman without children was incomplete more often than that a man without children was incomplete (Gaborit, Rodríquez Burgos, Santori, & Paz Narváez, 2003). In other words, adolescents endorsed the motherhood mandate, the assumption that women must be mothers to be whole.

There are many female-headed households in Central America and the number has been increasing (Alatorre, 2002). Although absent fathers can contribute financially to child rearing, female-headed households are often poorer than those headed by men. In ethnographic studies, women often complained about men's irresponsible fatherhood or their lack of participation in parenting their children, even when they were not physically absent. A Ladina woman in Guatemala said, "it's just me, by myself. So yes, even when he's home, I'm the one in charge of the kids" (Menjívar, 2011 p. 150). A Nicaraguan mother said, "there apparently isn't a woman in the world he can say no to! And he isn't supporting any of his children, not really-well, anyway, he isn't supporting mine" (Lancaster, 1992 p. 45). So, at least from the perspective of many women in Central America, fathers are not participating fully in

parenting. This is unfortunate because research consistently shows that when fathers are more involved with their children, not only do the children greatly benefit, but so do their mothers, and even the fathers themselves (Barker & Verani, 2008).

Gender Role Socialization with a Focus on Adolescence

Gender socialization and gender development are complex, multifaceted, and difficult to compare across cultures (e.g., Gibbons, 2000). During infancy and early childhood parents treat their daughters and sons differently, assigning school-aged children different tasks that shape their skills and interests. At adolescence, gender differences become pronounced. Here we highlight some relevant findings from Central America that suggest there are marked differences in boys' and girls' gender socialization experiences.

Children's perceptions of what is desired or appropriate for women and men shape their developmental trajectories. According to a 15-year-old Guatemalan girl, the typical Ladino (nonindigenous) man "is working in his job as a judge, that most often these important positions are held only by them (Ladino men, see Fig. 15.1). A 15-year-old Guatemalan boy describes the typical indigenous woman, "That she doesn't have money, that she eats only beans, and that apart from not having money, she cares for her son and lights a fire to make his food." (see Fig. 15.2). Those stereotypic images underlie the reality of the lives of many women and men in Central America (Ashdown, Gibbons, de Baessa, & Brown, 2013).

Most researchers point out that in Central America the gender roles for girls and boys are clearly demarcated and that socialization for gender begins early. For example, in an ethnographic study, McClaurin (1996) observed three Belizean children (two boys and a girl) playing with a machete. Only the girl was reprimanded for playing with a dangerous object. Play can provide a platform for learning gender

Fig. 15.1 Drawing of the typical Ladino man by a 15-year-old Guatemalan girl. The caption reads, "This Ladino man is working in his job as a judge, that most often these important positions are held only by them [Ladino men]"

Fig. 15.2 Drawing of the typical indigenous woman by a 15-year-old Guatemalan girl. The caption reads, "That she doesn't have money, that she eats only beans, and that apart from not having money, she cares for her son and lights a fire to make his food"

roles. The song games of children living on Corn Island of Nicaragua revealed gender socialization (Minks, 2008). In a song named "Get ready" girls primped themselves for the arrival of their sailor [boyfriend.] "Here comes the rabbit" is played by older children and primes them for romance, "You will kiss the girl or boy."

In addition, parents' beliefs or ethnotheories about gender development were revealed in a study of low-income Guatemalan mothers' views of the desired qualities of their children (Gibbons, García Egan, Batz, Pauley, & Ashdown, 2013). Although mothers reported that both boys and girls should be respectful and obedient, girls were expected to help with housework, and boys to study hard. One mother said, "A good girl does her chores at once when she is asked … A good boy goes to school and does his homework as soon as he's home. He has good handwriting." McClaurin (1996) similarly observed that Belizean girls were more often assigned chores in the home than were their brothers.

According to Arnett (2010), in traditional cultures the world contracts for girls at adolescence, while it expands for boys. Girls face new restrictions on their behavior, especially with respect to sexuality. Boys have relatively more time with their peers and start to enjoy the privileges reserved for men. Although this perspective represents a generalization across many cultures, evidence from Central America suggests that some of those patterns apply. For example, a report on indigenous girls in Guatemala explained that girls reaching adolescence are not only assuming a large share of household responsibilities, but they are often restricted by their parents from leaving their home or village (UNICEF, 2008).

A study on time-use among adolescents living in "developing" (low-income) countries, including Guatemala and Nicaragua, revealed sizable gender differences (Ritchie, Lloyd, & Grant, 2004). Girls spent more time doing all work than did boys, and this was more pronounced in urban regions and especially when only housework was considered. Boys, on the other hand, spent more hours in labor market work. Over the urban regions of all countries, boys spent more time on leisure activities than did girls, and the difference persisted on both school days and non-school days

(Ritchie et al., 2004). These findings reinforce the interpretation above that young people are being prepared for adult roles that show gender differentiation. There is some evidence that the socialization of teenage boys and girls with respect to sexuality shows the differences described by Arnett (2010) for adolescents growing up in traditional cultures. In a cross-national study of 14–18 year olds that included El Salvador, gender differences were evident in both sexual behavior and in motivation for engaging in sex (Osorio, López-del Burgo, Carlos, Ruiz-Canela, Delgado, & de Irala, 2012). Among 2195 Salvadorean adolescents, 34 % of boys and 17 % of girls had engaged in sex. Reported reasons for having sex differed by gender with girls more often reporting having sex because they were in love and boys reporting their motivation as wanting to have fun, wanting to know what it was like, "felt like it," wanting to be more popular, and feeling external peer pressure.

A recent phenomenon that has affected many adolescents in Central America is that of migration (Cortés, 2011). In 2011, there were about 3 million immigrants from Central America living in the USA; the primary countries of origin were El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras (Stoney & Batalova, 2013). There are three ways that migration can impact the lives of Central American adolescents. They can be left behind by migrating parents or they can migrate alone or with kin. In all of those situations, girls are more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation than are boys. Participatory action research with teenagers left behind in Guatemala revealed their complex feelings about their situation—feelings of loss and missing their parents, but also pride and understanding that their parents had left to afford them a better life (Lykes & Sibley, 2013).

In sum, gender socialization begins early for children growing up in Central America. Parental attitudes, beliefs, and imposition of rules contribute to gender socialization (Luna, 2011). During adolescence, girls may face increased restrictions and they may also be more vulnerable with respect to migration, an issue that has become increasingly important in Central America.

Violence and Gender

Cada día mueren más mujeres en América Latina por el hecho de ser mujeres (Stiftung, 2010, p. 4.) [Every day in Latin America women die just for being women]. Three Central American countries have been highlighted for their high rates of murders of women—Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador (Stiftung, 2010). A word has been coined expressly for women's assassination—*femicidio* [femicide]. The data from Honduras show that 77 % of the time, the murderer is not identified. When a perpetrator is identified, he is most often the woman's partner (54 %). Young women—teenagers and young adults—seem to be most vulnerable. In Guatemala, a very small percentage of overall homicides (2 % according to an oft-cited report) result in a conviction (Worby, 2013). Therefore, those who kill women enjoy impunity.

Domestic violence is a significant problem around the world, and Central America is no exception. The World Health Organization (WHO, 2013) estimates that 30 % of the world's women have experienced intimate partner violence (IPV), and that 38 % of all murders of women are committed by their intimate partners. Women who have experienced IPV are more likely to acquire HIV, to be depressed, and to give birth to low-birth-weight babies. IPV may even affect the next generation, as the children of abused women in Nicaragua were more likely to drop out of school and to be hospitalized (Velzboer-Salcedo & Novick, 2000). Occasionally, violence in the home can have unexpected consequences. Anderson-Fye (2010) found that gender-based violence at home motivated some Belizean girls to go to school to both escape the current violence and give them opportunities to avoid abuse in their future lives.

The primary theme that emerged from Mendívar's study of Ladina women in eastern Guatemala is that they were suffering and enduring violence. A health care worker said, "… with the exception of maybe one or two cases, I would say that every woman in this town is mistreated in one way or another (Menjívar 2011, p. 63). Zola from Belize said, "Many women in our country are not safe in their own homes. Women have reported their partners for beating them with such weapons as knives, crowbars, machetes, electric wire, pint bottles, mop sticks, rocks, boards, and rope. Some women are threatened with guns on a regular basis." (McClaurin, 1996, p. 84).

However, it is clear not only that IPV is a risk to women's health, but that it is linked to views of masculinity, including machismo. A woman from Panama explained, "the violence [is] because the husbands are macho, they cheat on their wives, have women in the street, and neglect their homes. When they come home, there are problems." (Velzboer-Salcedo & Novick, 2000, para 33). In sum, IPV and other gender-based violence are significant problems in the Central American countries. Although there are many efforts for change, cultural views about masculinity and femininity and the roles of men and women may need to transform to address this widespread problem.

Physical Health and Sexuality

Although gender plays out in almost all health-related issues, it is most evident with regards to sexuality and sexually-transmitted disorders. As elaborated below, gender roles are linked specifically to sexuality. In Nicaragua, Lancaster (1992) found that the language used for male sexuality, violence, and gender was intertwined. For example, the same words might mean "I'm going to punch you," or "I'm going to put my dick in you." Sexuality for women, on the other hand, is described in more passive terms. In Costa Rica, women living in rural communities may say, "My husband uses me twice/three times a week" (Arroba, 2002, p. 55). In Belize, women's sexuality is shrouded in ambivalence, silence, and often restrictions by girls' parents, and later husbands, to ensure their chastity or fidelity (McClaurin, 1996). In

focus groups of Honduran women in Honduras, participants described what they wished for their daughters' sexuality (Giordano, Thumme, & Sierra, 2009). Above all, mothers wanted their daughters to have choices about having children, and to receive respect from their partners. They saw their own roles as protecting their daughters and also educating their sons not to be macho. "I have four boys, and I have tried to educate my kids as men but not machos." (Giordano et al., 2009, p. 1003). Thus, even within the constrained conditions that they described for themselves, women wanted more agency and better lives for the next generation.

Cultural values about gender roles are instantiated in romantic and sexual behavior. A study of young adults by Dunning (2012) included samples from Belize and Guatemala. There were multiple gender differences in women's and men's knowledge about sexuality, contraception, and HIV transmission, as well as a great deal of misinformation. For example, more men (13 %) than women (9 %) believed that HIV could be transmitted through vaginal sex, while 35 % of women and 30 % of men believed that HIV could be transmitted through kissing an infected person. In Guatemala, young adults believed it was always wrong for a woman to have premarital sex (79 % of men and 88 % of women). Only 32 % of men and 19 % of women reported that the risk of contracting HIV affects their sexual practices. A sexual double standard among Ladino participants was evident, in that sexual activity among men was encouraged, whereas women were held to standards of chastity.

In a study of people's perceptions of HIV/AIDS among Garífuna communities in Honduras, gender-typed words were associated with the disease (Stansbury & Sierra, 2004). Specifically, risk was associated with "adventuring" and prevention with "being faithful," traits often associated with men and women, respectively. In fact, in Latin America, about two thirds of HIV positive individuals are male (WHO, 2003), possibly a consequence of a view of masculinity that emphasizes sexual prowess. Adherence to strict gender roles may increase the risk of HIV infection for both women and men. Women may feel obligated to accede to partners' demands for sex, and men may express their masculinity through hypersexuality.

Stereotyping, Attitudes, and Ideologies

Gendered behaviors with respect to work and family life, violence, and sexuality are fostered, maintained, and legitimized by attitudes, stereotypes, and ideologies. Like other cultural values, gender ideologies, and stereotypes have both universal and culturally specific elements. Among 25 countries, the adjectives *adventurous, dominant, independent, masculine*, and *strong* were always associated with men and the adjectives *sentimental, submissive*, and *superstitious* always with women (Williams & Best, 1990). Although the sample included four South American samples, Central America was not represented (Williams & Best, 1990).

Gender ideologies also incorporate culturally-specific, or emic concepts (Salas, 2005). Three concepts have been associated with gender stereotypes in Latin America, including Central America. The first is *machismo*, a widely used term that

expresses an exaggerated masculinity, often associated with strength and aggressiveness (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). A second term is *marianismo*, the stereotype of the ideal woman displaying the characteristics of the Virgin Mary, including chastity, virtue, subordination, self-silencing, and serving as the pillar of family and spiritual life (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010; Stevens, 1973). The third term *hembrismo* (roughly translated as womanism) is closely related to *marianismo*. It has been characterized by Ignacio Martín-Baró (1983, cited in Gaborit et al., 2003) as encompassing subordination to men, virginity and confinement, sensitivity and emotion, along with conservatism and religiosity.

Men and Masculinity

Many of the masculine behaviors described above, including aggressiveness and hypersexuality, are associated in Latin America with *machismo*. Martín-Baró (1983) characterized machismo as having a focus on genital sexuality, a predilection for physical aggression, an indifference toward or disparaging of anything not associated with the macho image, and an idealization of the mother (cited in Gaborit et al., 2003).

Based on field studies in Nicaragua, Lancaster (1992) has emphasized other aspects of *machismo*. He stresses that *machismo* is as much about power relationships among men, as it is about relationships between men and women. Men must constantly fight for their status in the hierarchy; otherwise they will be considered as *cochones* (men who are penetrated by other men). In a telling incident witnessed by Lancaster, a father urged his infant son to "fight" with an infant girl. When the boy cried after the girl lightly hit him, the father accused him of being a *cochón*. A witness to the lesson pointed out that the father was already teaching his son to beat women. According to Lancaster the core practices of machismo are "hard drinking, excessive gambling, womanizing, wife-beating" (p. 39). Attributing alcohol abuse to machismo is common. Jazmina spoke of her deceased husband, "In most ways he was a good husband. But because Nicaraguan men are machistas, they almost all drink too much. He was an alcoholic … and that's what killed him." (p. 179). Similarly, Ladina women in eastern Guatemala saw masculinity as associated with alcohol, violence, and infidelity (Menjívar, 2011).

Consistent with the idea that machistas look down upon any behavior that is not traditionally masculine, McClaurin (1996) points out that men who perform housework may be stigmatized. In her fieldwork in Belize, a man whispered to her that he was planning to cook dinner for his household. Evidently he feared that he would be teased or ridiculed for assuming women's work. In a study of adolescents' ideal man and ideal woman (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004), one Guatemalan boy drew the ideal man sweeping the floor. However, he explained, "This man is doing the cleaning in his house because his wife is pregnant." In other words, men do not usually do housework.

Studies of masculinity in Guatemala have revealed more nuanced views than the standard accepted stereotype of *machismo*. Luna's (2011) study of young men revealed some elements of traditional *machismo*, for example, that sexuality was a critical component of manhood and that it required both heterosexuality (to be a man was to be heterosexual) and virility (men should be potent and brag about their sexual experiences to other men). Physical violence was also linked to masculinity. Young men reported that their fathers served as icons of manhood conveying the messages that men should not express their feelings, and that fathers should educate, correct, and impose discipline. Less consistent with traditional machismo, the father was also seen as someone who is strong, and defends and protects the family.

In several studies of urban Guatemalan men, it was reported that although *machismo* was influential in defining masculinity (Fajardo Andrade, 2006; Luna, 2011; Ortiz, 2011; Pan American Social Marketing Organization, PASMO, 2007), traditional *machismo* may be losing strength as the central organizing concept for true manhood. Instead, during focus groups, respondents admired men who were responsible, honest, and hard-working (PASMO, 2007). The study identified five images of manhood in Central America, including the powerful man, the energetic man working for social change, the relaxed, tolerant man, the emotional man who expresses his feelings, and the confused young man seeking his own definition of manhood (PASMO, 2007). A study of 1100 urban Guatemalan men studying at a public university reinforced those findings (Ortiz, 2011). Participants saw *machismo* as provoking problems such as violence in the home and the inability of men to express emotions. In response to an open-ended question, men claimed that the most desired qualities for a man were: responsible, faithful, honest, hard-working, loving, caring, sincere, understanding, and intelligent. A similar set of qualities had been reported in a study of Guatemalan adolescents' descriptions of the ideal man (Gibbons, Stiles, Schnellmann, & Morales-Hidalgo, 1990). Additional themes that emerged in studies of masculinity in Guatemala were that men should protect their wives and children, provide for the family through employment, and engage in heterosexual activity (Fajardo Andrade, 2006; Luna, 2011; Ortiz, 2011; PASMO, 2007).

Those more compassionate and moral elements of masculinity are consistent with a view introduced by Arciniega and his colleagues (Arciniega et al., 2008) that *machismo* has two components—a traditional machismo that incorporates hypermasculinity, aggression, and domination of women and a second aspect "caballerismo," that involves emotional connectedness along with nurturance and protection of the family. In a recent study, Guatemalan university students, especially men, endorsed caballerismo while rejecting traditional machismo (Erdmenger de Staebler et al., 2011).

Women and Femininity

Marianismo prescribes that women should have the qualities of the virgin; they should be perfect, the pillar of the family, self-sacrificing, virtuous and chaste,

subordinate to others, self-silencing in order to maintain harmony, and a spiritual pillar (Castillo et al., 2010; Stevens, 1973). *Marianismo* was seen originally as the counterpart to *machismo*, a "cult of feminine spiritual superiority, which teaches that women are semi-divine, morally superior to, and spiritually stronger than men." (Stevens, 1973, p. 91). It incorporated a cult of the mother, viewed as constantly sad, abject, and in mourning. As the complement to *machismo*, good women are virtuous, passive, and long-suffering in response to men's transgressions. The image of the virtuous woman is contrasted with that of the bad or sexual woman, reviled for her audacious behavior. Paradoxically (with the possible exception of the Virgin Mary), only sexual women can become mothers.

The concept of *marianismo* as the central ideology to describe women's roles in Latin America has been critiqued by Ehlers (1991) in an article titled, "Debunking *marianismo*." Ehlers argues, not that *marianismo* (submissive, passive, and subordinate conduct) does not exist, but that it serves as an adaptive response to unreliable husbands or partners and limited economic power. She points out that subordination is variable, with some women expressing greater agency and mobility, especially when they have economic resources. For example, women are not confined to the home when they are needed to tend the fields and or/sell their produce at the market. Women's apparent subordination is a strategy for survival, rather than submission. Ehlers (1991) describes how communities evolve when men earn income from cash employment and those opportunities are less available to women. For example, in San Antonio Palopó of Guatemala, Kaqchikel women are less likely than men to speak Spanish; they therefore do not interact as much with outsiders, increasing their economic vulnerability. Ehlers claims (as expressed in the title of this chapter), that "Men and women share this impoverished life, but women carry a larger share of the burden." (Ehlers, 1991, p. 6).

Hembrismo according to Martín-Baró (1983) creates three myths or false images of women. The first is the loving wife, who sublimates her own desires to help her husband succeed. This myth can lead to the exploitation of women. The second is the myth of the mother; that myth harnesses women by imposing on them idealized characteristics and qualities. According to Gaborit et al. (2003) this image of motherhood in El Salvador and the rest of Central America hides a sad reality. For many women living in grim circumstances, all they have to offer their children is an uncertain future, with suffering and oppression; they are left feeling socially helpless, unable to live up to the idealized image of motherhood. In addition, self-sacrificing mothers also bolster the established social order and help to maintain structural inequalities by socializing their children into the patriarchal system. The third myth is the myth of the "eternal feminine." This myth exploits women's bodies through promoting beauty rituals, marketing eroticism, and compelling virginity. The ideology of the "eternal feminine" also requires a woman to use her body to achieve, through beauty, a good marriage and an honorable motherhood.

The idealized mother, as described above, is also promoted by religious leaders. Lancaster (1992) relates a priest's homily that concluded, "the true vocation of woman is to produce new men and new women. I say to you: the most exalted role of woman is mother, and it always will be" (Lancaster, 1992, p. 92). The central

role of religion in shaping Latin American ideologies is well-established, and may promote traditional gender ideologies (Garrard-Burnett, 1998; Harrison, 1985).

Consistent with the motherhood myth described by Martín-Baró is the view of motherhood that Menjívar (2011) found among Ladina women in eastern Guatemala. According to her interviewees, motherhood is suffering and sacrifice. Menjívar claims that woman are socially trained to "endure"; they strive to withstand and survive violence and abuse within the home.

In sum, the concepts of *machismo*, *marianismo*, and *hembrismo* are indigenous constructs that shape and buttress gender roles and behaviors in Central America.

Change: Emerging Trends

Having described differences in the lives of women and men in Central America, as well as the constructs that promote them, we turn to evidence for social change. Are gender roles becoming more egalitarian?

