EFFECT OF BOYHOOD CONSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN ROLES IN GENDER DYNAMICS IN RWANDA. A CASE STUDY OF KIMISAGARA SECTOR

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Supervised by Gaspard GAPARAYI, PhD

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## CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certifies that he has read and hereby recommends for the acceptance by the University of Rwanda, the dissertation entitled: EFFECT OF BOYHOOD CONSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN ROLES IN GENDER DYNAMICS IN RWANDA: A case study of Kimisagara Sector, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Sciences in Gender and Development from the Centre for Gender Studies, College of Arts and Social Sciences.

Signature:

Dr Gaspard GAPARAYI

Date: $\qquad$

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## DEDICATION

With great pleasure, I dedicate this dissertation

To my husband and our handsome son 'Love'

To my brother and sister,

To my parents; thank you very much for your incredible support

To my friends and colleagues.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Upon end of this thesis, I wish to express my appreciation to everyone who contributed to its realization.

I am much grateful to the Almighty God who gave a life worth living and I thank him for the strength to accomplish my master's studies.

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This project would never have been completed without my husband Amiel MUNYENDAMUTSA. He has always supported me in whatever I have wanted to do. I am grateful.

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#### Abstract

Studies show that gender identity is one of the greatest significant controllers of societal lifecycle. It shapes a large part of children's identity development, and consequently, boys and girls are socialised to develop differently during childhood and adolescence. Additionally, in some circumstances this can lead to negative results. Gender socialization starts at birth, increases throughout puberty and contribute to gender differences in social and economic activities. Furthermore, gender socialization is a key determinant of boys to approve conventional attitude associated with maleness. To explore the boyhood construction and its effects to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwandan society, the sample of 100 people was drawn in Kimisagara sector including boys, girls, parents, local leaders, teachers, and people from government institutions and Non-Government institutions including boys/men project managers, children right promotion and protection program coordinators/managers were selected by chance for this study. The study refers to the theoretical paradigms of New Sociology of Childhood and Post Structural Feminist theoretical framework that act as analytical tool to know the complex behaviours of how boys conceptualize sense for themselves as gendered beings. Mixed-methods data collection techniques, including quantitative surveys and Focus Group Discussions with students and out of schoolgirls and boys, interviews with Key Informants and researcher observation were applied. The study found that $97 \%$ of the respondents believe that parents have a preference for a son at conception, $96 \%$ of the respondents believe that boys learn to become men from the young age while $95 \%$ of the respondents believe that boyhood construction is reinforced through gender discrimination and gender inequality. Furthermore, the study shows that the effects of boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics are girls' discrimination ( $96 \%$ ), emotional violence ( $95 \%$ ), suicide ( $95 \%$ ), sexual violence ( $94 \%$ ), physical violence ( $90 \%$ ), economic violence ( $90 \%$ ), overconfidence ( $87 \%$ ), and gender inequality ( $87 \%$ ). The regression analysis techniques have shown that boyhood identity construction has a negative effect on gender dynamics in Rwanda. Thus, boyhood construction does negatively affect children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda. Moreover, the study reveals that all stakeholders should actively aim to address this situation: parents should raise through children using processes that enhance gender equality in families; teachers should create gender responsive environment for students; and the Government of Rwanda should work through education programmes, with girls and boys themselves to reduce patriarchal system in Rwanda.


Keywords: Gender, identity, socialization, boyhood, patriarchy.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| A | : Agree |
| :---: | :---: |
| D | : Disagree |
| Dr | : Doctor |
| EAC | : East African Community |
| EIGE | : European Institute for Gender Equality |
| HIV/AIDS | : Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome |
| ICRW | : International Centre for Research on Women |
| GMO | : Gender Monitoring Office |
| KII | : Key Informant Interview |
| MIGEPROF | : Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion |
| MININFRA | : Ministry of Infrastructure |
| MWIA | : Medical Women's International Association |
| N | : Neutral |
| NCC | : National Commission for Children |
| NSC | : New Sociology of Childhood |
| No. | : Number |
| PhD | : Doctor of Philosophy |
| REG. NBR | : Registration Number |
| RPHC | : Rwanda Population and Housing Census |
| RWAMREC | : Rwanda Men’s Resource Centre |
| SA | : Strongly Agree |
| SD | : Strongly Disagree |
| SPSS | : Statistical Package for Social Sciences |


| UNDP | : United Nations Development Program |
| :--- | :--- |
| UNESCO | : United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNICEF | : United Nations Children's Fund |
| WHO | : World Health Organization |

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## CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the effect of boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda. This study will pay special attention to boyhood construction among in schoolgirls and boys and out of schoolgirls and boys aged 13-18.

A person's identity can only be constructed once they are born, and thus are to learn what is expected to them, from their world around them (Meet and Laxmi, 2017). Thus, the study will explore different ways boys construct their identity.

In this context, boyhood is a socially constructed identity that establishes boys and men's characteristics, actions and duties. Parents, siblings, peers, teachers and community leaders play the biggest role in bringing about such ideas of what men should be or look like, which then leads to boys to grow up playing an active role in incorporating information about gender norms and roles( UNICEF,2018). Therefore, Key Informants will be approached in order to deeply understand the role they play in boyhood construction and exploring their opinions on how it contributes to the patriarchal system in Rwanda.

In the Rwandan culture, boys are expected to be active, dominant, physically strong, tough, controlling of their emotion, and protectors. While girls are expected to wash clothes and mop the house, boys are expected to take charge of other jobs such as carrying luggage, fetching water (Thorne, 1993). Moreover, when men lose their power and respect, they tend to commit different forms of violence as an attempt to regain their 'identity'. Consequently, violence happening in homes influences boys to see violence as a normal thing, which they tend to copy. The boys/men's belief in committing violence as abnormal thing is communicated from one generation to the next and as result, female are considered inferior to males (Gary, 2018). Considering the highlighted society belief about boys, during data collection, we will understand the boys and girls' opinions of how boys are treated in the Rwandan society specifically in Kimisagara sector.

Historically in Rwanda, womanhood is associated with being responsible of household chores while manhood is associated with leading the household and making final decisions. As such, boys are attributed more value than girls. Therefore, the role of a children in a family is affected especially on how they form their identities, how they entertain with their peers and strengthen their friendship. Therefore, gender inequality was considered normal and fair in the society (EAC,
2009). Based on this statement, the study will find out the main family activities and roles of a boy.

Furthermore, Rwanda remains a highly patriarchal society (GMO, 2019). Therefore, this study is an opportunity to explore the issue of the patriarchal system in Rwanda that accords opportunities and privilege to boyhood identity construction in comparison to girls, and how it has an impact to children roles in gender dynamics.

The present chapter provides the background of the study, statement of research problem, objectives and research questions; the significance of the study and scope. It also explains and defines key terms used in the dissertation before ending with a conclusion. This study comes into existence at time where the government of Rwanda, in partnership with different international communities and local partners are aware that patriarchy is a harmful system to the environment, social and economic development of a country, and have established different programs and policies to overcome different challenges faced by girls and women. It is in that sense that this study aimed at exploring the boyhood construction and its effect on children roles in gender dynamics in Rwandan society.

### 1.2 Background of the study

Globally, children are expected to be different and hope increases from the time they are born. By the period they are three years old, most of them have a common awareness of their sex difference and expectations. With time, this awareness influences their perceptions of how the world around them works, what is expected from them and their counterparts. Upon a closer look, this process is facilitated by parents who reinforce gender manners, by accepting and encouraging those attitudes that are not easily changing. For instance, parents discourage rough and speaking in public for a girl and praise their son when he suppresses his emotions. When girls and boys are seven years old, their knowledge of inequality and opportunities is well recognized (Yelland, 1998). This is the best time where parents and educators should start instilling gender equality ideas into young boys and girls so that they grow up understanding its importance for themselves but also for the society they live in. However, parents who are in control of everything for a child don't react positively to this concern.

Girls and boys are victims and beneficiary of the existing system in one way or the other. Nevertheless, this same system affords boys and men unearned benefits, rights, and advantages in society. These privileges are often invisible to boys/men and can be difficult to notice because they are so normalised and penetrative of the household, to the extent of influencing how parents unequally divide housework to children by referring to their gender. Consequently, there is a
promotion of inequality attitude inside the household and in the community (Nora, 2011).This is why some boys refuse to perform home chores because their parents have reinforced this attitude when they were still young, they continue to get supported when they grow up and they feel that they are doing what is right to them and it is accepted in the community where they live in. This process is also embedded in Rwandan culture.

Historically in Rwanda, it was right that men are superior to women. It was normal for both ladies and kids in the household to take care of a gentleman because he is considered as a socially and economically family saviour (MIGEPROF, 2010). Consequently, parents prefer a son from conception, and this has a negative impact on girls' and boys' growth because their ideas, opportunities and visions are unalike.

### 1.3 Statement of the research problem

In Rwanda, the contribution of boys and men in accomplishing a real sense of fairness has been the focus for the country, but still traditional perspectives and gender norms continue to give privilege to boys and men. Boys' roles in the home are defined by significant fewer responsibilities for domestic work which allow them the independence to focus on schoolwork compared to their female peers (Thorne, 1993). According to the Gender Thematic report released in 2012, boys begin to spend less time than girls on domestic duties especially when they are aged 15 , they are spending 6 hours less than girls of the same age on domestic duties. This result in boys feeling superior and more valued than girls and paves way for gender inequality, which contributes to perpetuating the patriarchal system in Rwandan society. When men are unemployed, they feel that they are useless, and this leads to anger and frustration. Thus, they become jealous of girls and women providing financial support to their families. In this context, patriarchal system has bad social and economic effect because its presence makes gender inequality and gender- based violence stronger.

Furthermore, as Andrew (2015) observed, there are some physical and mental health problems with masculine gender identity during boyhood, one of these negative impacts is committing suicide. Boys grow up into adult men who suppress their emotions, they become emotionally vulnerable as they are not allowed to show their emotions even when it is needed. However, suppression of emotion has been associated with depressive symptoms that lead to committing suicide ( $\mathrm{MoH}, 2016$ ). Thus, the health of youth is in danger and consequently, the environment, social and economy of a country are affected.

Today in Rwanda, some men don't want to accept changes associated with fairness because they believe that it is a way of losing their power over women.

To regain their power, men begin to fight against and discriminate girls and women to show their masculinity and this action is reflected on boys who consider their father as idol and role models (UNDP, 2019). Therefore, Gender Based Violence is stereotypically perpetrated by boys and men, towards girls and women. Consequently, the number of Gender Based Violence increases day by day because the survivors are afraid to report and deal with negative social and economic effects alone.

It is in this context that the government of Rwanda in collaboration with its partners has made incredible efforts to address the patriarchal issue by initiating policies and actions, demonstrating its commitment to work towards the reduction of Gender Based Violence, gender inequalities and promotion of gender equality in all areas. These includes the National Gender Policy, the Vision 2020, the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy which highlight gender as a crosscutting issue, the national gender machineries such as National Women Council, Gender Monitoring Office and promulgation of various laws including the 2002 land law, 2008 Law Preventing and punishing gender based violence (GBV), law n ${ }^{\circ} 22 / 99$ of 12/11/1999 on matrimonial regimes, liabilities, succession and inheritance (MIGEPROF, 2014). However, despite all efforts included in the available policies, laws, strategies, patriarchy is persisting in different communities, government institutions and in different public and private sectors.

To approach patriarchy, an exploration of how the process to perform masculinity contribute to a patriarchal system is desired. Thus, this study aims at exploring the effect of boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics in the Rwandan society in Kimisagara sector.

### 1.4 Objective of the study

### 1.4.1 General objective

The main objective of this study is to explore the boyhood construction and its effect on children roles in gender dynamics in Rwandan society.

### 1.4.2 Specific objectives

More specifically, the study seeks to:
i. Understand how boyhood identity is constructed through gender norms in Rwanda.
ii. Assess how boyhood identity affects children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda.

### 1.5 Research Questions

The key research question that the study seeks to answer is how does the process to perform masculinity contribute to the patriarchal system?

More specifically, the study seeks to provide answers to:
i. How boyhood identity is constructed through gender norms in Rwanda?
ii. How boyhood construction affects children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda?

### 1.6 Significance of the study

The focus of the study is to analyse the contribution of gender norms in shaping gender dynamic by examining specifically how boyhood identity is built and finally at adult age how this construction influences some man attitudes such as frustration, violence, discrimination, superiority complex and other harmful forms. This study matters because gender norms among children are not well or widely studied and yet they play a huge role in shaping gender dynamics between adolescents as well as adults that involve violence, discrimination and other forms of harm.

In this regards, theoretical significance of this study is visible in the relationships established between some theories. The theoretical review in chapter two and the interpretation of results in the chapter four therefore offer an opportunity to measure the applicability of some theories while challenging others.

The review of the literature before embarking on this study showed that no comprehensive study exists on the boyhood identity construction and its effect on children roles in Rwanda. The study aims to fill a gap in the literature, and therefore as to the significance for policy making, this study is an eye-opener about how to prevent patriarchal system that is harming the society. Policymakers will be inspired by this study to reformulate informed policy regarding family life and mechanisms to prevent gender inequality. This study therefore fills this gap and contributes to the scientific knowledge in the field of gender and family promotion.

Furthermore, it will be useful for me as a student who works in a Non-Governmental Organization that aims at empowering adolescent girls to fulfil their potential because I will have a greater understanding of what drives inequality in gender dynamics and where interventions aimed at supporting equality need to focus.

### 1.7 Scope and limitation of the study

This study matters because gender norms among children are not well or widely studied and yet they play a huge role in shaping gender dynamics between adolescents as well as adults that involve violence, discrimination and other forms of harms. Thus, the study was based on the
domain of Gender and Family promotion. Moreover, the study is limited to the effect of boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda. It involves only 90 girls and boys and 10 Key Informants. Data were collected through Focus Group Discussion, Interviews and Observation. The study is based on the information that was collected from the Kimisagara sector, in Nyarugenge District of Kigali City. Therefore, the findings are not representative. The reasons for choosing this research location are related to the proximity of our work and residence, the town settings concerning children roles sharing and the presence of the youth centre in the area that attract boys from different areas of Rwanda.

Thus, there is a high probability of collecting shared opinions among boys and girls on how boyhood is constructed and affects gender dynamics in Rwanda. The field data were collected during the period of 2 months from June up to July 2020.

This research was impeded by inaccessibility of some books and journals due to cost/price reasons. In addition, the study is not representative of the country or the city of Kigali.

### 1.8 Definition of Key Terms

This section provides different definitions of key terms that relate to this study. The key terms include boyhood, gender, gender roles, gender socialization, gender stereotypes and gender dynamics. Their meanings were developed by either author, European Institute, UN agency or UN institutions.

### 1.8.1 Boyhood

Boyhood (also called manhood or manliness) is a set of attributes, behaviours, and roles associated with boys and men. Although masculinity is socially constructed, most sociologists believe that biology plays some role. To what extent masculinity is biologically or socially influenced is subject to debate. It is distinct from the definition of the male biological sex, as both males and females can exhibit masculine traits (Thorne,1993).

### 1.8.2 Gender

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women (WHO, 2017). While sex and its associated biological functions are programmed genetically, gender roles and power relations and the power relations they reflect are a social construct - they vary across cultures and through time, and thus are amenable to change (MWIA, 2002).

According to UNESCO (2003), gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female, the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, and the relations between women and between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and learned through the socialization processes.

### 1.8.3 Gender roles

According to European Institute for Gender Equity (EIGE), gender roles refers to social and behavioral norms that, within a specific culture, are widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex. These often determine the traditional responsibility and tasks assigned to men and women, boys and girls. Gender specific roles are often conditioned by household structure, access to resources, specific impacts of the goal economy, occurrence of conflict or disaster, and other locally relevant factors such as ecological conditions like gender itself, gender roles can evolve overtime, in 10 through the empowerment of women and transformation of masculinities (EIGE, 2019).

### 1.8.4 Gender socialization

John and his colleagues define gender socialization as a process by which individuals develop, refine and learn to do gender through internalizing gender norms and roles as they interact with key agents of socialization, such as their family, social networks or other social institutions (John, Stoebenau, Ritter, Edmeades, \& Balvin, 2017).

### 1.8.5 Gender stereotypes

UN women defines gender stereotypes as simplistic generalization about the gender attributes, differences and roles of women and men. Stereotypical characteristics about men are that they are competitive, acquisitive, autonomous, independent, confrontational, concerned about private goods. Parallel stereotypes of women hold that they are cooperative, nurturing, caring, connecting, ground oriented, concerned about public goods. Stereotypes are often used to justify gender discrimination more broadly and can be reflected and reinforced by traditional and modern theories, laws and institutional practices. Messages reinforcing gender stereotypes and the idea that women are inferior come in a variety of packages from songs and advertising to traditional proverbs (UN Women Training Centre, 2017).

