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Flora Farago

Stephen F Austin State University, faragof@sfasu.edu

Natalie Eggum-Wilkens

Arizona State University

Linlin Zhang

University of Toronto Mississauga

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Ugandan Adolescents' Descriptive Gender Stereotypes about Domestic and Recreational
Activities, and Attitudes about Women

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Gender inequality in Uganda is a pervasive issue that entails unequal expectations and treatment of boys and girls (Kyegombe et al., 2015). Although there have been vast improvements in the rights of women and girls in Uganda due to pro-women legislation (Wang, 2013) and interventions designed to challenge gender norms (e.g., Kyegombe et al., 2015), gender inequality persists across many facets of life. In the current study, we extend the literature on gender inequality to Ugandan adolescents' gender stereotypes of domestic and recreational activities, and their attitudes about women's behavior, rights, and roles.

Adolescents' Gender Stereotypes and Gender-Role Attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa

Studies across sub-Saharan Africa indicate that adolescents endorse gender stereotypes and non-egalitarian gender-role attitudes (e.g., Adams et al., 2013; Conry-Murray, 2009; Lundgren et al., 2019; Ninsiima et al., 2018; Snow et al., 2013; Vu et al., 2017). Adolescents uphold patriarchal marital gender norms by expecting husbands to have authority over wives, and wives to be submissive to husbands (e.g., Adams et al., 2013; Conry-Murray, 2009; Lundgren et al., 2019; Ninsiima et al., 2018; Snow et al., 2013; Vu et al., 2017). Although many adolescents endorse unequal gender-role attitudes, others resist traditional gender norms (Adams et al., 2013; Kågesten et al., 2016; Yu et al., 2017). Inequitable gender-role attitudes have been

implicated in adolescents' fertility aspirations and unintended pregnancy (Adams, Salazar, & Lundgren, 2013; Snow, Winter, & Harlow, 2013), sexual risk-taking (Adams et al., 2013; Bhana, Zimmerman, & Cupp, 2008), and HIV risk-factors (Bermudez et al., 2018). Although restrictive gender-roles are harmful for everyone, they are especially detrimental for women and girls (Kågesten et al., 2016).

Domestic activities. Research on adolescents' gender stereotypes about domestic activities is generally lacking in sub-Saharan Africa. Most of what is known about domestic activities has been gleaned from time-use studies (UNICEF, 2016) rather than their perceptions. In Uganda, as in much of East Africa and across the world, there is sharp gender segregation across domestic tasks (e.g., Fentiman & Warrington, 2011; Lundgren et al., 2019; Ninsiima et al., 2018; Uganda Ministry of Finance, 2006). Women and girls are primarily responsible for doing *unpaid*, domestic labor such as caring for children and family members, fetching firewood, cleaning, and cooking (Fentiman & Warrington, 2011; Lovell, 2010; Uganda Ministry of Finance, 2006). Men and boys are primarily responsible for activities revolving around earning income, such as managing crops and livestock (Lundgren et al., 2019). Adolescents in Uganda report performing domestic chores along traditional gender lines (Lovell, 2010; Lundgren et al., 2019; Ninsiima et al., 2018). A qualitative study of 44 adolescents (12-14 year-olds) in Western Uganda found that girls reported cooking, cleaning, collecting firewood, and babysitting, whereas boys reported grazing animals, milking cows, selling products at the market, and fetching water (Ninsiima et al., 2018). Similarly, in another qualitative study, eight Basoga girls (15-19 year-olds) in Eastern Uganda identified cooking, cleaning, and raising children as their main responsibilities (Lovell, 2010). In sum, adolescents indicate that there is an unequal

distribution of domestic labor, and that this inequality negatively affects the lives of girls and women across a variety of domains (Lovell, 2010; Lundgren et al., 2019; Ninsiima et al., 2018).

Recreational activities. Research on adolescents' stereotypes about recreational activities in sub-Saharan Africa is lacking. Examining stereotypes of recreation is important because globally, including in sub-Saharan Africa, adolescents spend a significant amount of time on recreational activities (Hulteen et al., 2017). Participating in recreational activities (e.g., sports, spending time with friends) has a positive impact on adolescents' health and well-being (see Caldwell & Witt, 2011) and has the potential to foster positive relations between girls and boys. Studies conducted in the U.S. and Europe find that certain leisure activities (e.g., ballet, football) are highly gender-stereotyped by children and adolescents (Athenstaedt, Mikula, & Brecht, 2009; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006). Understanding adolescents' descriptive gender stereotypes about recreational activities is an important step toward reducing perceived barriers to girls' involvement in certain activities.

