Universiteit Utrecht

The Gender Stereotypical Beliefs of Tanzanian Parents about their Children

Sarah R. Boelens

Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University

Thesis (201600407)

Dr. Tjitske M. M. de Groot

19th of June, 2024

Wordcount: 7924

Abstract

Gender inequality and its negative consequences tend to be higher in non-WEIRD countries, where patriarchal structures are dominant. Gender stereotyping can be seen as a profound basis of these structures and has a negative impact on the daily lives of girls and women. Gender stereotyping occurs from birth onward, and looking at the gender socialization and identity theory of Carter (2014), parents are the source of gendered traits and behaviours in their children. When focussing on Tanzania in existing literature, it remains unclear what the gender stereotypical beliefs of Tanzanian parents are, a gap this study aims to fill. In the current research, twelve parents from the Lake zone region in Tanzania were interviewed. The results show that the majority of the parents have gender stereotypical beliefs about behaviours, activities, rules and expectations when talking about their children. However, parents have less gendered stereotypical beliefs about allowed emotions and disciplining. These findings can be explained by parents holding on to their traditional beliefs about the division of roles for women and men, although their environment is changing due to globalization and urbanization. To decrease gender stereotypical beliefs of parents, recommendations are given to include three aspects in parent training.

Keywords: gender stereotypical beliefs, child rearing practices, gender equality, Tanzanian parents

Abstract

Genderongelijkheid en de negatieve gevolgen daarvan komen meer voor in non-WEIRD landen, waar patriarchale structuren dominant zijn. Gendersterotypering kan gezien worden als een basis van deze structuren en heeft een negatieve invloed op het leven van meisjes en vrouwen. Gendersterotypering vindt plaats vanaf de geboorte en volgens de gendersocialisatie- en identiteitstheorie van Carter (2014) zijn ouders de bron van genderspecifieke eigenschappen en gedragingen bij hun kinderen. Vanuit bestaande literatuur

over Tanzania werd het niet duidelijk wat gender stereotyperende overtuigingen zijn van

Tanzaniaanse ouders, een gat die het huidige onderzoek probeert op te vullen. Er zijn twaalf

interviews afgenomen bij ouders uit de regio rond Lake Victoria in Tanzania. De resultaten

van het onderzoek tonen aan dat de meeste ouders gender stereotyperende overtuigingen

hebben over gedragingen, activiteiten, regels en toekomstige verwachtingen wanneer ze over

hun kinderen praten. Echter, over toegestane emoties en discipline hebben ouders minder

gender stereotyperende overtuigingen. Deze bevindingen suggereren dat ouders vasthouden

aan hun traditionele overtuigingen over de rolverdeling tussen vrouwen en mannen, ondanks

dat hun omgeving aan het veranderen is door globalisatie en urbanisatie. Om gender

stereotyperende overtuigingen van ouders te verminderen, worden er aanbevelingen gegeven

over het toepassen van drie aspecten binnen een ouder training.

Trefwoorden: gender stereotyperende overtuigingen, opvoeding, gendergelijkheid,

Tanzaniaanse ouders

The Gender Stereotypical Beliefs of Tanzanian Parents about their Children

Gender inequality is a worldwide problem, since many girls and women lack fundamental rights (Barcellos et al., 2014) and face gender-based violence (GBV) (Abeid et al., 2014), unintended early pregnancies and forced early marriages (Wado et al., 2019). Moreover, in comparison to men, women have fewer educational opportunities (Bisanda & Ming, 2019; Ouma et al., 2017), lower labour participation (Wado et al., 2019) and a lower income (Barcellos et al., 2014). Consequences of these inequalities include, amongst other things, decreased physical and mental health of girls and women (Abeid et al., 2014; Muluneh et al., 2020; Nyamhanga & Frumence, 2014). For example, sexual violence against girls and women increases the vulnerability of HIV infection (Abeid et al., 2014) and causes mental suffering (Muluneh et al., 2020). Another example is that women are often financially dependent on their husbands, leading to social problems and abusive relationships (Nyamhanga & Frumence, 2014).

Gender inequality and its consequences tend to be more frequent in non-WEIRD countries (Heise et al., 2019; Jayachandran, 2015). These are countries that are not Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic (Henrich et al., 2010). In these countries, the cultural norms are often in favour of men (Heise et al., 2019; Jayachandran, 2015). Tanzania is one of these countries facing these inequalities and negative consequences (Badstue et al., 2021; Dillip et al., 2018). The Tanzanian government is trying to increase gender equality through different policies (Ameratunga Kring, 2017; Dillip et al., 2018; Nyange et al., 2016). For example, the government's employment policies resulted in more women being economically involved and generating personal income. These policies make women less dependent on men. Despite that, women continue to be the only ones responsible for household labour, although some women work as much as men nowadays (Ameratunga Kring, 2017; Dillip et al., 2018; Feinstein et al., 2010). Other examples include government

policies specifically focused on women's development, aiming to decrease gender-based violence and provide legal aid to women in Tanzania. Regardless of these policies, gender-based violence remains highly prevalent, and violations of women's rights persist in Tanzania (Nyange et al., 2016). Both examples prove that the government's policies do not increase gender equality sufficiently, given that the consequences of gender inequality remain.

The patriarchal structures and the related dominant behaviours of men in Tanzania result in a profound basis for gender stereotyping (Dillip et al., 2018). Gender stereotyping is the traditional perception of what girls and boys as well as women and men can do and how capable they are in doing so, how each is supposed to think and behave based on the ground of their gender. This perception in social differences between women and men was integrated over time and may differ between cultures (Mwamwenda, 2013). The traditional perception of gender shapes the way of living, especially for girls and women in Tanzania, and due to their lower social and economic status, it is hard for them to receive the same rights as boys and men (Dillip et al., 2018).

From birth onward, girls in Tanzania are affected by gender stereotyping since this phenomenon occurs as a socialization process where gender roles are already being internalized and integrated into the personalities of young children (Carter, 2014; Hussain et al., 2015; Mwamwenda, 2013). Examples of gender stereotyping of girls in Tanzania often revolve around marriage. Parents see marriage as the most important goal for their daughters, which means parents do not invest much in their education (Iddy, 2023). Receiving no or little education decreases their opportunities to develop themselves further. Moreover, early marriages can also lead to poor mental health, low economic opportunities, and a higher risk of gender-based violence in Tanzania. Lastly, early marriages often result in early pregnancies. This has even more harmful consequences for girls due to increased health risks

during early pregnancies (Schaffnit et al., 2019). To understand gender socialization, the 'gender socialization and identity theory' of Carter (2014) is used as a theoretical framework.