### 1.8.6 Gender dynamics

Gender dynamics are informed by sociocultural ideas about gender and the power relationships that define them. Depending upon how they are manifested, gender dynamics can reinforce or challenge existing norms. Gender dynamics refers to the relationships and interactions between
and among boys, girls, women, and men. How men and women are treated or behave differently in society, either with their gender or with each other. The changes in gender dynamics and roles in society for an individual or group can be changed by either economic standing, age or other factors (UNDP, 2007).

### 1.9 Conclusion of the chapter

Chapter one has introduced the reader with the background of the study. It also outlined the main and specific objectives together with the research questions. The chapter has highlighted the significance of learning as well as its scope and limitation. The definition of key terms was highlighted in this chapter in order to help the reader understand the terms related to the main topic. Chapter one is closed with a conclusion. The following chapter contains the review of the literature by exploring scholarly materials around the topic.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers thoughts of other researchers on the study topic which is exploring the effect of boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda. In general, the chapter explores how patriarchy influences children hood identity construction and specifically affect boyhood authoritarian attitude. Chapter two begins with the review of other researchers' experience, a conceptual framework, analysis of topic related theories, and critical analysis highlighting the research gap. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

### 2.2 Empirical review

This part focuses on different research projects/studies that have been conducted by other researchers globally and their topics have a relationship with boyhood construction and gender dynamics. They are broadly categorized into sociocultural context, institutions and mass media. A detailed analysis of their influence by a range of authors and scholars is presented below.

### 2.2.1 Sociocultural context

The society plays a key role in transforming the way girls and boys think and behave. The social belief about gender differences between boys and girls reinforces the wrong ideas in many ways via communication (Our Watch, 2018). Thus, girls and boys live in the society where gender disparities are normalized and as results boys are encouraged to get involved in unsuitable activities for their gender that will have direct or indirect negative effect to girls' lives. Moreover, gender is socially constructed.

Parents, other family members, teachers and peers strengthen gender differences among boys and girls through messages and behaviours. Boys are told by the community members that, a real man never fail in whatever he does, he is a defender of the family, friends and country and he must always be a hero. Those messages are installed in boys' memory and the fact of growing in a community where boys are valued than girls influence boys to think and believe in work, manners and qualities that the society approves as right (WHO, 2014). Moreover, those social believes influence the boys' personality which in most cases lead to negative effect on girls and women social and economic empowerment. The social cultural belief of what it means to be a real man is, develops in harmony with other important elements described in the following section.

### 2.2.1.1 Gender ideology and stereotypes

Hussein (2005) highlights that gender ideology contains legends, narratives and myths about what it means to be a man or a woman and suggest how each should behave in the society.

Thus, gender ideology justifies different rights, responsibilities, and rewards to each gender. As a result, a society reinforces its gender ideology as a form of everyday social practice.

For example, in Africa, men and women are put in different social positions and patterns of expectations. Consequently, rituals, legends, name-giving ceremonies, narratives, proverbs and aphorism have been used to mobilize gender ideology (Oluwole, 1997 as cited in Hussein, 2005). For instance, in Rwanda, some women are more likely to take their husbands' names while it is not vice versa. This is explained by the fact that by doing this naming process women believe that the society should understand how proud they are for their husbands who are well educated, have good job positions or are respected in their community even though the process is not vice versa. Furthermore, some girls are given names that show the heroism of their fathers (an example of Intwarinkase -a hero like her father) while giving female names to boys is not acceptable and it can't be applied.

Our Watch (2018) conducted a research about an influence of female and male parents on instilling gender inequality to their children. The research found that female and male parents are involved in the reinforcement of wrong ideas about how boys and girls can be treated. The research found that parents whose daughters did not react and agreed to see their daughters involving in male related games such as acting as a soldier, building houses and collecting firewood for cooking while parents whose sons were uncomfortable to see their sons involving in female related games such as acting as a mother, taking care of children and everyone else in the family and cooking. In this way, girls and boys grow up believing in wrong ideas about the difference between girls and boys and these societal believes affect their communication, their ways of working and living.

The effect of gender norms negatively affects adolescent girls particularly in low- and middleincome countries where adolescent girls face education, nutrition and social related challenges including inadequate access to school, malnutrition, early marriage and low social status (Mayeza, 2015). Thus, voices of girls are not heard and valued during decisions related to social and economic empowerment. It is in this context that doing advocacy for girls is always important. In the next section we will see how language and gender socialization play a role in people's behaviours.

### 2.2.1.2 Language and early gender socialization

Hussein (2005) perceives that language plays an important role to express how people should act. This is the case of males who are considered as a dominant group that use their language to facilitate their oppression of and aggression or prejudice against a dominated group made by females. Consequently, African women as the main teachers of adolescents for both sexes teach
their son to demonstrate the superiority behaviours while they teach girls to accept and internalize an inferior position in the society. Girls and boys live their lives with these believes about being totally different and they are convinced that boys should always be respected, treated in special way and always be heard while girls should always be obedient and rely on their brothers and fathers to survive.

Penelope and Mc Connell Ginet (2013) added that female behaviours reversed into males' behaviours are accepted while the reverse is highly stigmatized. This is one of the reasons why if a girl wear tom boy shoes, a hat and lights a cigarette is not laughed at while a boy who wears earrings and make up makes people laugh always.

### 2.2.1.3 Sex segregated spaces

Penelope (2013) perceives that the way different culture separates both sexes enhance the misunderstanding between girls and boys, men and women. Thus, if girls and boys are always separated, the expectation is that they will adopt different behaviours and different understanding of the world. In addition, Penelope and Mc Connel Ginet (2013) argue that the sex difference is enhanced by the separation of children's play where girls are requested to play in a girls' groups and boys in a boys' group. In addition, girls who decide to play with their male peers are accepted while boys who play with their female peers are neglected. These behaviours adopted in childhood are reinforced with the masculinity identity during adolescence stage. Consequently, the masculinity identity influences the superiority complex that leads boys to believe in the social norms that consider girls weak. The separation of sex during childhood is influenced by different institutions described in the next section.

### 2.2.2 Influence of institutions

### 2.2.2.1 Family

A family is considered as the foundation of gender inequality because a child is born, raised and learn about the external world from people around her/him (Crespi,2004). Parents play a big role in gender inequality because they instil the idea of a boy different to a girl into their sons and daughters' mind by discouraging their children from behaving in way different to what the society approves right for a girl and a boy.

Illustrations from Marks, Lan and McHale (2009) explain how a family eases the spread of gender role message and influence children to copy and apply female and males' behaviours observed in their home from siblings and parents. For instance, in Ghana, everyone at home is given roles for contributing to the development of the family therefore males are given economic related activities such as harvesting and brining their harvest to the market because they are afraid that if females
access money or are involved in economic related activities, they will become stingy and they will no longer respect and rely on men. Furthermore, females are given social related activities such as preparing food for the family members and taking care of everyone at home (Ngulube, 2018). The culture of Ghana has similarities with what is happening in Rwanda because nowadays different studies show that girls oversee home chores while boys are independent or busy supporting their fathers in income generating activities.

Penelope and Mc Connel Ginet (2013) in their study about how family members play a big role in constructing gender role among children; they found that until the age of two, children's behaviours are kinder the same but when they grow up, they start to differentiate their toys (guns for boys and dolls for girls) and parents congratulate the children for selecting gender appropriate toys. In addition, parents are the children's role models because their behaviours in the household which are considered gender appropriate behaviours are observed, copied and applied by their children. Consequently, as time passes, children's knowledge of gender is maintained and passes to the next generation (Martin, 2004). In this context, when children become adults and form their own families, they will agree and support the process to perform masculinity to their sons therefore the patriarchy will remain a burden to the society.

Marks, Bun and MacHale (2009) based on the data for their studies on parents in United State of America found that when children are exposed to the household tasks early, they will apply the skills gained when they will form their families by doing the exact work done either by the mother or the father. Thus, boys tend to apply what their fathers did while girls apply their mother's behaviours. The family is not the only influential element in the cycle of boyhood construction, there are other educational institutions that are defined in the next section.

### 2.2.2.2 Schools/Educational institution

Schools are agents of socialization because children are taught everything about their culture and how to behave in their society.

Schools uses different ways to communicate to boys and girls how differ they are. For instance, the position of power at school is held by males including headteachers, accountant while the less status and power positions are held by women including cafeteria, clean up and librarian (Kilroe,2009). Furthermore, teachers' behaviours towards male students is different to how they interact with female students. A study by Spender (1982 as cited in Kilroe and Kiguwa 2009) found that teachers ask boys to move furniture as they are considered physically strong while girls are asked to clean up as they are considered weak. In addition, teachers encourage boys to study science related courses as they are considered intelligent and determined while they encourage girls to pursue social related courses as they will provide knowledge and skills that will have an impact in their future wife roles. Consequently, girls always believe that boys are blessed creature, clever and able to achieve whatever goal they can set in their lives and girls will not be heard, always considered as weak and they can't achieve anything without support from people around them.

- Sex segregated play in schools

According to Maccoby (1998 as cited in Penelope et al., (2013), school is a place where children meet with a big number of their peers. In their study about children's choice of playmates in a preschool setting, they found that children aged four years and half liked to play in the same sex but when they grow up, they tend to like playing in the mixed group. Thus, the choice of a group members of the same sex is a way to ensure safety as they are looking for children with a familiar play style. Putting girls and boys in a separate play groups influence gender theorists to suggest a view that when they are separated, girls and boys are trained into different peer culture while in the same sex group they develop different manners , different understanding of the external world which strengthen gender inequality among men and women.

### 2.2.2.3 Religion

Religion is an important factor that provides traditional knowledge to influence the way a person perceives gender and its importance in the community (Kilroe, 2009). Interestingly, believers apply what they have been taught by their priests, pastors and imam thinking that they are fulfilling key requirement to enter the heavenly paradise.

In his study, Aidala (1985 as cited in Kilroe et al.,2009) reveals that religion givescomprehensive and specific procedures of how men and women should behave and interact. Priests use different scriptures to emphasize on the way a woman has to be dutiful, passive and always agree with what her husband think and behave while a man has to be a family lead, never rely on woman's opinions, applies what the society approves as right for a real man, and nothing could be executed in his family without his decision.

Thus, boundaries between men and women on informally acceptable tasks are formed. As an example, in Islam and Judaism, females and males must pray in a separate group. In addition, nuns in the christians convents are provided less opportunity to perform social position.

### 2.2.3 Influence of Mass media

### 2.2.3.1 Portray of masculine status via the televisual medium

Clark (2015) perceives that television programs and shows form young people's identity due to their social and political showcases. This is the case of different movies and youth programs where boys and men are given positive images, value and their opinions are always considered as the best. Boys watching those image are inspired, dream to become like their idols and become the world hero of all the time that will never be forgotten in the world history.

In addition, the culture is more important than education in children's daily lives. Therefore, the masculine status is shown via televisual medium and as result boys can understand boyhood experience and put into action messages that reinforce masculinity. Moreover, television is reported to create an awareness of gender differences among adolescents because messages conveyed through television are viewed as showcasing an important role in reinforcing gender inequality among adolescents.

## - Stereotypical portrayals of men

In his research about children and masculinity, Doyle ( 1989 as cited in wood ( 1994) highlights how television showcases different traditional qualities of men including being adventurer, dominant and get involved in social acceptable masculine activities from which they get congratulated by their peers for their male achievements. Thus, the tradition qualities of man are instilled in boys. Therefore, they always want to prove their strengths and heroism. Consequently, girls become submissive, fear boys, always agree and respect boys/male's decisions.

Studies show that television program describes men as thoughtful, self- assured, intelligent, influential and in high status positions. In addition, highly known movies are recognized to star men who represent the wrong ideas of risky maleness. Thus, media strengthens the cultural belief about masculinity. Doyle (1989) emphasizes that men and boys are not often introduced taking care for others and they are represented as unconcerned in-home chores, preparing food and child rearing activities, they believe that those are women and girls duties that need to be performed on a daily basis. Furthermore, when boys become adults and form families, they show their sons those movies as an evidence based to justify their masculinity but also to sustain masculinity believes from one generation to the next.

### 2.2.3.2 Stereotypical image of men created by the media

Media often portrays an image of a real men as men who are beefy. In this way, when men/boys are shopping, they are expected to consider the socially acceptable physical appearance because if they don't follow what the society approve as appropriate for them, they will be neglected. In addition, boys are required to show hardness, be pain resistant in order to learn about masculinity and they are required to be goal achiever, taking risky activities, and good towards other boys. When a boy successfully applies the stereotypical ideas about being a real boy/man, he is respected in his community. These behaviours are encouraged, discussed and put everywhere in different types of media such as newsletters, television, radio and different website (Franberg, 2015).

For instance, today, international medias portray world powerful football players such as Christiano Ronaldo from Juventus football team and Messi from Barcelona because the young boys 'generation should learn from them and maintain their legacy. However, they put less emphasize on the world powerful female football player such as Megan Rapinoe from OL Reign in United State of America because she is approving that what the society approves right to girls/women roles are wrong.

### 2.2.4 Conceptual Framework

According to Fisher (2007), a conceptual framework is formed of patterns of concepts and their interconnections. The concepts henceforward linked are the ones extracted from the empirical review. Their list and interconnection are shown in the figure below.

## Boyhood construction

\& Role formation

Sociocultural context

- Gender ideology and stereotypes
- Language and socialization
- Sex segregated play groups


## Institutions

- Family
- School
- Religion

Role of mass media

- Stereotypical portrayal of men
- Wrong image that connects men and women
- Normalizing violence against women

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Conceptualized by the researcher

## Explanation of the conceptual framework

Culture (gender ideology and stereotypes, language and socialization and sex segregated play groups), institutions ( family, school and Religion) and mass media (stereotypical portray of men, wrong image that connects men and women) and normalizing violence against women are key determinants for constructing boyhood that is considered as an independent variable in this study. Therefore, the study is based on three elements to design a conceptual framework. In addition, gender dynamic in Rwanda is considered as the dependent variable for the study that includes household work sharing, women independence and decision making, positive identity formation, positive, equal and respectful relations, equal opportunities between girls and boys, women and men, addressing gender stereotypes.

### 2.3 Theoretical review

This part highlights topic related theories. These theories have been chosen among other lots of theories because they explain how young people construct their identity and relate themselves to one side of gender opposition.

### 2.3.1 Structural -functional theory

Structural functional theory has a key principle that emphasize on the way an individual must follow cultural guidelines in order to maintain traditional believes and ensure posterity. In this context, cultural principles oblige females and males to be in the separate groups because males are recognized as more powerful than the females. Thus, females and males are given different gender roles where males are often expected to earn money that the family needs and females are often expected to perform home duties such as preparing food, caring for the children and everyone else in the family. Moreover, the culture forces females and males to keep their decided duty (Parsons 1962 as cited in Copenhaver 2002). Consequently, children in a family are taught everything acceptable in their community so that they can be able to follow the society principles. Thus, parents have an influence on their children's way of learning and maintain their societal values.

Females parents have the responsibility to ensure their daughters will grow believing and behaving in a way that is approved by the society while males parents who never tolerate to see their sons behaving like girls/women have to ensure that their sons have all the masculinity characteristics so that they are valued, respected and look at as role models in their community (Copenhaver, 2002). For instance, in Rwanda, some female parents teach their daughters how to cook, make bed, wash dishes, carry their young siblings on their back and other home related activities to prepare them to become future good wives in their home.

However, male parents teach their sons different income generating activities such as driving, building house, becoming successful traders and other external home related activities because a boy should grow with the idea of being in control of financially related activities.

Structural -function theory relates to boyhood construction because boys are taught to see gender inequality as a right and normal thing. In addition, the patriarchal system ideology is instilled in them.

One criticism of the theory is that it eases the society and the opinion of gender was conservative and did not consider variety within society. In addition, the structural functional theory does not put into consideration race, political and social economic differences as related issues.

### 2.3.2 Social learning theory

The social learning theory emphasizes on different ways a child discovers his/her identity, differentiates males and females' manners and recognize their acceptable duties in the society. Thus, gender is instilled in them. This is the case of boys who learn what it means to be a boy in a society and what are the socially accepted behaviours for a boy.