Gender-roles attitudes and prescriptive stereotypes about women: Marriage and family. Adolescents in Uganda tend to characterize men as dominant, financial providers, protectors, and decision-makers and women as obedient, nurturing, and submissive caretakers (Adams et al., 2013; Lundgren et al., 2019; Snow et al., 2013; Vu et al., 2017). Inequitable gender-role attitudes extend to domestic chores, family roles, sexuality (Lundgren et al., 2019), and decisions about child-bearing and family planning (Adams et al., 2013; Lundgren et al., 2019). An ethnographic study revealed that adolescents (10-19 year-olds) in Northern Uganda (in Lira and Pader districts) endorsed traditional gender-roles about domestic and marital roles (Adams et al., 2013, $N = 40$; Lundgren et al., 2019, $N = 60$). Similarly, a quantitative study of 970 children and adolescents (10-24 year-olds) from rural areas in Wakiso District and urban

areas near Kampala found high levels of inequitable gender-role attitudes across domestic chores, sexuality, and violence (Vu et al., 2017). The majority of participants (>70%) agreed that a man should have the final word in decisions and that a woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together, obey her husband, and take care of the home and the children (Vu et al., 2017).

Likewise, a quantitative study of adolescent boys and men (15-24 year-olds) across East Africa found that out of the Ugandan participants ($n = 997$), 79.5% agreed that the husband should have the final say in at least one decision out of three within the household (i.e., visits to family or relatives, what to do with wife's earnings, number of children to have); 67.5% agreed that wife beating is justified in at least one instance out of five (i.e., goes out without telling husband, neglects children, argues with husband, refuses sex, burns the food); and, 56.7% agreed that the husband has at least one out of four sexual rights over wife (i.e., get angry, refuse financial support, use force for unwanted sex, have sex with another woman; Snow et al., 2013). A quantitative study of 1096 adolescents (10-14 year-olds) from urban and rural areas of Southwest Uganda found that youth held "moderately equitable" attitudes about women; however, the authors concluded that adolescents were likely socialized to hold inequitable gender norms (Kemigisha et al., 2018). Moreover, they measured non-marital gender roles which potentially resulted in somewhat more egalitarian findings compared to other studies.

The Present Study

The majority of studies have examined gender-role attitudes within the context of promoting adolescents' sexual and reproductive well-being (e.g., Adams et al., 2013; Kemigisha et al., 2018; Lundgren et al., 2019). Our study extends this area of scholarship by examining gender-role attitudes across a variety of domains such as marriage, family, sexuality, and general

rights and roles in society regarding women's "appropriate" behavior. The current study is one of the first to assess adolescents' descriptive gender stereotypes of recreational activities in sub-Saharan Africa. We expected adolescents to strongly stereotype domestic domain and recreational activities, however, we expected recreational activities to be somewhat less stereotyped than domestic ones. Also, unlike most previous studies, we assessed adolescents' justifications for their attitudes about women. We surveyed 201 adolescents ages 11- to 17-years-old in Eastern Uganda using closed- and open-ended questions, to answer two primary questions. 1) What are Ugandan adolescents' descriptive gender stereotypes about domestic and recreational activities? 2) What are Ugandan adolescents' gender-role attitudes about women's behavior, rights, and roles? Questions such as "who is more likely to...?" assess children's *descriptive stereotypes* (i.e., stereotype knowledge) which reflect what children observe around them (Signorella, Bigler, & Liben, 1993). In contrast, questions such as "who should...?" assess children's *prescriptive stereotypes* (i.e., stereotype endorsement) which reflect children's personal beliefs and value judgements (Signorella et al., 1993). In the present paper, we assessed stereotypes about domestic and recreational activities by using a descriptive approach (i.e., stereotype knowledge). Next, we assessed gender-role attitudes about women via a prescriptive stereotype approach (i.e., stereotype endorsement). We operationalize *gender-role attitudes* as beliefs about whether women should be allowed to hold certain rights (e.g., owning land) or be allowed to participate in certain roles and behaviors (e.g., travel without husband).

Method

Participants

Students were recruited from three, Eastern Ugandan schools (participation rates > 90%):

1) a private secondary school in Malaba, 2) a private primary school in Tororo, and 3) a

government, primary school in Tororo. Originally, 252 participants took part in the study (in 2010). Data were excluded for 51 participants due to low questionnaire comprehension, leaving 201 participants (96 girls, 87 boys, 18 missing gender). Participants were on average 14.62 years old ($SD = 1.76$, range = 11 to 17, $n = 17$ missing). Participants reported over 20 tribal ethnicities, most commonly Iteso ($n = 60$), Jopadhola ($n = 30$), and Luhya ($n = 25$).