Theoretical framework

According to Carter's (2014) 'gender socialization and identity theory', girls and boys learn femininity and masculinity through interactions with their important caregivers. These are defined by Carter as the primary group of people who share an obligatory relationship with one another. Through these interactions, children are socialized in 'traditional' gender roles. Parents are often the first people a child interacts with within the family unit and therefore, significantly influence the development of socialization patterns. This is why, in the current research, the focus will be on the role of the parents and not on that of other possible primary caretakers.

Carter (2014) connects gender socialization to (a) the identity theory and (b) the identity control theory, which gives explanations on why girls and boys experience the world in different ways due to their parents' influence. Both theories will be explained in connection to gender. First, (a) the identity theory assumes that the individual's sense of self is not fixed, but consists of various identity roles. These identity roles are classified into three types: (1) person identities, (2) role identities and (3) social identities. Primarily, person identities refer to the self-concepts that allow an individual to realize a sense of self, such as being kind or dominant. Secondarily, role identities are the meanings assigned by oneself while performing a role, such as being a student or an employee. Finally, social identities are the identification with groups or categories, such as being Tanzanian or Muslim.

Regardless of the identity role, internalized beliefs on gender determine all human interactions, and parents socialize their children into these internalized beliefs. To start, (1) the socialization process by parents shapes the dimensions of meaning that form one's person identity. The internalized traits when forming the person identity are usually unequal between

girls and boys. For example, girls learn that they have to be collectivistic and connected and boys learn to be dominant and aggressive. Person identities are salient and are triggered in many situations, interactions, relationships, and behaviours. Therefore, person identities are associated with gendered behaviour. Moreover, (2) role identities are often based on gendered expectations of behaviour. For example, the role of 'the mother' involves being caring, putting the children to bed and cooking for them. Girls identify with the roles of their mothers and boys with the roles of their fathers. Additionally, parents behave different toward their daughters and sons. Therefore, forming role identities involves gender. Lastly, (3) although social identities are formed later in life, parents often encourage their child towards the group she or he becomes attached to in the future. Additionally, group memberships can be based on gender, and many groups are defined by gendered behavioural norms and expectations. To conclude, the three types of identity roles are predicted based on gendered behavioural expectations that are socialized during the early stages of development. The perceptions of gender are powerful to the extent that one's femininity or masculinity is not specific to one of the three identity roles, but they are present in all of them (Carter, 2014).

Second, (b) the identity control theory explains that one behaves depending on the set of meanings they attach to their self-conception of gender and gender roles in society. Children adjust their behaviour when they receive feedback from their parents that certain behaviour is not appropriate for their gender. They internalize what their parents view as acceptable behaviour from birth onward. During child-rearing, there are two processes in which children are socialized by their parents, specifically by means of activities and through comments and comparisons. Activities include playing with others or visiting places, and comments and comparisons include the evaluation of these activities and the people involved. Parents' support and reaffirmation during these two processes show their children the expected behaviour of their gender (Carter, 2014).

This theoretical framework illustrates that parents are an important source of gendered traits and behaviours in their children. The identity theory and the identity control theory show that the gendered behavioural expectations of parents influence children in various ways and roles. The beliefs of parents influence how they raise their children, which is why this research aims to get an overview on the gender stereotypical beliefs of Tanzanian parents.

Knowledge gap

In the existing literature, much is written about the gender socialization of children (e.g. Carter, 2014; Hoffman & Kloska, 1995; Hussain et al., 2015; Martin, 1995; Mwamwenda, 2013), but no literature was found about the Tanzanian context. Furthermore, research in Tanzania focuses mostly on the consequences girls and women experience due to the internalized and integrated gender roles (Dillip et al., 2018; Iddy, 2023; Nyange et al., 2016; Schaffnit et al., 2019), but little research focuses on the development of these gender roles starting at a young age, nor how parents affect children by utilizing these integrated gender stereotypes.

Current research

To increase gender equality in the child rearing practices of parents, it is important to gain more insight into the gender stereotypical beliefs of parents in Tanzania. Since gender roles are taught by parents (Carter, 2014), their beliefs and stereotypes about gender seem to significantly influence their child rearing practices and their children as well. Therefore, this research aims to answer the following research question: **What are gendered stereotypical beliefs of Tanzanian parents about their children?** The outcomes of this research can be used to inform parent training in the Tanzanian context.

Methods

Participants

The sample consisted of twelve parents. In order for parents to compare their beliefs

about raising girls and boys all parents had at least one daughter and one son. Other selection criteria to improve the representation of the population in the Lake zone region in Tanzania were gender and area of residence.

In Table 1, the background information of all participants can be found. It shows a variation within the sample, including different tribes, religions, marital statuses and occupations of the participants. The parents' average age was 48,67 years. On average, parents had 6,5 children, whose average age was 20,20. The children's ages ranged from 4 to 36. The age of twelve children remained unknown.

Procedure

The current research was phenomenological research, which focuses on understanding people's subjective experiences and how they make sense of the world. A semi-structured interview was used to help understand what the gender stereotypical beliefs of parents were by asking about their thoughts and beliefs regarding raising their daughters and sons. Using this method, specific topics could be explored, but it also created an opportunity for the interviewee to include unforeseen topics (Fossey et al., 2002).

The research was done in collaboration with the New Light Children Centre Organization (NELICO), which is in Geita Town in the Lake region of Tanzania. The organization has multiple projects focusing on increasing gender equality, given the high prevalence of the problem in this region. NELICO provided a list of 40 parents, of which twelve participants were selected through purposeful sampling. The parents have participated in a project of NELICO before. The current research represents a first exploration in collecting qualitative data on the topic. Including twelve participants provided enough relevant information to draw valuable conclusions and formulate practical recommendations.