According to Bussey and Bandara (1999 as cited in Copenhaver, 2002) a child uses two strategies to know gender related behaviours. First, a child uses identification which start by identifying attributed colours to females and males especially when she/he is still young, and their female parents support them to do so. This process is strengthened by parents because they are in control and decide for their child. Finally, a child learns from his/her parents and everything around them such as television, peers, school, and copy their behaviours. This the case of a boy copying his father's behaviour and girls copying their mother's behaviours where a boy understands that a real man has to hide his motions, if he does cry in the public, he fails to follow societal guideline while a girl understands that a real woman has to be shy, respect her male peers and men in general even though she is asked to do something she is not comfortable with, she has to obey always.

Social learning theory was disapproved to not clarify the role of a child in the socialization process.

### 2.3.3. Symbolic interaction theory

The symbolic interaction theory emphasizes on the way a person learns and socializes through interaction. Thus, interaction has two different types including non-symbolic and symbolic interaction.

For the non- symbolic, a person reacts to things without thinking about them while symbolic theory, a person is conscious about what they do, this is the case of men utilizing their authority to
dominate women (George Hebert Mead, 1964 as cited in Copenhaver, 2012). In the context of the non- symbolic interaction, boys negatively react to their male peers who behave like females and they are aware of their power over girls.

According to Howard and Hollander (1997), interaction is needed for creating a self-identity. Therefore, language and communication play a key role in the social construction process. Thus, a person actively participates in the construction of their own identity.

The symbolic interaction theory relates to how boyhood construction negatively affects gender dynamic in a way that boys/ men are aware of the negative consequences of their masculinity behaviours to girls/women but they don't want to lose their power over them during their interaction.

### 2.4 Theoretical framework

According to Dickson (2018), a theoretical framework presents and defines the theories that clarify why the problem of the study is real. In the context of this study, two different feminist theories were selected because they clarify how boys create masculinity identity and their contribution to the patriarchal system that causes gender inequality.

### 2.4.1 Feminist theories

The research uses the New Sociology of Childhood and Post Structural Feminist theory to explain the difficult ways in which boys create their own understanding as socially acceptable and valued people.

### 2.4.1.1 Post Structuralist Feminist theory

Mayeza (2015) shows gender as an option of thinking, reacting, interacting and doing based on what the society approves as acceptable. Therefore, boys learn to become men since the time when they are young and the process to perform masculinity is strengthened and become a daily life. Moreover, boys and girls understand what are the gender norms and become aware of what the society or the culture approves as normal and acceptable manners of a boy or a girl in the community ( Martin, 2011).Consequently, boys and girls internalize non egalitarian believes , they normalize gender inequality and become experts about their identification, interaction with others and the social life when they are still young (Martin, 2011). Thus, post structuralist feminist theory highlights boys and girls as dynamic contributors who convey rather than understand gender norms in their society (Mayeza, 2015).

### 2.4.1.2 New Sociology of Childhood

Children's views are not valued by many researchers because they think that their critical analysis is low. However, different students didn't agree with the ideas of those researchers, rather they
decided to share their opinions in public by showing the importance of capturing the views of people including children in order to value their ideas and to respect their rights as human beings. Therefore, remembering children among other people is called New Sociology of Childhood (Fromme, 2003).

Children play an important role in the society because once they become adults, they form families and sustain a country's posterity. In addition, they play a role in constructing their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the society in which they live (Mayeza, 2015). Thus, they are actively contributing to cultural reproduction and change.

### 2.5 Research gaps and critique of the literature

Much of the empirical literature of the study bases on the findings derived from western contexts raising questions on their relevance and applicability to the Rwandan context. Hence, the study ought to have utilized more of context related literature arguably from low income countries in Africa that share lots of parallels with Rwanda. This has however been constrained by the limited available extant literature related to the topic, particularly from the Rwandan context.

Furthermore, the study's theoretical grounding is limited by the fact that there is an acute lack of extant theories relating to boyhood. Rather, the study uses post-structuralist feminist and sociological theories. For example, some researchers such as Bartholomaeous (2012) have critiqued their use arguing that although in masculinity studies the main theoretical frameworks appear adult-centred and as consequence, writers researching young people often fail to theorize how age and gender intersect.

Bartholomaeous, also observes that current feminist theory has not seen age as an important category, a failing which requires an immediate remedy. Whereas this study is not centred on feminist theory, its focus on boyhood incorporates an important age element in the study of gender as a remedy to the missing component pointed out by scholars such as Bartholomaeous. Moreover, the same author adds that while feminist writings pay attention to the interweaving of gender and practices of social class, race, ethnicity, sexuality and able-bondedness have been largely overlooked. This makes this study focused on boyhood as a stage of growth and development ever more relevant and timely.

According to Penelope and McConnell-Ginet, (2013) society is surrounded by gender lore from the time we are very small. The world swarms with ideas about gender - and these ideas are so commonplace that we take it for granted that they are true, accepting common adage as scientific
fact. As scholars and researchers, though, it is our job to look beyond what appears to becommon sense to find not simply what truth might be behind it, but how it came to be common sense. It is precise because gender seems natural, and beliefs about gender seem to be obvious truths, that we need to step back and examine gender from a new perspective. Doing this requires that we suspend what we are used to and what feels comfortable, and question some of our most fundamental beliefs. This study precisely aims at questioning boyhood construction and role formation to attempt to dig deep into factors contributing to it and understand how such factors affect the gender dynamics in the context of Rwanda.

Unfortunately, there is a dearth of studies on boyhood construction in traditional Rwandan communities and how it plays into the gender dynamics of the country. Given the ethos of the era, there is a need for more studies into the area. It is on such basis that this study seeks to analyse how boyhood construction affects the gender dynamics of Rwanda intending to contribute towards narrowing the knowledge gap in the field concerning the Rwandan context.

Although research on gender practices and masculinity formation has grown considerably, most studies focus on developed countries. These studies document diverse social constructions of masculinity among boys of different ages, different socioeconomic and networks and institutions (ICRW, 2010). A research study written with a perspective of a developing country like Rwanda couldn't be more crucial and timelier especially about the context of the concerned country.

Bartholomaeous (2012) opines that attention to the intersection between masculinities (boyhood) and age is crucial to understanding young people's gender construction and illuminating the limits age presents to accessing gender discourses. Hence, this thesis seeks to demonstrate how different aspects of boyhood construction affect the gender dynamics of Rwanda to determine the interface between age and masculinity construction.

According to Clark (2018), the exploration of girls, girlhoods, and femininities to sex and sexualization in contemporary cultures is extensive. However, discussions that theorize and consider these issues with boys, boyhoods, and masculinities are much thinner on the ground.

The need for further consideration of young men and boyhood masculinities and most notably greater attention to sex, sexuality, and sexualization about boys has been highlighted (Clark, 2013, 2014 as cited in Clark, 2018). This study responds to the lacuna and calls to pay more attention to boyhood sexual subjectivism.

Finally, the study approaches boyhood as though it is a universal, totalizing and homogeneous construct yet several studies reviewed such as Clark, (2018), and Mayeza (2015) seem to suggest that there is an array of facets from which to analyse boyhood as multi-dimensional phenomena.

### 2.6 Conclusion

The chapter provides a background for understanding how young boys identify and understand themselves as belonging to one side of the gender dichotomy and construct roles related to the side which they come to identify with. It is supported by both empirical review and theoretical review of related theories thereby critically exposing the research gap. The chapter tops with the New Sociology of Childhood theory which highlights the importance of children in the society they live in. This is a stark contrast with the Post Structuralist Feminist theory which positions boys as key contributors of conveying gender norms related messages.

## CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviews the literature related to how patriarchy influences children hood identity construction and specifically affects boyhood authoritarian attitude. It also sheds lights on the theory related to the concepts and factors strained from the review of the literature. Based on the theory, assumptions were formulated. These assumptions will be verified in the fourth chapter. The present chapter looks at the methods used in data collection and analysis pertinent to the study. It presents the study setting, the population with a research design as well as the sampling strategies on the data collection techniques and data analysis procedures.

Finally, this chapter explores the reliability and validity as well as ethical issues before ending with a conclusion.

### 3.2 Research Design

According to William and Grinnell (1990) research design is defined as an applied structure within which research is conducted. It is an arrangement for gathering and using data to get the appropriate information.

This research uses both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Therefore, mixed methods research is a way to deal with a request including gathering both qualitative and quantitative data, incorporating the two types of data and utilizing plans that may include philosophical assumptions and hypothetical structures (Creswell, 2014).

Therefore, the quantitative approach is used in this study in order to measure and analyze variables with numbers and statistical procedures while the importance of using qualitative techniques is to ensure that the researcher comes up with deep descriptions and other personal evidence through interactions with the respondents. The study uses inferential and descriptive statistics; thus, this research is descriptive and explanatory.

The research design involves the process of gathering, find meaning, examining and writing the findings of the research.

The two approaches provided me with insights about the effect of boyhood construction on children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda, using Nyarugenge district, Kimisagara sector as a case study.

### 3.2.1 Study setting and identification of participants

The research was organized and performed in Nyarugenge District, Kimisagara Sector in Kigali city. Girls, boys and their parents from Kamuhoza, Katabaro and Kimisagara cells were randomly selected for this study. Kimisagara sector is chosen because of the familiarity of the researcher with the area. The study was conducted into three different cells of Kimisagara sector; including Kimisagara cell within kimisagara village where girls and boys from Groupe Scolaire Kimisagara were interviewed, in Kamuhoza cell within Nunga village. Girls and boys from Ecole Primaire Kamuhoza were also interviewed. The study considers boys and girls who are out of school from Katabaro cell within Ubumwe village. Some parents of the selected in school and out of schoolgirls and boys were selected for the study to provide specific information. Furthermore, local leaders from the same sector were selected.

The random sampling has been found to be associated with selection techniques (Paul, 2008). To select respondents for our study, the support from local leaders was key because the research happened when there was a partial lockdown due to the coronavirus, the selection of girls and boys was done house by house. We ensured that girls and boys have been tested and they are negative. In addition, the selection of cells and villages of Kimisagara sector aimed to better reflect the non-educated and educated respondents in terms of gender dynamics to ensure diversity and gather rich information. The main criteria were to have many in schoolgirls and boys, girls and boys who are not in school, local leaders, educated and non -educated parents to be able to collect high-quality data for the mixed method research.

### 3.2.1.1 Kimisagara sector and field study status

The following table provides information on the Kimisagara sector and more specifically on the total population that live the sector, the percentage of males and females, the percentage of different age categories, the official status of people living in the area and the density of the sector. Detailed information is presented in the table below.

Table1: Detailed information of Kimisagara sector

| Item | Status | Population | Percentage |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Kimisagara <br> sector/Nyarugeng <br> e District | Urban | 46,753 | $100 \%$ |
| Gender | • Males |  |  |

Source: (NISR,2012).
It is within this information that the researcher was able to get the research population included in the study.

### 3.2.1.2 Groupe scolaire Kimisagara

Groupe Scolaire Kimisaraga is an urban public school located in Kimisagara sector. The school has a second section with 873 students including 523 boys and 350 girls. The school was established in 2012. The school currently functions with 24 teachers and 3 administrative staff.

Source: Data collected by researcher in June 2020.

### 3.2.1.3 Ecole primaire Kimisagara

Ecole primaire Kimisaraga is an urban public school located in Kimisagara sector, Kamuhoza cell and Nunga village. The school has a primary section with 1696 students including 976 boys and 720 girls. The school was established in 1958.

The school currently functions with 22 teachers and 2 administrative staff.
Source: Data collected by researcher in June 2020.

### 3.3 The population of the study

According to Henry (1990), the study population is the group in which the researcher can make decisions based on conditions and concerns. The study seeks to evaluate the effect of boyhood construction on children roles in gender dynamics in Rwandan society in Kimisagara sector. Thus, the research aimed to involve the total of 14,026 people made by girls and boys aged from 13 years old and above who reside in Kimisagara sector. Thus, they make a total of 14,026 (RPHC 4, 2012).

### 3.4 Sampling strategies and sample size

According to Webster (2015), the sample size is a limited part/subset of the static population whose properties are concentrated to pick up data about the population.

Following the Yamane's formula quoted by Slovin (2004), the sample size for this study is determined as:
n : is the sample size
N : is the total population
e : is the margin of error
The Yamane's formula is utilized because nothing about the conduct of a population is known by any stretch of the imagination.

Recall that for this case $\mathrm{N}=14,026$ taking the certainty level of $90 \%$ that is with a reasonable blunder of $10 \%$, $\mathrm{e}=0.1$.
Thus, $n=\frac{N}{1+N(e) 2}=\frac{14,026}{1+14,026(0.1) 2} \quad$ this gives $n=\frac{14,026}{1+14,026(0.01)}=\frac{14,026}{141.26}=99.29$ which are
unevenly equal 100 participants.

For in schoolgirls and boys, we requested their list where we randomly selected girls whose name starting with G and for boys, we randomly selected those whose initial names are starting with B. For out of schoolgirls and boys, we got their list from local leaders and we randomly selected them.

After calculating the sample size for our targeted population, we have added 14 key Informants that include people who work in ministry, government institutions, non- government institutions that deal with children/boys and men related issues. In addition, there are 2 teachers, 2 local leaders and 4 parents of some of the girls and boys we met who have been selected in Kimisagara sector.

The table 2 provides detailed information on how many people we recruited, accepted to participate in the study by signing the consent form and where they are coming from.

## Table 2: Classification of participants

| Participants | Number |
| :--- | :--- |
| Teachers | 2 |
| Project coordinator and field coordinator- <br> RWAMREC | 2 |
| Interviewed local population from Kimisagara sector <br> including girls, boys, parents and local community <br> leaders | 92 |
| Gender Mainstreaming Officer-MIGEPROF <br> Early Childhood Development program manager- <br> IMBUTO foundation | 1 |
| Child right promotion and protection officer-NCC | 1 |
| Children protection specialist- UNICEF | 1 |
| Total | 100 |

Source: Researcher's design, January 2020

### 3.5 Research instrument

According to Dalton and Todor (2007), a research instrument is a tool used to ask different questions to respondents who get involved in the research where they are asked number related questions, open-ended questions or both.

### 3.6 Data collection technique

Desk review and a questionnaire were used to gather topic related information. In addition, the researcher recorded qualitative information.

### 3.6.1 Questionnaire technique

A guide that contains quantitative and qualitative questions was used to gather primary data from respondents.

### 3.6.2 Documentation technique

The desk review was conducted by the researcher in order to have existing data related to the effect of boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda before going in the field. Thus, the researcher read reports, articles, journals and visited different websites.

### 3.6.3 Key Informant Interview

Bartee (2016) defines an interview technique as a plan of inquiries identified with the subject; interview assumes that the respondents to be interviewed have the necessary information, understand asked questions and are willing to give honest answers while they are face to face with the researcher. The Key Informant Interviews targeted parents, teachers and staffs from different organizations and ministries that participate in the execution of the projects that target boys/men. We also spoke to policy implementers and local community leaders. The target audience for the Key Informant Interviews (KII) is; boys for change field coordinator and project coordinator from RWAMREC, Early Childhood and Development program manager from Imbuto Foundation, children protection specialist from UNICEF, children right and promotion officer from National Commission for Children, educated and non -educated parents, teachers from Groupe Scolaire Kimisagara and Ecole Primaire Kimisagara and two local community leaders. The objective is to explore the effect of boyhood construction on children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda.

### 3.6.4 Direct observation technique

Observation technique was used by a researcher to verify if respondents provided trustworthy information therefore the researcher herself observes the reality on the field on how boyhood construction affects children roles in the gender dynamics in Rwandan society in Kimisagara Sector. Thus, an observation checklist was utilized and it is annexed to this report.

### 3.6.5 Focus Group Discussion

To facilitate a comprehensive analysis to arrive at practical recommendations of the boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda, field research involving Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) was carried out in Kimisagara sector.

Efforts were to target and engage boys and girls living in the same sector. We conducted Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) to facilitate a comprehensive analysis to arrive at practical issues prevention recommendations. Therefore, the selection of boys and girls was random within the
selected sector.

The selection criteria were based on education (both in school and out of school), geographical location (urban sector within Nyarugenge district) and the age (13 to 18) to meet the study objective by understanding the effect of boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics in Kimisagara sector. The study used nine Focus Group Discussions in Kimisagara sector and it was comprised of 9-10 people maximum which is the total number of 86 people for the FGDs. 3 FGDs for boys aged 13-15 and 2 FGDs for girls. In addition to this, there were 2 FGDs for boys aged 16-18 and 2 FGDs for girls.

