The perception of
the female gender role
among adolescent girls living in institutional care in South Africa

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Abstract

The aim of the study was to develop an understanding of how adolescent South African girls in institutional care perceive their female gender role, in the past, the present and future.

The research question was: How do adolescent girls living in institutional care in South Africa perceive their female gender role, in the past, the present and future? A mixed design, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, was used in order to answer the research question. The quantitative part of the study consisted of a questionnaire, and the qualitative part of the study contained seven interviews. To interpret the analyzed data a theoretical framework was used, consisting of the theory of social constructionism and gender theory. The final result of the quantitative and the quantitative parts of the study showed that the perception of the female gender role among the respondents is more stereotyped/ traditional when it comes to the area of relationships and sexuality, but more equal in the field of future occupation and the professional role. The result shows that a majority of the respondents have one view of gender roles in general, a more traditional picture of how things are supposed to be, and another, less conservative when they express their own desires of how they want their future life and household.

Keywords: adolescent girls living in institutional care in South Africa, gender roles, sex roles
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Introduction

Our social work studies allowed us to perform practical training at a children’s home in South Africa. From this experience we gained an insight of South African society and its social structure. We also obtained valuable knowledge about life in a children’s home. Close encounters with the children, particularly the young adolescent girls, provided us with these insights. Our experiences and perceptions as young adults and women let us get closely acquainted with them even though the cultural context was foreign to us; it also aroused our interest in institutional care of adolescent girls in South Africa.

Our interest focuses mainly on how these girls perceive their female gender role. The reason why we are interested in the female gender role is because of the history of male ascendancy in the South African history. The indigenous tribes all had patriarchal structures, and still do. The Asian immigrants arrived in South Africa at a time when Asia was very patriarchal in nature. The European settlers also maintained a patriarchal order. Both the indigenous peoples and the Islamic component of the Asian and Middle Eastern peoples and the traditions of the European settlers had grafted features of male domination on many levels, rooted either in culture or religion (Website 1). We would therefore like to explore, if living in a male dominated society could have any impact on adolescent girls in institutional care in South Africa. Our pre-conception is that the history of male domination ought to be present in people’s basic ideas and reasoning, thus influencing young girl’s perceptions of their gender role.

1. Aim
The aim of the study is to develop an understanding of how adolescent South African girls in institutional care perceive their female gender role, in the dimensions of past, present and future.

1.1 Research question
-How do adolescent girls living in institutional care in South Africa perceive their female gender role in the areas of motherhood, partnership, friendship, future occupation and being a pupil/living in a children’s home, in the dimensions of past, present and future?

1.2 Definition of central concepts
In this section, the central concepts of the study will be presented. In order to give the reader an understanding of the content of the study, we will explain the concepts: gender role, gender identity and gender, according to Denny and Green (1996)

*Gender role:* A set of expectations that will influence one to look, dress and behave as a man or woman.

*Gender identity:* One’s sense of self as a boy or girl, woman or man.

*Gender:* A social construction which is independent of biological sex; One is male or female because of one’s biological sex, but one is a boy or girl, man or woman because of one’s gender identity or gender role.
2. Background

2.1 Gender and society in South Africa

Lobbying by the women’s movement in the early 1990’s, coupled with a strong public commitment to end women’s oppression, and ensured that gender equity was high on the priority list of the democratically elected government in 1994. Today, South Africa has the most progressive constitution of the world, including four sets of values upon which the democratic state of South Africa is founded. Non-racism and non-sexism take their place alongside the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms (Reid & Walker, 2005).

The equality clause in the Bill of rights states:

*The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, color, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth* (Reid & Walker, 2005).

South Africa has one of the most progressive laws regarding violence against women in the world. In addition, South Africa has a fairly extensive network of NGOs that address the issue of domestic violence. All these policy and legal changes are important, but is however not effective if the enabling environment at the community level for the implementation of the changes is not present (Naemah Abrahams, 2004) Even the government states that the inequality that exists between men and women in South Africa is deeply entrenched and has characterized South African society for many decades. Women are subjected to discrimination, exploitation and violence despite the constitution, which affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. An unprecedented effort is therefore required to ensure that the status of women is elevated to protect their rights and speed up gender equality (Website 2).

2.2 Sexual violence against women in South Africa

Sexual violence against women and girls is a problem of epidemic proportions in South Africa, including the prevalence of child rape. Existing data suggest that 40 percent of rape survivors are girls under eighteen. Although exact numbers are hard to come by, there is evidence that child rape is becoming more common. Far too many girls have no safe haven from sexual violence: many girls are coerced into having sex or are subjected to sexual harassment and violence by male relatives, boyfriends, schoolteachers and classmates. (Website 2). A national study of the epidemiology of femicide by intimate and non-intimate partners, found that in 50.3 percent of the cases women were killed by an intimate partner. In a South African context this amounts to 8.8 out of every 100,000 women, aged 14 and older, that were killed by an intimate partner. This is the highest rate that has ever been reported in research in the world (Website 3).

Cross-cultural research suggests that South African men often hold strong traditional gender beliefs. Previous research has intimated that South African men may hold negative attitudes towards women, including attitudes that may promote sexual violence, such as the acceptance of rape myths (Glick et al., 2000; Jewkes et al., 2001; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). In qualitative studies violence and coercive practices have been reported as dominating sexual relationships.
Adolescent pregnant women reported that the conditions and timing of sex were defined by their male partners through the use of violence and through the circulation of certain constructions of love, intercourse and entitlement to which the teenage girls were expected to submit. The young women reported that forced intercourse experienced with their partners could never be termed rape because “it is with your boyfriend and there is something between the two of you” (Wood, Maforah, Jewkes, 1998).

2.3 Living in institutional care in South Africa
The children’s home where the participants in our study are placed; is one of the oldest in Eastern province. There is two other children’s homes in the region. The children’s home caters for approximately 100 children’s needs. There are 23 adolescent girls aged between 13 and 17 years. Some of the children at the institution are HIV-positive; the information is kept confidential. The strategy is to treat all the children as if they were HIV-positive to avoid discrimination.

2.3.1 Organization
The name of the institution will remain anonymous in order to protect the participants from being identified. The institution contains several different cottages where the children live (segregated by age), with staff accessible day and night. The staff consists of day- and night care workers (approximately about 20 childcare workers), two socialworkers, one teacher, one therapist and a nurse. All the children attend school in the community. On Sundays, some of the children attend church, but this is optional. The goal of the institution is to develop displaced children and youths into well-adjusted productive citizens. It offers residential care to orphaned and displaced children between the ages of 3 and 18 years. The children’s home is not controlled by any religious body. It is financed by private sector donations and support from the government.

2.3.2 The premises
The children’s home has a playground, a swimming pool and football/volleyball equipment. There is a toy library from where the children can borrow toys and the children share rooms in the nine different cottages, they sleep about three in each room.

2.3.3 Childcare workers
The childcare workers are women in the 25 to 60 age group. A small minority are formally trained in childcare. The rest, use their own parenting skills.