A prominent team of researchers has used items from the World Values Survey to explore attitudes about gender equality (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Those authors claim that there is a "rising tide" of gender equality, that across nations, economic and human development is associated with more egalitarian gender role attitudes. The only Central American country survey in that study was El Salvador; there, gender role attitudes were relatively egalitarian, with El Salvador located 22nd of 61 countries. The "rising tide" perspective predicts that modernization in Central America, as in other countries, will be accompanied by more egalitarian gender roles.

Another perspective on social change comes from Central America. Martín-Baró (2006) argues from the framework of liberation psychology that male dominance is sustained by the ideologies of *machismo* and *hembrismo*, the notion that women's subordination to men is innate, inflexible, and morally correct. In contrast, liberation psychology takes the perspective of social construction, that the oppressive ideology can be re-framed to create a new reality. The process of heightened awareness is known as *concientización*. It serves as an instrument of change. Specifically, *concientización* might lead to women recognizing that idealized motherhood is unattainable and men dissociating violence from masculinity. Although she did not name it *concientización*, McClaurin (1996) described a similar process for the Belizean women. For example, Rose, by joining women's groups, came to see her life in a new way. In addition, in a review of Menjívar's (2011) book, Costantino (2012) documented many instances of women's agency in the face of abuse. So, there is evidence from several sources that women are (sometimes) quietly subverting oppression.

Organizations, formed mostly by women, have sprung up all over Central America to address issues of gender equality (e.g., Europe Aid, n.d.; Rodan & Calvo, 2014). An example is the Fundación Sobrevivientes [Survivors Foundation] in Guatemala that focuses on violence against women. Their motto is "To hit one woman

is to hit all women." The organization, led by Norma Cruz, has recently provided testimony and assisted in conviction for five cases of femicide, one of child abuse, and another of rape.

In sum, there are diverse routes to change, and some evidence that efforts toward gender equality are, indeed, effecting change.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have described gender roles, attitudes, and ideologies among the seven countries of Central America. Despite diversity due to nationality, ethnicity, economic condition, ethnicity, and rural versus urban residence, there is evidence for a pervasive influence of gender role ideologies that shape people's lives. The ideologies put both men and women at risk for structural inequalities and discrimination in the workplace and the home, for ill-health, for violence (as perpetrator or recipient), and even for death (e.g., from femicide). Overall, the daily lives of men and women are structured by gender ideologies, including *machismo*, *marianismo*, and *hembrismo*, and the result is that women do housework, take care of children, and often work outside the home for pay. Although men may endorse, in general, the idea that they should help care for the children, they see that responsibility as financial support (and that is not always forthcoming). When it comes to changing diapers, most Central American men do not see it as their responsibility.

Spawned in Central America, liberation psychology provides a road map to move forward (Martin-Baró, 1986). A tenet of that perspective is that it is the responsibility of all to align themselves with those who have less power, to opt for the oppressed. With respect to gender, the first step is increased awareness, to recognize that the gender ideologies are coopted by those who have the power in society in order to maintain that power. A practical implication is that one might best support community efforts for gender equality, economic development, and change through accompaniment, rather than by implementation of external programs. Although efforts for change in Central America have been successful at many levels, from the individual woman who starts a business to grassroots organizations implementing effective programs, systemic change is necessary to achieve equality.

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Chapter 16
Balancing the Scales of Gender and Culture in Contemporary South Africa

Claude-Hélène Mayer and Antoni Barnard

Introduction

Since the end of apartheid in 1994, there have been consistent and progressive socio-economic changes in South Africa, affecting aspects of gender and culture across various societal and organisational contexts. Radical changes in equity legislation initiated a more gender-balanced and culturally diverse work force that is still developing in the country. This chapter is based on a literature review of gender and culture in the South African context, as well as on empirical studies, to explore, in depth, the concepts of gender and culture and their impact in the community and work context during apartheid and in post-apartheid South Africa.

For conceptual clarification, gender is viewed here as norms and roles for each sex, as propounded by The World Health Organisation (WHO, 2003). Whereas sex differences refer to biologically caused differences, gender refers to the state of being male or female by typically referring to environmental, social and cultural differences in roles and characteristics (Eagly, 2013). Gender is used by psychologists when they refer to the social and psychological aspects assumed to be typically distinctive of men and women and these assumptions are socioculturally constructed

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(Siann, 1994). Similarly, for Eagly (2013), gender is interlinked with the meaning that societies and individuals ascribe to female and male roles and characteristics. Gender roles are seen as the social roles that a society defines for women and men and therefore reflect the preconceived assumptions individuals hold about men and women from a particular sociocultural influence. Gender roles and gender differences therefore vary across cultures (Costa, Terracciano, & McCrae, 2001) and in this chapter, we present something of the unique South African perspectives in this regard.

The meaning of the term or concept, "culture", has been discussed extensively since the 1950s (Treichel & Mayer, 2011). Culture is broadly defined by Bhugra and Becker (2005) as a general, complex system that influences the perceptions, thoughts, feelings and actions of human beings. The concept of culture in the South African context has historically been intricately interwoven with the concept of race, as well as with other related concepts of social strata and class belonging (Mayer, 2005). For this chapter, therefore, culture is specifically referred to from a South African perspective as encapsulating the unique ways of acting and thinking that are particular to a group of people, including their customary beliefs and social forms (see Mubangizi, 2012).

We introduce gender and culture from a historical perspective, before referring to concepts of culture and race in contemporary, democratic post-apartheid South Africa. The discussion then moves on to an in-depth exploration of gender and its impact on democratic South African organisations. By demonstrating the interconnectedness of gender and culture in South African organisations, the impact on particularly female employees' health and wellbeing is highlighted. By referring to female health and wellbeing in the workplace, this chapter highlights aspects of work role conflict, gender stereotypes, stress in contemporary society and employees' sense of coherence. The analysis then concludes with a perspective on balancing the scales of gender and culture in contemporary South Africa and facilitating the integration and empowerment of women in the workplace by balancing individual and organisational strategies.

Racial Segregation and Gender Inequity: The Apartheid Legacy

In apartheid South Africa, South Africans were classified into racial categories according to their race and physical features such as skin colour, facial features or hair texture (Posel, 2001a). The Population Registration Act thus segregated South African society according to a legal racial classification system into native, coloured, Indian and white racial groups, with whites being regarded as the superior race in society and commanding the country's political and economic power (Posel, 2001b). In the hierarchy of socioeconomic superiority, whites were followed by Indians and then the third classified group, the Coloureds. Being Coloured became a category for a cultural group that is defined in South Africa as a racially mixed

group with Afrikaans as mother tongue and either a Christian or Muslim religious background (Adhikari, 2005). At the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy were the natives, also known as blacks, who were, during apartheid, labelled as people of black ethnic origin or a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa (Posel, 2001b). These racial categories were powerfully rooted in the everyday life of South Africans and were used as instruments of governmental control to determine a person's economic and social mobility and class (Posel, 2001b). To maintain perspective on how the definition of being black in South African has evolved, it is important to insert a brief note on its current definition. The Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 uses black as a generic term to define people of African, Coloured and Indian origin (Posel, 2001b). In the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998, blacks are legally categorised together with women and disabled people as designated groups, privy to affirmative employment strategies (Booysen, 2007).

The racial classification of blacks was therefore clearly pivotal in maintaining white superiority in the apartheid regime (Posel, 2001b). Through the system of apartheid, opportunities for better jobs and quality education were withheld from blacks and their access to transport, housing, health services and economic prospects were limited. Blacks were allowed to live only in designated areas and many were forced into migrant labour, uprooting key members, as the financial providers or parents, from their families (Mayer, 2005). Culture and by implication race in the South African context are furthermore intricately linked to gender. Understanding gender in South Africa requires an understanding of its association with culture and the ethnic origins of stereotypical gender roles and expectations, to which women across different South African cultures have to adhere. Apartheid restrained the economic participation of black women, in particular, and effectively downgraded them to second-class citizens (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004). Wing and De Carvalho (1995) therefore distinguish black women as being the least equal of all groups in South Africa, having uniquely suffered the dual legacy of racism and sexism.

Legal enforcement of designated living areas contributed to the dislodging of the family unit and increased poor socioeconomic circumstances, difficult living conditions and family-related violence, abuse and suffering for black women. In this context, black women were suppressed by the oppressive white culture, as well as by their own patriarchal culture, having to make sense of and adjust to a myriad of defeating role expectations and strains (Wing & De Carvalho, 1995). The apartheid government restrained their educational and work opportunities, while on the other hand, traditional ethnic norms and values favoured men as superior.

Traditionally, as in most South African cultures, the black culture represents a strong patriarchal structure and masculine authority and power, with women inhabiting an inferior role (Hutson, 2007). In the 1930s, women also started migrating towards the urban areas to seek employment opportunities there. Apartheid laws, however, confined these opportunities to activities such as brewing beer, domestic work and casual work on white-owned farms (Hutson, 2007), with tribal leaders strongly opposing equal rights for women (Wing & De Carvalho, 1995). Apart from the detrimental effect on black women's socio-economic status, these living circumstances had a profound effect on their health. For example, such socio-economic circumstances are often regarded as interlinked with the still rising prevalence of HIV/AIDS, particularly among women (Quinn & Overbaugh, 2005).

Cultural rituals that originate from some of the black ethnic groups in South Africa have perpetuated the subordinate role of women in society for a very long time. It is only recently that Mubangizi pointed out in 2012 that the rituals of *ukuthwala* (marriage by abduction), virginity testing, polygamy and primogeniture (the right of the eldest surviving male to inherit the parents' estate), for instance, have been highlighted as violating the human rights of women (Mubangizi, 2012). Despite the protection and promotion of human rights, enshrined in the South African Constitution, Rangan and Gilmartin (2002) argue that the post-apartheid government authorises traditional authority structures in rural areas to control access to land occupation and that these tribal authorities use African customary law to maintain a particular social order which, in essence, discriminates against black women. Many African customs still deny women the right to own land or manage their livestock independently from a husband (Hutson, 2007). Permits to occupy land are usually registered to a male representative and almost never to single women and even a widow's access to the land is defined by her relationship with her late husband's sons or male relatives (Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002). Wives of polygamous men who work away from home are even more insecure, as their occupancy rights may be reclaimed at any time (Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002). Moreover, women's access to traditional authority is denied by the customary law of "patrilineal" inheritance, requiring that succession of traditional leaders may only occur in the male line of descent (De Beer, 2004). Patriarchal tradition and the apartheid system have thus set the scene in which the dynamics of culture and gender are uniquely exemplified in black South African women.

Dynamics of Culture and Race in Post-apartheid South Africa

South Africa has undergone tremendous change on societal, political, economic and individual levels in the post-apartheid era (Hart, 2002). Intra-national transitional processes on the social and political scene and the increasing trend of adopting globalisation processes within the country have led to a change in values as well as changes in cultural and social identities within the various cultural groups, communities and organisations. The impact of globalisation and the intra-national change from apartheid structures and mind-sets towards post-apartheid has been referred to as a kind of "double transition" (Webster & Adler, 1999) that influences concepts of culture and gender within the broader society. Although globalisation processes influence societies and organisations all over the world, the impact of globalisation, coupled with the internal transition from apartheid to post-apartheid, have led to a specific shift in power, racial, economic and political relations in South Africa. The strong political shift towards democratisation in South Africa in the context of globalisation challenges is closely interlinked with new formations of racial and gender relations and classifications (Carmody, 2002; Webster & Adler, 1999).

The cultural complexity of post-apartheid South African society and its reflection in the increasingly diverse workforce has become a major issue in South Africa. The impact of cultural diversity on organisational culture is evident across private companies, government departments, schools, universities and churches. Cultural diversity of the workforce has led to the formation of hybrid identities and transculturality, new transcultural concepts of management approaches, philosophical (re-)integration of cultural concepts in the workplace, as well as newly developed communication and work techniques that are compatible across cultural groups (Luthans,Van Wyk, & Walumbwa, 2004). It has been pointed out that managers working in South African organisations need to prepare for managing culturally complex and transcultural situations while dealing with the apartheid legacy. These situations include the management of diverse value systems and ambiguous interpretations of work and life realities (Mayer, 2011a). Managers as well as other employees need to be trained to cope with the cultural complexity in South African organizations (Denton & Vloeberghs, 2003) by increasing intercultural competences, leadership and transcultural conflict management capabilities (Mayer, 2011a).

Despite these reconstructions of cultural concepts and relations, the concept of culture in post-apartheid South Africa is strongly interwoven with the concept of race (Mayer, 2005, 2008). Thus, race is still defined in the Employment Equity Act of 1998 as based on physical or morphological characteristics (Bekker, 1993) and is therefore still immutable. It is also common for race to be understood as socially and culturally constructed, shaped through ideological habits, identity narratives and everyday stories (Maré, 2001), which create an "illusion of ordinariness" (Nobles, 2000) to regard someone as black or white. In post-apartheid South Africa, narrating identity, therefore, still refers to racial categories (Puttick, 2012; Steyn, 2001), yet Puttick (2012) acknowledges that the concepts of whiteness and blackness have shifted positions in South African society, particularly at an ideological and macro-level, although not necessarily at a material, economic or psychological level in the lives of individuals. Racial categories in contemporary South Africa seem to be more nuanced and fluid, ambivalent and contradictive than before, as well as intersecting with constructs of socio-economic class and status (Puttick, 2012).

Despite new emerging forms of interracial diversity constructions and cross-race connections, the old apartheid boundaries continue to be powerfully policed (Wale, 2010). Kamoche (2011) highlights that despite socio-political transformation, race remains related to dynamics of power, identity, social acknowledgement and distribution of resources, consistently (re-) producing distinctive hierarchical societal strata.

A recent constructivist qualitative study explored the understanding of culture and race of South African citizens across the cultural divides and identified themes connected to culture (Mayer, 2011b). The study relates to and provides an example of the assumptions of cultural psychology (Shweder, 1999) that self and other, psyche and culture, person and context are dynamically interrelated and construct and reconstruct one another. In-depth interviews were conducted with 65 women and 50 men from different cultural groups (Mayer, 2011b). The interviewees classi-

fied themselves in terms of cultural belonging as follows: 44 individuals described themselves as black, 22 as white, 15 as coloured, eight as Muslim, four as Christian and another 17 did not describe themselves in terms of cultural belonging. Altogether 21 participants view culture as values, norms and beliefs of a certain society. Fourteen individuals feel that culture means "cultural identity", "religion" and "church". Another 13 individuals define culture as what they have learned and experienced in "learning and socialisation" processes. Eleven participants highlight that culture is "just the lifestyle". Thirteen people say that they do not know what culture is, while four individuals mention that to them culture does not exist. For three other individuals culture is *ubuntu,* which they define as an "African philosophy how to live". Two people point out that culture is expressed in race, history, ancestors, family, nationality, language and prayer. Relating to the question of how culture manifests itself, the participants highlight that culture is expressed in daily life in cultural rituals (such as circumcision, *lobola* [bride-price], becoming a woman, baby rituals), in religion (religious belonging and prayer), in food, in style of dress, in traditions and cultural norms of respect, in artefacts, in ethics and morals, values and ancestors. Studies such as these are called for, as they provide an interpretive framework for defining culture and extend studies on self and others (Markus & Kitayama, 1998). Apart from cultural diversity that has been enhanced in the South African workforce, women are entering the workplace and moving into management in increasing numbers. The transformation of the workforce in terms of gender is discussed in the following subsection.

Gender Transformation of the South African Workforce

Gender research in psychology has become popular during past years (Burr, 1998; Chrisler & McCreary, 2010) and recent publications (Kumra, Simpson, & Burke, 2014) highlight the inequality of opportunities between genders and the impact this has on organisations, individuals and society. The authors refer to the concepts of masculinity and femininity in workplaces and the impact of gender on careers, as well as gendered leadership and management. Concepts of masculinity and manhood (Good & Sherrod, 2001), as well as of femininity and womanhood (Unger, 2001) in organisational and work concepts are explored. Hoffman et al. (2000), emphasise that the focus in gender research has shifted from a stereotypical sex-role conception of masculinity and femininity to a perspective that respects diverse concepts of what femininity and masculinity may mean to individuals and groups. These phenomena have also been researched and highlighted for the South African professional and work context (Person, 2003).

In the South African context, a number of factors have contributed to the increasing number of women entering the workplace, assuming leadership roles and occupying traditionally male-dominated occupations such as engineering, construction, mining, the military and senior executive positions (England, 2010; Franks, Schurink, & Fourie, 2006; Mostert, 2009). Post-apartheid equity legislation and affirmative action policies for organisations have initiated aggressive focus on in-

creasing the representation of women across the organisational spectrum, but more so on managerial and executive levels (Kinnear, 2014).

Apart from prohibiting any form of cultural and gender discrimination, the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 requires equity plans from organisations that will demonstrate how the organisation intends to redress and rectify imbalanced representation of cultural and gender groups in their employee and management corps. The Mining Charter, introduced in 2002 (Republic of South Africa, 2002), prescribed a 10% increase of women in mining within a period of 5 of women in the sector. Improved access to work opportunities, coupled with the financial strain associated with the high cost of living in the country, has further contributed to the increasing number of females entering the work force and accessing management positions (Franks et al., 2006).

Although the Employment Equity Commission's 2010 report shows that white males dominate top management positions, with representation of 62.9% (Agenda, 2012), a steady increase in the number of women in executive positions has been reported, from 18.6% in 2009 to 19.3% in 2010 and 21.6% in 2011 (Van Wyk, 2012). Many, however, still regard gender transformation and equity in South African leadership echelons as unsatisfactory (Kinnear, 2014). Despite the positive trend of increasing numbers of women in executive positions, many women still choose to leave the organisational setting in favour of home-based entrepreneurial work, part-time work or other careers that better accommodate the demands of their role as the primary caregivers in the household (Durbin & Tomlinson, 2014; Martin & Barnard, 2013). This situation is exacerbated by the conflicting role demands entrenched in the socio-economic culture, as well as the persistent discriminatory gender role stereotypes with which women have to deal.

According to the South African Commissioner for Gender Equality, Masefako Segooa (Agenda, 2012), some organisations develop employment equity plans, but are not successfully implementing them, while others remain ignorant of the national commitment to gender equality. One of the main concerns for the Commission for Gender Equality remains the marginalisation of working women by an institutional culture, which still reflects male-dominated values and norms favouring men. Black women are said to find the situation even more difficult, as they also have to deal with racial stereotypes (Agenda, 2012). In the same vein, white women are said to be more privileged in terms of their access to senior management positions than black women, especially in the private sector (Kinnear, 2014).

South African Research on Gendered Stereotypes Permeating the Workplace

Over the past few years, international and South African research has highlighted the topic of gender in organisations, particularly with regard to women's leadership (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Heilman & Parks-Stamm, 2007; Kinnear, 2014; Sandberg, 2013; Toh & Leonardelli, 2012). Gender research has also focussed on how gender

stereotypes are socially structured, resulting in implicit stereotypes and self-concepts related to a particular gender (Rudman & Phelan, 2010), as well as the way in which gender stereotypes affect gender relations in the work context, which is slowly changing to include more women and place women and men in relational structures that differ from traditional normative relations (Rudman & Glick, 2008).

Stereotypical male-female gender roles and expectations originate in culture and are sustained in the home environment (Kumra et al., 2014; Rudman & Phelan, 2010). They establish a patriarchal hierarchy where men are seen as the head of the house and authority and power are still, subconsciously, more strongly associated with men. At the same time, the submissive care-giver and emotional support roles in the family are associated with women (Franks et al., 2006). These male–female stereotypes permeate the work-place and manifest in male colleagues' resistance to integrating women equally in the organisational structure (Lewis-Enright et al., 2009). Male-dominated work environments espouse masculine performance values, covertly equating performance with these values, for example, working longer hours or *presenteeism*. *Presenteeism* is defined as the concept of staying at work longer in an effort to be seen as working harder (Lewis-Enright et al., 2009). *Presenteeism* covertly marginalises many women who have family obligations (Cha, 2013). To exacerbate the consequent difficulties for women to compete equally in the workplace, women have to contend with the fact that they too have been acculturated in a patriarchal family system and their behaviour often colludes with these deeply engrained gender stereotypes. Moreover, according to Baskerville-Watkins and Smith (2014), when societal and organisational hierarchies are congruent, as in patriarchal organisations, they tend to reinforce one another mutually. In the South African work context, Booysen and Nkomo (2010), for example, confirm that the "think manager think male" hypothesis (see Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, Bongiorno, 2011) is valid for black and white men, but not for black and white women. Black women feel that the ascribed characteristics of women in general and "being a successful manager" are significantly higher than the resemblance of ascribed characteristics of men in general and successful management. Thus, to be regarded as successful managers, black women feel they have to display positive characteristics in general and managerial competencies much stronger than men. At the same time, white women feel that men and women equally possess characteristics required for becoming successful managers.