A table describing detailed information on the clusters, methods and number of group and number of people per group is shown below

Table 3: Data collection and sampling technique of the study

| Location | Clusters | Method and number of group | Number of people per group |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nyarugenge District_ Kimisagara sector | Educated family | Paired Interview | 2 (Female and Male parents) |
|  | Non-educated family | Paired Interview | 2 (Female and Male parents) |
|  | Gender Mainstreaming officer from MIGEPROF | Key Informant interview | 1 |
|  | Children project manager from National Commission for Children | Key Informant interview | 1 |
|  | Boys for change project coordinator and field coordinator from RWAMREC | Key Informant interview*2 | 1*2 people=2 people in total |
|  | Child protection specialist from UNICEF | Key Informant interview | 1 |
|  | Boys and Girls aged 13-15 | Focus Group Discussion (FGD*5) | 10 (3 FGDs for boys in school and one out of school +2 FGDs of girls in school) =a total of 30 boys and 20 girls. |
|  | Boys and Girls aged 16-18 | Focus Group Discussion (FGD*4) | 9 (one for boys in school and one for boys out of school + 2 FGDs for girls; one FGD for girls in school and another for girls out of school) $=$ a total number of 18 boys and 18 girls. |
|  | Early Childhood Development and Family program coordinator from IMBUTO Foundation | Key Informant Interview | 1 |
|  | Teachers and Local community leaders | Key Informant Interview | 1*4=4 people in 4 separate interviews |
| Total number |  |  | 100 |

Source: Designed by researcher,2020

### 3.7 Data processing

Primary data collected directly from respondents were given meaning in order to transform respondents 'opinions into clear and important trial. Thus, different processes were done such as editing, coding and tabulating.

### 3.7.1 Editing

According to Mbaaga (1990), editing is the process of knowing mistakes in a finished interview and remove them and recognizing the less detailed answers so that the researcher goes back in the field for the sake of data completeness.

### 3.7.2 Coding

According to Kakooza (1996), coding is a way of using words, numbers, letters or signals in order to interpret data in a secret form.

### 3.7.3 Tabulation

Tabulation is a way of presenting second data in a form of tables with respect to the variables considered in the study (Kakooza, 1996).

### 3.8 Data analysis procedures

To analyse quantitative data, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software package version 22.0 that include the mean and the standard deviation was used therefore descriptive statistics were utilized. Furthermore, themes were utilized to provide meaning to qualitative information.

### 3.8.1 Mean

The mean is the middling calculation obtained from the total number of all the detected results from the trial divided by the sum of events.

The mean is calculated as follow:
$\bar{x}$ represents the mean and x represents the detected results from the trial. $\bar{x}={ }^{1} \sum$ xini i=1
(Ghahramani, 2008).

Table 4: Evaluation of Mean

| Mean | Interpretation |
| :--- | :--- |
| $1.00-1.49$ | Respondents understand the statements, but <br> their views are highly different from the given <br> statements |
| $1.50-2.49$ | Respondents understand but do not accept the <br> given statements at a moderate level |
| $2.50-3.49$ | Respondents prefer to not say anything about a <br> given statement. |
| $3.50-4.49$ | Respondents understand and accept the <br> statement at a moderate level. <br> $4.5-5.500$ <br> Respondents understand and highly accept the <br> statements. |

Source: (Saunder ,2008)

### 3.8.2 Standard Deviations ( $\sigma$ )

The standard deviation is a statistical number utilized to know the quality of the data that are distributed to the average. By formula, the standard deviation is computed as follows:
$\sigma=\sum_{i=1}^{n} \sqrt{\frac{1}{N}}(\mathrm{x}-\mu)^{2}($ Ghahramani, 2008 $)$

Table 5: Evaluation of Standard deviation

| Standard deviation | Quality of data |
| :--- | :--- |
| Standard deviation $<0.5$ | Data distributed to the average are like each <br> other |
| Standard deviation $>0.5$ | Data distributed to the average are very <br> different to each other |

Source: (Saunder ,2008)

### 3.8.3 Correlation

Correlation is used in this study to show the statistical relationship between two variables. Thus, we were able to see the relationship between boyhood construction and gender dynamics in Rwandan society. The following are the statistical guidelines we based on to show the correlation coefficient.

Table 6: Evaluation of Correlation

| Correlation coefficient | Interpretation |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{r}=1$ | There is a clear connection between <br> independent and dependent variables. |
| $0.9<\mathrm{r}<1$ | There is certain powerful connection between <br> independent and dependent variables. |
| $0.7<\mathrm{r}<0.9$ | There is certain above average connection <br> between independent and dependent variables. |
| $0.5<\mathrm{r}<0.6$ | There is certain reasonable connection <br> between independent and dependent variables. |
| $0<\mathrm{r}<0.5$ | There is not strong connection between <br> independent and dependent variables. |
| $\mathrm{r}=0$ | There is no connection between independent <br> and dependent variables. |

Source: (Franklin, 2009)

### 3.9 Position of the researcher

According to Foote and Bartell (2011), positionality decribes the position of the researcher to the selected topic. Thus, the researcher must show his/her connection to the study. Moreover, the researcher has professional experience in youth empowerment. Currently working for GirlEffect, an International Organization that aims to empower adolescent girls to fulfil their potential.

Besides, the researcher has a strong interest in children's issues. On a personal level, the researcher being a mother of a young son is keen to know better about boyhood construction, this explains the researcher's choice of the topic. Furthermore, the researcher is an external observer, having no connection with the selected sample, hence any possible bias is avoided during the data analysis and collection process.

### 3.10 Validity and Reliability

Allen and Yen (2001) highlight that validity is explained by the research tool that measures what it is expected to examine. Thus, the questionnaire utilized for this study was carefully designed and there was a pilot to ensure if questions are clear and need improvement before the study start. In addition, Carmines and Zeller (2001) explain that reliability shows the trusted information obtained on the frequent dimensions so that the results are repeatable or replicable. The reliability and repeatability are fit in quantitative research but are not possible in the qualitative research. For our qualitative and quantitative approaches, our study fits because it has produced convincing and trustworthy data because of different reasons; we have used the recorders so that we captured everything respondents have said and we took notes .In terms of data collection, we have mixed Focus Group Discussion with observation and what we have found in the desk review. Thus, we have used a questionnaire with an observational checklist. For the framework of our study, we used different tactics including triangulation of source of information, different data collection techniques, devices and recording tools. With regards to the source of information, we have worked with experienced people with different background and we ensured that they don't know each other. We collected their consent forms before conducting any interview or facilitating a Focus Group Discussion.

With regards to this study, the researcher has accurately described the methods used to collect and analyse data as detailed in this chapter. In addition, after analysing raw data by using an analysis framework to create themes for qualitative and SPSS version 22.0 for quantitative data, the researcher provided clear information on the boyhood construction and gender dynamics through presentation, analysis and interpretation of findings. With all these methods described, they helped to guarantee the credibility and dependability of this study.

### 3.11 Ethical issues

This section provides all relevant details on the research ethic for this study. The standards reflect University of Rwanda safe recruitment processes, safety requirements for children's participation in research, requirement for privacy and consent around communications.

### 3.11.1 Informed consent and assent

In line with ethical guidelines, all respondents had the nature and purpose of the research explained before respondents were asked to volunteer. This was done in a structure way using consent forms that have been developed by the researcher for the academic research purpose. Issues of confidentiality and personal boundaries were discussed at the start of each interview/ Focus Group Discussion and this process had been developed in such a way as to ensure that it is as user-friendly as possible. Ahead of any data collection from girls and boys, approval from both children and their parents was obtained. In addition, approval from teachers, local leaders, parents, informants from governmental institutions and Non- Governmental Organizations was obtained after explaining the purpose of the academic research.

### 3.11.2 Informed consent procedures

Informed consent procedures ensure that research participants understand the purpose of the research and that their participation is voluntary. For respondents under 18 years old, we obtained assent and consent forms from those participants' parents/guardians prior to the interview. Consent forms were obtained for respondents above 18 years old who can sign for themselves. No interview or Focus Group Discussion was conducted without assent or consent forms signed.

Furthermore, all respondents including girls and boys were fully informed of the aim of the research, their rights as respondent and the time that participation was expected to take. Appendix 5 and 6 provide the consent form administered in English and Kinyarwanda whereas appendix 7 and 8 provide the informed consent administered in English and Kinyarwanda.

### 3.11.3 Confidentiality

Respondents' verbal responses were fully confidential and were not related to their name or any other identifiable information at any stage of the analysis. Respondents were asked to volunteer responses and allowed to skip any questions they didn't want to answer.

The respondents were informed about their right to discontinue the interview /discussion for any reason at any time without penalty. Respondents were informed of these guidelines at the beginning of all interviews and Focus Group Discussions.

### 3.11.4 Timing of research

We understood the importance of minimizing disruption for the respondents (both children and adults) during data collection. To this end, all activities were scheduled at reasonable times of the day when respondents were unlikely to have conflicting commitments. The appropriate timing of specific activities with respondents was determined by communication between respondents and researchers during field preparation.

### 3.12 Conclusion of the chapter

Chapter three reviewed the methods utilized in this study to obtain information and examine them therefore research design, study setting and identification of participants, how we found the total number of people who participated in the study and how we examined the primary data were highlighted in this chapter. Furthermore, chapter three highlights different ways we used to obtain topic related information. Finally, chapter three explored the perception of the researcher, different reason why this study is effective and reliable, the morally right considered for the study before ending with a conclusion.

## CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the methodological approach used to collect data for this study. The fourth chapter strives to present, analyze and interpret the findings of the study in order to answer the research questions. This research project aims to explore the effect of boyhood construction to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda. It also focuses on exploring how boyhood identity was constructed and how it affects children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda. The data gathered were classified and dissected using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 22.0 and were qualitatively analyzed by using themes that emerged by relating them to the research questions and the literature in the second chapter.

### 4.2 Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation of the findings

### 4.2.1 Identification of respondents

Respondents' identification in our study consists of gender, marital status, age, education level, religion as well as their economic category status/UBUDEHE category. The names of respondents were hidden to reserve the namelessness of the respondents and the privacy of the responses.

### 4.2.1.1 Gender of respondents

According to the results in table 7, questionnaires have been filled by both males (55\%) and females (45\%). This indicates that all category of sex has been involved in the study. It shows also the balance in gender for respondents to justify the strengths of the findings.

Table 7: Gender of respondents

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid percent | Cumulative <br> percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Valid | Male | 55 | 55.0 | 55.0 | 55.0 |
|  | Female | 45 | 45.0 | 45.0 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |
| Total |  | 100 | 100.0 |  |  |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

### 4.2.1.2 Marital status of respondents

The factor of marital status assumes a key role in the analysis of data in this research. The findings from table 8 below indicate that $90 \%$ of the respondents are single, $6 \%$ of the respondents are married, $2 \%$ of respondents are divorced and another $2 \%$ of respondents are widowers. The fact of having respondents of different status is of great significance for our study.

Table 8: Marital status of respondents

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid percent | Cumulative <br> percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Valid | Single | 90 | 90.0 | 90.0 | 90.0 |
|  | Married | 6 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 96.0 |
|  | Divorced | 2 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 98.0 |
|  | Widower | 2 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |
| Total | 100 | 100.0 |  |  |  |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

### 4.2.1.3 Age of respondents

The table 9 indicates clearly that $90 \%$ of the respondents are less than 20 years, which constitute most respondents, $5 \%$ of the respondents are between 31-40 years, $3 \%$ of respondents are between 41-50 years old and $2 \%$ of the respondents are between 51-60 years old. The intention was to collect data with specific age group who might have different opinions.

Table 9: Age of respondents

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid percent | Cumulative <br> percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Valid | Less than 20 years old | 90 | 90.0 | 90.0 | 90.0 |
|  | Between 31-40 years old | 5 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 95.0 |
|  | Between 41-50 years old | 3 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 98.0 |
|  | Between 51-60 years old | 2 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |
|  | Total |  | 100 | 100.0 |  |  |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0 June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$.

### 4.2.1.4 Education level of respondents

The researcher was keen to understand opinion from people with a different education background, therefore the table 10 below indicates that $2 \%$ of respondents are illiterate, $60 \%$ of respondents attended primary school, $30 \%$ of the respondents attended secondary school, $6 \%$ of the respondents hold a bachelor's degree and $2 \%$ hold master's degree.

Table 10: Education background of respondents

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid percent | Cumulative percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Valid | Illiterate | 2 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.0 |
|  | Primary school | 60 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 62.0 |
|  | Secondary <br> school | 30 | 30.0 | 30.0 | 98.0 |
|  | Bachelor's <br> degree | 6 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 6.0 |
|  | Master's degree | 2 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

### 4.2.1.5 Religion of respondents

The respondents have different religions; the table 11 shows that $15 \%$ of respondents are Muslim, $34 \%$ of respondents are Catholic, $27 \%$ of respondents are Protestant, $15 \%$ of respondents are Adventist, $4 \%$ of respondents are Jehovah witness and only 5\% of respondents have no religion.

Table 11: Religion of respondents

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid percent | Cumulative percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Valid | Muslim | 15 | 15.0 | 15.0 | 15.0 |
|  | Catholic | 34 | 34.0 | 34.0 | 49.0 |
|  | Protestant | 27 | 27.0 | 27.0 | 76.0 |
|  | Adventist | 15 | 15.0 | 15.0 | 91.0 |
|  | Jehovah <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  Witness | 4 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 95.0 |
|  | No religion | 5 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 100.0 |
| Total |  |  | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

### 4.2.1.6 Economic category status/UBUDEHE category of respondents

The economic category status of respondents in this research is based on UBUDEHE category of the year 2017 classified into four different categories where the economy status and lifestyle of each category is lower than the following category. For instance, the economy status and lifestyle of people classified in the first category is lower than those classified in the second, the third and the fourth categories (Chika,2017). As illustrated in table 12, $8 \%$ of respondents are in the Ubudehe category $1,16 \%$ of respondents are in Ubudehe category 2 and the majority ( $76 \%$ ) of respondents are in Ubudehe category 3. Having respondents from different categories of Ubudehe implies having people with a level of economy and lifestyle.
Table 12: Economic category status/UBUDEHE category of respondents

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid percent | Cumulative percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Valid | UBUDEHE <br> category 1 | 8 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 8.0 |
|  | UBUDEHE <br> category 2 | 16 | 16.0 | 16.0 | 24.0 |
|  | UBUDEHE <br> category 3 | 76 | 76.0 | 76.0 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |
|  |  | 100 | 100.0 |  |  |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

### 4.2.1.7 Job position of respondents

The researcher interviewed respondents with different job positions therefore, the findings indicate that most respondents ( $70 \%$ ) have no jobs, $22 \%$ of the respondents are manpower, $3 \%$ of the respondents are coordinators, $3 \%$ of the respondents are managers, $1 \%$ of respondents are senior managers and $1 \%$ of the respondents are line managers.
Table 13: Job position of respondents

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid percent | Cumulative percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Valid | Senior manager | 1 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 |
|  | Line manager | 1 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 2.0 |
|  | Manager | 3 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 5.0 |
|  | coordinator | 3 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 8.0 |
|  | Manpower | 22 | 22.0 | 22.0 | 30.0 |
|  | None | 70 | 70.0 | 70.0 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |
| Total | 100 | 100.0 | 1.0 |  |  |

Source: Primary data, author's computing using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

### 4.2.2 Gender inequality between girls and boys

Table 14 shows all assertions and different perceptions about how boys are treated in Rwandan society. The general perception of respondents has an average of 3.6325 and a standard deviation of 0.7621925 . Thus, the average is interpreted as agree which means that respondents understand and accept the statement while the standard deviation is interpreted as heterogeneity because it is greater than 0.5 (Saunder,2008). The results of the study show that $90 \%$ of the respondents believe that boys and girls are not treated equally, $86 \%$ of the respondents believe that boys are privileged, $85 \%$ of the respondents believe that there is segregation between boys and girls and $96 \%$ of the respondents believe that getting a baby boy implies a continuation of the family. From these findings, it is evident that boys are given a high value than girls in Kimisagara Sector. The results of the study relate with the study insights on gender equality study conducted in Kenya by World Vision in 2014 where the study found that boys are privileged to enjoy life while girls are not valuable (World Vision, 2014).

Table 14: How boys are treated in Rwandan society

| Items | Responses |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly disagree |  | Disagree |  | Neutral |  | Agree |  | Strongl y agree |  | Statistics |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | Mean | Std. deviatio |
| Boys and girls are treated equally | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1.7000 | . 78496 |
| Boys are privileged | 0 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 47 | 47 | 39 | 39 | 4.1900 | . 82505 |
| Segregation between boys and girls | 32 | 35.6 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 43 | 43 | 42 | 42 | 4.2000 | . 86457 |
| Getting a baby boy implies continuation of the family | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 4.4400 | . 57419 |
| Overall |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3.6325 | 0.7621925 |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$ Respondents coming from lower income families and lower education backgrounds demonstrate more extreme gender inequality.