2.3.4 Emotional needs
The children’s emotional needs are not always adequately provided for. The majority of the children have been subjected to physical and/or emotional abuse. Some have witnessed murders and others have been raped. The children’s home does refer children to therapy, but only in cases of serious emotional trauma. This leaves many of the children without therapeutic treatment, which often results in anger, frustration and deviant behavior.
2.4 Historical background

2.4.1 The first settlers
Before the first Europeans came to South Africa it was populated mainly by Bantu speakers who had arrived from West Africa and the indigent inhabitants, the Khoikhois. The first Europeans who came to South Africa were the Portuguese in 1487. The Portuguese did not show much interest in South Africa and moved further up north to Mozambique. The first Dutch settlers to come to Cape Town in 1652 were sailors from the Dutch East India Company. They established a permanent settlement in Cape Town. The Dutch did not have any intention of colonizing South Africa; they wanted a settlement were they could replenish their supplies on their way to India. The Dutch had a labor shortage and began importing slaves from Madagascar before moving up north to the territories of the Khoikhoi people. They were mainly of Dutch or German origin and were called burghers, later Boers. (Blond, Fitzpatrick, Pitcher, Richmond & Warren , 2004).

In 1820 the British settlers arrived in Eastern Cape, they seized to the Cape avoiding that South Africa would fall under French hands, their rivals. They had little interest in colonizing South Africa, and did see the Cape as a strategic port, like the Dutch did. The white British people were highly presented in politics, trade, finance, mining and manufacturing while the Boers were, more upcountry, by the farms. The Boers believed in Calvinism and according to that, they were God’s chosen people, whose duty was to civilize their Black neighbors, some even say that a true Calvinist believed in racial superiority. During this time the African people were suffering, some tribes became powerful, including the Zulu clan who battled a war in the KwaZuluNatal province, the outcome of this war, was the formation of several states, including Lesotho and Swaziland. The Boers moved more inland, trying to find a place where they could found a state, which they did in the Transvaal region, but after the discovery of diamonds, in 1869, both Europeans and Blacks went up to Kimberly to look for diamonds. In 1881 the Anglo-Boers war ended and the Transvaal region became a South African Republic, ZAR, and Paul Krueger became president. During the postwar years, Blacks and Coloureds became completely marginalized and English and Dutch became official languages, despite a major campaign by the Blacks and Coloureds, only the Whites could be elected to parliament. Early in 1900, the South African National Party followed a more pro-British, white-unity line, while the National Party was formed by the Boers. There was no place for the Blacks though they consisted of more than 75 percent of the population in South Africa. At the same time, in 1912, the South African Native National Congress was established as the forerunner to today’s ANC. (Blond et al., 2004)

2.4.2 Apartheid
In the run-up for the election in 1948, the National Party campaigned on its policy of segregation called apartheid, an Afrikaans term for being apart. The National Party which was voted in to the parliament, within short order, made interracial sex illegal, prohibiting mixed marriages and classifying every individual by race. The Group Areas of Act in 1950 banning non-whites into townships, the Separate Amenities Act created among other things; separate beaches, busses, hospitals, schools and even separate park benches. Black and Coloured had to carry identity cards at all times and was prohibited being in town without a special permission. (Blond et al., 2004)
In 1960 ANC was banned and Nelson Mandela was arrested several times but could finally escape and led ANC in exile. In 1976, everything culminated when Soweto's Students Representative council organized a protest against the use of Afrikaans in black schools. The police opened fire and killed a lot of people; this was the start of nationwide demonstrations. By 1980 South Africa was the only country in Africa where a white minority ruled a country and, an international opinion was against the white regime. International pressure started to increase. The media was censored, economic sanctions began to dig in harder, and in 1985 the government declared a state of emergency. At this same time a number of recorded AIDS cases were shown, official numbers showed numbers that was just the tip of the iceberg. Many health officials were more focused on tuberculosis than on AIDS (Blond et al., 2004).

2.4.3 Post-Apartheid

In 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from prison, after 27 years and in 1994 was the first democratic election. The ANC with Nelson Mandela as leader won with 62.7 percent. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was under the dictum of Archbishop Desmond Tutu “Without forgiveness there is no future, but without confession there can be no forgiveness”. Victims could tell their stories and perpetrators could confess their guilt with amnesty offered to those who confessed the crimes committed, the others would face criminal prosecution. In 1999 South Africa held its second democratic election and Nelson Mandela handed over to Thabo Mbeki and in 2003, ANC got two-third of the majority in the parliament, given power to rewrite the constitution. (Blond et al., 2004). Today, South Africa has eleven official languages; English and Afrikaans included. South Africa’s last election was in March, in 2006 and ANC won. The party has also had controversial issues with Jacob Zuma, vice president of ANC who’s been prosecuted for rape and fraud but was pleaded not guilty.

2.5 Socio-Economic & Demographic Profile: Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape is the second largest province in South Africa. It is situated in the southeast of the country and encompasses what is traditionally known as the Eastern Province. Eastern Cape is divided into six districts. The population density in the Eastern Cape is 38 people per square kilometer, which is just above the national average. The Eastern Cape is one of the poorest provinces in South Africa, and has a very wide poverty gap and highest percentage of people living in poverty. The Eastern Cape is dominated by African race (87.5%) followed by Coloureds (7.4%). Eastern Cape has a female dominated population composition. An average of 38.8% of the population is younger than 15 years, which is an indication of young dependency (Website 4).

2.6 Previous research

Introduction

The previous research in line with our study is mainly about adolescent girls and sexuality in a South African context. Most research is performed among adolescents living in townships and the studies are therefore focusing on the constructions of love and sexuality in an African context. Despite the fact that most research is clearly connected to black culture, it could still be applicable since it occurs within a South African context. All research presented below is South African.
2.6.1 A South African cross-cultural study
This study investigated South African Afrikaans-, English-, and Xhosa-speaking secondary school adolescents and their perceptions of the relative importance of identity-related domains. Four domains were regarded as important by more than 70 percent of the total group: namely a future career, moral values and family relationships and religious matters. Political and sexual matters were regarded as least important. Intercultural differences were evident in most domains. Significant gender differences were also found. Relatively more females than males reported a higher priority to domains such as future career, moral values, friendship with same sex peers, gender roles and community matters. The male participants regarded relationships with the opposite sex and sexual matters as more important than females did (Alberts, Mbalo and Ackermann, 2002).