Similar to international trends in this regard (Rudman & Phelan, 2010), various South African studies (Du Plessis & Barkhuizen, 2012; Lewis-Enright, Crafford, & Crous, 2009; Martin & Barnard, 2013) confirm that women still experience overt and covert discriminatory practices, aggravating their work adjustment, their potential to flourish and their ability to perform well in their work settings. Lack of access to developmental resources such as training and mentoring, as well as lack of infrastructure (for example, female dressing rooms and ablution facilities) in male-dominated settings such as mining, still abound (Du Plessis & Barkhuizen 2012; Martin & Barnard, 2013). Covert discriminatory and gender role-stereotyped behaviour, however, seems to place particular strain on women's resilience in the work context, especially in traditionally male-dominated occupations. In these occupations, as well as in leadership positions, masculine role expectations and norms

of behaviour continue to be endorsed both from within the organisational culture and from the family culture (Van Wyk, 2012).

In a constructivist grounded theory study, Martin and Barnard (2013) conducted in-depth interviews with five women in traditionally male-dominated occupations. They found that these women experienced a prevailing lack of confidence in their competence, which facilitated their own negative self-perceptions, lowered self-efficacy and poor self-esteem. As a result of these ego insecurities, the women expressed reluctance to place themselves in competitive male roles. Despite the fact that male partners support women in their need to work, South African studies have found that males continue to contribute to domestic and childcare duties to a lesser extent than women (McLellan & Uys, 2009; Mdlongwa, 2014; Van Wyk, 2012). Owing to culturally based gender stereotypes, the burden of emotional labour is furthermore projected onto women much more than men and, as such, women have to deal with the day-to-day emotional and physical wellbeing of children and other family members.

Another South African study by Brink and De la Rey (2001) included 110 employed and married women from various race groups with children and employed mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative data). From the results they concluded that women generally perceived themselves to be primarily responsible to establish a lifestyle that would enable them to combine work and family responsibilities. The finding is supported in the Franks et al. (2006) study, in which young, white career-orientated women still hold traditional perspectives with regard to their family role, believing that they are mainly responsible for family and household responsibilities, resulting in role conflict and role overload. It is not surprising that self-employed white South African women, in the study by McLellan and Uys (2009), constantly expressed feelings of guilt, not so much in relation to work commitments, but rather in relation to not being able to meet their responsibilities as mothers. Guilt manifested itself when they could not manage to meet their commitments as mothers, and they judged themselves as being unable to balance their dual roles.

With the increase of women in leadership positions in South Africa, gender and leadership in organisations have been discussed more frequently (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010). Challenges of organisations are researched (Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders, & McIntyre, 2009; Teferra & Altbach, 2004) and recent research has highlighted that organisations need to prepare for the increasing complexities in South African society in terms of both gender and culture (Mayer, 2011a) and identity formation, particularly among male and female managers (Mayer and Louw, 2013). Studies not only examine women and the challenges they face in leadership positions, but also stereotypical gender role perceptions that women have to deal with when working in leadership positions (Gouws, 2008).

South African research on women in leadership has not remained in the realm of negatively constructed perspectives on woman below the glass ceiling (or “glass cliff” as rephrased by Ryan & Haslam, 2007), but is increasingly exploring concepts of positive psychology and new, constructive perspectives of female power and leadership (Kinnear, 2014; Martin & Barnard, 2012; Mayer & Zyl, 2013). However, South Africa still seems to have a long way to go in terms of gender equity in the

work-place. In the following section, women's increasing expression of a changing work identity is discussed in the context of the challenges women experience in the workplace, particularly in middle and senior management and leadership positions.

The Changing Work Identity of South African Women

In light of the demographic changes in the work force, coupled with remnants of the male-gender stereotype still dominating in the workplace in terms of authority and power, a transition in the work identity of women has occurred, as is evident in Kinnear's (2014) study on the emerging models of power among South African women leaders. It is of value to take cognisance of women's changing work identities in support of integrating women in the workforce, particularly in leadership and management echelons.

Whereas traditionally women mostly identified with the care-giver and housekeeper roles, their need to integrate work and a profession as meaningful parts of their identity has become evident in numerous studies on work–life integration, emphasising not only negative work-to-home spill-over effects for South African women, but many positive effects as well (Martin & Barnard, 2013). In particular, women's professional identity and the meaning they attach to work seem to play an important role in the development of their work identity. Recent international publications (e.g. Grossmann & Chester, 2013) highlight that little has been understood of the meaning women derive from the work context. Person (2003) states that women in South Africa feel misunderstood in terms of their perspective on the meaning and meaningfulness that work has for them. Hakim (2006) points out that the feeling of being misunderstood might be founded on stereotypes about women, on preconceived concepts of what work means to women and research that is conducted from a rather male-oriented, contradictory and ethnocentric perspective.

More recently, research has confirmed that work generally has significant meaning to South African women across cultures and the opportunity to engage with work on various levels is becoming more important to their wellbeing (Mayer & Louw, 2013). A study by Martin & Barnard, (2013) reports that although women in male-dominated South African organisations experience unique physical[1], identity and work–life balance challenges, they demonstrate elements of resilience, enabling them to maintain and flourish in their careers. Similarly, a study by Mdlongwa (2014) highlights the beneficial and enriching experiences expressed by black South African women as a result of their work and life roles. These women extract resources from their work and life roles and apply these across roles, establishing a reciprocal role-support structure that facilitates coping in either role.

[1] Physical challenges in their study refer to women experiencing physical constraints working in the mining sector, for example physical strength required in lifting and shifting machinery, inability to work underground when pregnant, lack of female changing rooms as well as sexual innuendos from male colleagues with regard to their physical appearance.

Financial independence, skills development and a sense of work–family efficiency are additional benefits highlighted in the narratives of these women. Booysen and Nkomo (2010) suggest that particularly black women seem to believe in themselves and their ability to be effective leaders in the South African context. Therefore, they note that women across cultures should not be homogenised because women of different cultural groups were treated differently during apartheid with regard to race and gender.

Martin and Barnard (2013) reported that black South African women tended to be optimistic about their career prospects in male-dominated occupations and provided evidence of work engagement in their narratives. They found that these women enjoyed their work environment and that they felt special because they were working in an atypical gender work role. In Van Wyk's (2012) study, women demonstrated self-awareness of their capabilities and limitations and derived meaning from their interconnected family and career life. A sense of purpose in each sphere, work and family, contributed to their spiritual wellbeing, and they found strength in acquiring power and competence in the process of overcoming challenges and setbacks (Van Wyk, 2012). She also found that the South African women in her study distinguished between professional and personal success. Professional success is evaluated in terms of career growth and company performance, whereas personal success is defined in relational terms—especially during mid-life—in the family sphere (Van Wyk, 2012). Moreover, it has been highlighted that meaningfulness might derive from the creation of the professional identity of women. At the same time, it has been criticised that this professional identity might be overemphasised (Dezso et al., 2013), specifically with regard to challenges of women at work and in terms of gender stereotyping. Still, a South African study in the automotive industry highlighted that, compared to male managers, women managers strongly emphasise their professional identity, while males do not even refer to the professional part of their identity while talking about the topic, "Who are you?" (Mayer, 2008). Booysen, (2007) emphasises that societal power shifts have affected social identities in South African workplaces, which shows that professional identities are still embedded in racial concepts and relations and lead increasingly to identity crises and conflicts that expand from organisations into society.

Kinnear's (2014) study concludes that South African women continue to struggle to embrace their power and authority in the workplace, yet there is emerging evidence that they embrace alternative transformational power modes not entrenched in patriarchy or in coping strategies typical of women in male-dominated work settings. More positive perspectives have emerged and another recent publication has pointed out how women network in leadership positions to cope with organisational challenges to their career mobility and progression (Hawarden, 2013). Recent South African research thus portrays a more constructive perspective on women's conception of work and work identity, as opposed to earlier studies that focussed mostly on the challenges they experienced and the coping strategies they employed.

The Impact of Gender and Culture on Health and Wellbeing

The construct of "gender and health" is often used synonymously with the construct "women and health" (WHO, 2003, p. 2) and it seems that researchers have struggled to differentiate between the terms "gender" and "female" (Alvesson & Billing, 1992). In the South African context, gender and health have often been studied in relation to gender differences (Carless, 1998), comparisons of differences in the (mental) health of men and women (Sachs-Ericsson & Ciarlo, 2010) and gender and psychopathology in clinical contexts (Bez & Emhan, 2011), as well as understanding gender challenges in terms of work–life balance and glass ceiling effects for women in organisations (Baxter, 2012). Gender-related South African research has also focussed on gender and sexuality in women (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010), gender and violence with regard to homosexuality (Wells & Polders, 2006), HIV/AIDS and women (Dunkle et al., 2004) as well as gender and rape (Jewkes et al., 2006).

HIV/AIDS is regarded as a disease of apartheid, which increased through colonialism, segregation and decades of human rights violations (Botha & Durden, 2004). Moreover, it is viewed as having the most significant impact on black women (Kinnear, 2014) and is a primary cause of death among women (Quinn & Overbaugh, 2005). A recent study that is based on 12 semi-structured interviews and participant observation in a clinic with a special HIV/AIDS treatment unit (Mayer & Louw, 2012) shows that HIV/AIDS is often considered a race-related disease. In a selected governmental hospital, doctors, medical staff and patients relate to HIV/AIDS as a "black persons'-disease". Moreover, the study showed that white HIV-positive patients in the HIV/AIDS unit of the governmental hospital in South Africa felt deprived of information, education and treatment procedures, as the environment gave the impression that whites are not affected by HIV/AIDS. white patients therefore felt like a stigmatised minority in the context of HIV/AIDS, while black patients felt like a stigmatised majority. The perceived racial split and its connection with the disease among the medical staff as well as the patients were influenced by perceptions that reflected racial apartheid concepts. However, it also reflected societal post-apartheid perceptions in terms of white patients feeling particularly deprived of the treatment and information system. In the broader South African society, whites often feel "left out" in organisations in response to movements of affirmative action and black Economic Empowerment procedures and other laws to restructure the former apartheid system (Alexander, 2007). Another qualitative study on HIV/AIDS, culture and race supported the above findings; in this study, in which 39 focus groups discussions and 28 key informant interviews were conducted, HIV/AIDS was generally considered to be related to culture and race (Petros, Airhihenbuwa, Simbayi, Ramlagan, & Brown, 2006). The authors show that cultural and racial positioning mediates the perceptions of groups regarded as responsible and vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. In this study, "othering" is central to dealing with HIV/AIDS through prisms of race, culture, homophobia and xenophobia.

Research on gender still mainly refers to negative health concepts, culture and race in the South African organisational context (Mayer & Zyl, 2013). Internationally, the concepts of positive organisational behaviour have been promoted from an occupational health psychology perspective. These approaches demonstrate a shift from preventive medicine towards health psychology concepts in the workplace. However, positive health psychology concepts in organisations have rarely been researched in terms of gender (Macik-Frey, Quick, Quick, & Nelson, 2009) and new research studies in the South African context have only recently tried to address the void (Mayer & Van Zyl, 2013). One qualitative study found that particularly female leaders define "healthy organisations" as inclusive of physical, social, psychological and emotional factors (Mayer & Boness, 2011). To female leaders, it is important to see themselves and others as "whole persons" (Davies, Davies, & Heacock, 2003), viewing health as a holistic concept. Apart from these studies, health and wellbeing aspects that have been researched in this context in South Africa, in particular, pertain to specific constructs such as work-role conflict, balance and integration (De Klerk & Mostert, 2010; Mostert, 2009; Opie & Henn, 2013; Potgieter & Barnard, 2010) as well as to stress and sense of coherence (Barnard, 2013; Van den Berg & Van Zyl, 2008). These are discussed in the remainder of this section.

Work overload and work–home conflict have been related to poor psychological wellbeing. Mostert, (2009) investigated the effect of work–home interference (WHI) and home–work interference (HWI) on female employees' self-perceived health. WHI manifests itself when a negative work load affects functioning at home and HWI occurs when a negative home load affects functioning at work. Mostert's findings confirm a significant relationship between female employees' self-perceived ill-health and home demands, negative WHI and HWI. Work demands do not affect ill-health directly, but affect health through a process of "spill-over" of work load effects (Mostert, 2009). In a cross-sectional industry study with 2040 employees, De Klerk & Mostert, (2010) confirmed the finding of other studies (Mostert & Oldfield, 2009; Pieterse & Mostert, 2005) that South African men demonstrate significantly higher negative WHI than women in the sample. They argue that this may be due especially to men having to accept more responsibilities at home because their partners are also working. The author suggests that organisations should ensure that women and men are enabled to balance their work and home demands. Balancing these demands is an important step in coping with transforming gender roles and the consequent contradictory work–family needs, which are often imbalanced. Imbalances might lead to physical health, anxiety and depressive moods. These studies demonstrate the importance of focussing on understanding the impact of work–life balance on South African men, an issue that has been constructively addressed in Sweden (Allard, Haas, & Hwang, 2011).

The value of a salutogenic perspective on gender research in the work context is evident in the study by Mayer and Van Zyl (2013). Their study on women and mental health in terms of sense of coherence in the engineering environment in South Africa has shown that female leaders with a strong sense of coherence define gender as positive or neutral in a male-dominated work environment, while female leaders with a weak sense of coherence seem to experience gender as affecting them

negatively (Mayer & Van Zyl, 2013). Barnard (2013) found that financial resources play a key role in maintaining a high sense of coherence, despite and irrespective of race and gender. This is because, according to McLellan and Uys (2009), financial resources provide women with the means to access external social support, such as domestic help and child care, in their effort to balance their work and parental roles. Economic incentives play a key role in motivating women of all races to work and sharing a double income seems to act as a resource-strengthening sense of coherence. The authors found that having dependants also influenced sense of coherence, and they recommend that organisations should focus on support strategies such as childcare, bursaries and additional parental and financial guidance for employees. It is evident that the number of children women have correlates positively with role conflict for self-employed mothers (McLellan & Uys, 2009).

Barnard (2013) found a strong sense of coherence among employees in the higher income group category, yet also noted that although a generally high sense of coherence prevails in this group, white and Coloured high-income employees demonstrated somewhat lower levels of sense of coherence than black and Indian employees, also in the higher income group. Taking cognisance of the fact that white and Coloured higher income employees demonstrate a strong sense of coherence, it seems interesting that black and Indian employees in this income category show an even stronger sense of coherence. This study is supported by findings of Mayer (2011), in which black and Indian female managers in an international organisation in South Africa scored higher in sense of coherence than their white and coloured colleagues. The strong sense of coherence displayed by black and Indian female managers (in Mayer, 2011a) and by black and Indian higher income employees (in Barnard, 2013) is possibly due to the fact that black and Indian employees in senior and middle management positions or in higher-income employment are still a minority group in these sectors of the organisation. It might therefore be assumed that members of these minority groups need to have an exceptionally strong sense of coherence, which might be even stronger than the one of the majority group, to get into and remain in these positions and face the challenges of the job, as well as their minority status. It can be expected that black and Indian managers with a weak sense of coherence might not be able to withstand the pressures deriving from work experiences and increased stress.

More research is needed in the South African context, focusing on gender and how gender-related positive psychology frames increase mental health and wellbeing in women leaders, as well as in women with a weak sense of coherence who work in male-dominated contexts. This will assist in constructing strategies to empower women in organisations. Empowering women in the South African workplace seems to have been approached from different perspectives in the past. In the following section, we focus on two different perspectives in this regard: on the one hand, legal and organisational strategies are employed to deal with the unique work identity needs of women and on the other hand, women employ strategies to cope with their unique work challenges.

Gender Equity and Female Empowerment: Strategies in the Workplace

Much attention has been paid to strategies addressing the gender gap in organisations from a legal as well as a policy perspective, both internationally (Casey, Skibnes, & Pringle, 2011) and in South Africa (Agenda, 2012; Booysen, 2007). In the European model, gender equity strategies are distinguished to include hard law in the form of legislative acts and soft law in the form of normative pressures and encouragement (Noback, Broersma & van Dijk, 2013). Sweden, in particular, seems to be at the forefront of actively supporting gender equality at work through its Discrimination Act of 2008, requiring employers to facilitate work–life balance strategies for both male and female employees (Allard et al., 2011). In the South African case, the Employment Equity Act of 55 1998 requires affirmative targets to be submitted annually by organisations with regard to the advancement of the designated groups in the workplace and specifically in management positions (Booysen, 2007). The Skills Development Act of 1998 and the Skills Development Levies Act of 1999 focus more on policing and rewarding the recruitment, succession planning and development and training of persons in the designated groups (Booysen, 2007). The establishment of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Commission followed in 1999, with further directives regarding industry strategies and policies to increase black business ownership and accelerate the representation of blacks in management (Booysen, 2007).

Similar to international research (Durbin & Tomlinson, 2014), South African research findings highlight women's need for mentors, in particular female mentors (Martin & Barnard, 2013). In addition to mentoring, Van Wyk (2012) highlights the importance of developing personal leadership skills as fundamental to South African women leaders' coping. Such skills are essential to organisational strategies that will culminate in gender equity. Mostly, alternative or flexible work time schedules have been advocated as a key strategy to enable better work–life balance for women (Noback et al., 2013) and in some countries also men (Allard et al., 2011). Masculine organisational cultures, however, mediate the impact of alternative work schedules negatively for men and positively for women (Noback et al., 2013), pointing again to the profound yet covert effect of socially constructed norms and stereotypes permeating organisational culture. Franks et al. (2006) highlight that recognising the interconnected nature of women's work and personal lives is an important strategic adaptation for South African organisations and urge organisational investment in appropriate work–life balance policies covering pre-employment career planning and assistance with work–life integration strategies in women's different life stages. They also suggest alternative and more flexible work formats, such as job sharing and flexitime, on-site child care facilities, parental leave and offering recreational facilities (e.g. a gymnasium) on site. With the increasing access to advanced technology, working from home via e-based technology has also become a primary choice for many women, yet few organisations, especially in the public sector, offer this choice to their employees.

South Africa still seems to have a long way to go in addressing work–life balance equally for all genders and has not yet adequately employed work–life balance strategies, mentorship and skills advancement. International cross-cultural studies indicate that work–life balance remains a highly persistent and gendered phenomenon (James, 2014) where family responsibilities affect women's career progression more negatively. However, they benefit from social support such as having their male partners increasingly engaged in child rearing and family responsibilities (Noback et al., 2013). Despite legal compliance and the fact that most South African organisations have all the necessary equity policies and formal procedures in place, the debilitating effect of not having internalised these into the organisational culture (Booysen, 2007) will continue to hamper gender equity and the work–life balance of all employees.

Women pursuing and maintaining career advancement and success continue experiencing challenges in light of persisting gendered organisational cultures (Franks et al., 2006; James, 2014). In slowly changing organisational cultures, women continue to attempt different coping strategies. Martin and Barnard (2013) found that the black South African women in their study oscillated between two different coping behaviours, namely using their femininity, on the one hand, and/or adopting characteristic male-type behaviour, on the other. The feminine coping behaviours include motherly behaviour, democratic leadership styles and even manipulative use of sexual prowess. Some women employ typical male-type characteristics such as more aggressive and competitive behaviour (swearing and drinking with the boys at the club) or they dilute their feminine appearance in order to integrate into the work setting (Martin & Barnard, 2013). Adopting male characteristics, however, has a detrimental effect on women's feelings of authenticity and work identity (Du Plessis & Barkhuizen, 2012) and women find themselves in a double bind between resisting and accommodating masculine politics (Davey, 2008). Women are labelled soft, irrational and ineffective when they adopt a feminine managerial style, and they are criticised as hard and aggressive when they adopt a masculine style. Although women have unique strengths as leaders, they are therefore still subject to prejudice in their leadership roles (Van Wyk, 2012).

Conclusion: Theoretical and Practical Implications and Prospectus

Culture and gender in South Africa are concepts that are strongly influenced by the historical impact of apartheid, post-apartheid and globalised influences. Traditional gender, cultural stereotypes and expectations remain ingrained in society and permeate organisational boundaries to perpetuate role-bound expectations and identities of women in the workplace. The impact of gender and cultural dynamics, therefore, manifests itself covertly and these dynamics still play a role in the new and democratic South Africa, affecting the health and wellbeing of female employees. This chapter refers to various factors that lead to the glass ceiling effect

for women working in South African organisations. It shows that there are various factors that influence the position of women in organisations, such as feeling inauthentic, feeling guilty towards being a mother, being excluded from male networks and experiencing discrimination within the organisation. However, the position of women in organisations is also influenced by gender roles and gender stereotypes, their reluctance to place themselves in male roles, a lack of confidence, as well as the questioning of competence and experiences of sexual harassment.