Ethical clearance was granted by the ethical committee of Utrecht University before the interviews were conducted. Moreover, participants were informed about the aim of the research

Table 1

Background Information of All Participants

Participant	F/M	Area	Age	Tribe	Religion	Marital status	Education	Occupation	Amount of children	Gender of children
P1	F	Urban	41	Muha	-	Single	Primary	Tailor	5	4 girls 1 boy
P2	F	Urban	47	Jita	Christian	Single	Secondary	Stay-at-home mom	6	4 girls 2 boys
P3	F	Urban	43	Muha	Christian	Single	Primary	Entrepreneur	6	2 girls 4 boys
P4	M	Urban	38	Sukuma	Islamic	Married	Primary	Farmer	6	5 girls 1 boy
P5	M	Urban	40	Muha	Islamic	Married	Primary	Farmer	6	2 girls 4 boys
P6	M	Urban	53	Sukuma	Christian	Married	Primary	Chairperson	7	3 girls 4 boys
P7	F	Rural	51	Sukuma	Christian	Married	Primary	Farmer	7	3 girls 4 boys
P8	F	Rural	50	Kerewe	Christian	Married	Primary	Farmer	6	4 girls 2 boys
P9	F	Rural	50	Kurya	Islamic	Single	Primary	Farmer	5	3 girls 2 boys
P10	M	Rural	60	Muha	Christian	Married	Primary	Miner and farmer	7	3 girls 4 boys
P11	M	Rural	64	Zigua	Islamic	Married	Primary	Miner	8	2 girls 6 boys
P12	M	Rural	47	Sukuma	Islamic	Married	Secondary	Miner	9	4 girls 5 boys

with an information letter prior to conducting the interviews. After reading, each participant had the opportunity to ask additional questions and sign the informed consent form. The interviews took place in April 2024. Besides the first interview, which lasted 1.5 hours, the rest of the interviews lasted around 45 minutes. All the interviews were audio-taped for analysis purposes. Furthermore, a translator was present during the interviews to directly translate the interview questions into Swahili and the answers of the participants into English during the interview.

Research instrument

The interview (see Appendix) was held by the same interviewer and a consistent list of questions was used to ensure reliability (Noble & Smith, 2015). Furthermore, to ensure the content validity of the research instrument, questions were based on prior research by Carter (2014), Hoffman and Kloska (1995), Hussain et al. (2015) and Martin (1995), who tried to identify all aspects of parents' gendered child rearing practices. This resulted in the interview being divided into five main themes. First, the behavioural differences in girls and boys (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995; Hussain et al., 2015; Martin, 1995). Second, the emotions of girls and boys (Hussain et al., 2015). Third, the activities of girls and boys (Carter, 2014; Martin, 1995). Fourth, disciplining girls and boys (Carter, 2014; Martin, 1995). Last, the expectations and future prospectives for girls and boys (Carter, 2014; Martin, 1995).

Data analysis

The data analysis consisted of three steps and was done by one researcher to ensure reliability (Noble & Smith, 2015). First, the interviews were transcribed in NVIVO using intelligent verbatim transcription. Second, a hybrid approach of deductive and inductive coding was used for the coding process. For initial coding, a list of codes was made based on the five themes beforehand. Then, new codes were created based on information provided by the participants that was not covered by the existing codes. The next step was line-by-line

coding in which only inductive coding was used. Third, the data was interpreted with thematic analysis, in which the meaning behind the information was interpreted in relation to the research question.

Results

Twelve parents were interviewed about their beliefs to answer the research question: **What are gendered stereotypical beliefs of Tanzanian parents about their children?** The answers given by parents are divided into the five main themes on which the interview questions were based. The themes elaborated on in this section are behavioural differences, emotional differences, different activities, disciplining, and expectations.

Behavioural differences

After introducing the first theme, parents were asked if they could describe in which ways girls and boys differed. Ten out of twelve parents described behavioural differences immediately, but two parents answered that their daughters and sons did not differ in any way. However, after asking them specifically what typical boy and girl behaviour was, those two parents were also able to outline behavioural differences. Examples of behavioural differences mentioned by half of the parents were that their sons did not listen well in comparison to their daughters. Moreover, their sons never did what was asked of them. One respondent said about this:

> For example, you could ask a boy to do dishes or to help with some household works and then he will not do it. He will just say: "You should tell my sisters to do it. Those aren't my job."

Three parents explained that this behaviour is the result of boys feeling more confident in comparison to girls, which makes boys feel like they can do and say what they want. One parent described that this was because boys have a certain freedom that girls do not have in their upbringing and society. This participant said:

The boys have very much freedom and then the girls have not the freedom that they

wanted.… Boys would have more freedom to do a lot of things, but for a girl to be

able to do that, it will be not a good thing for her.

Two other parents explained that boys have a "masculine spirit" in them since they were born,

which makes them think they can do everything they want. In contrast, two parents mentioned

that their boys were better listeners than their girls, but they were not able to explain why they

thought that.

Besides girls listening well and always doing what is asked of them, six parents

described other positive behaviours of girls, such as being friendly, transparent and

sympathetic. For boys, only four parents talked about other positive behaviours, which

included working hard, being calm and being a fighter in life. Moreover, when talking with

the fathers about the behaviour of their daughters, it became evident that half of the fathers

did not have a lot of contact with their daughters and could not always answer the questions

asked about them. They explained that their wife was more involved with their daughters.

One of these fathers noted that his sons do listen to him rather than their mother, but other

parents did not talk about this.

Even though all parents described behavioural differences between their daughters and

sons, five of them also highlighted behavioural similarities. For example, their children,

regardless of their gender, had "good behaviour" and were respectful to them. Additionally,

eight out of ten parents encouraged similar behaviours in all their children, such as listening

well and being respectful to the parents, the community and other children. As one participant

illustrated: "So, first, I emphasize them to respect us as parents, me and their mother. And

also, to respect other adults in the community. And also to respect each other."

Despite parents encouraging similar behaviours in both genders, they also encourage

different behaviours in their daughters and in their sons. For example, four parents tried to

prepare their sons for future roles as heads of their households. Teaching their sons a sense of responsibility was an important part of this. According to these parents, this could be achieved by encouraging hard work and focusing on education. One participant illustrated this: "So, I insist this behaviour [focusing on school], so he is able to build his, you know his own life in the future. So that he could help the family and also himself." However, daughters were encouraged by four parents to behave well to increase their chances of finding a good husband. One participant said: "There will be other days that I will not be here, you have to live with other people, you will be married, you live in another family, with your husband. So, you need to behave well." According to these parents, finding a good husband would result in having children, a good family and a good future. To reach this goal, behaviours that were encouraged by parents were, for example, being calm and respectful.

Emotional differences

When talking about emotional differences between girls and boys, parents were first asked about the specific emotions of their daughters and sons. The answers parents gave, implicated that they did not always understood what was meant by 'emotions', since they often used behaviours as examples of emotions, although examples of emotions were given by the interviewer.