2.6.2 Women initiating sex and having multiple sexpartners
A young woman’s sexual fidelity is highly valued and having multiple sexpartners comprises her respectability. A woman having more than one sex partner loses her dignity in the community and is described as irresponsible and promiscuous (Varga, 2003). Teenage girls are not allowed to demonstrate desire and initiate sex because they would then be regarded as loose. If a woman has other sexual partners than her boyfriend, she is regarded as “worn out” (Wood, Maforah and Jewkes, 1996). Participants in a study performed among young people in a township: Khutsong; stated that young women carrying condoms risked being labelled promiscuous. Male participants confirmed these notions by stating that they would not trust a young woman who carried condoms, because it could indicate that she is sleeping around (Mac Phail & Campbell, 2001). Sexually active women are in constant danger of having negative identities attributed to them, they are called “slags” or as “doing what lads do”. Women who challenge male definitions of sex, the prevailing definition that heterosexual sex is penetration, by asserting needs and desires that might differ from those of men, are perceived as sluts (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Scott, Sharpe and Thomson, 1987). Multiple sex partners among boys, seems to be an important defining feature for masculinity. In a study a majority of the girls confirmed that their boyfriends had other girlfriends while in a relationship with them. When establishing a new affair, the boy is supposed to take the initiative, “proposing” love to the girl by telling her he loves her, girls proposing to boys was so rare that a boy would get suspicious that a girl would want to pass on a disease to him (Wood & Jewkes, 1998).

2.6.3 The purpose of sex in a relationship
In a study performed among adolescent girls from the Xhosa-culture, many girls expressed a desire to be in a non-sexual relationship characterised by cooperation “until we are older”. Most of the girls stated that sex was a bad activity, something you are forced to do by someone who is stronger. Most of the girls complained that intercourse was painful because men did not prepare the woman for sex (Wood, Maforah and Jewkes, 1996). Women primarily see sex as something you do to keep your boyfriend happy or to keep him (Holland et al, 1987). In a study performed among young people in Umtata, the terms sex and love were often used as interchangeable expressions, it was clear that love was perceived to necessarily involve sex, but not sex to involve love. The study showed that boys often pressure girls to have sex, by saying that the girl has to show him that she loves him (Wood & Jewkes, 1998).
2.6.4 The use of contraceptive methods and condoms

Among youth, both men and women, a general opinion is that condoms are unnecessary in a steady relationship but should be used in casual encounters. Young women argued that for a steady partner to insist on condom use is seen as indicating a lack of respect and trust. Young women carrying condoms were regarded as loose. Some women reportedly resisted stereotypical notions of females and condoms use, insisting on carrying them (Mac Phail & Campbell, 2001). Avoiding pregnancy is a solely female responsibility. In a study, more than half of the respondents stated that the task of ensuring that a contraceptive method is used is identified as the woman’s responsibility. Avoiding pregnancy could include other strategies as being monogamous, encouraging withdrawal or allowing the male partner to suggest condom use. Most respondents stated that if a woman practised a contraceptive method, she would not tell her partner for fear of his negative reaction because she might be perceived as promiscuous (Varga, 2003).

2.6.5 Sexuality, power and violence

In a study performed by Varga (2003), the relationship between gender ideals and sexual risk taking is clearly reflected in adolescent’s sexual negotiating dynamics. A girl’s respectability is gained by being sexually available to her partner, allowing him sexual decision making and authority while she is exhibiting coyness and resistance. In other terms, when a girl says no, she means yes. According to Wood & Jewkes (2001), boys use violence to control girls in a relationship. Infidelity, or suspected infidelity, on the part of a girlfriend is often a catalyst for assault, or if a girlfriend is trying to end a relationship. Violence, as forced or coerced sex is also used when a girl refuses to have sex. When boys were asked why women refuse to have sex, they often mentioned them having another boyfriend, or were afraid to be made one-night stands or even indicated their own vulnerability, that they might not satisfy them.

3. Method

In this part of the study, we will describe the conduction of the interviews and which methods we used in the analysis of the data collected. We will also declare our epistemological position, triangulation strategies and our ethical considerations. Reliability, validity and generalizability will also be discussed. The limitations of the study will be described later in this section.

3.1 Epistemological position

Our epistemological position is based on post-positivism, which is in line with our mixed strategy; combining a qualitative and quantitative method. The final analysis will be performed according to a hermeneutic position, which means a focus on interpretation and understanding of the data.

3.1.1 Post positivism

Our epistemologic position is based on post-positivism which incorporates both quantitative and qualitative methods (Shaw & Lichman, 1999). A mixed strategy enables the researcher to get a deeper understanding of the subject, and the results of different methods could either confirm or question each other, which is of great importance when judging the validity of the study (Denscombe, 1998). In order to gain a holistic view on how adolescent girls in institutional care in South Africa perceive their female gender role, the quantitative method, collecting data using a
questionnaire enables a general view on perceptions and social constructions of the gender role among the participants. The qualitative method generates authenticity, offering knowledge about people’s experiences and emotions (Larsson, 2005).

3.1.2 Positivism
In a positivist view, science is regarded as a way to obtain objective knowledge about the world, in order to predict and control it. The scientific endeavor is based on the idea of observation and measurement. The key approach of the scientific method is the experiment, the attempt to discern natural laws through direct manipulation and observation. The role of the researcher is to be neutral and objective, research should always be separated from values (Kvale, 1997).

3.1.3 Hermeneutics
Hermeneutics focuses on the interpretation and understanding of social events by analysing their meaning according to the human participants and their culture. The central principle of hermeneutics is that it is only possible to capture the meaning of an action or statement by relating it to the specific context or to the whole discourse from which it originates (Kvale, 1997). The research interview is a conversation about the human lifeworld, transferred from an oral discourse into text. The hermeneutics is a discipline of the humanities which studies objectified human /cultural activities through written texts by interpretation, in order to decode the intended meaning. This is made in order to establish a common understanding of human traditions to enable an on-going historic dialogue (Kvale, 1997).

3.2 Literature search
To find previous research of relevance for the study; we searched in the following databases; Libris, Kvinnsam, Google Scholar and Social Services Abstracts. Most findings in line with our research were found in Social Services Abstracts, where we used the keywords: orphan*, girl*, adoles*, gender* and “South Africa”; with these keywords we got 31 results. Other keywords which were used in different combinations were: institutional care*, sex roles* and children’s home. The search resulted in finds of articles that could be related to our subject matter, we also used the reference lists to see if any used references or articles were of interest. Unfortunately, we did not find any previous research entirely in line with our study. Most research is about adolescent girls and gender in the context of sexuality, we could not find any research with the main focus on adolescent girls in institutional care and how they perceive their female gender role. We also searched for literature at the main library at Stockholm University, the library of the department of social sciences at Stockholm University and the library at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

3.3 Design
In line with the researcher’s epistemology, the methodology is based on a mixed strategy of both quantitative and qualitative methods, but the approach is predominantly quantitative. The qualitative part of the study is used in the interpretation and clarification of the quantitative data (Brannen, 1992). The study is explorative because the limited amount of previous research in line. The study is also based on an abductive approach, which means a combination of the deductive approach (to emanate data from a hypothesis) and the inductive (to collect data without any
previous hypothesis) (Larsson, 2005). We base our study on a theoretical framework (deductive method) but we do not create any initial hypotheses (inductive method). The reason why we chose to use a mixed strategy is that we think this would give a more solid base for our research. The use of quantitative method, offers a general view, of how the sample, adolescent girls living in institutional care, perceive their female gender role. The qualitative method is adequate when it comes to generating data which give an authentic insight into people’s experiences (Larsson, 2005). In the quantitative study a questionnaire was used to get an outline on how the respondents perceive their female gender role, with focus on attitudes. In the qualitative part of the study, seven semi-structured interviews were conducted based on a thematized interview guide, in order to bring a deeper understanding, enabling us to more profoundly connect general attitudes to personal perceptions of the female gender role, in the dimensions of past, present and future.