Procedures

All study protocols were approved by the (*blinded*) Institutional Review Board and consent was obtained from parents/guardians or from head teachers, whereas adolescents provided oral assent. The second author and a Ugandan research assistant group-administered the survey, containing a battery of closed- and open-ended questions, in English, the language of instruction at the participating schools. Reading skills were lower than expected at the government school; thus, survey items were read aloud. Schools received a monetary donation and participants received pencils and notebooks.

Measures

Measures were adapted from existing measures and refined based on conversations with Ugandan adults working in education and community settings. Measures were piloted with 6 children.

Descriptive stereotypes about domestic and recreational activities. Participants completed the *Ugandan Activities and Gender Stereotypes Survey* (UAGSS), created for this study, assessing descriptive gender stereotypes about domestic and recreational activities. UAGSS was inspired by the activity gender stereotypes sub-scale of the Children's Occupations, Activities, and Traits – Attitude Measure (COAT-AM; Liben & Bigler, 2002). The UAGSS differed from the COAT-AM in important ways: a) it reflected the Ugandan context (e.g.,

“collect firewood”), b) it assessed who is *more likely* to do an activity (i.e., descriptive stereotype) rather than who *should* do an activity (i.e., prescriptive stereotype), c) it included open-ended items, and d) it included modified response options (e.g., “both boys and girls” was changed to “neither boys and girls are more likely to do the activity”).

The UAGSS included 26 closed-ended items about domestic and recreational activities that people do (see Table 1). Participants were asked to choose who is more likely to do each activity: “boys/men,” “girls/women,” or “neither boys/men/ nor girls/women are more likely to do the activity.” Next, participants were asked to list at least three open-ended answers about additional activities that “boys/men” or “girls/women” are more likely or “men and women are equally likely” to do. First, the first author and a research assistant coded 100% of the open-ended data into thematic categories (primary coding by grouping synonymous words or phrases together), compared their coding (94% agreement), and resolved discrepancies by consulting the second author. Second, coded responses were categorized into core themes (secondary coding) based on literature about gender roles and stereotyping. Themes redundant with close-ended responses are not reported.

Gender-role attitudes and prescriptive stereotypes about women’s behavior, rights, and roles. Participants completed the *Women’s Action Questionnaire* (WAQ), created for this study, assessing attitudes about women’s engagement in certain behaviors and roles. The WAQ included 23 closed-ended items describing behaviors and roles of women across a variety of domains (see Table 2). Participants were asked to indicate for each item whether it is “okay” (should be allowed) or “not okay” (should not be allowed) for women to do it and were also given the option of answering “not sure” (see Table 2). Next, participants were asked to list

rationales behind their closed-ended responses and any additional actions that “are not okay” for women to do.

Data were 100% double-coded by the first author and trained research assistants, and discrepancies were resolved through consensus (83% agreement). Codes were loosely guided by Conry-Murray's (2009) coding of adolescents' reasoning about gender roles and fairness in Benin and were modified based on feedback from a Ugandan researcher specializing in women and gender studies. Themes redundant with closed-ended responses are not reported.

Other measures. The current project was part of a larger study. Findings about social withdrawal are published in *blinded*.

Results

Missing Data

Missing data for closed-ended items ranged from 1.5% to 17.4% and for open-ended items ranged from 19.9% to 50.8%. Primary reasons for missing data on open-ended items included not listing the minimum number of requested responses, (three for each category), skipping open-ended questions, not understanding a portion of the open-ended instructions, and providing open-ended responses that were inconsistent with closed-ended responses.

Descriptive Gender Stereotypes about Domestic and Recreational Activities

Closed-ended responses. Thirteen of 26 activities were descriptively stereotyped (see Table 1). Strongly stereotyped was defined as at least 75% of participants agreeing that an activity is more likely to be done by one gender (based on criteria by Williams, Bennett, & Best, 1975). We also demarcated moderately stereotyped activities (50-74% agreement) and mildly stereotyped activities (40-49% agreement). There were six masculine-stereotyped activities (e.g., “build/fix huts,” “fix/repair bicycles,” “hunt animals”) and seven feminine-stereotyped activities

(e.g., “cook food,” “feed babies,” “change babies’ soiled clothes”). Overall, stereotyped items revolved around the theme of domestic chores (except for drawing/painting).