For boys, seven out of twelve parents mentioned specific emotions, with three parents describing positive emotions, such as being kind, caring and sympathetic. The other four parents only described negative emotions of boys, such as being mad, throwing fits, and not caring about their families. One participant said about this: "But men at that time or a boy at that time, think like 'me, me, it is about me and not the family.'''

For girls, eight out of twelve parents mentioned specific emotions. The positive emotions of girls, according to three parents, were that they were kind, charming, compassionate and empathetic. Only one parent mentioned that her daughter showed a

negative emotion, which was not showing any concern. Furthermore, when talking about the emotions of girls, three parents mentioned that their daughters do what is asked of them even when they are mad, which is something their sons did not do.

Despite most parents mentioning emotional differences, seven out of twelve parents also noted emotional similarities between the two genders. When explaining this, three parents emphasized that both genders show the same emotions, one parent explained that both genders do not show any emotions to her at all, and one parent explained that the emotions of his children depended on personality traits rather than on their gender. He said:

> It is like, to me, when it comes to emotions, this is not about the gender. It is about the person. Yes. He can be a boy, but he can be very caring. She can be a girl, but she can be very tough. That depends on how the situation is passing through, how his or her heart is telling him or her what to do.

After talking about emotional differences between girls and boys, questions about allowed emotions were asked to see if parents allowed their daughters and sons to show the same emotions in public and at home. All parents did not allow their daughters and sons to show emotions in public. Half of the parents explained that they had to keep up their good reputation and that "behaving like that was just not acceptable". Additionally, five parents preferred their children to solve their problems at home, implying that negative emotions were not accepted in public.

When talking about showing emotions at home, parents again did not differentiate in gender. Since five parents mentioned that they preferred solving problems at home rather than publicly, it was interesting that only two parents said that their children were allowed to show their emotions at home, and two other parents said they were only allowed to show 'happy' emotions at home. Parents contradicted their own answers, first saying negative emotions

should be solved at home, but then saying their children are not allowed to show all their emotions at home.

Finally, when talking about the emotional support provided by the parents, eight parents said that all their children received equal emotional support from them, regardless of their gender. Seven of these parents explained that this consisted of giving their children advice or assistance. However, four parents provided different emotional support to their daughters and sons. Two parents highlighted that their daughters needed more assistance in comparison to their sons. Furthermore, one father explained that he was supposed to provide support to his sons and that his wife was supposed to provide support to their daughters. One parent said that his sons had more difficulty talking about their feelings, which led him to use a more sensitive approach when offering support compared to his daughters.

Different activities

When parents were asked about the activities they were doing with their children, it became evident that parents were not involved in the activities of their children, but they were mostly explaining the activities that their children were doing by themselves. Specifically, four out of six fathers were not involved in any of the activities of their daughters. The reason they gave for this was that their own activities were not suited for girls. One father said: "For me, I don't think I have kind of specific activities I am doing with my daughters. Because, most of my activities I am doing is about men's works." Another father said: "I differentiate the activities I am doing with my daughters and my son, because they are activities that my daughters cannot do, because of how they are."

Parents talked about specific activities performed by girls and specific activities performed by boys, even though some activities were sometimes seen in both genders. When discussing specific activities performed by girls, eight parents mentioned household labour. One mother said about this: "So, the activities that I do with my daughters are cooking,

fetching water, washing clothes, going to the farm, collecting firewood, the process of preparing the food on the table." Only four parents, which included three out of four single mothers, mentioned that the household labour could be done by both genders. One single mother explained that she wanted to prepare her children to be able to survive in any kind of environment: "So, for me, the importance is, I do it to let the kids be able to live in any kind of environment. In different environments." Besides doing household labour, farming was also an activity where three parents did not differentiate between genders, although three other parents found this to be an activity only for boys. Furthermore, mining was an activity that was only associated with boys. This was mentioned by five out of six parents living in a mining area, where this was the main activity to earn an income. These parents explained that mining activities were not appropriate for girls since they were dangerous and girls were not strong enough to perform the specific activities. This was illustrated by one participant: "Mining activities are not suitable for girls. It is very dangerous for them. They are not strong as the men, so I cannot bring them there."

Disciplining

When talking about differences in disciplining daughters and sons, parents were first asked about the differences in rules. All twelve parents had separate rules for their daughters and sons. Besides this, eight out of twelve parents also had rules that applied to both genders. An overview of this is given in Table 2. When looking closely at Table 2, three parents mentioned their girls could not go out without their permission, which is a rule that was never mentioned for boys. Moreover, seven parents mentioned that their daughters were not allowed to involve themselves with boys, compared to only two parents who mentioned this rule for their sons. Additionally, five parents mentioned that their girls had strict rules on how to dress.

When talking about disciplining their children, ten parents did not differentiate

Table 2

Quantity of Parents Using Rules for Both Genders, Only Girls or Only Boys

Gender	Rules	Quantity
Both genders	No roaming around at night or during the day	6
	Curfew	3
	No involvement in bad groups	2
	Behave in neighbourhoods	2
Boys	No stealing	4
	No involvement in bad groups	3
	No alcohol and drugs	3
	No involvement with girls	2
	To be respectful	1
	No fighting	1
Girls	No involvement with boys	7
	No wearing short clothes	5
	No walking around without permission	3
	No lying	2

between genders. Two methods were used. Parents beat their children or tried to talk to their children. When talking did not work, those parents also beat them. Two parents disciplined their daughters and sons differently. When their daughters did something wrong, they were immediately beaten, contrary to their sons. The reason given by parents was to make sure their daughters remained their good reputation, which would help them in finding a good husband in the future. Like one participant said: "So, I beat the daughters, for them to have good behaviours, because I believe a girl must have a good behaviour, so she can find a good husband, to have a good reputation in the community." When their sons did something wrong, the parents first talked to them to teach them responsibility. The parents did this to prepare their sons for their future role of becoming the head of the household.

Expectations

When talking with parents about the expectations they had for their children in the future, seven parents mentioned the same expectations for their daughters and sons. This included their children having a good life, becoming good people with a good family and, being hardworking and successful. Two parents said they did not differentiate in expectations for their daughters and sons, but gave examples in which a difference was seen. This resulted

in five parents that differentiated between genders in their expectations, in which their sons were supposed to become good fathers and to be able to provide for their future families. Their daughters were supposed to have a good family, with a good husband and a good reputation. A participant illustrated this difference in expectations:

> So, for the boy, I expect him to be a good father, because I know when he will be a good father he will have a good family. And he will take responsibilities. And I need him to be a hard working person. That is what I expect from my son.… I expect them [my daughters] to be good mothers, so they get to raise their kids in a very good way. That is what I expect for the girls.