3.4 Collection of data

3.4.1 Quantitative study

Sample
The sample was strategic, chosen by the main characteristics: adolescent girls living in institutional care (May, 1997). The girls in the sample have different cultural origins and speak different languages, English, Xhosa and Afrikaans.

Non response
One respondent did not answer the questionnaire, since she was in school.

The Questionnaire
The data was collected through a questionnaire. We handed out the questionnaire to 22 of the adolescent girls in the ages of 13-17 living in the children’s home, 23 girls in total, one was not present. The questionnaire was handed out to the girls in two different cottages, where the girls stay. In the questionnaire, Likert scales were used, measuring attitudes by statements. The respondents could then choose an option on a range from I totally agree to I totally disagree (Rosengren & Arvidsson, 2002). The questionnaire consisted of 22 questions, with four options; I totally agree, I agree to some extent, I mainly disagree and I totally disagree. The reason why we only offered four options was that we wanted the respondents to select an option of a scale of two positive values and two negative values, because this would simplify the final analysis. The questions were chosen to get a view on how the respondents perceived both female and male gender roles; therefore almost each theme consisted of questions corresponding to both male and female gender roles. The questionnaire was handed out to the adolescent girls during study time in their cottages at two different occasions, but in the same day. The environment in one of the cottages were rather noisy which could have had an impact on the answers.
Case scenarios
The case scenarios in the questionnaire are based on a South African context, the places mentioned are existing. We wanted the scenarios to be authentic, so the respondents could relate to them. In the first two case scenarios, the role as a partner our intention was to explore the respondent’s views on violence in a relationship. If they thought violence could be acceptable in a relationship if a girl is going out, getting drunk with a male friend without telling her boyfriend. In case scenario number two, we wanted to explore if the respondents thought it was acceptable for a girl to use violence against a boyfriend if he was unfaithful. The two scenarios differ of the mere reason that we wanted to explore if the respondents thought the girl had done something wrong when she went out drinking with a male friend. If they thought a mere suspicion of infidelity could justify violence. We made case scenario number two deliberately more serious, in this scenario, the boyfriend is unfaithful. We followed up with questions like if it was more acceptable for a boy to get drunk than for a girl, and if it was wrong of the girl to get drunk. We also asked questions about if it was more acceptable for a boy to hit a girl. Case scenario number three and four applied to the professional role. In scenario number three we wanted to investigate if the respondents thought a woman and a mother could be the breadwinner of a family. In case scenario number four, our intention was to investigate the respondents opinions on a man working as a maid, in South Africa regarded as a predominantly female occupation. In the four case scenarios, a fifth option was offered, the option “I don’t know”, to get a legible view of the amount of the respondents who had an opinion of the subject.

Themes
The questionnaire was divided into five different themes, connected to our research question. The themes were choused in order to explore different dimensions of the female gender role, dimensions which could apply to most areas in life.

- The role as a mother
- The role as a partner
- The role as a friend
- The role as a pupil/living in institutional care
- The professional role

3.4.2 Qualitative study

Sample
The sample involved seven adolescent girls in the ages of 13-15. The girls in our sample had answered a questionnaire before the interviews were conducted. Our intention was to see if we could find any divergences in the answers in order to find extreme cases to interview. The answers did not differ that much, instead we choused to interview the girls we thought were most communicative, according to Denscombe (1998) this is called a subjective sample. In order to get an equal representation of the informants, we also choused the sample by age and cultural origin, we wanted to have an even division of Whites-, Coloureds- and Africans. We choused to interview adolescent girls in different ages, though we are aware of that even within similar age or developmental stages, adolescent girls may differ according to social characteristics such as family status, socio-economic background, socio-cultural values and beliefs. The girls in the sample all live in a children’s home in Eastern Province, South Africa.
Some of them are placed in the children’s home because of mere poverty and others because of dysfunctional family patterns. Most of the respondents do not have English as their first language (their first languages are either Afrikaans or Xhosa).

**The interview guide**
The interview guide used was thematized and semi-structured and consisted of open questions divided into the previous presented five themes: the role as a mother, the role as a partner, the role as a friend, the role as a pupil/living in institutional care and the professional role. Each theme was divided into questions concerning the dimensions of past, present and future. According to May (2001) the use of a structured interview guide enables the respondents to answer the same questions; this implies that the differences between the answers are real and not a consequence of the interview situation. The semi-structured interview guide allows the interviewer to clarify the answers or to give the informants the possibility to expound their views.

**The Interviews**
A semi-structured interview guide and a tape recorder, was used, so that full attention could be directed towards the informant. The reason why semi-structured interviews were used was to ensure that all questions in the interview guide would be answered, so we could make a comparison between the informants. The only present during the interviews was the interviewer and the informant. The reason why we chose to split the interviews between us, was that we considered it would be a more relaxed situation, in particular for the informants. The interviews were held in English. The length of the interviews was 45-60 minutes each. None of the informant’s chose to terminate the interviews. The answers differed among the informants; some were more detailed and illustrative than others. The informants were offered to book a meeting with us in order to discuss the interview. One of the informants wanted to book a meeting afterwards, in order to discuss the interview. Overall the informants seemed to enjoy taking part in the interviews; we also got requests from other girls, eager to participate in the study. After conducting some interviews we discovered that the respondents did not understand some of the questions, even though we explained them carefully. For instance, if they thought a man/woman has a certain role in a relationship and if they thought any area is closed for them because they are girls.

**The location of the interviews**
We held the interviews at the children’s home. The reason for this was to ensure that the informants would feel free to leave whenever they wanted. Despite the fact that the office could be associated with an interrogative situation (the staff at the office often hold disciplinary meetings with the children in the office), we explained very carefully that the interviews had nothing to do with the children’s home or the staff at the office. We also ensured the informants that the information would not be passed on to the staff.

3.5 Analysis
Firstly, the quantitative and the qualitative were analysed separately, then combined into an integrated analysis. In the analysis of the quantitative data a post-positivist approach was used. The analysis of the qualitative data was performed according to a hermeneutic approach. Thereafter an integrated analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data was performed
according to the to previous presented themes. The integrated analysis was then performed according to the theory of social constructionism and gender theory.

3.5.1 Qualitative study

Transcription
The taped interviews were transcribed verbatim into a written protocol the same day the interview was conducted and by the person who conducted the interview. According to Bryman (2002:310) the advantage of transcribing the interview into a written protocol is that it helps the researcher to memorize the data and to make a critical review of the material. The transcription also allows the material to be available and examined by others. In the transcribed protocol, pauses, laughter and non audible answers were marked.