The chapter also provides ideas on what is needed to change traditional gender concepts and gender stereotypes, as well as cultural and racial concepts. The position of women can be strengthened through changes in identity concepts, new organisational structures and strategies to support women, the inclusion of women in male networks, the exploration of meaningfulness of work for women, the practical implementation of ideas and structures to support women. The redefinition of gender roles and stereotypes within organisations can also support women, as well as new health paradigms and coping strategies to increase mental health and strength. New leadership competences to recognise potential in women in male-dominated work environments could also improve the position of women in the organisation.

However, obviously the concepts of gender and culture are in a dynamic process of redefinition and reconstruction as women find meaning in work and integrate work into their identities. This process of redefinition is not without its problems and challenges, since it might lead to identity crises, imbalances and disharmony in society.

South African organisations focus on balancing former imbalances through equity legislation as well as affirmative action and black Economic Empowerment strategies, sometimes creating new gender and culture imbalances, while concurrently sustaining old ones. In balancing the scales, society needs to address the construction of multiple and hybrid identities and, as much as possible, transform society on all levels towards the acceptance and acknowledgement of constructing healthy identity forms across cultures and gender.

Future theoretical approaches and research need particularly qualitative and multi-method studies to explore the in-depth concepts of gender and culture in the current South African society and understand their potential, especially from positive and humanistic psychology perspectives. Research is needed that explores how globalised and organisational processes within organisations are interlinked with constructing and reconstructing gender and cultures. New research topics should thus focus on exploring hybrid identities and the way in which parts of gendered and cultural identity change over time and in different workspaces. Organisational structures and their impact, as well as leadership training in organisations, need to be evaluated and the effect they have on change in gender and cultural concepts needs to be assessed. Leadership training should also be assessed in terms of its impact on the development of flexible and reconstructed gender and cultural hybrid identities. In this regard, the implementation of equity plans and the criteria that might lead to failure in implementing these plans practically need to be studied.

With regard to practical implications, South Africa needs to address the issues of culture and gender on the macro-, meso- and micro-levels, aiming at rebalancing

traditional gender as well as cultural and racial concepts, their employment and power imbalances. It is assumed that organisations in South Africa need to implement a dramatic shift in policies and work culture to increase the representation of women to the required representative levels. On a practical organisational level, organisations need to focus on developing organisational cultures that are open to redefinitions of gender and culture concepts and that aim at developing hybrid, transcultural identities. These identities can be redefined through training and coaching initiatives and thus contribute to a positive, constructive and healthy organisational culture. Specific transcultural and gender training is required to help both prepare managers and employees to deal with transcultural hybridity. Leadership training should focus on intercultural competence development, the development of a sense of coherence and the minimisation of traditional gender stereotypes in organisations. Open discussions about concepts of culture, race and gender should be held within organisations; former concepts can be openly redefined and the taboos to speak about them decreased.

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Part III
Applications

Chapter 17
Comparative Approaches to Gendered Interventions in New Zealand Mainstream and Ethnic Communities

Angela R. Robinson and James H. Liu

New Zealand prides itself for its political commitment to addressing cultural diversity and reducing gender inequality (New Zealand Trade & Enterprise, 2008). However, while strong legal codes theoretically protect women and minority groups, in practice these groups are disproportionately impacted by economic and social problems. For example, women and immigrants are both overrepresented in the lowest income brackets, and they are more likely to report that their income is insufficient to meet their everyday needs (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). New Zealand government agencies address inequality through welfare and interventions, supplemented by services provided by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs; Cordery, 2012).

Interventions are social programs designed to influence behavior in ways that prevent or treat problems or issues (Lodzinski, Motomura, & Schneider, 2012). Interventions are also a core application and contribution of psychology, yet psychologists' role in addressing economic and social issues is underestimated due to inconsistent evaluation of impact, small sample sizes, and underreporting of the details of complex interventions (Marks, 2009). Due to the expensive nature of social services, providers must prioritize the most important issue areas, appropriately target segments of the population, and balance effectiveness with economic efficiency (Chen, Reid, Parker, & Pillemer, 2013). Targeting interventions at specific groups can either improve or undermine economic efficiency. For example, targeting certain groups at the exclusion of others can reduce overall costs by reducing the size of the treatment group and maximizing effectiveness. Alternatively, tailoring an intervention to a multitude of cultural groups can be costly and reduce economies of scale as it requires consultation with cultural experts, training of additional program staff, and translation of resources into different languages. These costs must be weighed against the ability to help "hard to reach" populations more effectively.

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This chapter analyzes the intersection between gender and culture in New Zealand interventions across several economic and social issue areas. We compare gendered interventions targeted at ethnic communities with interventions aimed at New Zealanders as a whole or as a homogenous group (we refer to the latter as *mainstream interventions* throughout this chapter). Different ethnic and cultural groups within New Zealand hold different norms about social relationships, including the roles of women and men in the family, workplace, and community. Different groups may also evaluate gender roles differently. In Western cultures like New Zealand, stereotyped gender roles have become regarded as problematic in recent history (Burr, 1998). By contrast, Crichton-Hill, (2001) argues that in Samoan culture, for example, gender roles are viewed as having positive, protective aspects that contribute to healthy, interdependent family functioning. If there are cultural differences in attitudes toward gender roles, it may be preferable to tailor gendered interventions differently when targeting New Zealand-born women and those from other cultural backgrounds. Such tailoring may increase the likelihood that people access services and implement new skills in ways that improve outcomes (Novak, 2007). Ideally, interventions aimed at a particular cultural group should address both risk factors and protective mechanisms associated with group membership (Goldston et al., 2008). As we will illustrate, New Zealand interventions take different approaches to targeting different groups and incorporating cultural norms, often based on unspoken ideologies regarding the place of gender roles (see Eagly, Wood, & Diekman, 2000).

Below, we explore common approaches to interventions run by or promoted by the New Zealand government in order to determine whether there are differences in how the leading interventions approach gender when targeting ethnic communities rather than mainstream communities. We begin with brief overviews of cultural diversity and gender issues in New Zealand. Next, we examine New Zealand interventions in three key areas: business leadership, family violence, and health. In each area, we discuss government and NGO strategies for addressing social problems, conducting our own comparative analysis of one intervention targeting mainstream women and one targeting ethnic women. Finally, we conclude by demonstrating how ethnic and mainstream interventions differentially address gender roles, by comparing and contrasting interventions across issue areas, and by exploring future directions for applied psychological research in the development and evaluation of interventions.

Cultural Diversity in New Zealand

The bicultural aspects of New Zealand's cultural and political ideology center on the historical relationship between two groups: Māori, the indigenous peoples who began inhabiting New Zealand around 1000 years ago, and European settlers, who began arriving in the early 1800s (Orange, 2004; O'Sullivan, 2007). The British

established sovereignty with the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, though a series of land wars fought over the next thirty years resulted in abrogation of the Treaty and European dominance from the colonial period on (Belich, 1986). The political rebirth of the Treaty of Waitangi during the civil rights movement of the late 1960s led to the revival of bicultural ideology and practice in policy, education, and culture, which has continued to the present (Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999; Maaka and Fleras, 2005). Māori comprise 14.9 % of the current population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), and bicultural ideology keeps Māori issues and Māori relations at the centerpiece of many modern policy debates. However, Māori have a lower median income than the average New Zealander, as well as lower life expectancy, higher unemployment rates, and higher levels of incarceration (Ministry of Social Development, 2009). While ethnic New Zealand Europeans widely embrace a symbolically bicultural national identity, programs to redistribute resources based on affirmative action are less popular among this group (Sibley and Liu, 2013).

Currently, New Zealand is rapidly diversifying, with immigrants born overseas now comprising over one quarter of the total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Ethnic diversity is increasing among immigrants and those born in New Zealand, with the percentage of residents identifying as Asian nearly doubling from 6.6 % in 2001 to 11.8 % in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Religious diversity is also increasing, with about 1 % of the population now identifying as Muslim (Kolig, 2010). Ethnocultural diversity will likely continue to grow; for example, Pacific peoples are expected to increase from 6 % of the current population to 12 % by 2051 (Mauri Ora Associates, 2010).

Growing cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity provides a new challenge (and opportunity) for existing bicultural ideologies (Ward & Liu, 2012). Policymakers must find new ways of talking about, planning for, and addressing cultural diversity in order to serve a diverse population and address ethnic inequalities. For Māori and ethnic communities, there are both incentives and disincentives for cooperation. On one hand, both Māori and other ethnic minority groups are striving for equality and representation; on the other hand, Māori may see multiculturalism as a threat to the bicultural society for which they have long been striving (Hill, 2010; Ward & Liu, 2012). Policymakers often try to preserve a balance by taking a more incorporative multicultural stance and recognizing the privileged status of Māori peoples granted by the Treaty of Waitangi, while addressing inequalities impacting diverse groups (Spoonley, Pearson, & Macpherson, 2004). Despite strides toward multiculturalism, however, mainstream culture is still based on the liberal democratic ideology of New Zealand Europeans, with some Māori influence.

Like other Western societies, New Zealand culture endorses the political ideals of gender and ethnic equality associated with mainstream liberal values (Connell, 2002). Legal equality, where all citizens have equal rights and protections regardless of gender or ethnicity, defines social equality ideals in the liberal democratic state. In the next section, we examine whether the gender equality ideal leads to equal outcomes for men and women.

Women's Equality in New Zealand

New Zealanders take much pride in their historically progressive stance on gender equality. In 1893, New Zealand became the first country to grant women's suffrage (Ministry of Women's Affairs, n.d.). More recently, the women's liberation movement of the 1970s challenged mainstream ideas about gender roles and fought for legal equality and legal protections (Dann, 1985). Currently women's equality is protected in all areas of the law (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010), including pay equity and protection from gender discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace (Equal Pay Act, 1972; State Sector Act, 1988; Human Rights Act, 1993). The World Economic Forum (2013) ranked New Zealand 7th out of 136 countries in its 2013 Global Gender Gap Index, indicating relative gender parity in the areas of health, education, economic opportunity, and political empowerment.

Despite legal equality, the New Zealand government acknowledges that real inequalities exist in some areas, such as business leadership and economic opportunity (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010). Females are overrepresented in low-paying industries and underrepresented in high-paying industries (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, n.d.). Only 28 % of senior leadership roles in corporations are held by women (Grant Thornton, 2013), and women hold only 32 % of seats in Parliament (The World Bank, 2013). The 12 % gender pay gap has persisted for a number of years (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013a).

Unfortunately, family violence rates are high in New Zealand compared to other developed countries, with violence widespread and often severe. In a 2011 survey, New Zealand had the highest rates of family violence of 14 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries surveyed (UN Women National Committee Aotearoa New Zealand, 2011). According to a survey conducted by UN Women (2011), women are at increased risk of becoming victims of family violence, with a staggering 30 % of New Zealand women reporting violence from a partner between 2000 and 2010. A representative sample found that 33 % of women in the Auckland region and 39 % of women in the Waikato region had faced intimate partner violence at some point in their lives, yet only 25 % of victims had reported an incident to police (Fanslow and Robinson, 2010). Ninety-one percent of applications for personal protection orders are made by women and 90 % of all applications are filed against men (Ministry of Justice, 2009).

The 2013 Global Gender Gap Index recognized that men and women enjoy nearly equal health outcomes worldwide, so New Zealand's ranking of 93rd out of 136 countries in gender health parity is difficult to place into context (World Economic Forum, 2013). However, the relative ease of comparing life expectancy results in low recognition of gender health disparities, and though women live longer than men they report more chronic physical and mental symptoms (Briar, 2001). Additionally, more women than men reported foregoing necessary medical care in the past 12 months due to cost or lack of transport (see Table 17.1; Ministry of Health, 2012).

Table 17.1 Reasons for unmet health care needs over the previous 12 months by gender

Barrier	% Men impacted	% Women impacted
Cost of general practitioner services	9.9	17.5
Cost of after-hours services	4.8	9.3
Cost of prescription	6.0	9.0
Lack of transport to general practitioner	2.0	4.8
Lack of transport to after-hours services	1.1	2.4

Comparing New Zealand Interventions

Despite cultural norms that idealize gender equality, the evidence shows that legal protections are insufficient to achieve real equality between men and women. A number of government and NGO interventions have been introduced to help promote women's equality and prosperity. Below, we present gendered interventions that address women's inequality in the areas of business leadership, family violence prevention, and health. These areas are of key importance in both mainstream and ethnic communities. Some of the interventions presented below are run by government, while others are run by affiliated NGOs. The interventions presented are not intended to represent typical interventions or to cover the range of interventions available. In each issue area, interventions with similar goals were selected to increase comparability. Additionally, most of the interventions presented are promoted by government agencies; this endorsement signals positive evaluations from experts and leadership within each issue area.

Interventions Empowering Women as Business Leaders

Research demonstrates that New Zealand businesses are not realizing their full economic potential due to lack of women in business leadership positions, perhaps due to unconscious bias resulting in reduced access to leadership opportunities for women (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013b). In fact, many of the measures taken explicitly to attract women to the workforce (such as flexible work hours and work from home programs) can result in backlash, with those that take advantage of such opportunities viewed as less committed and less suitable for promotion (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013b). Ethnic minority women face additional challenges in securing leadership roles because they are impacted by both ethnic and gender discrimination and stereotypes (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013a). In New Zealand, numerous business leadership interventions aim to increase women's representation on corporate and public sector boards (e.g. 25 Percent Group, n.d.; Institute of Directors, 2013; Women on Boards, 2014; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2012) and in senior staff leadership positions (e.g. Universities New Zealand, 2014; University of Auckland, 2013; Women in Leadership Aotearoa, 2014) where such representation is very low. Below we highlight one mainstream business leadership intervention targeting New Zealand women and one targeting ethnic women.

Mainstream Intervention: BreakThrough Leaders Program

The BreakThrough Leaders Program was launched in 2011 by Global Women New Zealand (2013a). Targeting senior women at large companies, the program aims to increase the number of women moving into senior executive and governance positions within three years of participation (Reputation Matters, 2011). The program, which selects 15–20 women to participate each year, consists of 10 weekly sessions followed by a year of monthly group workshops, one-on-one mentoring sessions, and individual activities (Global Women New Zealand, 2013b). Intended outcomes include development of emotional intelligence and self-awareness; enhancement of specific leadership skills such as finance and management; and increased networking and peer support (Global Women New Zealand, 2013b). More widely, the program embraces Global Women's goals of sharing knowledge, inspiring leaders, and influencing decision makers (McCarthy, 2009).

Workshops cover a range of both personal and professional development topics, though few focus explicitly on gender issues. A yearly program evaluation is conducted, which consists of qualitative interviews with each participant on perceived and objectively measurable outcomes as well as attitudes toward program content (Brady, 2012). In the 2012 evaluation, an external evaluator conducted the interviews and summarized participants' responses to open-ended interview questions; no specific method of analysis is identified (Brady, 2012). The evaluator concluded that overall, participants felt the training on work-related hard and soft skills was sufficient, while some participant comments indicated a need for more focus on personal issues like work–life balance and stress management (Brady, 2012). Participants appeared satisfied with the extent of gender-neutral skill development, which reinforces the existing business environment, while feeling that the program underemphasized areas that may be particularly stressful for women—such as balancing family and career. However, participants with no children also reported that content on juggling motherhood and career was not suitable, and general reactions to a workshop on women and style were "scathing" (Brady, 2012, p. 8). Participants therefore seemed to desire more information about juggling their roles outside of work, yet found it culturally inappropriate to acknowledge societally reinforced gender roles. They may have experienced some internal conflict based on differences between their ideal and actual cultural environment, even in a program specifically designed for women. This is compatible with a predominant cultural tendency in liberal Western societies to publicly prefer gender neutrality and oppose differential gender roles, despite private differentiation between the roles of men and women (Connell, 2002).

Ethnic Intervention: Ethnic Women Leadership Project

The New Zealand Office of Ethnic Affairs introduced the Ethnic Women Leadership Project in 2008 to help ethnic women achieve full participation in New Zealand society (Mason, Halliday, & Waring, 2008). The program explicitly calls for devel-

opment of "new concepts of leadership that take into account ethnicity, gender and class differences," while recognizing that the most critical skills that ethnic women need to become leaders are related to communication, management, and team building—skills that are important regardless of gender or ethnicity (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013a). The project provides opportunities for leadership development, networking, and peer support through a two-day workshop on hard skills (knowledge about governance and leadership strategies) and soft skills (communication and community engagement). Training sessions are limited to 20 selected women, and participants are also invited to join a wider ethnic women's network of about 100 members for ongoing networking and support, including special topic presentations such as gender role issues that impact working married women (Mason et al., 2008). The program also links ethnic women with opportunities to serve on state sector and community boards by helping them develop their applications and nominating them to appropriate leadership roles (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013b).

A program evaluation was conducted by Auckland University of Technology in order to evaluate its effectiveness and quality of content; this evaluation consisted of qualitative interviews with participants, secondary analysis of qualitative program evaluations, and ethnographic observation of events and sessions (though again no specific method of qualitative analysis is identified; Mason et al., 2008). The program recognizes the expectations placed upon many women by their families and communities. Women are empowered to negotiate family roles to maintain positive family relationships (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013a). Training addresses the "role women can play in both family and community, and balancing these duties" (Mason et al., 2008, p. 17), explicitly acknowledging the potential for conflict between the mainstream professional world and the woman's personal roles as a community member and family member. The project helps women develop healthy strategies for negotiating boundaries, and the network provides peer support for managing such cultural differences in gender roles. Notably, the program encourages women to act within their personal relationships without addressing change at the societal or cultural level. By tacitly recognizing the slow-changing nature of gender roles, the program encourages women to work within pervasive societal-level norms while negotiating norms and roles operating at the relational level. This empowers women in their personal relationships without critiquing gender roles in New Zealand culture or within ethnic cultures.

Comparative Analysis: Gender Role Ideals and Realities

In liberal cultures like New Zealand, women and men are considered equal under the law, while in reality widespread differences exist in their informal family and workplace roles (Connell, 2002). Because inequality in New Zealand is informal (or cultural) rather than legal, with unconscious bias reducing opportunities for women, interventions may focus on developing skills needed to be successful within the current (unequal) system; another approach is to identify and address system imbalances. In our comparative analysis below, we present our theoretical evaluation of how

differences and similarities between these two programs may reflect underlying ideological differences and analyze the potential motivations for and consequences of such ideologies. In this secondary analysis, we are limited to the program reports and evaluations that are publicly available. NGO and governmental program evaluations can be quite different from academic evaluations in scope and rigor, particularly with regard to type of data collected, rigor of design, and identification of qualitative data analysis methods. While further research is needed to empirically test these programs' ideologies and their consequences, a theoretical analysis of the available data provides an important first step in demonstrating the need for further applied research.

Though not explicitly stated, the mainstream approach of the BreakThrough Leaders Program appears to encourage women to adapt to the current business environment. The focus on skill building and networking may be understood to endorse a gender neutral philosophy based on the liberal feminist ideal of equality: Men and women have equal potential, so women can achieve by developing concrete knowledge, leadership skills, and networks similar to those used by successful men (Wendell, 1987). Under norms of equal opportunity, the burden of change is placed on individual women, who must develop skills to overcome workplace disadvantages while maintaining family responsibilities that may also be imbalanced. In the program evaluation, intervention participants reported a desire for more training on personal roles, though simultaneously expressed discomfort with existing training fitted to gendered cultural norms (Brady, 2012). In our view, such mixed preferences may reflect the pervasiveness of the gender equality ideal, which makes it undesirable to acknowledge real inequalities within personal relationships (Connell, 2002).

The Ethnic Women Leadership Project, alternatively, acknowledges how different informal roles held by men and women in many cultures—including mainstream New Zealand culture—impact relationships in families and in the workplace (see Connell, 2002). The program seems to recognize community-endorsed differences in the interdependent roles of men and women. By encouraging women to renegotiate roles, they are empowered to initiate processes of change, with some of the burden of change placed onto the woman's partner, parents, children, and other family members. Intervention developers may view this approach as more immediately impactful, helping women to change family norms despite pervasive societal-level attitudes. However, gender role attitudes are to some extent stable, and it may be unrealistic to expect that all women's families will accept role negotiation (Lucier-Greer & Adler-Baeder, 2011). Furthermore, while embracing gender roles can make business leadership interventions more effective, mainstream audiences may see this approach as a violation of New Zealand's ideal of gender equality through tacit endorsement of gender inequality within family relationships (British Council, 2011).