There were 13 non-stereotyped activities (i.e., boys/men and girls/women are equally likely to do the activity). For non-stereotyped activities, 48-98% of participants selected that neither boys/men nor girls/women are more likely to do the activity. Non-stereotyped activities predominantly revolved around the themes of recreation, leisure, and entertainment (e.g., “read books or newspapers,” “dance,” “talk to friends”) as well as some domestic chores (e.g., “fetch water”; see Table 1).

Open-ended responses. Open-ended responses reflected closed-ended responses but provided more specificity (see Table 3). The most common male-stereotyped activities included playing football, manual labor, and fishing. Other common masculine themes included slashing the compound, protecting or providing for the family, playing sports (not football), and driving or riding vehicles. Some of the most common female-stereotyped activities included domestic chores, playing netball, and reproduction. Other common feminine themes included caring for others (non-family and family), playing sports (not netball), and doing hair. Some of the most common non-stereotyped activities included playing sports (not football/netball), religious activities, and domestic chores. Other common non-stereotyped themes included entertainment, caring or planning for family, playing games, and driving or riding vehicles. Some themes emerged under multiple gender categories, meaning that some participants indicated that one gender is more likely to do the activity, whereas others indicated that men and women are equally likely to do the activity (e.g., drive vehicles as masculine and non-stereotyped; domestic chores as feminine and non-stereotyped).

Gender-role Attitudes and Prescriptive Stereotypes about Women's Behavior, Rights, and Roles

Closed-ended responses. Six out of the 23 items assessing gender-role attitudes about women's behavior, rights, and roles were moderately prescriptively stereotyped (i.e., 50-74% of participants indicated that is "not ok" for a woman to engage in a behavior; see Table 2).

Behaviors that the majority of participants deemed prohibited for women included "buy things without asking husband," "disagree with her husband," "decide to divorce from husband," "say 'no' to sexual interaction with her husband," "travel without her husband," and "decide that she does not want children."

The majority of items, 17 out of 23, were deemed permissible for women to do and revolved around themes that did not usurp the husband's authority (exception: "make big family decisions on her own") or were non-marriage related (exception: "decide who she wants to marry"), such as "discipline her children" and "defend herself against rape/abuse" (see Table 2). Approximately 69% of respondents reported that it is ok for a woman to decide who she wants to marry, 65% reported that it is ok for a woman to ask her husband to take care of the children so she can go to school or work, and 60% reported that it is ok for a woman to defend herself against abuse or rape. There were several behaviors and roles that were roughly equally split between "ok for a woman to do" and "not ok" or "not sure" (e.g., asking a boy out, wearing whatever clothes she wants to, making a big family decision on her own, tell authorities if her husband abuses her). Deciding to not get married was roughly equally split between "ok," "not ok," and "not sure."

Open-ended responses. The most common responses for behaviors and roles deemed as not okay for women to do fell under the following themes: *usurping the husband's authority*

(e.g., not serving him; disobeying him) ; *socially inappropriate activities: general* (e.g., “substance abuse,” “dress inappropriately”); *socially inappropriate activities: family* (e.g., “abandon her children,” “cause familial disharmony”); and, *socially inappropriate activities: sexuality and reproduction* (e.g., “promiscuity,” “prostitution”). Justifications for why women should not be allowed to do certain behaviors and roles were coded into the following themes: *marital norms, gender norms (non-marital), social disharmony, safety/health, practical/utilitarian, religion (not referencing gender), religion (referencing gender), and women's incompetence/poor decision making* (see Table 4). The most frequently listed justification concerned marital norms.

Gender Stereotypes about Activities and about Women's Behavior, Rights, and Roles

We calculated gender stereotype scores by averaging gender stereotyped responses (0 = “neither boys or girls are more likely to do an activity”, 1 = “boys/men are more likely to do an activity” or “girls/women are more likely to do an activity”; 0 = “ok”, 1 = “not sure”, 2 = “not ok”). Higher scores indicate stronger gender stereotyping. The average score for was 0.63 ($SD = 0.20$; range = 0-1) for domestic activities, 0.19 ($SD = 0.21$; range = 0-1) for recreational activities, and 16.89 ($SD = 6.36$; range = 0-44; max = 46) for women's behavior, rights, and roles. We tested whether gender stereotypes differed across domestic and recreational activities using paired sample t-tests. Adolescents reported stronger gender stereotyping of domestic activities than recreational activities, $t(200) = 28.41, p < .001$. Next, we examined the relation between descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes. Correlational analyses indicated that gender stereotyping of domestic activities was moderately correlated with stereotyping of recreational activities, $r(201) = .44, p < .001$. However, neither descriptive stereotypes of

domestic nor recreational activities were significantly correlated with prescriptive stereotypes of women's behavior, rights, and roles, $r_s(197) = .05$ and $.01$, $p_s = .52$ and $.94$.