Pauses: …
Laughter: (ha ha)
Non audible: /…/

Analysis
Patton (1990) states that a researcher with a qualitative approach can focus the analyse on themes which can be related to the study’s aim and research questions. The transcriptions were subjected to a thematic content analysis. A qualitative content analysis consists of the search for hidden themes in the transcribed material (Bryman, 2002). Content analysis is also about identifying general patterns and differences in the material (Miles and Huberman 1994). In order to gain a deeper understanding of the themes, an interpretation of meaning was made (Kvale, 1997). Each theme was structured to create coherent answers. Thereafter the answers of each informant was summarized according to each theme and the most illustrative quotations were selected. To compare the answers between the informants, summaries of each informant was arranged thematic. We then analyzed the data, each theme separately to explore the emerging patterns, and then a final summary was made. In order to interpret the analyzed data a theoretical framework consisting of the theory of social constructionism and gender theory was used.

3.5.2 Quantitative study

Analysis
The data of the quantitative part, the questionnaire was presented with descriptive statistics (Byström, 1994). In the analysis of the quantitative data a post-positivist approach was used, the numeric data of the questionnaire was calculated as a percentage, and then presented in tables according to previous presented themes. In the integrated analysis of the quantitative and the qualitative data, a hermeneutic approach was used.

3.6 Reliability, Validity and Generalizability

3.6.1 Reliability
Reliability is defined as “the degree to which the finding is independent of accidental circumstances of the research” (Silverman, 1997). The reliability is also about the consistency of
the results within a study (Kvale, 1997). The consistency between the quantitative and qualitative results in the study ought to increase the reliability of the study. According to Kvale, the answers in a qualitative study might lack reliability if the questions asked are too guiding (Kvale1997). According to this, we were careful not to affect the answers by asking guiding questions. Being two people, involved in this study, might also increase the reliability of the study, since one of us could conduct an interview, and the other could take part in the interpretation of it (Kvale, 1997).

3.6.2 Validity
The definition of the validity of a study is often explained through the question: Is the scientist measuring what he or she intends to measure? (Kvale, 1997).
To estimate content validity in a study, the measurement and consistency of all parts of the study is important (Olsson & Sörensen, 2001). In the design of the quantitative study all questions have been measured and observed and the analyse of the data proves to have consistency. During the interviews and the final analysis our intention was to question the answers in order to get relevant information matching our research question (Kvale, 1997). In the qualitative results, a large amount of descriptive data was gained which shows internal validity. In the perspective of ethnography, the aim is to gain descriptive reports which shed light on situations in order to explore areas of reality. The emphasis lays on detailed descriptions of individual experiences, based on observations in natural environments. The ethnographical view is challenged by those who state that ethnographic studies only produce isolated information which can not offer any general knowledge of human societies. In this view, ethnographical studies have to develop theories rooted in the observation performed. They have to be close related to the origin or reality linked to the phenomenon examined (Denscombe, 1998).

According to Bryman (2002) intern validity means a conformity between the observations and the theories the researcher evolves. This is also related to the involvement and participation within a social group, which enables the researcher to secure a conformity between concepts and observations. Since we performed our practical training in the social settings of the children’s home, this offered us valuable insights in the cultural and social contexts. In order to increase the validity, we adopted a critical view, held throughout all stages of the study to see if other assumptions could be made. Despite this, it is difficult to make any conclusions of how typical the results or the descriptions are (Marsh, 1978).

3.6.3 Generalizability
Scientist oriented schools in the psychology field, like behaviourism, have been searching for universal laws which can explain human behaviour. This is a difficult task, since every situation is unique and just because one person is behaving in a certain way in one particular situation it does not mean that the next person is going to behave in the exact same way in a similar situation. (Kvale, 1997). Since the sample in the quantitative part of the study is small, the generalizability is limited. Still, the quantitative results offer a general view of the respondent’s perceptions. The qualitative results generated knowledge of the informant’s experiences and can therefore prove to have naturalistic generalizability (Kvale, 1997).
3.7 Triangulation strategies
There are several methods to enhance the reliability of a study, both when it comes to the
collection and the analysis of data (Larsson, 2005). Triangulation involves the use of several
different strategies. The following triangulation strategies were used in our study in order to
increase the reliability; triangulation of methods, triangulation of theories, triangulation of
epistemological positions and triangulation of researchers. Triangulation of theories involves the
use of different theories in the analysis of the data. This gives the researcher a multi-faceted
picture of the phenomenon examined (Larsson, 2005). In our study we combine the theory of
social constructionism and gender theories. Triangulation of methods enables the researcher to
compare the results of one method with another; each method could confirm or question the
results of the other method. Another advantage is that combined methods render possible to see
the subject in different perspectives (Denscombe, 1998). Triangulation of researchers means that
several researchers are involved in the collection and analysis of the data, which could increase
the reliability of the results (Larsson, 2005). In the study, both of us took part in the analysis of
the data and also discussed the results with our South African supervisor, Dr. Blanche Pretorius,
who helped us with valuable information through a South African lens.

3.8 Ethical principles
In qualitative research the researcher ought to consider ethical principles concerning the study
(Larsson, 2005). Ethical permission for the study was granted by the principal of the children’s
home. Our request was sent by e-mail to the principal of the children’s home and the approval
was received by e-mail. We also discussed our study at a meeting where the staff were present.
Concerning the questionnaire; we decided, after some discussion that the girls should sign with
age and name because our initial intention was to chose a sample based on the results of the
questionnaire. We clearly explained, before handing out the questionnaire that the result would be
used for an assignment at a university in Sweden and had nothing to do with neither the office;
nor the children’s home.

Within the qualitative research the involvement of the informants was handled with
confidentiality; all identifying biographical information was removed. In order to protect the
informants from being identified, the name of the children’s home will not be mentioned. In the
presentation of the informants, we will only reveal their age. Before the interviews, the
informants were informed that the interviews were voluntary and that the tapes would be
destroyed after use. After the interviews, all the informants were offered a meeting with us, in
order to reflect their emotions. Out of ethical reasons we choused to conduct interviews, and not
focus group interviews, of the mere reason to protect the informants from being exploited if
sensitive and emotional matters would be brought up. We also discussed how to avoid sensitive
matters in our interview guide, since a majority of the informants have been subjected to all kinds
of abuse. We do not think it is ethical to expose them any further regarding our main purpose is
not therapeutic.

3.8.1 Ethical considerations
Before conducting the interviews we had a discussion about the ethical dimensions, where we
paid regard to what Kale says about the moral qualities of an interview, he mentions the
principles of confidentiality, consequences and informed approval (Kvale, 1997).
- **Informed approval**: Before the interviews the informants got an oral report on what the interviews would be used for and that the aim of the study is to explore how adolescent girls living in institutional care in South Africa perceive their female gender role.

- **Confidentiality**: The informants were told that a tape recorder would be used to tape the answers, and that the recorded material would be destroyed after the transcription, in order to protect their confidentiality.