Half of the parents mentioned that they expected both their daughters and sons, including the husband of their daughters, to take care of them in the future. One participant said about this:

> When you raise children, for me as their father and for their mother, when we raise children, it is like, we invest in them. So, one day, they have a good life, then we will have a good life, because they can come back and care for us. Yes, and that is why we wish for them to have a good life.

However, two parents expected only their daughters to take care of them in the future. The reasons given by these parents, was that girls always come back and take care of their families, and that girls liked to help, which is something their sons did not like to do.

Discussion

As research has shown, gender inequality and its consequences decrease the physical and mental health of girls and women in Tanzania (Abeid et al., 2014; Muluneh et al., 2020; Nyamhanga & Frumence, 2014). Because of the patriarchal structures, gender roles are clearly divided, with men having a dominant position (Badstue et al., 2021; Dillip et al., 2018; Heise et al., 2019; Jayachandran, 2015). This forms the basis of gender stereotyping (Dillip et al., 2018), which affects children from birth onward (Carter, 2014; Hussain et al., 2015;

Mwamwenda, 2013). However, little research focused on the development of gender roles starting from a young age, especially in the Tanzanian context, nor how Tanzanian parents affect children by utilizing these integrated gender stereotypes. This research was a first exploration in collecting qualitative data on this topic and gives an overview of which gendered stereotypical beliefs Tanzanian parents have and tries to explain why this is the case.

Gender stereotypical beliefs of Tanzanian parents

The gender stereotypical beliefs of Tanzanian parents emerged when talking about behaviours, activities and rules for girls and boys. First, when talking with the participants about behavioural differences between girls and boys, it seemed that girls 'behave better' in comparison to boys. Girls listened better, they were more obedient, and they more often did what was asked of them. For boys, it seemed that parents expected this behaviour less, and they had more freedom to do as they pleased in comparison to girls. The behaviours that parents seem to identify for both genders correspond with the traditional behaviours of women and men that were found in a study in South Africa (Nkosi, 2013). According to these traditional behaviours, women are portrayed as dependent. Being dependent is in line with the findings of the current research, in which Tanzanian girls have to be obedient and do what is asked of them. Moreover, according to Nkosi (2013), men are portrayed as independent, strong and brave. This independence and bravery are evident in the freedom of Tanzanian boys.

In the literature, two possible explanations for this gendered behaviour are found. Koening (2018) explains it is important for men to have the status of a "real man" and they do not want to lose this. To hold this status, behaving masculinely and, more importantly, not femininely is crucial. This can explain why parents stimulate traditional masculine or feminine behaviours in their children. Moreover, according to another study in South Africa, masculine behaviours occurred long ago and are intertwined with the historical background of

the country in which men were in power (Morrell et al., 2012). Although the same is not found in Tanzania, the preference for gendered behaviours could possibly be explained by the country's history, in which men were in power (Vyas & Jansen, 2018).

Second, the majority of Tanzanian parents highlighted activities specifically for girls and for boys. Girls were supposed to do the household labour and boys were supposed to do heavier activities, such as mining and farming. This is in line with earlier research where girls and women are responsible for household labour in Tanzania, even though they also work more than before (Ameratunga Kring, 2017; Dillip et al., 2018; Feinstein et al., 2010). A possible explanation for this could be that when a man is found performing women's duties, people from the outside will see him differently since he is acting against the social norms and the local culture (Feinstein et al., 2010). Since this explanation is found for men, it could also be accurate for boys. Moreover, in most traditional African societies, men are still the decision-makers of the family, which means that when the father of the household decides that his daughters have to do the household labour, there is no other option than doing it (Dillip et al., 2018).

Noteworthy is that the findings of the current research showed that the majority of single mothers divided the household labour equally between both genders. A study in Kenya showed that single mothers often have a small network and do not receive any financial support or childcare assistance (Clark et al., 2017). These single mothers live in rough conditions, and it is plausible that single mothers need the extra help of their sons while doing household labour. Since Kenya has similar patriarchal structures in its society (Kawarazuka et al., 2019), it is possible that this finding is also accurate in the Tanzanian context. In the current research, only a limited number of single mothers were included, indicating a need for further research to better understand this phenomenon.

Third, the findings of the current research show that even though the majority of the parents used the same rules for both genders, all parents also had specific rules for girls and boys. The specific rules mentioned for girls suggest that parents find it important that their daughters do not involve themselves with boys, and to minimize this change, they cannot wear short clothes and go out without permission. These rules can be explained by the widespread societal expectations in sub-Saharan Africa, where girls are supposed to receive and reciprocate sex and not initiate it by themselves (Wamoyi et al., 2019). Moreover, another explanation could be that parents are afraid of early pregnancies and early marriages, which have a high prevalence in Tanzania and often result in negative consequences such as dropping out of school and poverty (Moshi & Tilisho, 2023). Furthermore, the specific rules for boys seem to suggest that parents want to prevent their sons from becoming loitering youths, because parents do not want them involved in bad peer groups, drinking, drugs and stealing. In African countries, including Tanzania, there is a high prevalence of alcohol and drug abuse among young men (Francis et al., 2015). This results in negative consequences such as domestic violence, unemployment and decreased work productivity. It is then understandable that parents are afraid of these effects and try to prevent their sons from involving themselves in such behaviours.

Non-gendered stereotypical beliefs

Although parents hold certain gender stereotypical beliefs, their views on allowed emotions and disciplining did not seem influenced by gender stereotypes. First, when talking about showing emotions in public and at home, parents did not differentiate in gender. This corresponds with earlier research, where Tanzanian parents did not differentiate in gender either when talking about the social-emotional development of their children. The study explains this by the phenomenon of social desirability, which is well known in sub-Saharan

countries, where the focus is on ensuring that all children, regardless of their gender, fit in and do what is expected of them (Jukes et al., 2018).

Second, the majority of the parents did not discipline their daughters and sons differently. Some parents beat their children. This choice can be explained by the fact that it is a common belief in Tanzania that children only listen to their parents when they get beaten (Semali & Vumilia, 2016). Another part of the parents talked to their children instead of beating them, which shows that they do not believe in this common conception anymore. Differentiating between genders while disciplining their children does not seem relevant to these parents.