The mainstream and ethnic interventions presented here take different approaches to helping women achieve leadership roles. Where the mainstream intervention seems compatible with the cultural ideal of gender equality, the ethnic intervention incorporates what some (such as Connell, 2002) consider the current cultural reality of gender interdependence. The mainstream intervention focuses on skills needed

in the current environment, while the ethnic intervention also helps women develop skills to negotiate their personal roles. These different approaches may reflect differences in how mainstream and ethnic audiences perceive gender roles (Benkert & Levine, 2011), with mainstream interventions aligned with the mainstream gender ideal of societal-level and relationship-level equality (Connell, 2002) while interventions targeting ethnic women are more aligned with gender interdependence and relational strategies for increasing women's leadership opportunities.

Family Violence Prevention Campaigns

Due to alarming statistics showing high rates of family violence, many New Zealand government agencies and community organizations are interested in family violence prevention, particularly long-term primary prevention strategies. Primary-level interventions seek to change the norms and societal structures underlying family violence and may universally target the public or selectively target high-risk groups (Chan, 2012). While rates of violence are high among all ethnic groups, statistics suggest that family violence rates may vary by ethnicity. For example, disproportionate numbers of ethnically Chinese and Indian children reported witnessing family violence, and family violence deaths occur in higher numbers among ethnic and Māori families than among white families (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013c). Therefore government and NGO family violence prevention campaigns target both mainstream and ethnic communities.

Mainstream Intervention: The It's Not OK Campaign

"It's Not OK" is the predominant New Zealand-based family violence campaign targeting mainstream communities. Coordinated by the Ministry of Social Development and the Families Campaign, the campaign is based on research demonstrating the ability of social marketing and community development initiatives to change attitudes, raise awareness, and effect change within individuals, relationships, and communities (McLaren, 2010). The campaign consists of television ads, printed posters and brochures, toolkits for community action, and in-person events (Family Violence: It's Not OK, 2012a). Victims of violence, who are characterized as predominantly female, are encouraged to seek help and stand up for a gender-neutral right to safety. An external research firm conducted a qualitative and quantitative survey to measure impact (McLaren, 2010). In a weighted sample of 2444 respondents, over 95 % of New Zealanders recalled at least one TV ad, and 37 % of those took some kind of action as a result of their exposure such as seeking information, discussing family violence prevention with family members, and requesting or offering help (McLaren, 2010).

The campaign's main television ad included gendered, power-focused messaging such as, "It's not OK to punch a hole in the wall to show your wife who's boss"

(Family Violence: It's Not OK, 2012b). While the campaign acknowledges that men can be victims of violence, most of the messaging is in line with statistics that demonstrate men as the most common perpetrators and women as the most common victims of family violence. The campaign stated that traditional gender roles are linked to attitudes supporting violence (McLaren, 2010). Traditional gender roles are not explicitly defined, but appear to be negatively evaluated. Additionally, the campaign cites literature that clearly defines a shift toward more liberal gender roles as an improvement (i.e. Flood & Pease, 2009). This supports the public stance popular in Western cultures that gender roles are predominantly harmful (Connell, 2002).

Ethnic Intervention: Umma Trust

Umma Trust provides social services and programming to migrant and refugee-background communities, particularly vulnerable Muslim families, women, and children (Human Rights Commission, 2013). Services for women cover health, food bank services, and mental and emotional adjustment to life in a new culture, and every program for women incorporates family violence prevention work through empowerment, education, and holistic family and personal development (Levine & Benkert, 2011). No program evaluation is publicly available, though Levine & Benkert's, (2011) externally conducted case study provides a strong theoretical assessment of its ideological approach. Programming includes ongoing weekly lessons or sessions (The Umma Trust, 2014), as well as one-off events such as an International Women's Day celebration (Human Rights Commission, 2013). The wide range of programming addresses violence by minimizing stressors, reducing isolation, and building trust in the organization. Umma Trust accepts family violence referrals from the New Zealand Police and other government agencies, providing culturally appropriate alternatives to mainstream violence prevention initiatives (Levine & Benkert, 2011).

Umma Trust works to ensure that programming is inclusive of women and families that hold traditional views toward gender roles. The Office of Ethnic Affairs (2012) explicitly states that help dealing with family violence is available to all women—not just those that want to leave their partners. Likewise, Umma Trust emphasizes that family dissolution is not a necessary component of violence reduction, which makes empowerment more comfortable for some members of the Muslim community (Levine & Benkert, 2011). Their programming particularly targets women (Human Rights Commission, 2013), acknowledging the distinctive challenges that women face as well as the importance of the woman's role in healthy family functioning. Umma Trust takes a strengths-based approach to violence prevention, which includes helping men and women to develop positive strategies for performing their roles as parents and partners.

Comparative Analysis: Independent and Interdependent Empowerment

Violence prevention initiatives may address violence in many ways, such as changing attitudes of potential perpetrators, building conflict resolution skills, and empowering potential victims. In our theoretical comparative analysis, we observe that both interventions presented here empower potential victims, with the mainstream intervention also striving to change attitudes. The mainstream intervention promotes an independent style of empowerment focused on individual rights and personal attitudes. By encouraging change through renunciation of the negative aspects of gender roles, the mainstream approach is compatible with cultural ideals of equality and independence that reject gender interdependence (Connell, 2002). Meanwhile, the ethnic intervention promotes a more collective form of empowerment, with men and women playing interdependent roles in healthy families. While empirical research testing the impact of such ideological tailoring is limited (Beck, McSweeney, Richards, Roberson, Tsai, & Souder, 2010), we believe that rigorous evaluations should be employed to examine the effectiveness of different ideological approaches. Ideological differences may reflect untested beliefs that interventions will be more effective in mainstream communities by denouncing gender roles, but more effective in ethnic communities when embracing positive parts of culturally endorsed gender roles (often while critiquing any risk factors associated with traditional gender roles). If beliefs about effectiveness are driving ideological differences between mainstream and ethnic interventions, then the accuracy of these beliefs is worth testing empirically.

We also identified differences between the two interventions in means of message delivery. The ethnic intervention is primarily comprised of face-to-face activities, as opposed to the mass media platforms favored by the mainstream intervention. This is reflected more widely across family violence interventions, with ethnic interventions building trust through a range of in-person activities. Dialogue about family violence is sensitive in all communities, and particularly in migrant communities due to risks of culture blaming and marginalization (Levine & Benkert, 2011). Perhaps this increased sensitivity in migrant communities led intervention developers to conclude that prevention efforts targeting ethnic women would be more accessible if dialogue was contained privately within the community and approached indirectly in conjunction with other issues. Such beliefs would explain why the Umma Trust takes a more holistic approach, contextualizing violence prevention within a wider range of women's services. Recognition of sensitivities could also explain why trusting personal relationships are recognized as key to an intervention's success (Levine & Benkert, 2011) and why the ethnic prevention campaign provides less public information than the It's Not OK campaign.

Promoting Health Outcomes

While men and women enjoy relatively equal health overall, differences exist in particular areas of physical and mental health, and some ethnic populations are

disproportionately impacted by health problems. Ethnic health inequalities are partially but not completely explained by socioeconomic status (Blakely, Tobias, Atkinson, Yeh, & Huang, 2007). Health researchers are particularly interested in nutrition due to its association with preventable short-term and long-term health problems (Tappenden, 2013). In New Zealand, weight issues are increasing, with 65 % of adults and 33 % of children overweight, including the 31 % of adults and 11 % of children that are obese (Ministry of Health, 2014). As a result, New Zealand health agencies are interested in increasing overall health and encouraging healthy weights through nutrition programs focusing on healthy habits. Below we present two such programs, one targeting overweight women in the Canterbury region and the other targeting Auckland-area Somali and other African women.

Mainstream Intervention: Appetite for Life

Appetite for Life is a weight loss program for women, designed to improve long-term health by providing nutrition education and building skills required to select and prepare healthier foods (Cutler, King, McCarthy, Hamilton, & Cook, 2010). Through six weekly training sessions, the program incorporates informational, food tasting, and social components (Healthy Eating Active Living, 2011). Women are targeted in part because of their prevalent roles in food preparation and family care (Cutler et al., 2010). The program takes a non-dieting approach to minimize the risk of unhealthy preoccupation with food, self-esteem issues, and weight cycling (Cutler et al., 2010), which are more common amongst women than men. The focus is not just on nutrition but on helping women to change their habits and overcome barriers to healthy eating (Healthy Eating Active Living, 2011). General practitioners are trained to support participating women in making healthy choices and to evaluate health before, during, and after participation (Calder, 2011). A 12-month evaluation was conducted with 261 participants, including physician-reported biomedical measures such as weight and cholesterol as well as participant questionnaires measuring self-reported health behaviors and attitudes (Cutler et al., 2010). This evaluation showed that participating women increased exercise as well as intake of fruits, vegetables, dairy, and healthy fats (Cutler et al., 2010).

Appetite for Life incorporates gender-specific elements more explicitly than the other mainstream interventions presented above. Women were targeted because the developers recognized that the barriers to healthy eating (including psychological, financial, and scheduling barriers) may differ for men and women due to differing family and workplace responsibilities, so the program leverages women's roles in caregiving and food preparation tasks (Cutler et al., 2010). This program is structured to reduce risk of common issues that women face when trying to lose weight that are not common amongst men (Cutler et al., 2010), as diet-related and self-esteem issues are associated with gender role stereotypes about appearance and body image. The philosophy of this mainstream intervention as outlined above is not based on the gender equality ideal, instead explicitly incorporating gendered psychological differences and divisions of labor.

Ethnic Intervention: Refugee Nutrition Education Program

The Refugee Nutrition Education Program was piloted with Somali women, with the goal of preventing nutrition-related health problems and deficiencies, improving child health, and developing culturally accessible health programming (Lawrence, 2006). The program consisted of five training sessions (including cooking demonstrations) focused on healthy living, preparing school lunches, preventing nutrition-related illnesses, nutrition for pregnancy, and nutrition for children (Lawrence, 2006). Participants reported that their families drank more water; reduced intake of salt and sugar; tried new vegetables; and drank calcium-enriched milk as a result of participating (Lawrence, 2006). Participating women requested more training on mothering and nutrition, such as strategies to introduce healthy food options to children in ways that would not be refused (Lawrence, 2006). The program reached the wider Somali community by incorporating a train-the-trainer element, which leveraged the informal networks that connect Somali women (King & Wilson, 2008). The two-day train-the-trainer workshop included intensive nutrition training and a mandate to increase their community's health by hosting sessions, providing healthy snacks, or promoting exercise (Lawrence, 2006). The program was expanded to five refugee communities, with train-the-trainer sessions followed by community, home-based, and televised workshops that reached over 350 people in the first year of implementation (Wilson & Bierre, 2010). While external program evaluators originally hoped to conduct a rigorous analysis of program outcomes, language barriers and NGO budget constraints required a simpler analysis of feedback from trainers and participants, with no specific method of qualitative analysis identified (Wilson & Bierre, 2010).

The Refugee Nutrition Education Program capitalized on women's roles both within families and within the Somali community. In most Somali families, women are primarily responsible for food preparation and child care, so nutrition training for women is likely to positively impact the entire family (Lawrence, 2006). Additionally, networks of women in the Somali community hold close relationships with one another, and women frequently visit one another in the home (Wilson & Bierre, 2010). The unique roles of women were leveraged as a cost-efficient way to improve nutrition for participants' families, with women circulating knowledge more widely through formal programs and informal sharing within existing networks. The program acknowledges women as mothers and caregivers, and participant feedback showed that women appreciated this specialization and requested even more role-specific information about introducing healthy foods to their children.

Comparative Analysis: Women as Mothers and Caregivers

Because health is partly biological, it may seem natural that health interventions commonly target men and women differently. However, interventions may target men and women based only on biological differences or also on culturally

endorsed gender role differences. In our comparative analysis, we note that both the mainstream and ethnic health interventions presented here incorporated gender role differences into their underlying design and philosophy beyond biological differences. They both leveraged the roles of women as mothers and caregivers, including gendered divisions of labor in food preparation. Additionally, the mainstream intervention acknowledged barriers to healthy eating that may impact women more strongly than men, including the psychological associations of dieting and body image issues. The mainstream program evaluation demonstrated positive self-reported health outputs for participants (including increases in physical exercise and consumption of fruits and vegetables; Cutler et al., 2010), though further research is needed to measure long-term health outcomes and the impact on other family members. The ethnic intervention incorporated women's community networks, relying on existing social networks as a culturally relevant means for disseminating knowledge about cooking, child care, and women's traditional roles in the family. Of 350 participants, 85 % participated through informal community networks (Wilson & Bierre, 2010), demonstrating that targeting women's networks was an effective, low-cost way of reaching the African community in New Zealand. Again, further research is needed to measure the effectiveness of outcomes beyond self-reported attitudes and behaviors.

This pattern of gender role recognition in health interventions extends beyond nutrition, with a wide range of interventions tailoring programming differently for men and women and incorporating gender role differences (e.g., heart disease campaigns such as Go Red for Women and One Heart Many Lives Heart Foundation, 2014; One Heart Many Lives, n.d.). Governments and practitioners widely and intentionally incorporate the impact of gender roles on health into health interventions. Research demonstrates that health interventions that recognize gender role differences are more effective (Östlin, Eckermann, Mishra, Nkowane, & Wallstam, 2006). The World Health Organization, (n.d.) promotes gender mainstreaming in interventions, research, and policies, which means that every health professional has a responsibility to incorporate gender-related issues at every stage of program development, implementation, and evaluation.

Discussion

In this chapter, we compared gendered interventions targeting mainstream New Zealand women to those targeting specific groups of ethnic women. We presented interventions in the areas of business leadership, family violence prevention, and health. In the business leadership programs we compared, the mainstream intervention promoted gender-neutral skill development, while the ethnic intervention provided both skills training and strategies for negotiating family roles. Likewise, family violence prevention programs differed by target group, with the mainstream intervention empowering women as individuals while the ethnic intervention also empowered women in interdependent, role-based capacities. Next, we compared

health interventions, where we showed that both mainstream and ethnic nutrition programs acknowledged women's roles as caregivers, leveraging gender roles beyond acknowledgment of biological differences. We found differences in the ideologies underlying intervention design across issue areas, particularly in the way that programs incorporated culturally endorsed gender roles. Ethnic interventions consistently incorporated gender roles, acknowledging gender interdependencies and role differentiation. Mainstream interventions, on the other hand, endorsed gender equality ideals in the areas of business leadership and family violence by focusing on gender-neutral skills and individual forms of empowerment. However, the mainstream health intervention explicitly acknowledged gendered divisions of labor, differences in family roles, and psychological differences between men and women.

In the areas of business leadership and family violence, the mainstream and ethnic interventions approached gender roles differently. These differences may reflect cultural norms about ideal gender roles. New Zealand culture idealizes gender equality and views gender roles as predominantly negative, while the birth cultures of many immigrant groups hold different ideals about gender interdependence. Different approaches may make interventions more culturally accessible to their target audiences. As psychologists we believe that interventions are most effective when ideologies are consciously identified. Therefore, we call for increased attentiveness to the gender role ideologies and realities underlying intervention programs. Planners and implementers of gendered interventions would benefit from exploring their definition of gender, their attitudes toward gender roles, and the cultural context of gender roles held in New Zealand society and by their target participants.

Due to biological differences between men and women, it may be tempting to isolate health interventions as especially suited to incorporation of gender roles. However, the evidence presented here shows that biological differences are not the sole or even the primary focus of gendered nutrition interventions. While biological differences between men and women undeniably lead to differential health outcomes, biology can be overly relied upon to explain differences caused by socially constructed gender roles and gender inequality in other areas (Sen, George, & Östlin, 2002). Social customs based on actual biological differences are often exaggerated, accentuating differences beyond necessity to justify inequalities (Connell, 2002). Health inequalities between men and women are influenced by gender differences in job type, family role, and access to resources (Ministry of Health, 2002). Perhaps biological differences facilitate acknowledgement of gender differences in health interventions, opening the door for analysis of how health outcomes are impacted by socially constructed gender roles and economic, educational, and family role inequalities. Framing inequalities as biological may make gendered health interventions more palatable to mainstream audiences than interventions in other areas that acknowledge gender roles.

As New Zealand diversifies, it is increasingly important to develop an understanding of differences in culturally endorsed gender roles. Women from different cultural backgrounds may experience conflict between the gender roles endorsed within ethnic communities and those endorsed by wider New Zealand society. Therefore, it is important to continue developing programs that appropriately target

subgroups of the population. We believe that psychologists should play a key role in research on best practices for development of interventions. We know that health interventions are more effective when tailored for their target audience (Östlin et al., 2006), and research shows that tailoring interventions for different ethnic audiences is beneficial across issue areas. However, further research is needed to determine the benefits of tailoring gendered interventions in areas apart from health. Additionally, it would be useful to examine how gender role ideologies impact the success of interventions. In the New Zealand context, gender role ideologies promote equality and gender neutrality in mainstream interventions, but women are disadvantaged in actuality. Research is needed to determine whether interventions are more attractive and effective when the underlying ideology matches participants' ideologies or realities. Systematic empirical evaluations would help to determine the factors of effective design and tailoring. Empirical research is also needed on the effectiveness of mass media campaigns compared to the more relational approaches that were used in the ethnic interventions we presented as well as some of the mainstream approaches.

Interventions provide a valuable opportunity for psychologists to apply theory and empirical findings to facilitate positive change for individuals and communities. In order to do this, they must actively participate in reciprocal relationships with practitioners in the development of more effective interventions. Psychologists are positioned to assist with defining the theoretical groundings of interventions (including underlying ideologies) and incorporating empirical evaluation of outcomes into program design. Theoretically informed design and rigorous evaluation may be particularly useful in determining how interventions can best be implemented in the face of growing cultural diversity and ongoing gender inequality.

In this chapter, we have attempted to identify ideological differences in New Zealand intervention programs. By demonstrating differences in underlying gender role ideologies, we hope to start a conversation about the value of explicitly defining ideologies during program development. We explored why different approaches might be considered more suitable for different cultural and ethnic groups, a question that should be explored more thoroughly through rigorous empirical evaluation. We hope that this chapter will encourage further research into the ideological basis and impact of interventions, particularly through the lenses of gender and culture.

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Chapter 18
Gender, Culture, and Inequality in Ghana: An Examination of Sociocultural Determinants of Gender Disparity

Charity Sylvia Akotia and Adote Anum

Introduction

The discussion of gender inequality usually centers on the negative treatment received primarily by women in the home and the workplace, in particular on income disparities and society's role expectations for men and women (Adomako Ampofo, 2001). Natural differences between the sexes arise from biological and anatomical factors. These differences become associated with role differentiation pervasive throughout cultures, observed most notably in reproductive and caregiving functions and the nurture of newborns and children in the household (Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Fuwa, 2004).

The differences in roles and behaviors of men and women, however, extend beyond those prescribed by biological characteristics. One factor that seems to determine these varying roles are cultural expectations, which invariably determine what is and is not women's work (Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Akotia & Anum, 2012). As well, unequal cultural value is placed on women's and men's work, favoring men's work over women's. For example, working outside the home and providing for the financial needs of the household, male roles in most societies, are considered more important than caring for children and the domestic needs of the home, which are female-dominated functions (Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Helgeson, 2009). Even when women are engaged outside the home, their roles are not valued equally as men's. This tendency to undervalue women's roles is universal across cultures and has existed for a long time (Bergeron, Block, & Echtenkamp, 2006; Grimshaw & Rubery, 2007).

These disparities are more prominent in low- and middle-income countries, such as Ghana,[1] where the social structures are based primarily on traditional norms and

[1] It is estimated that 28.5% of Ghanaian citizens live below the national poverty line (Ghana Statistical Service 2007), and 53.6% of the population lives on less than US$ 2 a day (World Bank 2008). Amid an economic recovery and the discovery of oil, Ghana's gross domestic product rose

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values that favor male dominance. This structure possibly is the basis for gender inequality (Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Nukunya, 2003).

Globally, gender inequality is manifested in less access to education and health care, poorer health status, increased poverty, limited ability to create and own wealth, and increased mental health problems among women when compared to men. The gap between men and women is reportedly highest in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, compared to more developed countries (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2011). The association between gender inequality and socioeconomic development has been well researched: less developed countries have a higher prevalence of gender inequality than more developed countries (Dollar & Gatti, 1999).