Different respondents we met, believe that gender difference between girls and boys persist in Rwandan community.

According to a girl we met, parents don't hide their preference for their sons to their daughter.
'I think my parents love my brother more than they do for me, because he is the one they listen to, he does whatever he wants any time and if there is an opportunity, his name come first on the list and it doesn't make me happy'. Girl 6 in a Focus Group Discussion with girls, 16-18 years old, out of school, Kimisagara sector.

This is the same case for community leader who testified that gender inequality among girls and boys is not disappeared yet.
'For example, when both a boy and girl are appointed in schools that require more school fees, parents choose boys to be schooled because they have high expectations from a male child, they think that when he will become an adult , he will find a good job so that he can financially support his family and once he gets married, he will be a family lead while a girl might not finish school due to the pregnancy or decide to informally get married if she finds that her family is poor'. Local community leader, Kimisagara sector.

A parent herself confirmed that gender inequality exists in Rwandan community.
'When we have a meeting with parents here at school, it is hard to convince some parents how they can do their best to support their daughters finish school, you understand that some parents still think that if you invest money in girls' education, it is like wasting yourmoney because at the end, a girl is impregnated by an adult man and in that case your daughter will not finish school and you feel so sad and you decide to invest in boys 'education because at least he can manage to finish studying or find work everywhere'. Non educated female parent, Kimisagara sector

Moreover, one of the girls we met, shared with us her observation on gender differences between girls and boys at school and home.
'Boys and girls are not treated equally in families. Boys are even privileged at school because they are given more responsibilities than girls, therefore, I recommend that the government of Rwanda should apply very heavy punishments to the parents who do not treat their children equally, and the school managers should distribute responsibilities to the boys and girls equally.'

Girl 2 in a Focus Group Discussion with girls, 13-15 years old, in school, Kimisagara sector
The problem of gender differences between girls and boys is also known by practitioners of boys/men engagement in gender equality.
'When a mother gives birth to a son, she is not treated the same as the one who gave birth to a daughter. Now, when a woman says she gave birth to a son many people in her community are very happy, and others congratulate her. Also, her husband prepares a special gift and he feels confident when he is together with other men.

Therefore, when his son grows up, his father teaches him to graze according to the area he is coming from, trading, be independent and know how to raise money and how to build a house. The boy from a young age is taught to feel and act like a man who will build a family in the future and the practices are different when it comes to his daughter. A male employee from RWAMREC

However, the views are different from policy implementers who think that boys and girls are treated equally.
'Gender equality between men and women, girls and boys in Rwanda is considered as the cornerstone and prerequisite of sustainable development. From the Constitution of 2003, as revised in 2015 to the policy framework, any discrimination is prohibited and legally condemned. Hence, a historic marginalization of girls/women from the educational system and the political and economic spheres has been corrected. For example, today, it is compulsory and mandatory for all children boys and girls to attend school (education for all) and from primary to nine years basic education and twelve years basic education is free education. Additionally, with enabling policies, boys and girls can now own land and inheritance without any based discrimination'. A male employee from MIGEPROF

### 4.2.3 Boyhood

4.2.3.1 The knowledge of boyhood construction among female and males' respondents.

To assess the knowledge of boyhood construction among females and males' respondents, a question with different options was asked to them. The table 15 describes different assertions about how respondents understand boyhood.

Table 15: What respondents do understand by boyhood

| Items | Responses |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly disagree |  | Disagree |  | Neutral |  | Agree |  | Strongly agree |  | Statistics |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | Mean | Std. <br> Deviation |
| The process to perform masculinity | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 48 | 48 | 49 | 49 | 4.4600 | . 55814 |
| Sets of attributes, behaviors, and roles associated with boys and men | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 4.4700 | . 54039 |
| A socially constructed identity that establishes boys and men's characteristics, actions and duties | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 48 | 48 | 47 | 47 | 4.4200 | . 58913 |
| Be active | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 47 | 47 | 48 | 48 | 4.4300 | . 59041 |
| Be physically strong | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 47 | 47 | 48 | 48 | 4.4300 | . 59041 |
| Be dominant | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 49 | 49 | 46 | 46 | 4.4100 | . 58767 |
| Be protector | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 48 | 48 | 47 | 47 | 4.4200 | . 58913 |
| Be decisive | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 49 | 49 | 48 | 48 | 4.4400 | . 59152 |
| Taking responsibility | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 51 | 51 | 48 | 48 | 4.4700 | . 52136 |
| Plan for their future | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 | 50 | 47 | 47 | 4.4200 | . 62247 |
| Overall |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4.437 | 0.578063 |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

The findings from the table 15 indicate the average of 4.437 and the standard deviation of 0.578063 . According to (Saunder, 2008), this average is interpreted as agree and this standard deviation is interpreted as heterogeneous, because, the mean falls between $3.50-4.49$ and the Standard deviation >0.5.

The table indicates that respondents understand boyhood in the following ways; the process to perform masculinity ( $97 \%$ ), sets of attributes, behaviours and roles related with young boys and men ( $98 \%$ ), a socially constructed identity that establishes boys and men's characteristics, actions and duties ( $95 \%$ ), to be active ( $95 \%$ ), to be physically strong ( $95 \%$ ), to be dominant ( $95 \%$ ), to be protector ( $95 \%$ ), to be decisive, taking responsibility ( $99 \%$ ) and someone who can plan for his future ( $97 \%$ ). The study indicates that boyhood is a challenge to gender dynamics in Kimisagara sector because it leads to inequalities and injustice. Boys are privileged in different domain in social and economic aspects.

These numbers are supported by different thoughts from participants who generally think that boyhood definition comes from the boys/men qualities that are embedded in the social cultural context of Rwanda.

It was surprising to understand that one of the boys we met agrees that boys are bodily powerful than girls.
'There are work you can't perform if you are a girl or if you are not physically strong. For instance, currying 5 bags of cement or 3 jerrycans, normally boys and men curry luggage because they are physically strong than girls. Boy 7 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 13-15 in school, Kimisaragara sector

Another boy we met confirmed what we have found in our literature review that boyhood means possessing different qualities approved by the society.
'Boys are very active, physically strong, dominant and protectors. A good example is in the Rwandan army and police, where we are seeing that the majority is male. So, it implies that males are physically strong and protectors than females.'. Boy 1 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 16-18 years old, Out of school, Kimisagara sector.

It was also confirmed by one of our Key Informants from the Ministry of Gender and Family promotion.
'Historically, a boy was known to be more energetic than a girl. Thus, he was attributed tasks (hard) that may require much energy such as construction or splitting firewood while a girl performed domestic works (said to be soft) including sweeping and childcare'. A male employee from MIGEPROF .

Furthermore, one of our Key Informants from the Non-Government Organization emphasized on the fact that the society plays a key role in the meaning of boyhood.
'Girls and boys are initiated to who they would become from their formative age. Unfortunately, their biological differences are not the ones that matter most; they are rather moulded to the image the society wants them to reflect. That image is primarily constructed based on the predominant social and/or cultural norms that constrain a boy in a socially acceptable box. For instance, in Rwanda, a boy child would be initiated on climbing in heights, farming, looking after cattle's and other physically demanding household chores despite his fragile child body. At the same time, the poor boy would be disallowed to do dishes, cleaning the house, cooking, etc. because such duties re traditionally conceived as 'female' and demeaning for a 'real man'. Further, the boy is strongly discouraged to cry despite the pain he might endure or expression any other motions that are linked to 'softness'. He is instead consistently reminded that a 'man to be' must be tough and only celebrate if he accomplishes a task that falls into a 'male label'. A female employee from UNICEF

The study results relate to the research results on men engagement in health and gender equality conducted by World Health Organization in 2007 in different continents including Africa, America, Asia and Europe. The same study shows a real man is entrepreneurial, bold, adventurer and violent, and all these qualities are used to confirm manhood (WHO, 2017).

### 4.2.3.2 Boyhood identity construction

The findings indicate an average of 4.2166 and a standard deviation of 0.89285667 . The average is interpreted as agree because it falls between $3.50-4.49$, this standard deviation is interpreted as heterogeneous as it is greater than 0.5 .

The table 16 indicates that the boyhood is constructed during early childhood and development where $97 \%$ of the respondents believe that parents have a preference for a son at conception, $96 \%$ of the respondents believe that boys learn to become men from the young age and $96 \%$ of the
respondents believe that boyhood identity is constructed when there is gender discrimination and gender inequality.

Table 16: When boyhood identity is constructed


Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$
The insights from the study show that the boyhood is socially constructed, and therefore can only begin to be constructed once the human being is in the world and able to learn what is expected of them (after they are born).

In addition, the role of female parents and social media to influence the failing gender development in children were highlighted.

A Key Informant from local organization highlighted that female parents influence the boyhood identity construction among boys and girls when they are still young.

For example, a wide range of toys provided to children or type of clothing or hairstyle may help boyhood identity construction (e.g. Toy vehicles for boys vs. baby dolls for girls). The interesting thing about all of this is how female parents are involved in making their sons' young men yet as they grow up, they have a culture that can't change and causes problems like being independent. When you give birth to boys you are called a man, her mother always tells her that he is her second husband after her father and often her mother says it where most people and the child are'. $\boldsymbol{A}$ manager from Imbuto Foundation.

Another Key Informant emphasized on the fact that boyhood is constructed at early age.

All children are called children but due to the development of the doctor, one is left to know the sex of the child at an early age. So, these messages of a pregnant child become very popular before she comes into the world, which is when her mother gets the most attention in terms of food, getting help with household chores, getting a break or getting all the attention.

So, this is where the mother begins to look at the colours, the clothes that will clothe her with toys and so on and even finds that she is proud to tell her friends. The father of the child also does his best to have his eldest son come with all the documents. When a young boy is trained for a job, the culture acknowledges that it is for boys or men. This is where you will find no weddings so far led by a girl or a woman, all of these Master of Ceremonies are either boys or men - here I mean a boy starts training to be a young man where he is taught to speak in public, to be bold and more and more'. A female employee from the National Commission for Children.

A parent think that boyhood construction is influenced by parents' behaviours towards their children when they are still young.
'I am used to see this in rich families and I think that it's wrong to let boys watch television or browse on internet when they are still young because they copy what they see and, in most cases, female parents use such methodology to keep their children calm and stay home with their house helper when all parents are not around'. Non educated female parent, Kimisagara sector.

A parent added that:
'Boys learn to become men from the young age, because when he cries his father ask him to stop as he has to know that he is a man or if he does any other normal thing as child, his siblings ask him to behave like a man. The message is even normalized to the extent that it is fine to approach a boy and ask him to behave like a man. It is even surprising to see educated people are the one who are encouraging the behaviour while they know the impact it might cause to the child himself and to the society'. Educated male parent, Kimisagara sector.

One of the boys we met shared his experience in terms of boyhood construction:
'Boys learn to become men when they are playing football with their peers and most of the time elder boys encourage them to behave like men who win with many goals, if he doesn't score many goals he feel sad and he set a goal to score more in the next match.' Boy 4 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 13-15 years old, in school, Kimisagara sector.

The findings are in line with the research results of how children construct their identity when they are still young. The research was conducted in Kenya by Raburu in 2015 and the insights from the research confirmed that choices of identity start when a child is still young, and family, media and role models play a key role (Raburu, 2015).

### 4.2.4 The main factors that influence boyhood construction

The findings indicate an average of 4.02 and a standard deviation of 0.62034857 . The average is interpreted as agree because it falls between $3.50-4.49$, this standard deviation is interpreted as heterogeneous as it is greater than 0.5 (Saunder, 2008).

The table 17 indicates that boyhood is influenced by culture ( $100 \%$ ), boyhood is influenced by gender norms ( $100 \%$ ), boyhood is influenced by school ( $7 \%$ ), boyhood is influenced by religion ( $95 \%$ ), boyhood is influenced by social media ( $95 \%$ ), boyhood is influenced by family ( $98 \%$ ) and boyhood is influenced by peers influence ( $93 \%$ ).

From these results, the respondents believe that the most three factors that influence boyhood construction are culture ( $100 \%$ ), gender norms ( $100 \%$ ) and family ( $98 \%$ ).

Table 17: The most three factors that influence boyhood construction

| Items | Responses |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly Disagree |  | Disagree |  | Neutral |  | Agree |  | Strongly Agree |  | Statistics |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | Mean | Std. <br> Deviation |
| Culture | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 52 | 52 | 48 | 48 | 4.4800 | . 50212 |
| Gender norms | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 4.5000 | . 50252 |
| School | 26 | 26 | 59 | 59 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1.9600 | . 79035 |
| Religion | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 47 | 47 | 48 | 48 | 4.2500 | . 70173 |
| Social media | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 57 | 57 | 38 | 38 | 4.3300 | . 56951 |
| Family | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 53 | 53 | 45 | 45 | 4.4300 | . 53664 |
| Peers influence | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 52 | 52 | 41 | 41 | 4.2900 | . 74257 |
| Overall |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4.02 | $\mathbf{0 . 6 2 0 3 4 8 5 7}$ |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June11 $1^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

The study found that the culture, gender norms and family work together to influence behaviours
and practices in Rwanda therefore they set the acceptable and unacceptable norms and beliefs for community members.

Thus, parents' sense of belonging in a culture and gender norms informs what they inspire into their children.

A parent confirmed that culture and genders norms play key role in boyhood construction.
'Boyhood is socially constructed not biologically born with. Parents (within a family) in each society influenced by its culture and gender norms (values, beliefs and customs etc...) attribute gender roles to boys different to girls. Traditionally a girl would not eat meat from goats while a boy was allowed. Likewise, when it comes to a family decision -making over any given issue, a boy was privileged to be consulted while a girl was not, no matter who is older than the other and today it is still the same case in some conservative families'. Educated male parent, Kimisagara sector

### 4.2.4.1 Culture

According to the findings from different respondents we interviewed, some of them agree with the Rwandan culture that deal boys superior and different to girls.
'We are different, everyone is aware that's why boys are more respected and treated differently with girls. How can I cook or mop the house if my sister is round, no boy can do that when there is a female around!' Boy 4 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 16-18 years old, in school,

## Kimisagara sector

A Key Informant confirmed that the culture is one of the main factors that influences boyhood construction
'In Rwandan culture, boys or men are supposed to carry people who are ill on a stretcher and it is taboo for a girl or a woman to do the same'. A male employee from RWAMREC

Another Key Informant added that:
'Our culture is playing a big role in our lives, let's take an example of wedding for example, we all know that nowadays even though we are talking about development when we go in wedding we find in some places that according to their culture women are not allowed to sit together with men, they are not allowed to share drinks or anything else.

In addition to that, it is hard to find a Master of ceremony who is a female! I have never seen any in a wedding because our culture gives value to males than females'. A male employee 2 from

## RWAMREC

One of the girls we met, shared her family experience of how conceiving a boy is key in Rwandan culture.
'Boys are more valued than girls even though we continue to hear about gender equality, I have an aunt who has 7 children ( my nieces) and they are all girls but you can't understand how other women and men are criticising them, they are saying that instead of giving birth to 7 girls, I would prefer two boys because if those girls misbehave due to the poverty in their family, their mother would even decide to commit suicide because she will feel useless. In addition to that, people said that they continue to give birth to many children because they were expecting to get a boy. I think the source of all of these is our culture that value boys'. Girl 8 in a Focus Group Discussion, 1618 years old, out of school, Kimisagara sector

A parent emphasized on the role of culture believes in boyhood construction:
'When I say this people always laugh at me but let me tell you the truth, it will be a bit difficult to change the culture believes instilled in the people's memory about men superior to women or boys superior to girls because men will not accept to be disobeyed by women or girls and I know that women and girls have lots of love instead of losing a man they love, they would prefer to be submissive, to be inferior and everything else that is not pleasant to conquer the heart of a man and therefore, boys and men will continue to get advantage of that and dominate women and girls

## © Educated male parent, Kimisagara

A teacher also confirmed that culture is among other factors that influence boyhood construction 'There are evidence in our history that continue to influence men and boys feel superior to girls and women, something surprising is the way mothers who have seen the effect of negative masculinity continue to support the males behaviour that make uncomfortable women and girls'. Female teacher, Kimisagara sector

Another Key Informant added that:
'We know that our government is doing everything so that girls and boys see each other as the same people, however when it comes to practice , it is where you realize that our culture is still
dominating, a boy and a man are valued. We can take an example of child naming ceremonies you find that until now women would love to take their husband's names, the name of the girl child is similar to the one of their father, and parents have a preference of a son when it comes to conception because they are afraid that their daughters might get impregnated by a person they don't know and her future is no longer bright'. A female employee from National Commission for Children.