Future roles

On several occasions during the interviews, parents mentioned their expectations for their daughters and sons in the future. The roles parents had in mind for their children align with traditional roles for women and men (Carter, 2014). In the Tanzanian context, this means that girls learn to be calm, obedient, and respectful to become good future wives and mothers with good reputations in the community. This future perspective for girls corresponds with earlier findings in the literature, in which parents see marriage as the most important goal for their daughters (Iddy, 2023). Moreover, Tanzanian boys learn to be responsible so they can become the heads of their families, and they have to be good fathers and providers (Dillip et al., 2018). It seems reasonable to suggest that the gender stereotypical beliefs parents have about behaviour, activities and rules for their children prepare them to fulfil their expected roles in the future. Moreover, the non-gendered beliefs of parents about allowed emotions and disciplining likely have a minimal impact on these traditional future roles. This might explain why Tanzanian parents have non-gendered stereotypical beliefs about these particular aspects of child rearing.

Overall, due to globalization and urbanization, the Tanzanian society is changing (Bielén, 2023; Manyama, 2017; Rwegelera, 2012). According to Rwegelera (2012), American and Western values are integrated into the Tanzanian culture. Mass media and technology show Western norms and values, which affect the mindset of Tanzanian children. On the one hand, parents can agree with the changing cultural norms, applying certain child rearing practices in line with Western values. This could include less gendered stereotypical practices since Western beliefs focus more on equality between gender roles (Goldscheider et al., 2015). On the other hand, parents may resist these changes and try to hold onto their traditional values (Manyama, 2017), therefore raising their children according to traditional gender roles.

Limitations

The first potential limitation of this research is the use of translators. Two non-professional translators were used during the interviews, which could have had an effect on the results (Temple & Young, 2004). Answers of participants could have been compromised by the interpreting process due to challenges with direct translation or the own assumptions of the translators (Temple & Young, 2004; Tutani et al., 2018). This shapes the understanding and interpretation of the research material. Although this can be seen as a limitation on the validity of the research, using translators with a Tanzanian origin could have helped capture certain nuances and contextual meanings that otherwise would not have been captured (Al-Sofi & Abouabdulqader, 2020).

The second potential limitation is the social desirability bias, which could have played a role when conducting the interviews. This phenomenon refers to presenting oneself and one's social context in a manner that is perceived as socially acceptable rather than one's true reality (Bergen & Labonté, 2020). The consequence can be that certain opinions and behaviours are over-reported, which seemed socially desirable to the participants, and those

that are not are possibly under-reported. For example, in the current research, some parents emphasized that they treat their children equally, but their answers proved that they differentiated between genders in their child rearing practices. This could indicate that parents thought it was socially desirable that there was no difference in how they raised their daughters and sons. To minimize the occurrence of this bias, the researcher assured privacy before starting the interviews, which the literature has found to be effective in decreasing social desirability bias (Bergen & Labonté, 2020).

The third potential limitation is the researcher bias during conducting and analysing the data. The data was interpreted based on the researcher's personal experiences and preferences, making it challenging to determine to what extent the data reflects the intended meanings of the participants. For example, the researcher and participants had a different cultural background. This means that the interpretation of the findings was influenced by the cultural standards of the researcher, which were different from the cultural standards of the participants (Berger, 2015). The researcher lived in Tanzania for two months before the research started and, therefore, was somewhat familiar with the cultural context. However, this does not exclude the fact that the researcher understood everything as intended since both parties had different cultural frameworks. By critically evaluating every step of the research process, efforts were made to enhance the quality and validity of the data while remaining aware of potential limitations (Wadams & Park, 2018).

Implications

This research was a first exploration in collecting qualitative data on this topic. It gives an insight into which gendered stereotypical beliefs Tanzanian parents have nowadays and shows that even though some parents have non-gendered stereotypical beliefs about girls and boys, most parents have gendered stereotypical beliefs which influence their child rearing practices. Since this research included twelve participants, future research could focus on a

larger sample of participants from the whole country instead of a small sample from one region in Tanzania to gain a better overview of this topic. Furthermore, it could be interesting to highlight the side of children to see if they experience gendered child rearing practices from their parents. This could be insightful since raising a child is an interactive process between parent and child.

Practical recommendation

To increase gender equality in Tanzania, it could be helpful to decrease gender stereotypical child rearing practices of parents. So far, no parent training has been found in the literature that tries to do this. However, a study was found in which an intervention evaluation was conducted in a small village in Senegal, where gender norms were challenged and changed within the community (Cislaghi, 2018). Although the intervention used in this study was focused on increasing women's political participation and, therefore, had a different goal than the current recommendation, certain aspects of the intervention can be used.

The intervention in Cislaghi's research (2018) focused on nonformal human rights education and was evaluated after six months of duration. The exact sessions of the intervention remain unclear, but the study discovered three effective strategies that could also be effective in decreasing gender stereotypical child rearing of parents in Tanzania. First, during the intervention, participatory pedagogy was used to ensure that participants developed mutual understanding, trust and respect. With generative dialogues, women and men debated their living conditions. Second, the coinvestigation between women and men was of important significance during the sessions since (1) women could express their concerns to men and learned to replicate these conversations outside the classroom, (2) women recognised their needs and concerns as a group, and (3) the men facilitated women's actions outside the classroom, generating a new norm. Last, human rights education is often seen as problematic since one could argue it demonstrates cultural imperialism, promoting Western values and

worldviews. Therefore, the content of the sessions was 'a critical journey that participants can steer and reflect upon'. The focus lies in critically looking at their own lives, understanding their value and seeking opportunities for improvement.

The three aspects of this intervention in Senegal are recommended for use in creating parent training focused on decreasing gender stereotypical beliefs of parents. Parents need a safe environment in which they could listen to each other and discuss their beliefs, see what kind of impact their beliefs have on their children and how they are able to create a new norm together, without Western worldviews and values interfering with this process.

Conclusion

To conclude, parental beliefs about gender influence how parents raise their children. The current research found that Tanzanian parents have gendered stereotypical beliefs when talking about behaviours, activities, rules and expectations for their children. However, not all parents had those beliefs. Moreover, when talking about allowed emotions and disciplining, parents did not differentiate between genders. Tanzanian parents may resist their changing world due to globalization and urbanization, wanting to hold on to traditional values. However, to decrease gender inequality in Tanzania, it seems important to explore options to change the gendered stereotypical beliefs of parents. Recommendations were given to include three aspects in parent training to reach this goal.