For more than half a century, many countries have initiated intervention programs to address these inequalities and improve the status of women (Pulerwitz, Michaelis, Verma, & Weiss, 2010). Primarily, these programs have been aimed at reducing women's poverty levels, improving their education and employability, and increasing their life expectancy by addressing their health needs. In this chapter, we examine interventions implemented in Ghana in the past two decades which have targeted four areas: education, poverty, health, and political participation and decision-making. In each of these areas, we analyze three aspects of these initiatives. First, we examine how, or if, these interventions were designed to address gender inequality. Second, we evaluate the achievements of these interventions and, finally, the factors that account for their successes or failures from multiple perspectives. In particular, we assess how the complexities of the sociocultural and political systems in Ghana influenced the effectiveness of these interventions.

Gender Inequality in Ghana

Across the globe, instances of gender inequality are reported in the workplace, including women's inability to rise to high positions in organizations (glass ceiling, Hoober, Lemmon, & Wayne, 2011; Smith, Caputi, & Crittenden, 2012), lower pay for the same qualifications and position as men and low levels of participation in governance and decision-making (see Grimshaw & Rubery, 2007; Lyness & Terrazas, 2006; World Economic Forum, 2013). In some Asian and sub-Saharan African countries, frequently reported gender inequalities are limited access to education, health care, property and justice, and unequal control of family resources (Ampofo Adomako, Beoku-Betts, Njambi, & Osiri, 2004; Johnston-Anumonwo & Oberhauser, 2011).

In Ghana, rampant gender inequality has been reported in many domains, such as education, wealth creation, and decision-making, both in the workplace and within families (Apusiga, 2009; Buor, 2004; Sossou, 2011). Gender inequality in Ghana is an outcome of a combination of different factors such as socialization practices, social structures, and weak efforts at addressing cultural practices that do not

to US$ 49.2 billion with a per-capita income of US$ 1550 in 2012. Once a low-income country, Ghana became a low middle-income country in 2010 State of the Ghana Economy Report (SGER) (2012).

favor women in general. Every society prescribes appropriate roles for females and males with varying sanctions for those who deviate from these norms (Adomako Ampofo, 2001). These norms are inculcated through socialization. The gender role socialization theory posits that existing social structures and systems provide rewards and models that shape behavior to fit gender role norms in a particular society (Helgeson, 2009). Boys are socialized to be men who work out of the home to provide financial resources for the family. Girls on the other hand are socialized to express concern for others and to be submissive (Helgeson, 2009). The social system therefore is a mechanism that creates a model which places males and females in superordinate and subordinate positions. These are usually expressed in community norms and values and are often used to maintain social control over women (Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Nukunya, 2003).

Though these perceptions are traditional, the expectation would be that formal education and westernization would change perceptions about these norms (Brewster & Padavic, 2000; Kulik, 2002). In a study to examine the influence of education on gender role ideology in Ghana, Akotia & Anum, (2012) found that males compared with females were more likely to be traditional and less likely to be modern in their gender role perceptions. Using the sex role ideology scale (Williams & Best, 1990), Akotia and Anum examined the effects of age and education on gender role ideology. The results showed that females who were highly educated were more likely to be modern in their perceptions and less likely to be traditional. This indicates that in spite of changing economic conditions that have led to women working more out of the home, and men attaining higher education, males were less likely to change their perceptions of these cultural values. Adherence to traditional views of gender roles appears to be one of the contributing factors to gender inequality in Ghana.

When placed in context, Ghana's high gender inequality becomes apparent. The Gender Inequality Index (GII) ranks countries based on five indicators: maternal mortality ratio, adolescent fertility rate, the share of parliamentary seats held by each sex, secondary and higher education attainment levels, and women's workforce participation (UNDP, 2013). In a recent UNDP Human Development Report, Ghana had a GII score of 0.56. Countries with the highest gender disparities, such as Afghanistan and Yemen, had GII scores of more than 0.70, while countries that are more gender balanced, such as Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland, have scores around 0.05 or lower. Similarly, in the Global Gender Gap Index Report 2013, Ghana ranked 76 of 136 countries on the Global Gender Gap Index, with a score of 0.68 (World Economic Forum, 2013).

It is important to exercise caution when interpreting these indices as, for a number of reasons, not all indicators of gender parity adequately reflect gender balance in cross-cultural comparisons. For example, cross-cultural differences in gender role perceptions affect the roles that females play in politics and the workforce in general. In more traditional societies, females are less likely to play significant roles in public life. Such trends are not limited to low-income countries but extend to rich countries, such as Japan, which in 2012 was ranked 101 among 135 countries for women's participation in public life (World Economic Forum, 2012).

These indices do reflect general gender disparities in education, income and health status, and over the years, a number of intervention programs have been implemented to address these inequalities in Ghana. Some interventions have been in place for more than two decades. In the next section, we address specific programs and analyze how effective they have been at resolving these discrepancies and improving the lives of women.

Narrowing the Gender Gap in Education

The education system in Ghana is divided into three levels: basic (6 years of primary school and 3 years of junior high school), senior high school (3 years after junior high school), and tertiary (any education after senior high school such as polytechnics, training colleges and universities). A major gender issue in Ghana is access to education for females and their retention in school beyond the basic level. Across all demographic groups, females in Ghana have fewer years of education than males (Abagre & Bukari, 2013; Akyeampong, Djangmah, Oduro, Seidu, & Hunt, 2007). There are fewer females at the basic education level and there have always been fewer females at the tertiary level (Abagre & Bukari, 2013; Fentiman, Hall, & Donald, 1999). This gender disparity in education is more pronounced in rural communities, where it is compounded by restricted access, poverty, and traditional cultural practices (Fentiman, Hall, & Bundy, 1999). Females are adversely affected when cost becomes an obstacle and parents have to decide between educating a daughter or a son. Dropout rates are also higher among females, especially in transitional periods from the basic to the secondary level and from the secondary to the tertiary levels (Abagre & Bukari, 2013; Akyeampong et al., 2007).

Gender differences in education cut across enrolment, retention, and achievement. Available data from the Ministry of Education (MOE) indicate that there is a gap between girls' and boys' enrolment which is most prominent in the three northern regions (the Upper East, Upper West, and Northern regions), where girls account for 44 % of the total enrolment in first grade. In comparison, enrolment of girls in the Greater Accra Region, which includes the capital city, is approximately 50 % (MOE, 2013). These regional disparities in education can be attributed to poverty (Senadza, 2012) and barriers to access (Akyeampong et al., 2007). The three northern regions suffer endemic poverty (Campaign for Female Education Report (CAMFED), 2012; Ghana Statistical Service, 2008a), and when families are poor, they tend to use their limited resources to educate boys, rather than girls.

To address the gender disparities in education, the Ghana government has implemented interventions specifically aimed at increasing the enrolment and retention of girls in school. These programs include the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), Capitation Grant, Girls' Education Unit (GEU) within the Ghana Education Service, Ghana School Feeding Program (GSFP), and affirmative action. Most interventions initially were targeted at increasing enrolment and improving school attendance in general, rather than within specific demographic groups. Next

we will examine and evaluate these interventions, in particular their effectiveness and challenges.

The main objectives of the FCUBE were to enforce school enrolment for all school-age children and improve the quality of teaching, access, and participation in education for all school-age children. The program was designed as a cost-sharing scheme in which the government paid for tuition costs, including teachers' salaries and infrastructure, and parents paid for textbooks and ancillary fees. The primary target of this policy was children who attended public schools, especially those from low-income families and in rural areas. The FCUBE did not directly focus on female education, but the implementation of a compulsory policy increased enrolment of girls, as it did for boys. The policy indirectly promoted gender equality as it influenced social inclusion (Agyare-Kwabi, 2013; Tsikata, 2009). The FCUBE, thus, can be said to be the first step toward achieving enrolment of all girls in school in Ghana. The available data suggest that it resulted in an increase in enrolment, specifically, in the 2005–2006 school year, 3,239,462 girls were enrolled, up from 2,957,491 in 2003–2004 (MOE, 2006).

A major challenge to the effective management of public schools in Ghana is funding. Tuition costs borne by the government include the provision of school infrastructure, teaching resources, and teachers' training and salaries. The government's limited resources and inability to meet all of its obligations meant that schools' expenses and financial needs were not met fully. To meet this shortfall, schools imposed levies on students. With the high level of poverty, these added costs became barriers and excluded some children from school, especially in rural areas.

In 2005, the MOE abolished school fees for basic education throughout the country and introduced the Capitation Grant to cover operational costs for all basic schools (Osei-Fosu, 2011). This new policy aimed at eliminating poverty as a barrier and narrowing the gender gap in education. The intended target of this program was public schools. In this sense, children likely to enroll in public schools in urban and rural communities were expected to benefit the most from this program, although all students across the country did not have to pay fees to attend school. With the successful pilot test of the scheme (14.5 % increase in overall enrolment, including approximately 36 % enrolment increase in preschool), the Capitation Grant was adopted nationwide (Adamu-Issah et al., 2007). Under the scheme, every public kindergarten, primary, and junior high school received an annual grant of approximately US$ 3.30 per pupil, and schools were not permitted to charge any fees (Adamu-Issah et al., 2007).

Yet another effort to boost enrolment in basic public schools and to help achieve the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG) for hunger, poverty, and primary education the government instituted the Ghana School Feeding Program (Ghana School Feeding Program, 2010, Agyare-Kwabi, 2013). The program provided pupils in selected public primary schools throughout the country with one hot, nutritious meal per school day using locally grown food. Schools selected for the program were in rural and peri-urban communities where generally, incomes were low and poverty levels high (Ghana School Feeding Program, 2010). The GSFP's primary objectives were

to reduce short-term hunger and malnutrition in schoolchildren and increase school enrolment, attendance, and retention. The program was also aimed at meeting the nutritional needs of children from poor communities. It did not directly address the gender gap in education but indirectly affected enrolment for both boys and girls. For example, participating schools have documented average increases of 20 to 25% in enrolment and 90 to 95% in attendance and retention (Adamu-Issah et al., 2007). The guarantee of one free meal at school motivated children to attend school and parents to encourage their children to do so. An effect of this program was increased enrolment of girls, along with the generally higher enrolment of children in the target age group. The GSFP eliminated one cost associated with school: paying for lunch. It, therefore, served as an inducement for both parents and children, assuring schoolchildren of one good meal. The GSFP was a successful intervention that target young children and as indicated, was quite successful. However, higher levels of education for women bring different challenges. In Ghana, affirmative action has been implemented as a way to address some of these challenges.

Affirmative Action in Education Affirmative action has been used in Ghana since independence in 1957, mostly to address gender and regional disparities in education, health, employment, and politics (Tsikata, 2009). The term "affirmative action" refers to a body of policies and procedures designed to eliminate discrimination against marginalized groups, such as ethnic minorities and women, and to correct the effects of past discrimination (Onsongo, 2009; Wanyande, 2003). To minimize income and education disparities between northern and southern Ghana, successive governments have made basic and secondary education completely free in the three northern regions, freeing students from paying tuition and boarding fees. Similarly, to address the gender gap in tertiary education, the government tasked universities and other institutions to increase their enrolment of women through affirmative action in order to ensure equal opportunities for women. The University of Ghana, the country's largest public university, implemented affirmative action by lowering the admission cutoff point for female students by one point to make it easier to admit more females. This policy was introduced in 1985 in order to increase the enrolment of females with the necessary high school qualifications but otherwise would not have been considered because they fell short of the cutoff academic average. For example, if the admission cutoff was an aggregate 12[2], all girls with that aggregate were guaranteed admission, and if there were spaces remaining for those with scores below the cutoff, females would fill them (University of Ghana Vice Chancellor's Report, 2008). Female enrolment at the University of Ghana increased from 665 in 1985 to 14,642 in 2010, an increase of about 600%. Within the same period, enrolment of males rose 26%. The proportion of females in the student body at the University of Ghana rose from 19.2% in 1985 to a little more than

[2] Graduates from senior high schools need to obtain a maximum of aggregate 24 in six subjects that include English and mathematics on the West Africa School Certificate Examinations to qualify for admission into Universities. Pass grades range from A1 (grade 1) to D6 (grade 6). Due to competition and inadequate places, admission is normally limited to students with aggregate 12 or better into public Universities in Ghana.

40 % in 2010 (University of Ghana Basic Statistics, 2010). The increase in enrolment in females may therefore be attributed largely to the affirmative action. At the University of Development Studies (UDS), a smaller public university with campuses in the three northern regions, females who had the minimum qualifications but normally would not be admitted because of a lower cutoff point were admitted and given an exclusive four weeks' training in mathematics and science before the academic year (UDS Vice Chancellor's Report, 2005). The primary target group of this policy was females in the three northern regions, who were more likely to be excluded from education because of poverty and limited access and cultural practices (Avotri, 2000; Shabaya & Konadu-Agyemang, 2004). UDS' affirmative action policy ran from 2003 to 2008, during which enrolment rose from 13 to 25 %. After the cessation[3] of the policy in 2009, enrolment figures for females dropped to 18 % in 2010, providing a strong evidence of the effectiveness of affirmative action in education (Abagre & Bukari, 2013).

The improvement in school enrolment at the basic level has been attributed specifically to the implementation of FCUBE, Capitation Grant, and GSFP. The increases in rural schools have been noteworthy, especially following the GSFP. According to various reports, the increase of school enrolment that was between 25 and 75 % occurred among rural communities and among females (e.g., Adamu-Issah et al., 2007). Higher enrolment, however, is not necessarily associated with increased retention of females in schools. The ratio of males to females is higher in senior high school and rises even more in tertiary institutions. A variety of factors accounts for this difference between males and females. Across all ethnic groups, females are socialized to marry early and raise a family, while males are encouraged to pursue higher education, become employed, and earn well in order to take care of the family's financial needs. These expectations are higher in rural than urban communities (Fentiman, Hall, & Bundy, 1999).

Although students do not have to pay tuition fees to remain in school, the need to earn money to support household income leads to frequent absenteeism. For example, in many villages, children as young as 10 years old commonly skip school to work on a farm or trade on market days in order to earn money. Aligned with this behavior is the perception that formal education is not as important for girls as for boys. School dropout, more common among females than males, is also caused by early pregnancy and early marriage, which invariably mean an end to a girl's education. An alarming rate of early marriage, in which girls marry before the age of 18, has been reported in rural Ghana (Tenkorang, 2014). The highest rates are in the country's two most deprived regions, the Upper East and the West, suggesting a strong association between early marriage and poverty. According to a Demographic Health Survey (DHS) report, in 2008, Ghana has one of the highest child marriages in the world and particularly among rural people. The report further indicated that Ghanaian women in rural areas were approximately three times more likely to be married by the age of 18

[3] The program had some costs, which universities were having difficulties meeting. Additionally, the number of female applicants was low, partly because female students generally opted for polytechnic programs (Abagre & Bukari, 2013).

compared to women in urban areas (DHS Report, 2008). Girls from the poorest 20% of households were 10 times more likely to be married before the age of 18 compared to girls from the richest 20% of households (DHS, 2014). These statistics indicate that school dropout is affected by geographical, economic, and cultural factors.

The obvious question then is why, despite increased and sustained efforts by governments and institutions, female enrolment still lags behind that of males, especially in universities where educational attainment can make the biggest impact on improving the well-being of women. The explanation is a complex combination of inadequate funding at the macro- and microlevels, challenging socioeconomic environments in rural areas, cultural practices, and role expectations that do not encourage or motivate continued education for females.

In the past decade, the government has provided free lunches and school uniforms and eliminated all direct costs for basic schools (MOE, 2010). The government is also expected to provide free textbooks for students up to the senior high school level. However, as stated earlier, eliminating all costs for all students in every part of the country has created a severe financial burden, and the government cannot meet its financial obligations to schools. Education spending accounts for approximately on average 24% of the total government expenditure budget (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2011). Lewin, (2011) suggested that, to reduce the government's burden and improve the quality of teaching, it might be necessary to raise money by passing some costs onto children from richer households. While this measure can be justified economically, it might not be feasible, given the inadequacy of accurate household income data about the population in general. A policy that might be feasible is a positive discriminatory approach in which social interventions, such as free uniforms and lunches, are extended only to rural communities. Urban areas have relatively higher income and better employment opportunities than rural areas.

A lack of role models for girls is another reason why females lag behind males in education (Casely-Hayford, 2007). The absence of female teachers, particularly in deprived rural areas, is a challenge to the government's efforts to bridge the gender gap in education. Female teachers could provide the needed examples for girls, promote gender-sensitive teaching methods, and motivate girls to enroll and remain in school.

Inequality and Poverty

Gender inequalities in poverty and wealth creation are a pervasive, global issue. They are acute in Africa, where females have consistently been reported to own less than 10% of land (Deere & Doss, 2006). In sub-Saharan Africa, land generally is acquired through marriage and inheritance, which are governed by a complex mix of legal, customary, and sometimes religious systems that vest power in the hands of local leaders (Deese & Doss, 2006). Women usually acquire land through marriage and, in most cases, do not retain ownership when the marriage ends. In areas such

as business where women are more likely to own assets, the value of men's assets is 8.95 times that of women's (Oduro, Baah-Boateng, & Boakye-Yiadom, 2011). The Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS 5, 2008) showed that women owned land in only 10 % of Ghanaian households, and men in 23 % of households (Doss, 2006).

Poverty levels in Ghana are better understood when disaggregated by region and by the rural–urban dichotomy. The incidence of poverty is lower among formal-sector workers who reside mainly in urban areas (GLSS 5, 2008). Poverty is higher among food crop farmers than farmers who grow exports because of vulnerability to fluctuations in prices, seasons, and weather. More women engage in food crop farming and thus are more likely to suffer negative consequences. These tendencies are higher in rural areas where the bulk of farming occurs (Dinye & Deribile, 2004).

Oduro, Baah-Boateng and Boakye-Yiadom, (2011) found that the total and mean value of gross wealth held by women is lower than that held by men across all asset categories. These data are more revealing when viewed in the context that, in the past two decades, the proportion of female-headed households has increased from 25 to 33 % (GLSS 5, 2008).

Despite knowledge that gender and poverty are related and that women's poverty rate is largely influenced by inequalities in employment, access to credit and inheritance, very few interventions in Ghana have directly targeted women. Two such programs are the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I, 2002) and the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II, 2006–2009). These extensive programs were implemented with the help of international development partners to improve the economic well-being of Ghanaians and reduce gender inequality. A significant goal was to target rural dwellers in a gender-equitable manner, providing job and income opportunities, improving infrastructure in agricultural areas and offering job and skills training. This effort broadly addressed gender inequality in sectors affected by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 1, 2, and 3. For example, a GPRS II policy document states that "Ghana has, since 2000 adopted the targets of the MDGs as the minimum requirements for socioeconomic development and poverty reduction" (GPRS II, 2005, pp. 7). The MDGS 1, 2, and 3 address extreme poverty and hunger, universal primary education, and promote gender equality and empower women respectively.

One objective of the GPRS I, started in 2003, was to reduce gender disparities in various sectors of the society. Some objectives of the GPRS I involved a more direct approach at reducing poverty among women. In 2003, the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) established the Women's Development Fund (WDF) with an initial sum of 21 billion cedis (approximately US$ 2,500,000[4]), from which 10 billion cedi were disbursed to 20,000 female farmers. Financial support was also provided to women engaged in commercial activities, agricultural production and processing. A reported 500,000 women benefited from this fund (IMF, 2004). In 2004, another 5000 trained and needy female artisans received sewing machines

[4] The exchange rate in December 2003 was US$ 1.00 to GHC 8,868.00. In July 2007, the Ghanaian currency was redenominated (10,000 cedi = 1.00 cedi). After the redenomination, the exchange rate was US$ 1.00 = GHC 0.90 (http://www.tradingeconomics.com/ghana/currency).

and cash disbursements totalling 4.5 billion cedi (IMF Country Report, 2006). Each beneficiary was given an equivalent of US$ 50.00 as seed capital. The primary objective of GPRS II was to implement growth-inducing policies and programs with the potential to support wealth creation and sustainable poverty reduction. The GPRS II had similar objectives as GPRS I in addressing gender inequality.

Economic conditions in Ghana have fluctuated for almost three decades, with growth spurts over the past decade. During this period, the middle class has enjoyed steady growth, while poverty has increased among rural populations and those with low education levels. The increasing poverty among rural populations is most likely to affect females, who tend to suffer from low education, inadequate employable skills and fluctuating and unreliable agricultural yields (Awumbila, 2006; Whitehead, 2004).