Discussion

Mixed-Findings about Gender Stereotypes and Gender-Role Attitudes

Findings indicate that Ugandan adolescents were fairly egalitarian in some domains, such as recreation, while somewhat non-egalitarian in other domains, such as domestic activities. The current study presents a reason for hope as well as a reason for continued work toward progress in the arena of gender equality in Uganda. This is one of the first studies examining adolescents' gender stereotypes and gender-role attitudes across multiple domains: domestic chores, recreational activities, and attitudes about women's behavior, rights, and roles. Additionally, findings provide a unique perspective on adolescents' reasoning behind their attitudes about women; aside from one study (Conry-Murray, 2009), research is lacking on how adolescents justify restrictive gender-role attitudes.

Descriptive gender stereotypes about domestic activities. Adolescents deemed domestic activities surrounding repair or manual work (e.g., fixing bikes, fixing huts, slashing, splitting firewood), animals (e.g., hunting, fishing, tending to animals), and protecting and providing for the family as masculine-stereotyped. Activities involving reproduction (e.g., giving birth, becoming pregnant) and caring for other people (e.g., feeding children, changing babies' clothes, cooking) were deemed as feminine-stereotyped. Interestingly, there was less consensus about some closed-ended, feminine-stereotyped activities, such as caring for children, cleaning, and washing; adolescents were roughly equally split between choosing "girls/women" and "neither boys/men nor girls/women" are more likely to do an activity. . Open-ended responses mirrored these results: domestic chores and caring for family emerged under both feminine and

non-stereotyped activities. Some of these activities may be read as broad umbrella terms which encompass both traditionally feminine- and masculine-stereotyped activities. For instance, caring for children may encompass buying clothes and making decisions about education, roles that may be considered men's turf, whereas feeding or cooking for children may be considered women's turf. Some domestic activities were non-stereotyped, such as tending to crops/gardening, disciplining children, and sewing clothing. Although gender-roles seem to be clearly demarcated within the domestic sphere, and are in general more strongly stereotyped than recreational activities, it appears that some activities are equally likely to be performed by boys/men and girls/women when the situation calls for it, reflecting findings of other studies (e.g., Conry-Murray, 2009).

Descriptive gender stereotypes about recreational activities. Most closed-ended recreational activities were non-gender stereotyped (e.g., reading, talking to friends, playing sports). One exception was painting or drawing pictures, which was stereotyped as masculine. Open-ended responses indicated that some sports, such as football (masculine) and netball (feminine) were strongly stereotyped, reflecting research on children's stereotyping of some sports (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006). Other stereotyped themes included doing hair (feminine). Non-stereotyped themes included religious activities, entertainment (e.g., music, movies), and playing games (e.g., cards). Interestingly, playing sports (other than football or netball) emerged under all categories (masculine, feminine, and non-stereotyped) and driving or riding vehicles emerged as both masculine and non-stereotyped. This may indicate individual differences in stereotype knowledge. An alternative explanation is that recreational activities are less gender stereotyped relative to domestic activities and, therefore, there is less consensus about what

category they are. Leisure activities such as sports and watching movies may allow adolescents to interact in mixed-gender groups and may facilitate positive inter-group relations.

Gender-role attitudes and prescriptive stereotypes about women. Adolescents deemed many behaviors and roles as okay for women to engage in, such as deciding who to marry, asking the husband to take care of the children so the wife can work or go to school, and defending herself against abuse or rape. Adolescents may view gender roles as alterable when this serves the interests of the individual or family (e.g., the wife working to bring in additional income; Conry-Murray, 2009). Behaviors and roles deemed as not okay for women to do revolved around acting against the husband's will or authority, such as buying something or traveling without his permission. These findings mirror other studies about adolescents expecting the husbands to be decision-makers and dominant, and wives to be submissive and obedient (e.g., Lundgren et al., 2019; Ninsiima et al., 2018).

Despite encouraging findings, adolescents' responses may reflect their ideals more than the reality of the contexts in which they live. For example, 69% of respondents stated that it is okay for a woman to decide who she wants to marry. In contrast, 14% of girls are married off by age 15 and 47% by age 18 in Uganda (World Bank, 2017), reflecting a lack of agency and choice in marital partners. As other studies indicate, there is often a discrepancy between adolescents' ideals or expectations and the post-conflict realities they encounter with regard to gender roles (Adams et al., 2013; Lovell, 2010; Ninsiima et al., 2018). Adolescents may have answered according to their ideals and expressed how the world should be, rather than how it is; alternatively, some adolescents may not be aware gender of disparities associated with certain activities or roles. Yet another possibility is that this discrepancy between "lived" and

“perceived” realities is a way of coping with inequalities that are perceived as outside of one’s power to change.