References

Abeid, M., Muganyizi, P., Olsson, P., Darj, E., & Axemo, P. (2014). Community perceptions of rape and child sexual abuse: A qualitative study in rural Tanzania. *BMC International Health and Human Rights*, *14*, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1186/1472-698X-14-23

Al-Sofi, B. B. M. A., & Abouabdulqader, H. (2020). Bridging the gap between translation and culture: Towards a cultural dimension of translation. *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture*, *6*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.21744/ijllc.v6n1.795

Ameratunga Kring, S. (2017). *Gender in employment policies and programmes what works for women?* (No. 994972793402676). International Labour Organization. https://ideas.repec.org/p/ilo/ilowps/994972793402676.html

Badstue, L., Farnworth, C. R., Umantseva, A., Kamanzi, A., & Roeven, L. (2021). Continuity and change: Performing gender in rural Tanzania. *The Journal of Development Studies*, *57*(2), 310–325. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2020.1790534

Barcellos, S. H., Carvalho, L. S., & Lleras-Muney, A. (2014). Child gender and parental investments in India: Are boys and girls treated differently?. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, *6*(1), 157–189. https://doi.org/10.1257/app.6.1.157

Bergen, N., & Labonté, R. (2020). "Everything is perfect, and we have no problems": Detecting and limiting social desirability bias in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, *30*(5), 783–792. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732319889354

Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, *15*(2), 219–234. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112468475

Bieleń, M. (2023). Globalization processes in sub-Saharan African countries - A case study of Kenya and Tanzania. *African Journal of Economics, Politics and Social Studies, 2*(2), 31–40. https://doi.org/10.15804/ajepss.2023.2.03

Bisanda, B. W., & Ming, W. (2019). Assessing factors accelerating gender inequality in Tanzania education system: Mien of imperative government policy for development. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, *9*(5), 26–35. https://doi.org/10.7176/PPAR

Carter, M. J. (2014). Gender socialization and identity theory. *Social Sciences*, *3*(2), 242–263. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci3020242

Cislaghi, B. (2018). The story of the "now–women": Changing gender norms in rural West Africa. *Development in Practice*, *28*(2), 257–268. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2018.1420139

Clark, S., Madhavan, S., Cotton, C., Beguy, D., & Kabiru, C. (2017). Who helps single mothers in Nairobi? The role of kin support. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *79*(4), 1186–1204. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12404

Dillip, A., Mboma, Z, M., Greer, G. and Lorenz, L. M. (2018). 'To be honest, women do everything': Understanding roles of men and women in net care and repair in Southern Tanzania. *Malaria Journal, 17*, 459. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12936-018-2608-7

Feinstein, S., Feinstein, R., & Sabrow, S. (2010). Gender inequality in the division of household labour in Tanzania. *African Sociological Review*, *14*(2), 98–109. https://doi.org/10.4314/asr.v14i2.70239

Fossey, E., Harvey, C., McDermott, F., & Davidson, L. (2002). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, *36*(6), 717–732. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1440-1614.2002.01100.x

Francis, J. M., Weiss, H. A., Mshana, G., Baisley, K., Grosskurth, H., & Kapiga, S. H. (2015). The epidemiology of alcohol use and alcohol use disorders among young people in northern Tanzania. *PLoS One*, *10*(10), Article e0140041. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0140041

Goldscheider, F., Bernhardt, E., & Lappegård, T. (2015). The gender revolution: A framework for understanding changing family and demographic behavior. *Population and Development Review*, *41*(2), 207–239. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2015.00045.x

Henrich, J., Heine, S., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 33*, 61–83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X0999152X

Heise, L., Greene, M. E., Opper, N., Stavropoulou, M., Harper, C., Nascimento, M., ... & Gupta, G. R. (2019). Gender inequality and restrictive gender norms: Framing the challenges to health. *The Lancet*, *393*, 2440–2454. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(19)30652-X

Hoffman, L. W., & Kloska, D. D. (1995). Parents' gender-based attitudes toward marital roles and child rearing: Development and validation of new measures. *Sex Roles*, *32*(5-6), 273–295. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01544598

Hussain, M., Naz, A., Khan, W., Daraz, U., & Khan, Q. (2015). Gender stereotyping in family: An institutionalized and normative mechanism in Pakhtun Society of Pakistan. *Sage Open*, *5*(3), Article e2158244015595258. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244015595258

Iddy, H. (2023). Changing perceptions of the value of girls' secondary education among the parents in rural Tanzania. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *36*(10), Article e21562176. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2021.1982048

Jayachandran, S. (2015). The roots of gender inequality in developing countries. *Economics*, *7*(1), 63–88. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-080614-115404

Jukes, M., Gabrieli, P., Mgonda, N. L., Nsolezi, F., Jeremiah, G., Tibenda, J., & Bub, K. L. (2018). "Respect is an investment": Community perceptions of social and emotional competencies in early childhood from Mtwara, Tanzania. *Global Education Review*, *5*(2), 160–188.

Jukes, M. C., Mgonda, N. L., Tibenda, J. J., Gabrieli, P., Jeremiah, G., Betts, K. L., ... & Bub, K. L. (2021). Building an assessment of community-defined social-emotional competencies from the ground up in Tanzania. *Child Development*, *92*(6). https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13673

Kawarazuka, N., Locke, C., & Seeley, J. (2019). Women bargaining with patriarchy in coastal Kenya: Contradictions, creative agency and food provisioning. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *26*(3), 384–404. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1552559

Koenig, A. M. (2018). Comparing prescriptive and descriptive gender stereotypes about children, adults, and the elderly. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *9*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01086

Manyama, W. (2017). Dynamics in family patterns in Tanzania: The case of Kijitonyama Ward, Kinondoni District, Dar es Salaam region, Tanzania. *Journal of Sociology and Social Work*, *5*(1), 68–79. https://doi.org/10.15640/jssw.v5n1a7

Martin, C. L. (1995). Stereotypes about children with traditional and nontraditional gender roles. *Sex Roles*, *33*, 727–751. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01544776

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., & Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: Culture, power, and gender politics. *Men and Masculinities*, *15*(1), 11–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X12438001

Moshi, F. V., & Tilisho, O. (2023). The magnitude of teenage pregnancy and its associated factors among teenagers in Dodoma Tanzania: A community-based analytical cross-sectional study. *Reproductive Health*, *20*(1), 28. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12978-022-01554-z

Muluneh, M. D., Stulz, V., Francis, L., & Agho, K. (2020). Gender based violence against women in sub-Saharan Africa: A systematic review and meta-analysis of cross-sectional studies. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *17*(3), 903. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17030903