One major challenge has been a lack of consistent or sustainable efforts to address problems of infrastructure, unemployment and the provision of quality education, particularly in rural communities. Over four decades, successive governments have initiated five developmental programs aimed at restructuring the economy and eradicating poverty. However, there has been no consistent effort to stay on a specific development path. Previous attempt and successes have ceased when new governments with political leaders who want to pursue different agendas take power. Consequently, efforts to address the specific needs of women or reduce poverty in rural communities have not been fully followed through. There also appears to be a disconnection between developmental needs and policies initiated by governments which seek popularity. As well, governments in low-income countries are always constrained by inadequate resources and face tough choices (Leisinger 2012).

Another factor adversely affecting women in Ghana is an unfavorable inheritance system which does not favor wealth creation and asset ownership among women. Rural women have no access to land, and most inheritance systems in Ghana favor males. The heads of extended families wield the power to disburse the property of deceased husbands. Consequently, in many instances, widows are deprived of assets and wealth they acquired jointly with their husbands. As well, the social structures in Ghana do not support female inheritance. In patrilineal family systems, for example, males inherit wealth from their fathers. Even in matrilineal systems, males inherit from their maternal uncles, which means that the inheritance in Ghana invariably favors males (Scholz & Gomez, 2004). In neither system do females usually inherit from their fathers or uncles, except in the cases where the deceased left a will (Fenrich & Higgins, 2001). Females are even more disadvantaged in polygamous marriages. While they work hard to accumulate wealth with their husbands, they are not guaranteed assets proportionate to their effort (Scholz & Gomez, 2004).

An intestate succession law was enacted in 1985 in response to the shortcomings in the traditional inheritance systems, especially concerning surviving female spouses. The law provides a legal framework for the distribution of wealth upon the death of a spouse which had hitherto been done according to the customary law of inheritance existing in the communities (Woodman, 1985)

The lack of success by poverty reduction interventions also has been caused by women's low education and accompanying lack of high-level employment skills.

These trends are partly the outcome of cultural factors that do not support women's education. They are also part of existing social and economic structures that need to be changed to favor females. The factors that cause gender inequalities in poverty are not adequately addressed by poverty reduction strategies, and consequently, these programs result in a reproduction of poverty among females (Awumbila, 2006). Awumbila stressed that, for any program to be sustainable and effective, it needs to recognize that the unequal gender relations affecting women in all levels of society in Ghana cause and perpetuate poverty among women.

Inequality in Health Outcomes

Males and females have different healthcare needs due to their physiological makeup. In addition to social roles, responsibilities, and positions in family and community, these differences greatly influence the causes, consequences and management of diseases and illness (Ostilin, Eckermann, Mishra, Nkowane, & Wallstam, 2006). Of particular interest are the factors that prevent women from accessing health care when available or those that create health challenges for women as a result of their gender. For example, in many situations, a married woman cannot make decisions about how and where to seek health care without the consent of her husband (Molyneux, 2002). Earning power generally makes it easier to access health care (Buor, 2004), however, with smaller incomes, females have limited access to health care facilities. In Ghana, poverty more greatly affects women, who are mostly homemakers and do not earn real incomes (Bhanu, 1994; Boateng & Flanagan, 2010). Among rural women, health care access is determined not only by income but also by location. In many developing countries, health facilities tend to be concentrated in the urban areas. Consequently, access for both men and women in urban areas tends to be higher than in rural areas (Buor, 2004). In Ghana, approximately 40 % of females over the age of 15 can neither read nor write, compared to 22 % of men (Buor, 2004; World Bank Report, 2000); consequently, women have more limited opportunities to access health services than men.

The mental health status of women has been reported to be poorer than that of men (Sipsma, Ofori Atta, Canavan, Osei Akoto, Udry, & Bradley, 2013). In addition, the prevalence of common mental health disorders, such as depression, anxiety, and somatic complaints, are higher among women. Although there are no accurate and up to date statistics on the prevalence of mental disorders, the available data suggest that, when at hospitals, women are twice as likely as men to report depression and anxiety and are more likely to suffer symptoms of mental illness (Ministry of Health, 2008).

Inequalities in health, thus, are an outcome of both gender- and non-gender-related issues, such as location, education, culture, and gender role dynamics within households (Buor, 2004). Maternal health, for example, has been an issue of concern to many governments globally. Recently, attention to this issue has been intensified by the United Nations MDG agenda, which calls for countries to address issues concerning maternal health (MDG 5). Compared to other regions, sub-Saharan Africa

faces the greatest challenges and stands to benefit the most by promoting the principles of the MDGs (Banchani & Tenkorang, 2014). Compared to nations in other regions, countries in sub-Saharan Africa generally experience the highest rate of poverty, illiteracy, child and maternal mortality, HIV/AIDS and malaria (Okonofua, 2005). More than half of maternal deaths globally (56 %) occurred in sub-Saharan African countries (WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, and the World Bank Report, 2010). Investing in maternal health saves individual women's lives, safeguards their well-being and moreover affects the health and well-being of entire societies. However, progress toward achieving the United Nations MDG 5 has been slow in many African countries. In Ghana, reducing maternal mortality and improving maternal health by 2015 remains a challenge (Banchani & Tenkorang, 2014). Among the many threats to maternal health are prenatal and postnatal complications, unsafe abortions, ignorance, and a lack of access to family planning (Ross & Winfrey, 2003).

In view of these threats, the Ghana Health Services and Ministry of Health launched the Safe Motherhood Initiative in 1995 with focus on reducing the high levels of maternal mortality and morbidity (Biritwum, 2006; Osei, Garshong, Banahene, & Gyapong, 2005). This ongoing initiative targets all pregnant women in Ghana who seek antenatal health services. A number of services offered at health centers have been improved, including the management of both routine and risk conditions in antenatal care, labor and delivery, and postnatal care.

A related maternal health initiative, the Free Maternal Health Policy, was launched in 2008 to help achieve the United Nations MDG 5 by 2015 (UNICEF Evaluation Database, 2012). This program was implemented through the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) in order to provide all mothers who attend clinics and hospitals with full access to antenatal and postnatal care (NHIS, 2008). The specific objectives of this policy are to facilitate access to free, quality maternal care and delivery services for all mothers, to reduce the number of women and children who die from preventable pregnancy and labor-related problems and to promote positive attitudes toward seeking antenatal and postnatal care and other health care services. Benefits of this intervention include exemption from payment of the NHIS premium, free registration, free medical services during antenatal and postnatal care and delivery and free newborn care without payment of a premium for ninety days, as long as the mother is a NHIS subscriber. A 2012 evaluation by UNICEF indicated a steady increase in facility-based deliveries, from approximately 300,000 in 2007 to 500,000 in 2011 (UNICEF Evaluation Database, 2012). The institutional maternal mortality ratio reported by the Ghana Health Service also declined from 230 per 100,000 births in 2007 to 170 per 100,000 births in 2011 (UNICEF Evaluation Database).

Most interventions carried out have resulted in some successes, such as reduced maternal and child mortality, increased coverage through national health insurance and wider immunization coverage (Biritwum, 2006). However, the implementation of these interventions has encountered many practical challenges, including difficulties with logistics, deploying skilled health personnel to various districts and the provision of staff accommodations. The doctor–patient ratio in nonurban areas is extremely low. Compounding these problems are major challenges with referrals, especially in remote areas (UNDP Report, 2010). Although regional and district

hospitals are well equipped to handle complicated labor cases, timely transportation of women in labor to these facilities is difficult. The cost or the absence of ambulance service poses a major challenge to the effective implementation of the Free Maternal Health Policy in many districts in Ghana. The NHIS does not cover the cost of transporting women in labor or their traditional birth attendant to health care facilities (Biritwum, 2006), posing a major factor in mothers' reluctance to deliver at a health care facility. Cost, therefore, remains a critical barrier to health care for women, even when they are exempt from paying medical fees. It has been reported frequently that both wealth and location limit utilization of antenatal services (e.g., Arthur, 2012; Saeed, Louis, Aidoo, Nsowah-Nuamah, Yawson, & Zhao, 2013). Barriers to families and communities accessing critical health services, such as inadequate financial capabilities, long distances to health facilities, low female literacy rates, poor health-seeking behaviors among the poor and sociocultural factors such as men's influence on healthcare decision-making, all influence the successful implementation of programs (Arthur, 2012; Boateng & Flanagan, 2010).

Gender Related Issues in Mental Health One area that has not received adequate attention is the mental health challenges faced by women in Ghana. This lack of attention is consistent with worldwide trends, especially in low-income countries, mainly due to inadequate resources, limited planning capacity within countries and a lack of donor support (Jenkins, Baingana, Ahmad, McDaid, & Atun, 2011). A comparative study of mental health systems in South Africa, Uganda and Zambia showed that mental health policies are either weak or nonexistent and remained a low priority for both governments and donors (Omar et al., 2010). Given these attitudes, it is unlikely that any significant intervention will be undertaken. For example, mental health care consistently has been allocated less than 10% of the Ghana's health budget, which is insufficient to initiate any effective programs in mental health in general and even more so those specifically directed at women. Contributing to the lack of targeted interventions in Ghana, the government is overburdened with the cost of psychotropic medications for out- and inpatients at public psychiatric hospitals (Ofori-Atta, Read, & Lund, 2010).

An examination of psychiatric diagnoses in Ghana shows that females more frequently report mood and anxiety disorders, and males, substance use disorders and schizophrenia (Fournier, 2011; Mental Health and Poverty Project (MHaPP)). Depression can be triggered by extreme stress, and as evidenced in the literature, females tend to experience high levels of stress, especially in low-income countries such as Ghana (Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC), 2004). Ghana has no clear government guidelines or policies dealing with gender issues in mental health care. Any implemented mental health care programs are intended to benefit the general population, not females specifically.

Women's Participation in Politics and Decision-Making

Despite the relatively higher proportion of women in the population compared to men (51.5 and 49.5%, respectively), the representation of women in Ghana

in political participation and in decision-making positions remains woefully low. Women's low representation in politics means that their voices are absent or under-represented in the formulation of policies and strategic plans (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2011; Gyimah & Thompson, 2008). The Parliament of Ghana, the legislative wing of government, has 230 members. Since Parliament was founded in 1992, female representation has been around 10% (Ofei-Aboagye, 2004; Tsikata, 2009). It is at its lowest point, 8%, or 19 of 230 members of the 2013 Parliament. The low level of women's participation extends to local assemblies and senior management positions in the formal sector. Women's participation in politics and decision-making is key, however, as it helps strengthen democracy and plays a pivotal role in the advancement of women (MOWAC, 2004).

Affirmative action policies are used to address women's low participation in politics and decision-making. The Government of Ghana recommended that at all levels of governance, including commissions, public boards, councils, committees, and other official bodies, there is a 40% representation of women (MOWAC, 2004; Tsikata, 2009). In order to achieve 40% representation, the administrative directive tasked the National Electoral Commission with encouraging political parties to present more women as candidates in parliamentary elections (Ofei-Aboagye, 2004; Tsikata, 2009). On the local level of governance, the government of Ghana issued a directive in 1998, reserving 30% of appointed seats in district assemblies for women (MOWAC 2004; Ofei-Aboagye 2004). The National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) and other related agencies were directed to launch outreach programs, educating the electorate on the importance of women's active participation in politics. These directives and initiatives have not been evaluated formally. However, women's participation in public life still lags behind that of men. Tsikata, (2009) argued that affirmative action policies for political participation appear limited, have weak legal backing and have been heavily contested. For example, district assemblies still lack clear-cut administrative measures to enforce the policy of reserving seats for women (Tsikata, 2009). These and other factors, such as lack of available data stand as challenges to the successful implementation of the policy.

One persistent reason for the lack of women's participation in politics stems from gender role specification. In Ghana, males are dominant and visible in all spheres of work and leadership roles. The absence of females is due partly to a lack of encouragement to venture into public life. Females who are active in politics are perceived to be unmarried or have an unstable family life (Gyimah & Thompson, 2008; Sossou, 2011). Generally, the sociocultural barriers discussed throughout this chapter persist, making it difficult to implement programs effectively. The dominant sociocultural context in which women operate in Ghana does not accept or encourage them serving in leadership positions. For example, Allah-Mensah, (2005) examined women's participation in public life in Ghana and found that there was low participation in party politics and governance and this was endorsed by perceptions of both males and females that seemed to suggest that women would have difficulties combining domestic roles with politics. Gender roles in Ghana are clear cut and distinct (Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Akotia & Anum, 2012). Additionally, inequalities in sharing domestic tasks tend to overburden females, and thus, cannot

make the time to pursue personal growth and undertake challenging tasks in public life (e.g., Kan, Sullivan, & Gershuny, 2011).

Conclusion

Many countries in sub-Saharan Africa have made efforts to address gender inequality. In education, for example, most countries in the region have improved the net enrolment of both boys and girls (Victor & Ombati, 2012). The challenges in education lie in retention and attainment, where the dropout rate among girls far exceeds that of boys. The sub-Saharan region accounts for the highest number of out-of-school children in the world, of whom 54 % are girls (Buchmann, 1999; UNESCO, 2011). Inequalities in women's employment, income, wealth and health present a similar scenario. The factors that have hindered progress in rectifying gender inequalities are quite similar across countries. Education funding, for example, has been a major barrier. It seems to be a trend that, when educational costs are eliminated, enrolment increases. However, governments find it increasingly difficult to meet all the costs associated with education.

In the light of this discussion, it is clear that gender disparities persist in many spheres of life, despite interventions to narrow the gender gap. The gender gap in Ghana is most pronounced in education, health, poverty, wealth creation and participation in politics and decision-making. Of the many social and cultural factors that underlie these disparities, a lack of formal education appears to be the most important in supporting the discrimination suffered by women in other domains. The relation between formal education and poverty has been explored extensively, as has the relation between education and health care. Invariably, research finds that educating women narrows the gender gap in health, political participation and poverty (Amoateng, Heaton, & Kalule-Sabiti, 2014).

The need for a new understanding of the current interventions or policies, or lack thereof, is especially crucial in the case of economic reform efforts in rural areas and among women. The belief that broad changes and improvements in various domains trickle down to women, both urban and rural, needs to change. A paradigm shift to developing more female-focused interventions is needed. Interventions, such as affirmative action policies in education, that focus directly on female enrolment and education in science and technology have been proven successful (Taylor & Mounfield, 1994).

Another important barrier stems from sociocultural factors within Ghanaian society. Even though Ghana is a multiethnic society divided by various religions, norms that dictate how women are treated are quite consistent across the country. Inheritance systems, land ownership and gender roles appear to be similar across all ethnic groups (Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Akotia & Anum, 2012). Efforts by various governments have not narrowed the gender gaps in the areas discussed due to the many challenges posed by Ghanaian society. The socialization practices that reinforce inequality between the sexes need to be changed at different levels, in

the family, schools, and society at large. Doing so will help reduce discrimination of females by males. The government needs to address the challenges that hinder its efforts to bridge the gap between men and women by strengthening laws that prohibit discrimination.

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Chapter 19
Gender and Health Inequalities in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Case of HIV

Amina Abubakar and Patricia Kitsao-Wekulo

Introduction

Countries in sub-Saharan Africa bear the heaviest human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) burden worldwide, with more than 67 % of all HIV-infected people worldwide being from this region (UNAIDS, 2012). Females carry a disproportionate share of this burden as more than 58 % of all HIV-infected people in Africa are women. (Fig. 19.1 provides summary statistics of HIV prevalence by gender across selected African countries). Moreover, the rates of infection among young women are much higher than among young men, with some estimates indicating that one young woman becomes infected with HIV every minute (UNAIDS, 2013). In some sub-Saharan African countries, the number of young girls (15–24 years) living with HIV is double that of young men of the same age. This high HIV prevalence rate begs the question: What makes women more vulnerable to HIV infection than men? Existing data indicate that various factors including biological, sociocultural, economic as well as infrastructural barriers play a role in making women vulnerable (Ramjee & Daniels, 2013). In the current chapter, we will discuss some of the factors that place women at a higher risk of getting HIV compared to men. We will also highlight some of the intervention measures that may be implemented to decrease the risk of infection among women. First, we will briefly highlight theoretical models that guide our review of the field.

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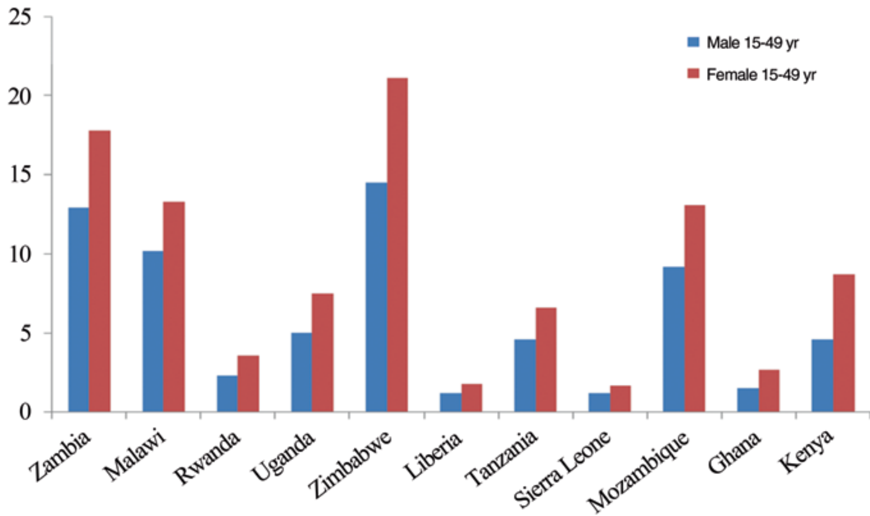

Fig. 19.1 HIV prevalence rates among males and females in selected African countries

Theoretical Models

Our understanding of the factors that contribute to women being more susceptible to HIV infection is guided by two theoretical models: the social ecological model of health and the theory of gender and power. According to the social ecological model (Stokols, 1996), an individual's health status is a result of the interaction between the person's characteristics and various environmental factors that are nested within each other. These environmental factors exert their influence from the most proximal, e.g. household characteristics and interpersonal relationships, to the more distal ones at the community, national and societal levels. For instance, whereas a woman's physiological makeup makes her especially susceptible to infection (see below for details), household factors (e.g. experience of intimate partner violence), health system factors (i.e. access to medical facilities) and cultural norms (the status of women) increase this vulnerability.

Another important theory in understanding women's vulnerability to HIV infection is the theory of gender and power (Connell, 1987; Wingood & DiClemente, 2000). According to this theory, three important components should be taken into consideration:

a) Sexual division of labour: This refers to the allocation of work roles to men and women. Society is more likely to confer low-status jobs and lower pay to women than to men.
b) Sexual division of power: This deals largely with who influences whom and who controls whom. In many African countries, gender inequities in power and control mean that men are likely to have more power and influence than women. These lower statuses for women greatly increase their risk levels.

c) Structure of cathexis: This component emphasizes the affective and normative aspects of the theory. It is concerned with those aspects of society that define what is acceptable, desirable and 'normal' for a woman, and dictates how she should live within the society. In a detailed analysis of their theory within the context of HIV infection, Wingood and DiClemente (2000) noted that among other factors, social cathexis includes the societal expectations for a woman to bear children and the acceptability of women to have relationships with older partners.

In the next section, we review the literature on the vulnerability of females to HIV infection, taking into consideration different factors and levels.

Biological Factors

We briefly review some of the biological factors, including physiological and hormonal influences, that make women particularly vulnerable to infection with HIV. Within the bioecological model earlier discussed, these factors fall within the octogenic system. During sexual intercourse, as a much larger mucosal surface area is exposed, women face an increased risk of infection implying a higher susceptibility to transmission of pathogens (Ramjee & Daniels, 2013). Moreover, they are also exposed to infectious fluids for a long duration and hence have a higher chance of getting infected over a longer period of time (Ramjee and Daniels). Hormonal influences during ovulation and pregnancy have also been implicated in increasing women's vulnerability to HIV infection through the changes that occur in the female genital tract (Wira & Fahey, 2008). Lastly, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), which increase one's risk of acquiring HIV (Kalichman, Pellowski, & Turner, 2011), are more difficult to diagnose among women compared to men. During the period when they are unaware of their STD infection status, women remain extremely vulnerable to being infected with HIV. In sum, a woman's physiological make up, hormonal and physiological changes associated with reproduction, and challenges in diagnosing STDs are some of the salient biological factors that increase her risk of getting infected with HIV.