Despite largely egalitarian views, 26% of participants responded that it was not okay for a woman to defend herself against rape or abuse and 35% reported that it was not okay for a woman to report if her husband abuses her. Some of these findings mirror research on adolescents’ acceptance of intimate partner violence against women; however, adolescents in the current study were significantly more egalitarian compared to adolescents in earlier studies (e.g., Lundgren et al., 2019; Vu et al., 2017). The most frequently listed “forbidden behaviors and roles” had a perceived impact on the husband, such as not serving or caring about the husband and not getting permission from the husband. Additionally, behaviors and roles perceived to be generally socially inappropriate (e.g., “criminal activity,” “dressing improperly”), inappropriate within the context of the family (e.g., “abuse children”), and improper regarding sexuality (e.g., “promiscuity”) were considered off-limits for women. Behaviors that may shame or disrespect the husband or the family, and those that break traditional norms about social interactions and sexuality (e.g., “taking drugs/alcohol,” “prostitution”) were deemed as not permissible for women.

As previous research suggests, women are pressured to conform to social and behavioral norms, and if they do not, their reputation, and those of their families, is at risk (Lovell, 2010). There is strong pressure for girls and women to act “properly” and display “appropriate feminine behaviors” (Ninsiima et al., 2018). Adolescents in Uganda report that drinking alcohol is stigmatized for women (Lovell, 2010; Lundgren et al., 2019) while not so, or less so, for men (Bhana et al., 2008 in South Africa; Lundgren et al., 2019). Adolescents report stereotypical norms of boys being sexually active, and of girls being passive and judged negatively for their

sexual agency (Ninsiima et al., 2018). In the current study, adolescents' attitudes about drinking and sexuality may reflect double-standards, restricting women's freedom and behavior compared to men's, as found in other studies (e.g., Ninsiima et al., 2018). However, we were unable to test this idea because we did not measure adolescents' attitudes about men's gender-roles.

Justifications for why certain behaviors or roles were deemed as inappropriate for women included defying gender norms, religious norms, and marital norms. Adolescents reported that behaviors and roles that upset traditional marital norms governing relationship and power dynamics between husbands and wives should be restricted for women. The most frequently listed justifications reflected the disturbance of marital norms, indicating that acting against the husband's will or permission is deemed as inappropriate, reflecting previous findings (Lundgren et al., 2019; Vu et al., 2017). Findings reflect a concern for societal norms rather than morality, similar to a study in Benin in which adolescents endorsed and justified the husband's authority in decision-making by referencing male authority (e.g., "The man is the head of the household") and tradition (e.g., "Our ancestors did it this way") (Conry-Murray, 2009).

Limitations

The generalizability of findings is limited to Eastern Uganda. Recruitment procedures may have further restricted generalizability of findings. In Uganda, about ¼ of primary and ½ of secondary schools are private (Ugandan Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Private schools have higher fees than public schools, therefore, one might surmise that our Ugandan sample was socioeconomically biased.

Another limitation is that open-ended questions were listed after the closed-ended questions. The closed-ended questions were developed by researchers and listing them first likely restricted and influenced adolescents' open-ended responses. In the future, switching the

order of questionnaires would allow for a deeper assessment of participant-generated responses. Another weakness was the amount of missing data, especially for the open-ended items. Individual interviews and placing open-ended items before other items may remedy this in future studies. Additionally, the design of the study prevented us from assessing whether restrictive gender-role attitudes about women would have been equally restrictive about men. Although it is possible that some marital roles would have been considered off limits with gender-roles reversed (e.g., purchasing items without the *wife's* permission), previous work on the patriarchal nature of marital relationships (Conry-Murray, 2009) leads us to speculate that husbands and men would be granted more authority and fewer restrictions. This should be explored in future studies.

Implications and Future Directions

Findings may inform interventions aimed at engaging youth in the critical analysis of gender-roles in an effort to encourage adolescents to act in egalitarian ways and see gender norms as socially constructed, malleable, and within their power to enact or resist (e.g., Adams et al., 2013; Lundgren et al., 2019). Multiple aspects of adolescents' socio-ecological environments, including adults in their lives such as parents and teachers, should be involved in creating change (Kemigisha et al., 2018).