Mwamwenda, T. (2013). Adolescents' gender stereotypes, differences and other aspects of behaviour in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. *The Independent Journal of Teaching and Learning*, *8*(1), 54–70. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC145139

Nkosi, Z. P. (2013). Exploring gender stereotypes in secondary school literary texts. *South African Journal of African Languages, 33*(2), 133–142. https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2013.871453

Noble, H., & Smith, J. (2015). Issues of validity and reliability in qualitative research. *Evidence-based Nursing*, *18*(2), 34–35. https://doi.org/10.1136/eb-2015-102054

Nyamhanga, T. M., & Frumence, G. (2014). Gender context of sexual violence and HIV sexual risk behaviors among married women in Iringa Region, Tanzania. *Global Health Action*, *7*(1), 25346. https://doi.org/10.3402/gha.v7.25346

Nyange, T. M., Sikira, A. N., & Lyimo-Macha, J. G. (2016). Gender based violence and legal aid services interventions among rural women in Morogoro rural and Kongwa Districts, Tanzania. *International Journal of Asian Social Science, 6*(8), 446–461. https://doi.org/10.18488/journal.1/2016.6.8/1.8.446.461

Ouma, D. H., Ting, Z., & Pesha, J. C. (2017). Analysis of the socio-economic factors that contribute to children school dropout in artisanal small-scale gold mining communities of Tanzania. *Journal of Education and Practice*, *8*(14), 71–78.

Rwegelera, M. K. (2012). The effect of globalization on Tanzanian culture: A review. *Huria: Journal of the Open University of Tanzania, 12*(1), 152172.

Semali, L. M., & Vumilia, P. L. (2016). Challenges facing teachers' attempts to enhance learners' discipline in Tanzania's secondary schools. *World Journal of Education*, *6*(1), 50–67. http://dx.doi.org/10.5430/wje.v6n1p50

Schaffnit, S. B., Urassa, M., & Lawson, D. W. (2019). "Child marriage" in context: Exploring local attitudes towards early marriage in rural Tanzania. *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters*, *27*(1), 93–105. https://doi.org/10.1080/09688080.2019.1571304

Sundararajan, R., Yoder, L. M., Kihunrwa, A., Aristide, C., Kalluvya, S. E., Downs, D. J., ... & Downs, J. A. (2019). How gender and religion impact uptake of family planning: Results from a qualitative study in Northwestern Tanzania. *BMC Women's Health*, *19*, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-019-0802-6

Temple, B., & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative research and translation dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, *4*(2), 161–178. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794104044430

Tutani, L., Eldred, C., & Sykes, C. (2018). Practitioners' experiences of working collaboratively with interpreters to provide CBT and guided self-help (GSH) in IAPT; A thematic analysis. *The Cognitive Behaviour Therapist*, *11*, Article e3. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1754470X17000204

Vyas, S., & Jansen, H. A. (2018). Unequal power relations and partner violence against

    women in Tanzania: A cross-sectional analysis. *BMC Women's Health*, *18*, 1–12.

    https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-018-0675-0

Wadams, M., & Park, T. (2018). Qualitative research in correctional settings: Researcher bias,

    western ideological influences, and social justice. *Journal of Forensic Nursing*, *14*(2),

    72–79. https://doi.org/10.1097/JFN.0000000000000199

Wado, Y. D., Sully, E. A., & Mumah, J. N. (2019). Pregnancy and early motherhood among

    adolescents in five East African countries: A multi-level analysis of risk and protective

    factors. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth*, *19*(1), 1–11.

    https://doi.org/10.1186/s12884-019-2204-z

Wamoyi, J., Heise, L., Meiksin, R., Kyegombe, N., Nyato, D., & Buller, A. M. (2019). Is

    transactional sex exploitative? A social norms perspective, with implications for

    interventions with adolescent girls and young women in Tanzania. *PLoS One*, *14*(4),

    Article e0214366. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0214366

Appendix

Semi-structured Interview for Parents

The aim of this interview is to get more information about how Tanzanian parents think about the gender of their children and how having daughters and sons influence how they raise their children. The questions will be about how you, as a parent, think and what your beliefs are. It is not about what other people, or the community believe or think.

Theme 1: The behavioural differences in girls and boys.

1. Could you describe the way in which you think girls and boys differ?

2. What do you think is typical boy behaviour?

    a) Why do you think this is typical boy behaviour?

3. What do you think is typical girl behaviour?

    a) Why do you think this is typical girl behaviour?

4. What kind of behaviour do you encourage in your daughter(s)?

    a) Why do you think it is important to encourage this behaviour in your daughter(s)?

5. What kind of behaviour do you encourage in your son(s)?

    b) Why do you think it is important to encourage this behaviour in your son(s)?

Theme 2: Emotions of girls and boys.

1. Do you think your daughter(s) and your son(s) show different emotions?

    a) Could you give some examples of the emotions of your daughter(s)?

    b) Could you give some examples of the emotions of your son(s)?

2. Are your son(s) and daughter(s) allowed to have and show the same emotions according to you?

    a) Why (not)?

3. Do you believe girls and boys should show different emotions in the public atmosphere? For example, in the community, in the neighbourhood or at school.

   a) Why (not)?

4. Do you believe girls and boys should show different emotions at home?

   a) Why (not)?

5. Do you think your son(s) need different support from you emotionally than your daughter(s)?

   a) What does your son(s) need for support from you emotionally?

      I. Why?

   b) What does your daughter(s) need for support from you emotionally?

      I. Why?

Theme 3: The activities of girls and boys.

1. What kind of activities do you do with your daughter(s)?

2. What kind of activities do you do with your sons(s)?

3. Why do you think you do different activities with your daughter(s) and with your son(s)?

4. Do you feel like it is expected of you to treat your son(s) and daughter(s) differently?

   a) By whom?

   b) Do you agree with it?

Theme 4: Disciplining girls and boys.

1. What is/are your daughter(s) not allowed to do?

2. How would you discipline your daughter(s) if they would break the rules?

3. What is/are your sons(s) not allowed to do?

4. How would you discipline your son(s) if they would break the rules?

Theme 5: The expectations and future prospectives for girls and boys.

1. What do you expect from your son(s) to accomplish in the future?

2. What do you expect from your daughter(s) to accomplish in the future?

3. Why is it important for you that your children accomplish those goals in the future?

Why do you think your expectations for your son(s) differ compared to your expectations for

your daughter(s)?