- **Consequences**: The informants received information that the interviews were voluntary and that some of the questions asked could be sensitive, and that they therefore were free to decide whether to answer or not. We also informed them that our research had no connection to the children’s home, even if we out of practical reasons had to stay within the premises. The informants were also told that they were free to terminate the interview or take a break whenever they liked. They were told that they were free to contact us if they wanted someone to talk to, after the interview. We did not leave our number but they were offered to book a meeting with us.

Firstly, we thought that it would be better to locate the interviews outside the children’s home, both to grant confidentiality and to make the informants at ease with the situation. Being in the children’s home could have an impact on the interview situation, since the main building and the office is where the girls are called for supervision and correction. We did not want them to think that our study was something they were forced to do. On the other hand, we considered it important that the informants would feel free to discontinue the interviews. We therefore considered it more suitable to stay at the children’s home, because then they would not feel trapped and could leave whenever they liked.

3.9 Limitations of the study

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999) limitations derive from the conceptual framework and the study’s design, yet, no research project is without limitations, a discussion about a study’s limitations demonstrates that the researcher understands this reality. In our study, to get a general view of the subject, it would have been interesting to interview the staff at the children’s home, for instance, to interview one of the social workers and a childcare worker. Also, it would have been interesting to carry out a questionnaire at another children’s home to enable a comparison between them, giving a broader picture and perspective on how living in institutional care affects the perception of the female gender role, this might also have increased the generalizability of the study.

4. Theoretical framework

4.1 The theory of social constructionism

In order to reach a deeper understanding of how the participants perceive their female gender role, it is important to explore their context, (living in institutional care in South Africa), and how this influences their social constructions of their gender role. Furthermore, we will present gender theory. Both theories state that assumptions about the world and the identity is socially constructed and evolved within a social context. Social constructionism as a movement has arised...
from, and is influenced by, a variety of disciplines and intellectual traditions as the German philosopher Edmund Husserl, John Dewey and his philosophical pragmatism, the symbolic interactionists like Charles Horton Cooley, W.I. Thomas and George Herbert Mead. The central figures are Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (Hutchinson, 2003).

In the perspective of social constructionism, people are seen as social beings who interact with each other and the world, based on shared meanings and understandings. These shared assumptions about the world is developed through social interactions between people and in a simultaneous process, shared understandings of the world shape subsequently social activity (Hutchinson, 2003). The basis of social constructionism is to uncover the ways in which individuals and groups participate in the creation of their perceived reality. As an approach, it involves looking at how a shared view of reality is created and institutionalized within an ongoing dynamic process. People behave according to social conventions and conventions are created through habitual social activity. It is a circular process, an objective reality is produced by people acting on their interpretations and knowledge of the world (Payne, 1997).

Some social constructionists focus on individual consciousness, particularly on human capacity to interpret social interactions and the ability to have an inner conversation within oneself about social interactions. Other place greater emphasis on the nature of social interactions like language and gestures, and how they could be used as symbols in social interaction (Hutchinson, 2003). People are a product of their social and cultural context, but not like passive puppets, they take part in an ongoing, dynamic process in the creation of a socially constructed reality. Language is the primary means for the transmission of meanings and understandings. Meanings evolve through individuals in conversation with each other. Language is however not an neutral medium of communication, it could be regarded as an action itself. Something could be achieved through the mere act of talking (Wetherell & Maybin, 1998). Other issues discussed within the social constructionist perspective is the construction of the self, that the self is a social construction. Each human being is an unique individual, with thoughts of his/her own but the social- and cultural context influences how people perceive themselves. The self is not consistent, we have a set of selves, depending on the context. A person moving to another country, will be in a new context which will influence his way of thinking and his behaviour (Wetherell & Maybin, 1998).

4.2. Gender theory
We think it is beyond the scope of our study to profoundly present gender theory and all different movements. Our intention is only to make a brief introduction, since the concept of gender is perceived differently among scholars.

For instance, some feminist scholars use gender theory for an apprehension of the patriarch, and others to explain the reproduction of a subjective identity (Lundqvist & Mulinari, 1997). The reason why we think gender theory is applicable to our study is our main focus on how adolescent girls, living in institutional care in South Africa perceive their female gender role. Gender theory could shed light on how sex roles and stereotyped thinking arise in a social context. It could also be connected to the theory of social constructionism, where culture and identity is considered a construction. During the 1970s, theorists began to distinguish between sex and gender. Sex was regarded a biological notion, focusing on the differences between males and females as human species, and gender, was a social notion, dealing with differences between
the male role and the female role, and between male and female qualities. At the time, this
distinction was a major breakthrough. It gave an explanation on both the biological differences
between men and women, and also argued that biology could not be used to legitimize oppression
of women. Biologically differences between women and men could be restricted to the biological
sphere. What remained was the social sphere, which could explain culture and roles (Conell,
2002:50). Gender theory investigates the social organization of sexual differences, constructed
and/or inherent. Gender is the ascribed normative aspect, generally focused around the human
concept of sex, a biological, physical division, that extends to a broad social construction,
informing and shaping ways of being, both masculine and feminine. The sex category becomes
gendered through the use of gender markers. Gender is a socially constructed means of assigning
characteristics to sex categories (Conell, 2002). Regardless biological differences between the
sexes, it is now a general opinion that there are no significant differences between the sexes,
when it comes to intelligence (Conell, 2002).

4.2.1 Feminist theory and gender
Feminist theorists are also dealing with the concept of gender, focusing on acknowledging and
understanding the position of women. Simone de Beauvoir argued, in her influential book, the 
second sex that men centre themselves as ”self ”and consequently regard women as ”the other”.
She believed that men’s conception of women’s ”otherness” centred on their perception that
women lack certain qualities. Women’s difference is thus regarded not only as an alternative, or
positive difference, but an imperfection, a negated self. Beauvoir argued that men, whereby
regarding women as others, perceive them as a threat to their selves and as such, need to
subordinate women (Siann, 1994).

4.2.2 Gender and psychology
The first feminist psychologist researchers were convinced that it was necessary to compare
men’s and women’s performances. They wanted to achieve this by using approved scientific
methods, to prove that widespread ideas about female inferiority were wrong. In their book -The
psychology of sex differences, Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin (1974) examined the current
research on sex differences (about 1400 studies) and claimed that those could not prove any
major differences, except in areas such as mathematical ability, visual- spatial ability and
aggressiveness. They criticized a majority of the studies due to methodological errors. The
research in this area is still developing, and during the 1980s, feminist researchers focused on a
method of meta-analysis to discover if studies dealing with sex differences came to stable and
reliable conclusions. However, all feminist psychologists do not support research in this field,
mainly because they accuse previous research in this area for maintaining and spreading ideas of
female inferiority (Magnusson, 2003).

4.2.3 Psychoanalytic feminists and gender
The notion of androgyny, introduced by Sandra Bem (1974) and other psychologists was an
attempt to define an alternative pattern of gender, a mix of both masculine and female traits,
which could be chosen by an individual or by a society (Conell, 2002). Many feminists with a
psychoanalytic perspective have focused on the period of early childhood, which is called the
Oedipal stage. Some, like Juliet Mitchell (1974) agreed on the importance of this particular stage,
but argued that it is the vehicle by which patriarchy, or male dominance is perpetuated, therefore,
it must be destroyed. Sherry Ortner (1975), another feminist psychoanalyst suggested that the
Oedipal stage, should be transformed by an instituting system of dual parenting, which would change the dynamics of the classical Oedipal stage (Siann, 1994).