### 4.2.4.2 Gender norms

The findings show that gender norms play a key role in sustaining problematic practices, they contribute to the continuation of gender disparities between females and males.
'A boy has to behave like a man, he is not allowed to behave like a girl or a woman, if he does, he might be punished, this is why boys are independent while girls are tired with home chores and their voices are not heard'. Girl 7 in a Focus Group with girls, 13-15 years old, out of school, Kimisagara sector

One of the boys we met emphasized on the norms that influence boyhood construction.
'Girls are not allowed to milk cows instead they are allowed to prepare milk and serve people , I have heard my grand-father saying that if a girl does it she might die because she is breaking the rule of the Rwandan god called Binego and nowadays, I have seen girls milking cows and I am afraid they might die soon as they are breaking one of the gender norms 'rules'. Boy 1 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 13-15 years old, out of school, Kimisagara sector.

A parent added that gender norms are the causes of boyhood construction
'The thing is, women and men problems are routed in some of the gender norms, for instance a woman is not allowed to provide dowry instead her partner is the one who does it before the wedding happens and once they are married and a woman is confident to share her concerns then her husband remind her that he has provided dowry to her family and she is not allowed to insult him in that way. You can imagine what might follow with those disagreement, from my understanding is all form of violence including sexual violence, physical violence, emotional violence and economic violence. Another example is that girls are not allowed to look after cows because that is a man job and women /girls were not allowed to work outside their home'. Educated male parent, Kimisagara

### 4.2.4.3 Family

The table 18 shows all assertions and different perceptions of boys and girls in separate Focus Group Discussion about the main family activities and roles of a boy. The general perception of respondents has the mean of 2.95958 and standard deviation 0.67582818 . The mean is interpreted as neutral (Saunder, 2008). The standard deviation is interpreted as Heterogeneous (dispersion of data)' because it is greater than 0.5 (Saunder, 2008). This means that the respondents' points of view are different, and some family activities and roles are mostly attributed to boys or girls.

Table18: Responses on the main family activities and roles of a boy

| Items | Responses |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly disagree |  | Disagree |  | Neutral |  | Agree |  | Strongly agree |  | Statistics |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | Mean | Std. deviation |
| Washing dishes | 23 | 25.6 | 53 | 58.9 | 5 | 5.6 | 9 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 2.0000 | . 84800 |
| Fetching water | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3.3 | 3 | 3.3 | 44 | 48.9 | 40 | 44.4 | 4.3444 | . 70569 |
| Taking care of young siblings | 32 | 35.6 | 54 | 60.0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2.2 | 2 | 2.2 | 1.7556 | . 76893 |
| Mop the house | 31 | 34.4 | 51 | 56.7 | 5 | 5.6 | 3 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 1.7778 | . 69956 |
| Cooking | 41 | 45.6 | 44 | 48.9 | 2 | 2.2 | 3 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 1.6333 | . 69428 |
| Washing clothes | 32 | 35.6 | 53 | 58.9 | 3 | 3.3 | 2 | 2.2 | 0 | 0 | 1.7222 | . 63649 |
| Currying luggage | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2.2 | 50 | 55.6 | 38 | 42.2 | 4.4000 | . 53632 |
| Helping mothers cooking | 36 | 40.0 | 46 | 51.1 | 5 | 5.6 | 3 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 1.7222 | . 71936 |
| looking after cows | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 55.6 | 40 | 44.4 | 4.4444 | . 49969 |
| Helping fathers in buildings activities at home | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2.2 | 3 | 3.3 | 42 | 46.7 | 43 | 47.8 | 4.4000 | . 66704 |
| Ensuring the security of their sisters | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2.2 | 3 | 3.3 | 46 | 51.1 | 39 | 43.3 | 4.3556 | . 65875 |
| Overall |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2.95958 | 0.67582818 |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}, 2020$
According to the results of the table 18, on one side, washing dishes has $84.5 \%$, taking care of young siblings has $95.6 \%$, mop the house has $91.1 \%$, cooking has $94.5 \%$ and helping mothers cooking has $91.1 \%$. All these activities are considered as family girls' activities.

On the other side, the findings show that the main family activities of a boy is fetching water as it has $93.3 \%$, currying luggage has $97.7 \%$, looking after cows has $100 \%$, helping fathers in buildings activities at home has $94.5 \%$ while ensuring the security of their sisters has $94.4 \%$. From these observations, family activities and roles of boys do not enhance gender dynamics in Rwanda. The insight is supported by the opinions of girls and boys in separate Focus Group Discussions who think that there are reasons behind that including the family background, the cultural background, the education background, religion, gender ideology and stereotypes, language and socialization and sex-segregated play groups. Furthermore, the insights from our study reveal that a family is the most important agent of boyhood construction because it serves as the centre of the boys and girls 'lives. Thus, boyhood is mainly constructed during childhood. This has been also confirmed by Crespi (2004), who theorized that family influences sex differences.
'We are not able to change some religious beliefs like in catholic priests are always males and culture related practice such as a boy offering a dowry to the girl's family'. Boy 1 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 16-18 years old, in school, Kimisagara sector

One of the boys we met, emphasized on the role of the family in enhancing boyhood construction that lead to inequality.
'Some families do not give equal chance to boys and girls, and activities and roles are not distributed equally to them. This enhances boyhood construction during childhood. Boy 5 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 16-18 years old, out of school, Kimisagara sector

Another boy added that:
'In my family we have principles, girls wash dishes, cook and take care of young siblings while boys fetch water, collect firewood we use when we are cooking and milk cows. No one can take the responsibility of the other'. Boy 3 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 13-15 years old, out of school, Kimisagara sector

However, a girl emphasized that there are specific roles a girl is capable of different to those of a boy
'For us, a child available home is the one who does home chores but there are activities that boys can't perform well such as changing pamper for a baby and taking care of young siblings.' Girl 2 in a Focus Group Discussion with girls, 13-15years old, in school, Kimisagara sector.

According to the researcher's observation during interviews happened at home, I observed how home chores were distributed unequally between girls and boys.

## a) The role of parents to influence boyhood construction

The table 19 shows the mean of 4.1422 refers to agree, (Saunder, 2008) and the standard deviation of 0.713234 refers to heterogeneous (Saunder, 2008). The results of the study presented in the table 19 show that $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that girls are treated more carefully and delicately, and boys are handled more physically and robustly. In addition, $55.6 \%$ of the respondents have confirmed that there is discrimination between girls and boys, $91.1 \%$ confirmed that boys feel dominant while $90 \%$ of the respondents confirmed that girls feel dominated.

Table 19: Influence of Parents' behavior toward children

| Items | Responses |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly disagree |  | Disagree |  | Neutral |  | Agree |  | Strongly agree |  | Statistics |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | Mean | Std. deviation |
| Girls are treated more carefully and delicately | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 45 | 50.0 | 45 | 50.0 | 4.5000 | . 50280 |
| Boys are handled more physically and robustly | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 46 | 51.1 | 44 | 48.9 | 4.4889 | . 50268 |
| There is discrimination between girls and boys | 32 | 35.6 | 30 | 33.3 | 10 | 11.1 | 50 | 55.6 | 0 | 0 | 3.2222 | . 92138 |
| Boys feel dominant | 1 | 1.1 | 5 | 5.6 | 2 | 2.2 | 47 | 52.2 | 35 | 38.9 | 4.2222 | . 83165 |
| Girls feel dominated | 1 | 1.1 | 3 | 3.3 | 5 | 5.6 | 42 | 46.7 | 39 | 43.3 | 4.2778 | . 80766 |
| Overall |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4.1422 | 0.713234 |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}, 2020$
According to the findings, parents' behaviours towards their children include differential treatments of daughters and sons, the way they talk to them, their reactions to their daughters and sons' behaviours, hobbies, interests and play styles.

Thus, parents are powerful influential of the gender inequality within a family. In addition, it is evident that parents contribute negatively to gender dynamics in Rwanda.
'Parents treat their daughters like a sponge and they always protect them from danger while they think that their sons will be able to handle every situation they are in'. Boy 8 in a Focus Group Discussion with boys, 13-15 years old, out of school, Kimisagara sector.

One of the girls we met confirmed that, it all starts from education given to the parents which affects children later in life.
' It all depends on how their mothers andfathers raised them because if my mother grew up seeing girls and boys had different home chores, she will do the same in her home, this is why there are girls' home chores different to those for boys because they think girls and boys can't perform the same home chores as they are different'. Girl 7 in a Focus Group Discussion, 16-18 years old, out of school, Kimisagara sector.

Another girl confirmed that girls are treated more carefully and delicately:
'My mother never let me buy my clothes alone, she thinks that thieves can easily attack me while she thinks that my brother can fight with them therefore my brother who has one year less than me is allowed to buy clothes himself if our parents give him money and they can't allow me to do the same'. Girl 1 in a Focus Group Discussion, 13-15 years old, in school, Kimisagara sector.

### 4.2.5 Effect of boyhood identity construction

The findings from the table 20 indicate that the average is 4.34375 and the standard deviation is 0.59967 . This mean is interpreted as agree and this standard deviation is interpreted as heterogeneity (Saunder, 2008). The table 20 indicate that the effects of boyhood identity construction to boys and girls are economic violence ( $90 \%$ ), physical violence ( $92 \%$ ), sexual violence ( $94 \%$ ), emotional violence ( $95 \%$ ), suicide ( $95 \%$ ), overconfidence ( $87 \%$ ), girls' discrimination ( $96 \%$ ) and gender inequality ( $87 \%$ ).

Table 20: The effect of boyhood identity construction on boys and girls

| Items | Responses |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly disagree |  | disagree |  | Neutral |  | Agree |  | Strongly agree |  | Statistics |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | Mean | Std. deviation |
| Economic violence | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 10 | 50 | 50 | 40 | 40 | 4.3000 | . 64354 |
| Physical violence | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 8 | 55 | 55 | 37 | 37 | 4.2900 | . 60794 |
| Sexual violence | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 55 | 55 | 39 | 39 | 4.3100 | . 66203 |
| Emotional violence | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 47 | 47 | 48 | 48 | 4.4200 | . 53522 |
| Suicide | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 57 | 57 | 38 | 38 | 4.3300 | . 56951 |
| Overconfidence | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 55 | 55 | 42 | 42 | 4.3900 | . 54855 |
| Girls discrimination | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 52 | 52 | 44 | 44 | 4.4000 | . 56854 |
| Gender inequality | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 11 | 47 | 47 | 42 | 42 | 4.3100 | . 66203 |
| Overall |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4.34375 | 0.59967 |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$
From these findings, boyhood construction has negative health, social and economic effects on boys and girls.
'The effect is on both boys and girls even if girls are more affected. You find that boys can't talk, they want to play alone, they don't want to share their problems and in worse scenario, they commit suicide. For girls, if they are not treated well, sometimes they are traumatized, they face emotional violence, they don't feel happy and this might lead them to drop out of school, to marry early in order to escape to problems.' A male employee 2 from RWAMREC

The findings were also confirmed by another Key Informant Interview:
'When boys grow in the environment where they are valued than their female peers, they apply everything they have learnt when they become adult such as feeling that they can always have sex with their wife, any time, everywhere they wants.

When men behave in this way, they commit sexual violence because there is no agreement between a woman and her husband. In some cases, women are afraid to report what is happening in their household because they don't want to lose their partner who are perpetrators and in the benefit of their children. Consequently, children observe everything happening home and they normalize them. Thus, you will always see that, Gender Based Violence is increasing every day'. A male employee from RWAMREC.

One of the boys we met confirmed the following:
'Rwandan culture, gender norms, and religion enhance girl's discrimination, overconfident and gender inequality. It is not easy to change the culture that has existed for many years, plus the believes and it finally brings violence in a family, community and everywhere else'. Boy 2 in a Focus Group with boys, 16-18 years old, in school, Kimisagara sector

A teacher we met confirmed the existence of economic violence as effect of boyhood construction 'There is still a problem of economic violence as girls in different families are economically disadvantaged. This is found most times in resources distribution within girls and boys in families, this is found also in differentiating remuneration'. Male teacher, Kimisagara sector

A parent also confirmed that violence is among the effect of boyhood construction
'Identity construction is detrimental to boys' development and exposes them to different forms of violence. For example, boys are confined to report sexual violence when they experience it while they feel entitled even to force girls into sexual violence. Through identity construction, boys undergo emotional torture of denying being/expressing themselves rather be/show what the society wants them to be or show. The resultant effect of all this early initiation is perpetual discrimination against girls and gender inequalities.' Educated female parent, Kimisagara sector

A local leader confirmed that violence happens because the society values boys than they do for a girl.
'Effects are many including economic violence, sexual violence and emotional violence. They happen because the society gives privileged to boys and value less girls, therefore when a boy grow up in the same community, become a man, he will adopt and do what he has been seeing for long time since the time when he was young.

In addition, when children are still young their parents treat them differently, they might give school fees to a boy while a girl is requested to stay home to help her mother on the farm, taking care of young siblings, fetching water, going to the market to sell vegetables or to buy salt to use home.

If one of the child is not going to school for instance while her family has the ability to do it, they are committing the economic violence and in most cases you find that they are talking to their daughters and she feels uncomfortable'. Local community leader, Kimisagara sector.

A parent thinks that the violence starts early when children are still young
'Girls and boys grow up believing that they are different, and this has lots of negative impact on how they play, they communicate, they approach each other for seeking for advice. It starts the time when they are still young, and it continues the time when they become adults and affect their relationship as parents. I think this is where violence will start from even though it is rooted in the childhood.' Non educated male parent, Kimisagara sector.

### 4.2.6 The relationship between boyhood construction and gender dynamics

The correlation matrix shows a negative connection between boyhood construction and gender dynamics. This is because the Pearson correlation is -0.79 , and this relationship is statistically significant because the probability is 0.005 . When $-0.7<\mathrm{r}<-0.9$, the correlation is interpreted as negative high correlation and as well as the P -value or Sig. value is less than 0.05 , this probability is interpreted as statistically significant (Franklin, 2009).

Table 21: The relationship between boyhood construction and gender dynamics

|  |  | Boyhood <br> construction | Gender dynamics |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Boyhood <br> construction | Pearson Correlation | 1 | -79 |
|  | Sig. (2-tailed) |  | .005 |
|  | N | 100 | 100 |
| Gender dynamics | Pearson Correlation | -79 | 1 |
|  | Sig. (2-tailed) | .005 | 100 |
|  | N | 100 |  |

Source: author's computation using SPSS 22.0. July 2020
The results from the table 21 indicate that boyhood construction affects gender dynamics at $79 \%$ in Kimisagara sector. From these findings, it is evident that boyhood construction enhances actions and words that hurt people.

These include economic, physical, sexual and emotional violence. In addition, boyhood construction enhances suicide, overconfidence, girls' discrimination and gender inequality.

### 4.2.7 Contribution of boyhood construction to the patriarchal system in Rwanda

The table 22 shows all assertions and different perceptions of key informant interviewees about how boyhood construction contributes to the patriarchal system in Rwanda. The general perception of respondents has the average of 4.5000 and standard deviation of 0.21313 that is less than 0.5 . The mean is interpreted as strongly agree, means that respondents understand and highly accept the statements (Saunder, 2008). The standard deviation is interpreted as homogeneity (nondispersion of data)' because it is lesser than 0.5 (Saunder, 2008).

The findings indicate that boyhood identity contributes more to the patriarchal system in Rwanda. $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that males lead the family, $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that the culture enhances patriarchal system, $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that girls and women are less confident to speak out and act, $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that women are seen as less capable of action than men, $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that the religion arbitrarily oppressed women because they arbitrarily put men in charge and $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that women are discouraged from leadership and high roles because of their pregnancy. However, $100 \%$ of the respondents disagreed that there is no family-related policy available and $66.7 \%$ of the respondents disagreed that laws favour men over women in Rwanda. Thus, boyhood construction enhances the patriarchal system in Rwanda.