Future work could also investigate adolescents' attitudes about men, alongside their attitudes about women, to allow for comparisons. For example, it would be interesting to compare whether getting a divorce or deciding not to get married are equally judged as inappropriate for men as women. Further, studies with more open-ended interviews and qualitative methodologies would allow for a nuanced understanding of adolescents' reasoning behind gender-role restrictions and consequences for violating gender-roles (e.g., Yu et al.,

2017). In conclusion, our findings extended the literature on adolescents' gender-role attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa and contributed to a better understanding of gender inequality that negatively impacts adolescents' lives and related interventions promoting gender equality.

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Table 1

Percentage of Respondents Reporting Who is More Likely to Do Activities (UAGSS)

Activity	Domestic/ Recreation	Boys/Men More Likely (masculine)	Girls/Women More Likely (feminine)	Neither Gender More Likely (non- stereotyped)
<i>Build or fix huts</i>	D	98.4***	0.5	1.1
<i>Hunt animals</i>	D	95.8***	0.5	3.7
<i>Fix or repair bicycles</i>	D	93.9***	1.1	5.0
<i>Tend to animals</i>	D	81.0***	2.2	16.8
<i>Buy food</i>	D	43.6*	5.9	50.5
<i>Paint/draw pictures</i>	R	42.2*	2.8	55.0
<i>Cook food</i>	D	2.9	82.6***	14.5
<i>Feed babies</i>	D	3.0	80.8***	16.2
<i>Change babies' clothes</i>	D	1.6	80.0***	18.4
<i>Collect firewood</i>	D	2.1	78.3***	19.6
<i>Care for children</i>	D	1.7	52.0**	46.2
<i>Clean the home</i>	D	3.3	48.1*	48.6
<i>Wash clothes</i>	D	0.6	43.1*	56.4
Go to school	R	1.1	1.1	97.8
Read books or newspapers	R	2.2	3.8	94.0
Write stories	R	4.3	5.3	90.4
Talk to friends	R	2.2	7.7	90.2
Tend to crops/garden	D	6.5	8.6	84.9
Sing in a choir	R	3.4	14.1	82.5
Dance	R	6.6	12.2	81.2
Discipline/punish children	D	5.9	12.9	81.2
Make music	R	24.9	2.6	72.5
Play sports	R	27.0	2.7	70.3
Make/sew clothing	D	7.0	24.9	68.1
Fetch water	D	4.2	39.3	56.5
Weave/make baskets	D	21.2	31.3	47.5

Note. Italicized items are "gender stereotyped"; ***strongly stereotyped = > 75%; **moderately stereotyped = 50-74%; *mildly stereotyped = 40-49% of participants indicating that boys/men or girls/women are more likely to engage in the activity.

Table 2

Percentage of Respondents Reporting What Behaviors are OK for Women to Do (WAQ)*

Women's Behavior, Rights, & Roles	Ok (non- stereotyped)	Not Ok (stereotyped)	Not Sure
<i>Buy things without asking husband</i>	21.2	62.6**	16.2
<i>Disagree with her husband</i>	23.4	62.0**	14.6
<i>Decide that she does not want children</i>	17.7	60.0**	22.3
<i>Decide to divorce from husband</i>	34.1	52.7**	13.2
<i>Say "no" to sexual interaction with husband</i>	26.3	52.0**	21.7
<i>Travel without husband</i>	30.5	51.1**	18.4
Make decisions with husband	84.4	10.6	5.0
Discipline her children	81.1	12.8	6.1
Earn money for family by working	79.0	10.2	10.8
Decide who she wants to marry	69.1	18.8	12.2
Talk about religious issues in public	68.5	17.3	14.3
Ask husband to take care of children so she can go to school/work	64.6	22.2	13.2
Become owner of husband's things if he dies	63.4	28.6	8.0
Tell husband that he may not take other wives	63.1	21.0	15.9
Defend herself against rape/abuse	59.8	26.3	14.0
Say "no" to sexual interaction with boyfriend	59.4	24.4	16.1
Own some property or land	54.8	28.3	16.9
Talk about political issues in public	49.4	29.3	21.3
Tell authorities if husband abuses her	47.8	35.4	16.9
Make big family decisions her own	47.6	37.0	15.3
Wear whatever style of clothes she chooses	46.2	39.6	14.2
Ask a boy/man to go on a date	42.2	33.5	24.3
Decide she does not ever want to be married	37.8	31.1	31.1

Note. Italicized items are "gender stereotyped"; *Participants were told that *OK* "means you do not object or oppose to a woman doing the action. You do not think there is a problem with it. Women should be allowed to do this action."; *not OK* "means you object or oppose to a woman doing the action. You do not think it is right. Women should not be allowed to do this action."; *not sure* "means that you do not know if you think it is okay or not okay for a woman to do the action. You do not have an opinion."