4.2.4 Radical feminism and gender
In a radical feminist approach, some radical feminists recommend that instead of trying to minimize gender differences, women should establish a new approach to femininity, by reversing patriarchal dualities. Totally rejecting any move towards androgyny, and instead glory in their differences from men by for example embracing qualities men have traditionally criticized in women such as passion, fertility and irrationality (Siann, 1994).

4.2.5 Post-modern feminists and gender
A post-modern feminist approach, in conformity with social constructionist approaches, disclaims the search for absolute and universal truths, because individuals lack the ability to escape the bias of personal or cultural positions. In essence, a post-modernist feminist denies that we have any stable and coherent self instead we continually change and position ourselves. The positioning is not actively carried out by the individual, but more or less forced on us by different social dynamics. The feminist post-modernist view, emphasizes the processes in which power and status imbalances between sexes and create differences in behaviour (Siann, 1994).

4.2.6 Queer theory and gender
Another theory, of current interest is queer theory, which is a field of research which questions the dualistic view on sex role positions, sexuality and gender, enabling new possibilities and categories. The heterosexual norm is challenged (Magnusson, 2003).

5. Quantitative results

5.1 The results of the questionnaire
The results will be presented according to previous presented themes. Each theme contains a summarizing comment and below the comment, tables which display the quantitative data of the questionnaire are presented. The tables are presented in the same order as the questions in the questionnaire.

5.1.1 Comment: The role as a mother
Almost all of the respondents think a mother who works full-time can still be a good mother. A majority also think that a father who works full-time can still be a good father. Most of the respondents think a father could be even more loving than a mother.
Table 1. A mother who works full-time can still be a good mother

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Almost all of the respondents (90 percent) agree that a mother who works full-time still can be a good mother.

Table 2. A father can be even more loving than a mother

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. A majority (81 percent) of the respondents state that a father could be more loving than a mother. Only a few (4 percent) do not think that a father could be more loving than a mother.

Table 3. A father who works full-time can still be a good father

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. The table shows that a majority (85 percent) of the respondents agree that a father who works full-time still can be a good father.

5.1.2 Comment: The professional role

Three quarters think a woman can focus on her career and not have kids while a majority state that a man can also focus on his career and not have kids. Almost all of the respondents answered that a girl can be a good leader, they have the same opinion about a boy’s ability of being a good leader. A majority of the respondents think a woman can be a good leader for construction workers.
Table 4. Most of the respondents (76 percent) state that it is okay for a woman to focus on her career and not have kids.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. The table shows that a majority of the respondents (81 percent) think a woman can be a good supervisor for construction workers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Most of the respondents (81 percent) think a man can focus on his career and not have kids.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7. A girl can be a good leader

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all of the respondents (90 percent) think a girl can be a good leader.

Table 8. A boy can be a good leader

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that a majority (90 percent) of the respondents state that a boy can be a good leader.

5.1.3 Comment: The role as a friend

Most of the respondents state that a girl’s best friend can be a boy.

Table 9. A girl’s best friend can be a boy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the respondents (90 percent) think a girl’s best friend can be a boy.

5.1.4 Comment: The role as a partner

Three quarters of the respondents state that a wife should obey her husband while the same amount of the respondents think a husband should listen to his wife before making any decisions. A majority think it is a woman’s duty to take care of the household, including cooking, cleaning and taking care of the children.
Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A woman should obey her husband</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totally</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Three quarters of the respondents (76 percent) think a woman should obey her husband.

Table 11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A woman’s duty should be to cook, clean and take care of the children in a household</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totally</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11. A majority (86 percent) state that a woman’s duty should be to cook, clean and take care of the children in a household.

Table 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A husband should always listen to his wife before making any decisions</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totally</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. Three quarters of the respondents (76 percent) state that a husband always should listen to his wife before making any decisions.

5.1.5 Comment: The role as a pupil/living in the children’s home

A majority of the respondents think girls should behave better in school than boys. Three quarter state that the staff at the children’s home should expect better conduct of girls than of boys.
Table 13. Most of the respondents (90 percent) think girls should behave better in school than boys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Girls should behave better in school than boys</th>
<th>Frequency n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14. Three quarters (72 percent) state that the staff at the children’s home should expect better conduct of girls than of boys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the children’s home, the staff should expect better conduct of girls than of boys</th>
<th>Frequency n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.6 Comment: Case scenario–The role as partner

One third of the respondents do not know if it was acceptable that Jack hit Sarah, the same amount of the respondents think that it was acceptable and also one third do not think it was acceptable. The answers are widely spread. (Table 15)
More than half of the respondents think that Liz hitting Rob was not acceptable considering the circumstances, while less than a third thought it was. (Table 16)
A majority state that it is not more okay that a guy hits a girl. (Table 17)
Most of the respondents think that Sarah went out drinking was not acceptable. (Table 18)
Less than half of the respondents think it is more okay for a guy to get drunk than a girl. (Table 19)
Table 15. Scenario 1: That Jack hit Sarah was acceptable considering the circumstances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15. The table shows that the answers are widely spread. One third of the respondents think that Jack hitting Sarah was acceptable, on the other hand, one third think that it was not, while one third did not know.

Table 16. Scenario 2: Is Liz behaviour is acceptable considering the circumstances?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16. More than half of the respondents (58 percent) state that Liz behaviour was not acceptable considering the circumstances. One quarter think Liz behaviour was acceptable.

Table 17. Scenario 2: Is it more okay for a guy to hit a girl?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17. A majority (96 percent) of the respondents state that it is not more okay for a guy to hit a girl.
### Table 18.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario 1: Is it okay that Sarah went out drinking?</th>
<th>Frequency n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totally</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 18. A majority (81 percent) of the respondents think that Sarah went out drinking was not acceptable.*

### Table 19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is it more okay for a guy to get drunk than a girl?</th>
<th>Frequency n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totally</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 19. Less than half of the respondents (40 percent) think that it is more okay for a guy to get drunk than a girl. One third (31 percent) do not think it is more acceptable for a guy to get drunk than a girl.*

### 5.1.7 Comment: Case Scenario-The professional role

Less than half of the respondents state that Julia should not be the breadwinner of the family. A third think it is okay that she is the breadwinner. (Table 20) Less than half of the respondents totally agree or agree to some extent that it is okay that Ryan is working as a maid. A third of the respondents do not think it is good that Ryan is working as a maid. (Table 21) Half of the respondents can understand that Ryan’s girlfriend Jill, is embarrassed that Ryan is working as a maid. (Table 21)
Table 20. Scenario 3: Is it okay that Julia is the breadwinner of the family?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totally</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20. Less than half of the respondents (44 percent) state that Julia should not be the breadwinner of the family. One third (35 percent) think that it is okay that Julia is the breadwinner of the family.