Table 22: How boyhood identity contributes to the patriarchal system in Rwanda

| Items | Responses |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly disagree |  | \% |  | Neutral |  | Agree |  | Strongly agree |  | Statistics |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% | Mean | Std. deviation |
| Boys are privileged over girls | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 16.7 | 5 | 83.3 | 4.8333 | . 40825 |
| Gender inequality persistence in the Rwandan society | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 33.3 | 4 | 66.7 | 4.6667 | . 51640 |
| Men are considered as head of the family | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 100 | 5.0000 | . 00000 |
| Family related policy is not available | 0 | 0 | 0 | 000 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.5000 | 1.22474 |
| Laws favor men over women | 0 | 0 | 0 | 06.7 | 0 | 33.3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.3333 | . 51640 |
| Culture | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 100 | 5.0000 | . 00000 |
| Girls and women are less confident to speak out and act | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 100 | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ + \\ .0000 \end{gathered}$ | . 00000 |
| Women are less capable of action than men | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 100 | 5.0000 | . 00000 |
| Religion arbitrarily oppressed women because they arbitrarily put men in charge | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 100 | 5.0000 | . 00000 |
| women are discouraged from leadership and high roles because of their pregnancy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 100 | 5.0000 | . 00000 |
| Sex differences between females and males that confirm women able to give birth while men can't | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16.7 | 5 | 83.3 | 4.8333 | . 40825 |
| Increase in male control over resources | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 16.7 | 5 | 83.3 | 4.8333 | . 40825 |
| Overall |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4.5000 | 0.21313 |

Source: Primary data, author's computation using SPSS 22.0. June $11^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ and July $11^{\text {th }}, 2020$

### 4.3 Discussion of the findings

This section discusses the findings of the study in relation to the literature review and the theoretical framework.

While exploring a responsive to the patriarchal system in Rwanda, it is interesting to note that the Government of Rwanda has through its policies and actions, demonstrated its commitment to work towards the reduction of gender-based violence, gender inequalities and promotion of gender equity and equality in all areas. Thus, Rwanda is therefore highly committed to the cause of gender equality and women's empowerment as transpired in the National Constitution of June 2003, the National Gender Policy of 2010, the Vision 2020, the Gender Equality Strategy from 2019-2022 which highlight gender as a crosscutting issue, the national gender machineries such as National Women Council, Gender Monitoring Office and promulgation of various laws including the 2002 land law, 2008 law preventing and punishing Gender Based Violence (GBV), law n ${ }^{\circ} 22 / 99$ of 12/11/1999 on matrimonial regimes, liabilities, succession and inheritance (MIGEPROF, 2014). The big issue is that those laws, policies have the necessary information to based on in order to prevent the consequences of the patriarchal system, however they are not analyzed based on gender. Therefore, the present study will help policy makers and practitioners to review the existing laws and policies in order to achieve the social change.

To efficiently improve the response and prevention of gender related violence and to improve the comprehension of gender, the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF) has initiated and supported the establishment of key structures at the decentralized levels. These structures include Gender Clubs that are active in both secondary schools and universities and Gender Based Violence \& Child Protection Committees at all levels from district to village level. In the same line, Rwanda Men Resource Center (RWAMREC) is promoting positive masculinity and fighting Gender Based Violence (MIGEPROF,2014). It is fascinating to see that there are initiatives from the government of Rwanda and the local non-governmental organization to prevent the gender differences among children and to engage men in girls and women social and economic empowerment. However, the masculinity related knowledge shared in the clubs are not enough and different projects/programs that are aiming to promote positive masculinity are not conquering the heart of the boys/men yet because their engagement is still low.

Despite the above highlighted positive elements, similarly to the existing literature, the findings of this study show that parents are the key agents of socialization and boys are privileged to enjoy their lives to the fullest while girls are given little opportunities. In addition, referring to our Post Structuralism feminist and New Sociology of Childhood theories, the findings confirmed that boyhood is socially constructed, and boys play a key role in constructing their own identity. It is in this context that girls and boys should access gender related information while they are still young, they should get involved in the journey of transformation programs as well so that they grow up knowing the existing issues and being aware how to deal with them because if there is nothing done once they are still young the patriarchal system will continue to persist in the community and pass from one generation to the next.

### 4.4 Conclusion of the chapter

Chapter four endeavored to present, analyze, interpret and discuss the study results in order to answer to the study inquiries. First, it presented respondents' profile. Second, the findings are detailed according to the research aim, the main subjects emerged from different Focus Group Discussions and interview sessions. When talking about the results of the study in details, we linked them to the theoretical framework and the desk review information presented in chapter two. Finally, chapter five will provide conclusion and recommendations on the study.

## CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 Introduction

The fourth chapter highlighted the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the results. The fifth chapter strives to recap results of the study and offer a general conclusion and advance some recommendations that should be taken into consideration by different parties to better promote gender dynamics in Rwanda. This chapter suggests also area for future research together with the strengths and limitations of the current study.

### 5.2 Summary of Key Findings

The findings of this study are made of primary data collected from our respondents from the questionnaire, from Focus Group Discussions and interviews with stakeholders. Furthermore, there are data we got from the desk review. The approaches and procedures we used are methodically known therefore, we consider the results of the study reliable.

The overall conclusion of the study will be divided into different parts according to the objectives of the study and the themes that emerged from the findings. In general, the aim of this study is to explore how boyhood is constructed and its effect to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda. The specific objectives of the study are 1) to understand how boyhood identity is constructed through gender norms in Rwanda and 2) to assess how boyhood identity affects children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda.

### 5.2.1 How boyhood identity is constructed through gender norms in Rwanda

The table 16 indicated that the boyhood is constructed during early childhood and development where $97 \%$ of the respondents believe that parents have a preference for a boy from conception, $96 \%$ of the respondents believe that boys learn to become men from the young age and $96 \%$ of the respondents believe that boyhood identity is constructed when there is gender discrimination and gender inequality. The insights from the study show that boyhood is socially constructed and therefore it can only begin to be constructed once a human being is in the world and able to learn what is expected of them. In addition, the role of female parents and social media to influence the failing gender development in children is highlighted.

### 5.2.2 How boyhood construction affects children roles in gender dynamics

The findings from the table 19 indicated that the mean is 4.34375 and the standard deviation is 0.59967. This average is interpreted as agree and this standard deviation is interpreted as heterogeneity (Saunder, 2008). The table 19 indicates that the effects of boyhood identity construction to boys and girls are economic violence ( $90 \%$ ), physical violence ( $92 \%$ ), sexual violence ( $94 \%$ ), emotional violence ( $95 \%$ ), suicide ( $95 \%$ ), overconfidence ( $87 \%$ ), girls' discrimination ( $96 \%$ ) and gender inequality ( $87 \%$ ). From these findings, boyhood construction has negative social and economic effects on boys and girls.

### 5.2.3The relationship between boyhood construction and gender dynamics

In establishing the relationship between boyhood identity construction and children gender dynamics, the researcher using SPSS 22.0 to find out the Pearson coefficient of correlation. The results from the correlation matrix indicate that there is a negative relationship between boyhood construction and gender dynamics. This is because the Pearson correlation is -0.79 , and this relationship is statistically significant because the probability is 0.005 . When $-0.7<\mathrm{r}<-0.9$, the correlation is interpreted as negative high correlation and as well as the P -value or Sig. value is less than 0.05 , this probability is interpreted as statistically significant (Franklin, 2009). This implies that $79 \%$ negative variation in gender dynamics is caused by boyhood identity construction (table 21). For this reason, respondents have given some recommendations to address this problem of boyhood identity construction in Rwanda.

### 5.2.4 How boyhood identity contributes to the patriarchal system in Rwanda

The findings from table 22 indicate that boyhood identity contributes more to the patriarchal system in Rwanda. 100\% of the respondents believe that men are considered as the head of the family, $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that the culture enhances patriarchal system, $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that girls and women are less confident to speak out and act, $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that women are seen as less capable of action than men , $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that the religion arbitrarily oppressed women because they arbitrarily put men in charge and $100 \%$ of the respondents believe that women are discouraged from leadership and high roles because of their pregnancy. However, $100 \%$ of the respondents disagreed that there is no family-related policy available and $66.7 \%$ of the respondents disagreed that laws favour men over women in Rwanda. Thus, boyhood construction enhances the patriarchal system in Rwanda.

All the above facts show boyhood construction does negatively affect the gender dynamics in Rwanda.

### 5.3 Recommendations

### 5.3.1 Recommendations to have gender dynamics in Rwanda

The primary recommendations of this study are that all stakeholders must actively aim to address this situation as without the concerted efforts of all parties' positive gender dynamics could not be achieved.

- To parents

Parents are the most important agents of change and therefore I have started with them. The more immediate changes that can be made are in terms of addressing unequal gender norms is by encouraging parents to equally distribute tasks and resources. This can be further reinforced through discussion with their children around existing gender dynamics, why they exist and their negative impact.

- To students, boys and girls

The female students should be exposed to positive female role models in order to get inspired and increase their self- confidence while male students should always demonstrate the positive values.

## - To teachers

The teachers should enhance inclusiveness in classrooms and gender sensitivity in perception and expectation of both males and females. In addition, teachers should be trained about gender dynamics to be aware of gender issues.

- To school administration

The school administration should ensure and empower gender clubs in secondary schools. In addition, the school managers should distribute responsibilities to the boys and girls equally.

- To the government

The Ministry of Education in collaboration with Rwanda Education Board should set up a gender related program at primary to university level as a way of promoting gender dynamics for equal treatment of boys and girls in the family.

### 5.3.2 Recommendations for future research

Due to time and resources limitations, the current study only focused on one sector (Kimisagara sector) in Nyarugenge district. To better assess whether boyhood identity construction affects gender dynamics, this exercise should be scaled up to all districts in Rwanda.

Another area for research could be to explore boys'/ men's views of anything considered feminine in order to consider their involvement in promoting gender equality.

### 5.4 Strength and Limitations of the Study

Generally, from the results discussed here before, the objective of this study has been achieved as far as research questions have been answered. Therefore, it is obvious to trace the strengths of this research as follows:

This research was strengthened by the good choice of the case study, standardization and validity of the questionnaire as well as interview. The respondents have freely given their views so that we affirm that the results and findings are correct and can be generalized on a large area and the findings are original from the work of the researcher because she has used and followed all the steps indicated for the research to be fulfilled. Nevertheless, some weaknesses are evident:

Though good work it is, this research was impeded by inaccessibility to very expensive books and journals. Some of the books that were not in our disposition have not been accessed, when we requested a book online, they provided a cost that was not affordable while the book might contain relevant information. In addition, this study is not representative to Kigali city.

### 5.5 Conclusion of the Chapter

The fifth chapter emphasized on the key results and the overall conclusion of the study. It has also advanced some recommendations to different parties to better promote the gender dynamics in Rwanda. This chapter has indicated future areas of research together with the strength and limitations of the current study. I cannot conclude this chapter without mentioning how this research has enriched me personally and academically. I am humbled by the different contacts I had with young students, whom I admire for their authenticity and frankness. I thank a lot the Key Informants and administrative staff for providing their ideas by trusting my research. This was a great experience at all levels.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Dear respondent, my name is Aurore Irangeneye; a student at the University of Rwanda (UR). The purpose of this questionnaire is to explore the effect of boyhood construction on children roles in gender dynamics in Rwanda. Your feedback is very important, and I promise to keep your input confidentially. The information gathered will be analysed to write a Master's thesis at the Centre for Gender Studies at the University of Rwanda.

Thank you in advance for your assistance.

## SECTION I: IDENTIFICATION OF RESPONDENT

## Instructions:

1. Tick in the box where there is the related answer
2. Section I and II are compulsory for all respondents
3. If you are in a Focus Group Discussion, you will only answer SECTION I, II and IV
4. If you are in a Key Informant Interview, you will only answer SECTION I, II and III

## Q1: Sex/Gender of respondent

a) Male $\qquad$
b) Female $\qquad$

## Q2: Marital status of the respondent

a) Single $\qquad$ $\square$
b) Married. $\qquad$
$\square$
c) Divorced $\qquad$
d) Widower $\qquad$ $\square$

Q3: Age of respondent
a) Less than 20 years old $\qquad$
b) Between 21-30 years $\qquad$ $\square$
c) Between 31-40 years $\qquad$ $\square$
d) Between 41-50 years. $\qquad$ $\square$
e) Between 51 and 60 years $\qquad$
f) Above 60 years............................. $\square$

Q4: Education level of respondent
a) Technical or training certificates......... $\square$
b) Primary school level........................ $\square$
c) Secondary level............................. $\square$
d) Bachelor's degree........................... $\square$
e) Master's degree $\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots . \square$

## Q5. Religion of respondent

a) Muslim
b) Catholic $\qquad$ $\square$
c) Protestant $\qquad$ $\square$

d) Adventist
$\square$
e) Jehovah Witness...................................
f) No religion
Q6. Economic category status/UBUDEHE category of respondent
a) UBUDEHE category 1 $\qquad$ $\square$
b) UBUDEHE category $2 \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .$.
c) UBUDEHE category 3............................. $\square$
d) UBUDEHE category 4 . $\qquad$ $\square$

## Q7. Job position of the respondent

a) Director. $\qquad$
b) Senior Manager $\square$
c) Line Manager $\square$
d) Manager. $\square$
e) Coordinator....................................... $\square$
f) Manpower $\square$

## SECTION II: Compulsory

Q8. How boys are treated in Rwandan society?

|  | Assertions | S D | D | N | A | SA |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Boys and girls are treated equally |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Boys are privileged |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Segregation between boys and girls |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Getting a baby boy implies continuation of the family |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | If others specify |  |  |  |  |  |

Q 8. a. Explain why? and give one example

Q9. What do you understand by boyhood?

|  | Assertions | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | The process to perform masculinity |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Sets of attributes, behaviours, and roles associated with boys <br> and men |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | A socially constructed identity that establishes boys and <br> men's characteristics, actions and duties |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Be active |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Be physically strong |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Be dominant |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Be protector |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Be decisive |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Taking responsibility |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | If others specify |  |  |  |  |  |

## Q9. a. Explain why? and give one example

$\qquad$
$\qquad$
Q10. When boyhood identity is constructed?

|  | Assertions | S D | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Son preference starts from the time of conception |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Boys learn to become men from a young age |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Gender discrimination and gender inequality |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | If others specify |  |  |  |  |  |

Q10 a. Explain why? and give one example
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
Q11.Based on your perception, what are the most three factors that influence boyhood identity construction?

|  | Assertions | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Culture |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Gender norms |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | School |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Religion |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Social media |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Family |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Peers influence |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | If others specify |  |  |  |  |  |

Q11a. Explain why? and give one example

Q12. What is the effect of boyhood identity construction on boys and girls?

|  | Assertions | SD | D | $\mathbf{N}$ | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Economic violence |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Physical violence |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Sexual violence |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Emotional violence |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Suicide |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Overconfidence |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Girls discrimination |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Gender inequality |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | If others specify |  |  |  |  |  |

Q12. a. Explain why? and give one example

## SECTION III: Reserved only for people in Key Informant Interviews.

Q13. How does boyhood identity contribute to the patriarchal system in Rwanda?

|  | Assertions | SD | D | $\mathbf{N}$ | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Boys are privileged over girls |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Gender inequality persistence in the Rwandan society |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Men are considered as the head of the family |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | The family-related policy is not available |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Laws favor men over women |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Culture |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Girls and women are less confident to speak out and act |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Women are less capable of action than men |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Religion arbitrarily oppressed women because they <br> arbitrarily put men in charge |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | Women are discouraged from leadership and high roles <br> because of their pregnancy |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 | Biological difference between women and men in the way <br> that women conceive while men don't |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 | Increase in male control over resources |  |  |  |  |  |
| 13 | If others, specify |  |  |  |  |  |

## SECTION IV: Reserved only for people in Focus Group Discussion.

Q14. What are the main family activities and roles of a boy?

|  | Assertions | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Washing dishes |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Fetching water |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Taking care of young siblings |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Mop the house |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Cooking |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Washing clothes |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Currying luggage |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Helping mothers cooking |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Looking after the cows |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | Helping father in construction activities at home |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 | Ensuring the security of their sister |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 | If others, specify |  |  |  |  |  |

Q14. a. Explain why? and give one example

## Q15. Is there any discrepancy/inequality between girls' and boys' activities sharing?

a) Yes $\qquad$ $\square$
b) No $\qquad$ $\square$

## Q15.a. Explain why? and give one example

## Q16. Parents' behavior toward children influence the way

|  | Assertions | S D | D | N | A | SA |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Girls are treated more carefully and delicately |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Boys are handled more physically and robustly |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | There is discrimination between girls and boys |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Boys feel dominant |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Girls feel dominated |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | If others specify |  |  |  |  |  |

## Q16.a. Explain why? and give one example

$\qquad$
$\qquad$
Thank you for your cooperation!