Sociocultural Factors

Sociocultural factors such as cultural practices (e.g. widow inheritance and widow cleansing) and the position of women in largely patriarchal societies have been implicated in making women more vulnerable to infection. The framework on gender and power provides some insights on sociocultural influences. Here, the sexualized division of power and societal norms and expectations (which come under the structure of cathexis) have the most salient influences. For instance, in several African communities, there are beliefs and norms on how a woman who has lost her

husband should behave. As such a woman is perceived to have become 'unclean,' it was considered very important for her to be cleansed to avoid misfortunes or a curse befalling her family or the larger community (Ayikukwei et al., 2008; Gausset, 2001; Malungo, 2001). Widow cleansing came in various forms with the most common approach being of a sexual nature. Among the Luos of Kenya, women are believed to acquire contagious impurity on the death of their husbands. A sexual cleansing rite is therefore observed before the women can be re-incorporated into society (Ayikukwei et al., 2008). Traditional requirements necessitated that ritual sex be penetrative to facilitate mixing of fluids, for cleansing to be said to have taken place. In a recent study carried out among the Luos of Kenya (Perry et al., 2014), one of the female participants in a focus group discussion was quoted as saying;

> If you use condoms that means you have broken the customs of inheritance. Now you have to have sex without. (Inherited widow, FGD)

As illustrated, there is no cultural provision for the use of condoms (Ayikukwei et al., 2008). In the past, sexual cleansing was carried out by a close relative of the deceased husband. However, with the rise of HIV infection among the Luo community, the practice of hiring a paid cleanser to carry out this ritual is now commonplace. The men who specialize in this practice, referred to as *Jakowiny,* have been known to move from one widow to another putting both themselves and the widows they have contact with at great risk of contracting HIV.

Some communities such as those in Zambia have identified alternative forms of widow cleansing rites to reduce the risk of HIV infection. Malungo (2001) noted that since sexual cleansing (*kusalazya*) was perceived to contribute to the transmission of HIV/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), alternative rituals to sexual cleansing have emerged. These alternative rituals include sliding over a half-naked person (*kucuta*) or sliding over an animal (*kucuta ng'ombe* or 'cow jumping'), use of herbs and roots (*misamu*), cutting of hair (*kugela masusu*) and application of some powder (*kunanika busu*).

Although on the decline, several African communities such as the Luos of Kenya, the Shona of Zimbabwe and the Yoruba of Nigeria engage in the practice of widow inheritance (Amosun, 2011; Fasoranti & Aruna, 2007). In the past, this practice was aimed at protecting the woman and her children and ensuring that inherited land was retained within the family (Abubakar & Van de Vijver, 2013). Although there are also instances of inheritance by non-relatives, the widow was typically inherited by a close relative of the deceased husband (such as a brother-in-law, cousin or uncle to her dead husband). In these communities, widows are aware of the risk they take when they participate in these rituals. For instance in a study by Perry et al., (2014), one of the interviewed widows stated:

> I feel like he is not straight forward… So sometimes I get worried deep in my heart because he is walking here and there [having multiple partners], I feel that he might bring for me a disease. (Inherited widow, SSI)

Various factors facilitate the continued practice of these rituals within the society. A series of focus group discussions with women from the Luo community revealed some reasons for the continued high prevalence of both widow inheritance and

cleansing among Luos (Agot et al., 2010). First was the fear of *chira,* or the curse that would befall a woman, her children and her clan if she did not take part in sexual cleansing. Women therefore participated in the ritual for the sake of the common good. Secondly, most women perceived that their lower status in the society did not permit them to have say on whether or not they wanted to take part in the rituals. Lastly, as highlighted in the study by Perry et al., (2014), women indicated that since they needed husbands to help them with daily chores such as building houses, widow inheritance allowed them to get a 'helper'.

Furthermore, it is not uncommon for widows to experience violation of their property rights through denial of the right to inherit land or being stripped of matrimonial property upon the death of their husbands. Dworkin and colleagues (Dworkin et al., 2013) have noted that property right violation was very common:

> When they are disinherited, they take everything. It is only the clothes she owns that are not taken…it is everything. Land, animals, cows, cars … the brothers-in-law, mostly the in-laws. (Developer, Male, age 58)

Disinheritance may be related to HIV infection in two ways. First, women were likely to be blamed for 'bringing the virus home' and were thus chased away by angry in-laws. Secondly, the process made them extremely vulnerable to HIV infection since they were driven into poverty, with some being forced to live in slums and engage in transactional sex as a source of income.

Almost all African communities are patriarchal in nature implying that men hold a dominant position in the division of power. On the other hand, the subordinate position of women in African settings implies that in many cases, their agency and ability to make choices is curtailed. This has been a major hindrance to reducing high infection rates among this population. For instance, even though the proper and consistent use of condoms is well understood as a preventive measure against HIV infection, women's ability to successfully negotiate condom use is in doubt. To illustrate this point, a study from Tanzania involving 348 individuals (186 males and 162 females) used logistic regression to identify factors associated with condom use (Katikiro & Njau, 2012). Three factors, including experiencing forced sex, the belief that condoms reduce sexual pleasure and inability to convince a partner to use condoms, were found to be very prominent in reducing the chances of condom use. Two of these factors (i.e. non-consensual sex and inability to influence partner's condom use) are syndromic of a woman's low status in society.

Gender-based violence occurs in many societies worldwide and is known to increase the risk for HIV infection and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2003). A South African study sought to investigate whether intimate partner violence and relationship power inequity increased the risk of incident HIV infection among South African women (Jewkes Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010). The study involved 1099 women aged 15–26 years. The investigators reported that both power inequity and intimate partner violence increased the risk of incident HIV infection in young South African women (Jewkes et al., 2010). The same study found that 12 % of new HIV infections in women were attributable to intimate partner violence (Jewkes et al., 2010). In the absence of strong legisla-

tive and police actions against those who perpetuate gender-based violence, African women remain especially vulnerable to the resultant exposure to HIV infection.

HIV-related stigma is highly prevalent in many Africa communities. However, it is difficult to estimate its prevalence by gender as most studies in Africa rarely present such data. Stigma remains a major barrier to positive health-seeking behaviour, disclosure to sexual partners and adoption of safer sex practices (Sambisa, Curtis, & Mishra, 2010; Wolfe et al., 2006). For instance, some women will not ask their long-term sexual partners to wear a condom for fear of being perceived as being HIV-positive or being unfaithful.

Limited educational opportunities for African girls are also an important risk factor. Across the continent, in countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya and Malawi, gender disparity in access to opportunities for education is evidenced by a higher educational achievement for boys compared to girls. (See Fig. 19.2 for gender parity in access to higher education. Note: This refers to the number of female students enrolled at tertiary levels of education compared to the number of male students at this level. To standardize the effects of the population structure of the appropriate age groups, the gender parity index (GPI) of the gross enrolment ratio (GER) for each level of education is used. Information from http://www.devinfo.org/libraries/aspx/Home.aspx.) Schooling for girls is often curtailed by cultural norms and practices. For instance, parents may keep girls at home to help with household chores or caregiving of younger siblings. In the case where a family experiences economic strain, the belief that educating girls is an 'investment that will not pay off' since girls will get married and join a different family means that families prefer to invest their resources in boys rather than girls (Krishnan et al., 2008). This scenario illustrates the large gender gap in provision of education, which contributes to:

a) Girls having limited access to information and educational materials;
b) Girls getting employed in low status jobs in which they earn less and become more vulnerable to manipulation, abuse and harassment at their places of work; and,
c) Girls becoming economically dependent on men.

Linked to limited education is the lack of access to health-related information among African women; studies in Africa indicate that women are less likely than men to have access to adequate information or knowledge on HIV and how they should protect themselves (Krishnan et al., 2008). These circumstances contribute to the continuation of gender inequities that make women more vulnerable to HIV infection.

Economic Factors

A large proportion of the African population lives in poverty, and the existing gender bias in the distribution of economic resources means that women are the most vulnerable. Poverty is a major risk factor for several reasons (Krishnan et al., 2008).

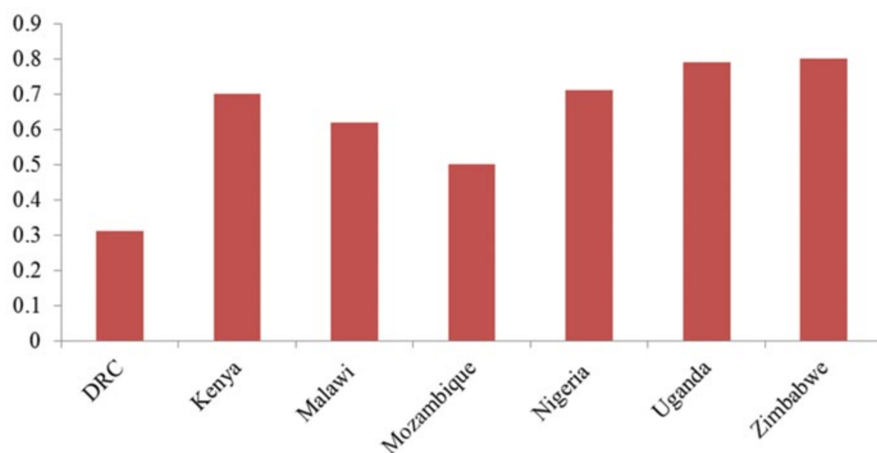

Fig. 19.2 Gender parity in tertiary level enrolment in selected African countries

First, poor women are more likely to engage in commercial or transactional sex in the quest to earn a living. Commercial sex workers are among the most high-risk groups in Africa. Additionally, women who are financially unstable are more likely to engage in high-risk behaviour, including unprotected or anal sex for which clients may pay more. Camlin Kwena, Dworkin, Cohen, & Bukusi, (2014) note that 'While "higher end" sex workers may be paid 200 Kenyan shillings (KSh) (about $ 2.50) for a single act of intercourse with a condom, they could be paid as much as KSh 1000 (about $ 12) for sex without a condom' (Camlin et al., 2014). Moreover, poor women are less likely to have the power and skills to negotiate successfully for safer sex with their partners. A study in Kenya has demonstrated this through the finding that land ownership (an indicator of wealth) among women was associated with the ability to negotiate for safer sex practices, especially condom use (Muchomba, Wang, & Agosta, 2014). Furthermore, poverty increases the risk of being exposed to intimate partner violence (Vyas & Watts, 2009).

For teenage girls in Africa, it has been observed that early sexual debut and involvement in age-disparate relationships (i.e. relationships with men 5 years older than them) can be related to economic factors. In a qualitative study in three African countries, participants reported that teenage girls got involved with older men (a factor that places them at risk) for economic reasons such as the purchase of food, clothing, mobile phones and airtime (Underwood, Skinner, Osman, & Schwandt, 2011).

> She has no food to eat. As a result, she will accept. She doesn't know if such man is HIV positive or negative. She just accepts without thinking of the consequences. (Mozambique, peri-urban, opinion leader)

Another economic factor that is likely to exacerbate the risk of HIV infection is economic migration (Coffee, Lurie, & Garnett, 2007; Lurie et al., 2003; Zuma, Gouws, Williams, & Lurie, 2003). When a woman or her partner migrates to find a job in another location, the risk of HIV infection increases significantly. This increase

is attributed to the fact that either or both of them are likely to be involved with multiple concurrent sexual partners. Female migrant workers are especially at risk because they tend to get low-status jobs, and with the loss of protection from their families or communities, they are more likely to be exposed to both sexual and non-sexual abuse.

Women-centred HIV Prevention Programmes

Given the many challenges that women face and their elevated risk of getting infected, the HIV epidemic cannot be adequately tackled unless a concerted effort is made to address the challenges that are specific to females. Programmes that take into consideration the gendered nature of the epidemic need to be developed.

The high rate of HIV infection among women is complicated by its potential spill-over effect into other sectors of the society. As mentioned earlier, the most vulnerable women are those of childbearing age. Even though mother-to-child transmission can be wholly eliminated with adequate pre-, peri- and post-natal health care, there are still significant numbers of women in sub-Saharan Africa who are unable to access care during pregnancy and right after birth. Consequently, the risk of mother-to-child transmission remains high despite the current advances in medical care. This implies that there will still be children who get vertically infected with HIV. Vertically infected children may present with poor developmental and cognitive outcomes, alongside mental health problems (Abubakar et al., 2008). Moreover, even when children themselves are not infected with HIV, they shoulder the burden of growing up in a household where one parent is ill. Such children have also been observed to present with the same problems reported among infected children problems (Cluver & Gardner, 2006; Fang et al., 2009). Addressing the challenges facing women in the context of HIV infection should therefore be seen not only as a way to address the needs of females, but also as a means to protect the health and wellbeing of the next generation. The literature reviewed here suggests the need for a multi-sectoral approach, with interventions addressing biological, sociocultural, behavioural and economic risk factors (See Fig. 19.3 for a summary of these data).

Biomedical Intervention

Given the specific vulnerabilities associated with the female body, there have been calls and efforts to develop ‘gender-sensitive’ biological approaches to deal with the threat of HIV infection. While advocating the use of condoms is an effective approach to prevent HIV infection, its success largely depends on negotiation with the sexual partner (this applies to both the male and female condom). Consequently, the need to develop biomedical preventive measures that a woman can use independently has been suggested (Perry et al., 2014). One important strategy currently being tested is the use of microbicides, which are

primarily topical pre-exposure prophylaxis, aimed at inactivating the HIV virus. Two types of microbicides are currently undergoing clinical trials: vaginal gels and vaginal rings. Vaginal gels have been reported to reduce the likelihood of HIV infection by 39 %, though these positive effects have not been consistently observed. These preventive measures can be used by the woman without the knowledge of the partner or the need to negotiate with him. One major challenge for the developers of these biological approaches is behavioural patterns. For example, some microbicide trials have reported negative results because of inconsistent use by participants.

Economic Intervention

Empowering women and vulnerable girls will be an important step towards lowering their risk of HIV infection. Studies in South Africa illustrate the benefits of cash transfers targeting families or households with orphaned and vulnerable girls. Cash transfers can contribute to increasing the age of sexual debut for girls and decrease their involvement with 'sugar daddies' (older men with whom they have sex in exchange for food, fees, clothes and other basic needs, Cluver et al., 2013). Studies in other parts of Africa such as Tanzania seem to support the finding that cash transfers confer some protection on vulnerable girls (De Walque et al., 2012; Medlin & De Walque, 2008).

Microfinance approaches to provide an opportunity for women to earn their own money can be very effective in lowering their chances of engaging in risky sexual behaviour (Kim & Watts, 2005). In a study from South Africa, a randomized control design was used to evaluate the effects of a combined microfinance and training intervention on HIV risk behaviour (Pronyk et al., 2006). The study involved female participants aged 14–35 years. It was reported that 'after 2 years of follow-up, when compared with controls, young participants had higher levels of HIV-related communication, were more likely to have accessed voluntary counselling and testing, and less likely to have had unprotected sex at last intercourse with a non-spousal partner.'

Social Protection Measures

The implementation of programmes, legislations and social policies aimed at advancing the rights of vulnerable women could go a long way in promoting their health. Measures such as ensuring property rights, advocating for girls' education, protecting women against gender-based violence and legislation to ensure equal earning and proper treatment of migrant workers are some of the social protection safety nets that are urgently required. In this regard, as girls between the ages of 15 and 24 years are one of the high-risk groups, the protection of the rights of young

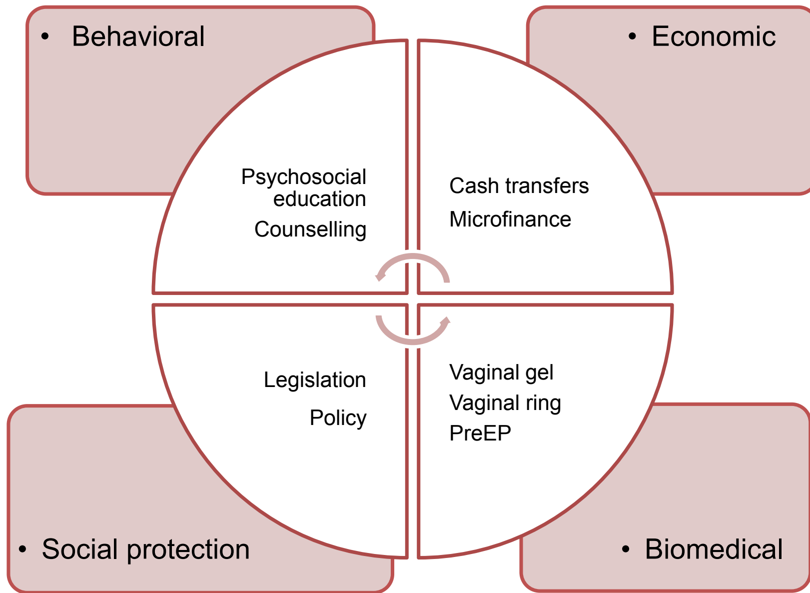

Fig. 19.3 Summary of the key intervention areas suggested by the literature

girls is crucial. An important social protection measure is to keep girls in school (Hardee, Gay, Croce-Galis, & Peltz, 2014) as educational attainment has been associated with a lowered risk of HIV infection among girls (Jukes, Simmons, & Bundy, 2008). Studies indicate that when adolescents and youth are out of school, they are likely to engage in high-risk behaviour such as early sexual debut, high levels of partner concurrency, transactional sex, age mixing, low STI/HIV risk perception, a high lifetime number of partners and inconsistent condom use (Stroeken et al., 2012). Moreover, keeping young girls in school will contribute to their economic empowerment in the future.

Instituting legislative measures to protect potentially vulnerable women is also an important step (Hardee et al., 2014). For instance, in South Africa, the Customary Marriage Act was modified in the early 2000s. Following this modification, a woman would no longer automatically become the property of her husband's family upon his death. These changes ensured that the woman retained her agency and her rights to self-determination and economic independence.

Behavioural Interventions

These are measures aimed at changing day to day behavioural patterns that may place people at risk of acquiring HIV. The two main components of behavioural interventions are psychosocial education and counselling. Psychosocial education and counselling involve raising awareness on ways to prevent HIV infection and

protect oneself by adopting a 'positive' lifestyle. These psychosocial educational efforts involve campaigns aimed at encouraging the use of condoms, discouraging early sexual debut and having multiple concurrent partners. Among the most popular methods of delivery of psychosocial education are peer counselling, community-based educators and mass media campaigns. Counselling has been an important approach in the campaign aimed at encouraging HIV testing. Voluntary counselling and testing is a key component in the fight against HIV infection as it encourages people to be aware of their status and take the necessary actions to protect themselves, their partners and children. Callegari et al., (2008) implemented a simple behavioural intervention which was found to have short-term positive results. In a study carried out in Zimbabwe aimed at boosting condom use, the investigators enrolled 394 women into an intervention that consisted of two 30-min one-to-one sessions. During these sessions women were taught skills to negotiate condom use with their partners, provided with education on HIV/AIDS and educated on proper condom use, with demonstrations. In a follow up 2 months post-intervention, a significant increase in the number of women who reported consistent use of condoms was observed. This study provides evidence on the potential role of behavioural intervention; however, the best results are expected to arise from a combination of the various interventions.

Conclusions

We review and highlight factors than make women more vulnerable to HIV infection compared to men. These factors include biological, sociocultural and economic factors, as well as infrastructural barriers. The social ecological model of health and the theory of gender and power guide our understanding of these factors. Within the social ecological model, the interaction between the person's characteristics and various interconnected environmental factors determine an individual's health status. According to the theory of gender and power, three components including the sexual division of labour, the sexual division of power and the structure of cathexis should be taken into consideration.

Biological factors such as physiological and hormonal influences, sociocultural factors including cultural practices and women's subordinate positions in largely patriarchal societies, and economic factors like poverty and migration make women particularly vulnerable to HIV infection. Related to these factors are limited educational opportunities for girls, violation of property rights, gender-based violence, and HIV-related stigma which are some of the major barriers to healthy sexual behaviour, thus increasing the risk of HIV infection.

A concerted effort must be made to tackle these challenges, one of which is the development of programmes that specifically target women. Given the multifaceted nature of the various risk factors, a multi-sectorial approach to addressing them cannot be overemphasized. Specific programmes, including biomedical, economic and behavioural interventions, as well as social protection measures are required to

lower the risk of HIV infection for women, especially those between the ages of 15 and 24 years. Addressing the specific vulnerabilities of women will require removal of the social and cultural impediments that limit their participation, ensuring their access to educational opportunities is at par with their male counterparts at all levels, and increasing their decision-making power. The success of such programmes can however only be guaranteed if there is a change in attitudes towards women's participation at all levels, and a comprehensive approach involving all the relevant stakeholders is followed. Success in reducing the rates of HIV infection in Africa will largely depend on successfully raising the status of women in order to lower their risk of HIV infection.

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