**moderately stereotyped = 50-74% of participants indicating that it is not ok for a woman to engage in a certain behavior

Table 3

Top Seven Most Commonly Reported Open-Ended Themes and Exemplars for Who is More Likely to Do Activities (UAGSS)

	Boys/Men More Likely (masculine)	Exemplars	Girls/Women More Likely (feminine)	Exemplars	Men/Women Equally Likely (non-stereotyped)	Exemplars
1	<i>Play football*</i>	Playing football; play soccer	<i>Domestic chores</i>	Mop/sweep the house; wash plates/utensils	<i>Play sports (not netball/football)</i>	Basketball; cricket; run; swim
2	<i>Manual labor</i>	Dig pits; split firewood; carry heavy things; fix machines	<i>Play netball</i>	Playing netball	<i>Religious activities</i>	Pray; attend church reading the Bible
3	<i>Fishing</i>	They fish	<i>Reproduce</i>	Carry/produce babies; give birth; be pregnant	<i>Domestic chores</i>	Mop/sweep; wash plates/utensils
4	<i>Slash the compound**</i>	Slashing around the home	<i>Care for non-family</i>	Sick attendants; serve food; serve elders	<i>Entertainment</i>	Watch movies; listen to music
5	<i>Protect/provide for family</i>	Guard the home; lead the family; provide basic needs;	<i>Care for family</i>	Helping parents; taking children for treatments	<i>Care (or plan) for family</i>	Plan for children; take children to the hospital
6	<i>Play sports (not football)</i>	buy clothes for children	<i>Play sports (not netball)</i>	Cricket; basketball; volleyball; running	<i>Play (non-sport)</i>	Playing games; playing cards
7	<i>Drive/ride vehicles</i>	volleyball; running; boxing Ride boda-boda***; drive motorcycles; ride bicycles	<i>Do hair</i>	Perming hair; plait hair	<i>Drive/ride vehicles</i>	Ride bicycles; driving; riding

Note. *football in East Africa refers to what is soccer in the U.S.; **slashing refers to cutting grass by hand using a scythe; ***boda-bodas are bicycle or motorcycle taxis common in East Africa.

Table 4

Most Common Open-ended Themes for Justifications for Restriction of Women's Behavior, Rights, and Roles (WAQ)

Theme	Definition	Exemplars (as reported by adolescents)
<i>Marital Norms</i>	Referencing cultural rules and norms that govern marital relationships.	It is not okay for the woman to make a big decision for her family because the man is the boss of the family; A woman has no right to refuse sexual interaction to her husband because they are married.
<i>Social Disharmony</i>	Referencing the upsetting of social relationships, such as those in the family or in the community.	To disagree with her husband can lead to fighting in the family/family breakage; I say that a woman should not make decisions because she may make one that disobeys the family.
<i>Safety/Health</i>	Referencing that a woman's or her children's safety or health may be jeopardized.	A woman is not allowed to have sex with other person because of getting diseases like HIV/AIDS; It's not okay for a woman to wear whatever clothes she wants because she can expose her body and she will be raped or abused.
<i>Practical/Utilitarian</i>	Referencing practical outcomes such as one's future being impacted or not having people to inherit property.	It is not okay to ask a boy for a date because it destroy your future; It is not okay for a woman to decide that she does not ever want to have children because children at home are the ones to help her when maybe she is sick or have another problem when the husband is not there.
<i>Religion - non-gender</i>	Referencing religion which could presumably be applicable to <i>both</i> men and women.	The woman is not allowed to divorce because it is against the Bible and God's command; It is not okay for a woman to get not married and she fails to produce children. According to Creation story a woman is supposed to give birth to young ones.
<i>Women's Incompetence/Poor Decision Making</i>	Referencing that women/wives have poor decision-making skills.	A woman is supposed to discuss with the husband or the community elders on making decision of the family because in some cases she might make the wrong decision; Buying things without the permission of the husband is not okay,

		because she can end up buying things which are illegal or not needed by the husband.
<i>Religion - gender</i>	Referencing religion and power within marital relationships.	It is not okay for a women to decide who she wants to marry because it is God's plan; It is not okay of a woman to make a big decision for family because even the Bible says that a man is the head of the family.
<i>Gender norms non-marital</i>	Referencing power or gender norms outside of marital relationships. Captures more general, societal gender norms outside of the family or martial setting, and without a religious reason provided.	It is not okay for a woman to own land and get that land is supposed to be owned by boys; It is not okay for woman to say no to sexual interaction with her boyfriend because it is a boy to knows what to do.