## Appendix 2: Translated questionnaire

IGIKA CYA 2: INYOBORAKIGANIRO
Ku witabiriye ikiganiro. Nitwa IRANGENEYE Aurore, ndi umunyeshuri muri kaminuza nkuru y'u Rwanda. Intego y' iyi nyoborabiganiro ni ugucukumbura ingaruka ku ruhare rw' abana mu kwimakaza uburinganire, ziterwa no kuba mu muco nyarwanda,umuhungu afatwa nk' umwana w' ingenzi.Ibitekerezo byawe ni Ingenzi, kandi ndakwizezako ibyo umbwira mbigira ibanga. Amakuru uzatanga azifashishwa mu kwandika igitabo gisoza umwaka wa nyuma w' icyiciro cya kabiri cya kaminuza mu kigo kigisha ibijyanye n' uburinganire n' ubwuzuzanye cya kaminuza nkuru y' u Rwanda. Murakoze cyane mu kudufasha.

## IGIKA CYA I: KUMENYA UBAZWA

## Amabwiriza:

5. Shyira akamenyetso ahabugenewe hajyanye $n$ ' igisubizo nyacyo
6. Igika cya mbere ni cya kabiri biruzuzwa n' ababazwa bose
7. Niba uri mu kiganiro mu itsinda, urasubiza gusa ibibazo biri ku gika cya I, II ni cya IV.
8. Niba uri mu kiganiro wenyine, urasubiza gusa ibibazo biri mu gika cya I, II ni cya III $Q_{1}$ : IGITSINA CY' USUBIZA
c) GABO $\qquad$
d) GORE

## Q2: IMYIRONDORO Y'USUBIZA

e) Ingaragu. $\qquad$
$\square$
f) Uwashatse $\qquad$ $\square$
g) Uwatandukanye nuwo bashakanye $\qquad$
h) Umupfakazi $\qquad$

## Q3: IMYAKA Y'UBAZWA

g) Munsi y' imyaka 20 $\qquad$ $\square$
h) Kuva ku myaka 21-30 $\qquad$
i) Kuva ku myaka 31-40..................... $\square$
j) Kuva ku myaka 41-50. $\qquad$
k) Hagati y' imyaka 51 na 60 $\qquad$ $\square$
l) Hejuru y' imyaka 60 $\qquad$ $\square$

## Q4: Amashuri y' usubiza

f) Amashuri y' imyuga......... $\square$
g) Amashuri abanza........................ $\square$
h) Amashuri yisumbuye. $\qquad$
i) Impamyabushobozi muri kaminuza. $\qquad$
j) Impamyabushobozi y' icyiciro cya kabiri cya kaminuza. $\qquad$
k) Impamyabushobozi y' ikirenga. $\square$

## Q5. Idini ry' usubiza

g) Umuyisiramu $\qquad$
h) Umugaturika.......................................... $\square$
i) Umurokore...................................... $\square$
j) Umudiventisiti........................................... $\square$
k) Umuyehova. $\qquad$
$\square$

1) Nta dini agira $\qquad$
Q6. Icyiciro cy' ubudehe
e) Icyiciro cy' ubudehe cya $1 \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots . \square$
f) Icyiciro cy' ubudehe cya $2 \ldots \ldots . . \ldots \ldots . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . \square$
g) Icyiciro cy' ubudehe cya $3 \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .$.
h) Icyiciro cy' ubudehe cya $4 \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots . . \square$

## Q7. Imirimo usubiza akora

g) Uhagarariye ikigo $\qquad$
h) Umuyobozi mukuru $\qquad$
i) Umuyobozi wungirije....................................... $\square$
j) Umuyobozi $\qquad$
k) Ushinzwe guhuza ibikorwa.......................................... $\square$
l) Umukozi usanzwe. $\qquad$

## IBIBAZO BIJYANYE N' UBUSHAKASHATSI

IGIKA CYA II : NI NGOMBWA KUZUZA IKI GICE
Ikibazo cya 8. Ni gute abana b’ abahungu bafatwa mu muryango nyarwanda?

|  | Ibyo guhitamo | S D | D | N | A |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| SA |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | Abahungu n' abakobwa bafatwa kimwe |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Abahungu bahabwa agaciro cyane |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Hari ubusumbane hagati y' abakobwa n' abahungu |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Kubyara umuhungu bivuze gukomeza umuryango |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Niba hari ibindi bivuge |  |  |  |  |

Ikibazo cya 8. a. Sobanura ibyo wahisemo, kubera iki? Hanyuma uduhe urugero rumwe
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
Ikibazo cya 9. Kuba umuhungu wemerwa mu muryango nyarwanda bisobanuye iki?

|  | Ibyo guhitamo | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Ni uburyo bwo kuba umugabo |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Ni ibintu byose afite bifite aho bihuriye no kuba umuhungu <br> cyangwa umugabo. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Ibiranga abahungu byashyizweho n' umuryango mugari <br> byerekana ibibaranga, ibikorwa n' ibyo bashinzwe |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Kugira ubushake |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Kugira imbaraga |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Kuganza abanda |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Kuba umurinzi |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Kuba ufata ibyemezo |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Gufata inshingano |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | Niba hari ibindi ubivuge |  |  |  |  |  |

Ikibazo cya 9. a. Sobanura impamvu y' ibyo wahisemo, kubera iki? Tanga urugero rumwe
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
Ikibazo cya 10. Ni ryari kuba umuhungu bitangira?

|  | Ibyo guhitamo | S D | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Gukunda umuhungu bitangira agisamwa |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Abahungu biga kuba abagabo bakiri bato |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Kuvangura n' ubusumbane |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Niba hari ibindi bivuge |  |  |  |  |  |

Ikibazo cya10 a. Sobanura impamvu, kubera iki? Tanga urugero
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
Ikibazo11. Ugendeye kuko ubizi, ni ibihe bintu bitatu by' ingenzi bituma umuntu yiyumva nk' umuhungu?

|  | Ibyo guhitamo | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Umuco |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Imigenzo |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Ishuri |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Iyobokamana |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Ibitangazamakuru |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Umuryango |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Ibitekerezo by' urungano |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Niba hari ibindi bivuge |  |  |  |  |  |

Ikibazo cya 11a. Sobanura impamvu, kubera iki? Tanga urugero

Ikibazo cya 12. Ni izihe ngaruka ku bahungu n' abakobwa ku kuba umwana yiyumva nk' umuhungu?

|  | Ibyo guhitamo | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Ihohoterwa rishingiye ku mutungo |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Ihohoterwa ryo ku mubiri |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Ihohoterwa rishingiye ku marangamutim |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Kwiyahura |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Kwiyumva cyane/kwiremereza |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Kuvangura abakobwa |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Ubusumbane hagati y' ibitsina byombi |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Niba hari ibindi bivuge |  |  |  |  |  |

Ikibazo cya 12 a. Sobanura impamvu, kubera iki? Tanga urugero

## ICYICIRO CYA 3: BIGENEWE GUSA ABANTU BABAZWA UMWE UMWE

Ikibazo cya 13. Ni gute kwiyumva nk' umuhungu bituma habaho ubusumbane bw' ibitsina byombi mu Rwanda?

|  | Ibyo guhitamo | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Abahungu bahabwa agaciro kurusha abakobwa |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Ubusumbane hagati y' ibitsina byombi buracyagaragara mu <br> Rwanda |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Abagabo bafatwa |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Polisi ireba umuryango ntihari |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Amategeko arengera abagabo kurusha abagore |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Umuco |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Abakobwa n' abagore ntago bashize amanga mu kuvuga no <br> mu kugira icyo bakora |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Abagore ntago bashoboye nk' abagabo |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Iyobokamana rirengera abagabo kurusha abagore |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | Abagore bacibwa integer zo kujya mu myanya y' ubuyobozi <br> kubera gutwita |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 | Itandukaniro riri hagati y' ibitsina byombi kuko umugore <br> abyara ariko umugabo ntabyare |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 | Kwiyongera kw' abagabo mu kugenzura imitungo |  |  |  |  |  |
| 13 | Niba hari ibindi bivuge |  |  |  |  |  |

## ICYICIRO CYA 4: Kirebwa gusa n' ababazwa bari mu matsinda

Ikibazo cya 14. Ni iyihe mirimo $n$ ' inshingano zingenzi $z$ ' umuhungu mu muryango we?

| 1 | Koza amasahane | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | Kuvoma |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Kwita kuri barumuna be |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Gukubura inzu |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Guteka |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Kumesa |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Kwikorera imizigo |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Gufasha ababyeyi guteka |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Kuragira |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | Gufasha umubyeyi w' umugabo mu bikorwa byo kubaka |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 | Kurinda bashiki be |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12 | Niba hari ibindi ubivuge |  |  |  |  |  |

## Ikibazo cya 14. a. Sobanura impamvu, kubera iki? Tanga urugero

$\qquad$
$\qquad$
Ikibazo cya 15. Haba hari ubusumbane mu mirimo abakobwa n' abahungu bakora?
a) Yego $\square$
b) Oya $\qquad$
0)

Ikibazo cya 15 a. Sobanura impamvu, kubera iki? Tanga urugero
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

Ikibazo cya 16. Imyitwarire $y^{\prime}$ ababyeyi ku bana ituma

|  | Ibyo guhitamo | S D | D | N | A |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| SA |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | Abakobwa bafatwa nk' inzabya zoroshye |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Abahungu bafatwa nk' abakomeye |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Hari ivangura hagati y' abakobwa n' abahungu |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Abahungu bumva bategeka |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Abakobwa bumva bategekwa |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Niba hari ibindi bivuge |  |  |  |  |

Ikibazo cya 16.a Sobanura impamvu, kubera iki? Tanga urugero
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

Murakoze ku bw' ubufatanye bwanyu!

Appendix 3: Map of Nyarugenge district with localization of our Case Study Kimisagara
Sector


Source: MININFRA (2008)
Figure 2: Map of Nyarugenge district

## Appendix 4: Introduction letter



Source: University of Rwanda, Centre for Gender Studies (CGS), June $10^{\text {th }}, 202$

## Appendix 5: Consent and informed consent form-English version

Aurore IRANGENEYE is a master student at the university of Rwanda in the department of Arts and Social Science (Gender and Development). She is in her last academic year of 2019-2020. Therefore, she is currently writing her thesis entitled 'EFFECT OF BOYHOOD CONSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN ROLES IN GENDER DYNAMICS IN RWANDA'.

Aurore IRANGENEYE is planning to conduct academic research in order to explore the boyhood construction and its effects to children roles in gender dynamics in Rwandan society.

Thus, she has developed a tool with different questions therefore its purpose is to obtain data from the adolescents, parents, teachers, local leaders and children or boys' program coordinator/ managers. Thus, once you agree, you will provide the necessary data for this research. The research will use a maximum of 90 minutes for Focus Group Discussion and a maximum of 60 minutes for Paired Interview. We ensure you that everything you will share with us will be confidential and will be used for education purpose only.

Your participation is voluntary, and you will not receive any payment for being part of the research. If you are under the age of 18, we need both yours and your parents' permission to participate in the research. It is up to you to decide to take part, you are allowed to stop anytime you feel you need too without giving us a reason. Your name or personal details will not be used. We will only use the information you give us without associating them with any identifying information, like your name.

If you need more information about academic research, don't hesitate to reach out to Aurore's supervisor Dr Gaspard GAPARAYI at 0787267792 or via E-mail: ggaparayi@yahoo.fr or to Dr Josephine MUKABERA , the managing director of center for gender studies at 0788601771 or via E-mail: josephinemukabera@gmail.com

To be signed by a child under 18 years old
I have understood the above information and I agree/not agree to take part in this research
Name:
Signature:
Date:
To be signed by the parent/guardian of a child under 18 years old

I have understood the above information and I agree that I am a parent/ guardian of
$\qquad$ and I agree/not agree that she/he takes part
in this research
Name:
Signature:
Date:
To be signed by interviewer
I agree to respect the confidentiality of all the participants in this research and will not disclose information obtained through this research with any individual beyond those directly involved in the above research project.
Name:
Signature:
Date:

Yours Sincerely,

Aurore Irangeneye

## Appendix 6: Consent and informed consent form-Kinyarwanda version

## URUHUSHYA RWO KWITABIRA UBUSHAKASHATSI

Aurore IRANGENEYE ni umunyeshuri wiga mu cyiciro cya gatatu cya kaminuza muri kaminuza nkuru y' u Rwanda mu ishami ryigisha amasomo y'Uburinganire n'Ubwuzuzanye, Ari mu mwaka wa nyuma w' amashuri wa 2019-2020. Niyo mpamvu arimo kwandika igitabo gisoza icyo kiciro.Akaba yandika igitabo ku 'INGARUKA K' URUHARE RW'ABANA MU KWIMAKAZA UBURINGANIRE N' UBWUZUZANYE, ZITERWA NO KUBA MU MUCO NYARWANDA, UMWANA UMUHUNGU AFATWA NK' UWINGENZI'.

Aurore IRANGENEYE arimo gutegura gukora ubushakashatsi bujyanye n' amasomo ye n' igitabo ashaka kwandika kugirango abashe gucukumbura uko bigenda kugirango umuntu abe umuhungu ndetse n' ingaruka bigira ku ruhare rw' abana mu kwimakaza uburinganire n' ubwuzuzanye mu muryango nyarwanda.

Niyo mpamvu yateguye inyoborabiganiro. Akamaro k' inyoborabiganiro ni ugushaka amakuru mu bangavu n' ingimbi, ababyeyi, abarimu, abayobozi b' ibanze ndetse n' abakuriye za porogaramu zifite aho zihutiye n' abana cyangwa abahungu. Watoranyijwe nk' umwe mu bantu b' ingenzi bazamufasha kubona amakuru akenewe ku bushakashatsi bwe. Ubushakashatsi buzakoresha iminota itarenze mirongo icyenda ku bazabazwa bari mu itsinda, mirongo itandatu ku bazabazwa ku giti cyabo. Turakwizezako amakuru uzatanga, azagirwa ibanga kandi azakoreshwa ku bijyanye gusa no kwiga cyangwa kwigisha.

Kwitabira ubushakashatsi ni ubushake kandi nta kiguzi uhabwa cyo kuba witabiriye ubushakashatsi. Niba uri munsi y'imyaka18 dukeneye uruhushya rwawe n'urwababyeyi kugirango witabire ubushakashatsi. Nikubushake bwawe guhitamo kugira uruhare mubushakashatsi, wemerewe guhagarika igihe cyose utaduhaye impamvu.

Ntago tuzakoresha amazina n'imyirondoro yawe. Tuzakoresha gusa amakuru watanze hatagaragajwe umwirondoro wawe, nk'amazina, Amakuru tuzakura kuri wowe yose azabikwa ahantu h'ibanga kandi azakoreshwa mu bijyanye n' ishuri no kwigisha.

Ntangaruka mbi zizaba kuri wowe cyangwa k'umwana wawe mugihe cyo kwitabira ubushakashatsi

Muramutse mukeneye andi makuru ku bijyanye n' ubu bushakashatsi, ntimwatinya kubwira umuyobozi w' ubushakashatsi bwa Aurore ariwe Dr Gaspard GAPARAYI, mukaba mwamuhamagara kuri 0787267792 cyangwa mukamwandikira kuri E-mail ye ariyo ggaparayi@yahoo.fr cyangwa mukabwira Dr Josephine MUKABERA, umuyobozi w’ agateganyo wa Centre for Gender Studies kuri nimero ye 0788601771 cyangwa kuri E-mail ye ariyo josephinemukabera@gmail.com
hagenewe gusinya umwana ufite munsi y' imyaka 18
Numvise amakuru yavuzwe haruguru kandi nemeye/nanze kwitabira ubushakashatsi.

Amazina:
Umukono:
Italiki:
Ahagenewe gusinywa n' umubyeyi/umurezi w' umwana ufite munsi y' imyaka 18
Numvise amakuru yavuzwe haruguru kandi nemeyeko umwana wanjye/uwo ndera ariwe.......................................................................................... nemeyeko/sinemeye ko agira uruhare mu bushakashatsi

Amazina:
Umukono:
Italiki:
Ahagenewe gusinywa n'ubaza:
Nemeye ko nzagira ibanga yaburi muntu wagize uruhare muri ubu bushakashatsi kandi ko amakuru yatanzwe atazigera agaragazwa k'umuntu udafite aho ahuriye n'ubu bushakashatsi.

Amazina:
Umukono:
Italiki:

Murakoze,

Aurore Irangeneye

## Appendix 7: Checklist for observation

1. How boys and girls are treated in a family?
2. In a family, are home chores equally distributed to girls and boys?
3. Who among both parents (female and male) influence boyhood construction?
4. How do boys behave during Focus Group Discussions compare to girls?
5. Among all places where the study was conducted who dominate the job positions between men and women?