Table 21. Scenario 4: Is it good that Ryan is working as a maid?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totally</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21. Half of the respondents (48 percent) think it is good that Ryan is working as a maid.

Table 22. Scenario 4: Is it understandable that Jill is embarrassed about Ryan working as a maid?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I totally agree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to some extent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mainly disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I totally disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totally</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22. Half of the respondents (49 percent) think it is understandable that Jill is embarrassed about Ryan working as a maid while one third did not agree.
6. Qualitative results
Because of the large amount of qualitative data we will only present a summary in this section of the study, with a selection of the most illustrative quotations. The entirety of the results is placed in Appendix 3. The results of the qualitative data will be presented under each theme; the role as mother, the professional role, the role as a friend, the role as partner and the role as a pupil/living in the children’s home. The data presented in this section will not be presented in the dimensions of past, present and future, yet, these dimensions are present in the results. The summary of the theme- The role as a partner is divided into three headings: partnership, life as a couple and views on sexuality.

6.1 The informants
In order to protect the identities of the informants only their age will be presented before each quotation. The informants are adolescent girls between the age 13-15 years old with different cultural origin including White, Coloureds and Africans. The informants have been living in the children’s home from one to six years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informant 1</td>
<td>16 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 2</td>
<td>13 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 3</td>
<td>16 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 4</td>
<td>15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 5</td>
<td>14 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 6</td>
<td>15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 7</td>
<td>15 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 Summarized results

6.2.1 Summary: The role as a mother
A majority of the informants can not remember their parent’s duties in the home, some informants come from a traditional household where the mother were responsible for taking care of the house and the children and the father was the breadwinner. The informants seem to value respect as an important quality in both a mother and a father. They also think it is important that both a mother and a father teach the children about what is right and wrong. Most of the informants have a mother figure in their lives. A majority of the informants want to become mothers one day. Most of them think they will become good mothers since they could tell their children about their own lives, about growing up in a children’s home. A majority think a good age becoming a mother or a father is in the mid 20’s up to the 30’s. Most of the informants think being a single mother would be difficult.
Informant 1 explains how a good mother should be:

“A mother a mother must…look after the kids she must work and be neat for herself /…./Ja she mustn’t be dirty you see she must be neat”

Informant 6 explains why she would become a good mother one day:

“Yes I like children and … because I can tell my children what I went through as a child and I don’t want them to also be in a children’s home … I don’t want them to have the life that I’ve had … I want them to have a different life than me”

Informant 6 explains why she does not think being a single mother is a good thing:

“Oh that wouldn’t be nice because the child would grow up and asking about what happened and where’s my father and the child wants to know everything what happened and you must tell her … you can’t keep it away from her because the child has the right to know who is the father”

6.2.2 Summary: The professional role

Most of the informants had a dream of becoming something professional as a child, like becoming a lawyer, a teacher or a social worker. Two informants said their mothers were housewives, and two of the informants said their mother were working full-time, the other were not sure if their mothers worked or not. A majority said their fathers worked, occupations like working in a bakery, at a school and putting glass into cars were mentioned. One informant is working extra, and the other would like to work extra if possible. All seven informants have faith in the future and would rather work and bring in the money than stay at home taking care of the household and the children. They all seem to value independence, having their own money and not being dependent on a future husband. A majority of the informants were positive about becoming a professional rugby player and did not think it would be difficult becoming one.

Informant 6 explains why she would like to work in the future:

“Both must work, because sometimes if the woman don’t work then the man can come out of job maybe and he had a fight with his boss and take the anger out of you, and you mustn’t stay here because this is my house and then he chase you out /…./ I see this at my mother and father, my father don’t…because my mother don’t work she look after my brothers and sisters … my father works most, and now he always says this is my house and you must go and then my mother can’t say anything because he is working …If he don’t want to buy food he don’t want to because it’s his money …then my mother go to my grandmother maybe to ask there for food… That’s why I want to…”

6.2.3 Summary: The role as a friend

Most of the informants have a best friend, which are all girls, even though a majority state they have friends of both sexes. Most of the informants think a boy’s best friend can be a girl, and the other way around. A majority of the informants are not sure whether they will keep in contact with people from the children’s home when they have moved out.
Informant 3 says, that she rather keep things to herself, in case a friend would backstab her:

“No I still don’t have a best friend because maybe they will stab you in the back I just keep my own stuff to myself because If you tell that one everybody will know”

Informants 6 explains why it could get complicated if a boy and a girl are best friends:

“Yes because you know each other well and then you are going to fall in love with each other...and you go out to this party or maybe to a restaurant and then the things just happen”

Informant 3 explains that she might keep in contact with some people, but she is not sure if they want to keep in contact with her:

“Yes maybe I will but maybe at that time they don’t want to know you I don’t know what to say /.../Yes when they are big they just keep them 1 lekker and think they are the one and they walking in the streets and don’t want to greet you so I don’t really care about friends so I don’t care about friends I just have one or two “

6.2.4 Summary: The role as a pupil/living in a children’s home

All the informants have lived in the children’s home for a period ranging from one to six years. When asked about living in the children’s home, the answers are widely spread. Some think it is mainly good because they can get an education and protection from the world outside. Others say they do not like it, and some say the staff does not treat the children right. A majority of the informants think their future will be different since they grew up in a children’s home, because they had the opportunity to go to school. Two out of the seven informants state being a boy would be better while the other five state they do not think their future would be any different, since they are girls.

About life in the children’s home informant 3 says:

“Yes you don’t get a lot of attention because it is a lot of children here but you learn what is wrong and right when you are outside it is rough “

Informant 1 says about living in a children’s home:

“Sometimes I think it’s very nice to live here this opportunity I don’t have at home outside I would go the wrong way ... here you have to go to school don’t have boyfriends study and other stuff outside no one talks to you bad people influence you like drinking sleeping with your boyfriend don’t go to school”

Informant 2 explains that she would rather be a boy than a girl:

“Yes I actually wish I was a man because a girl has much more pain than a man“

1 Lekker means nice or good in Afrikaans.
Informant 5 explains that boys and girls have the same opportunities and that she does not think her life would be different since she is a girl:

“Yes both... if you want to become something you can be that something... I think girls and boys can do the same things”

6.2.5 Summary: The role as a partner

Partnership

Most of the informants had parents who were married in the past. A majority of the informants state they would like to get married one day. A majority of the informants think around 25 up to 30 is a good age getting married, both for a man and a woman. Almost all of the informants, except for one, could not picture themselves in a relationship with someone younger. A majority of the girls could be in a relationship with someone of another cultural origin, and half of the informants could be in a relationship with someone of another religion. All the informants think homosexuality is wrong. Most of the informants do not think violence is acceptable in a relationship no matter if you are a man or woman. One informant does not know and one says she could accept it under certain circumstances.

Informant 1 says violence is acceptable if she has done something seriously bad and it depends on how the boy hits her:

“It depends how he slaps you /.../ he mustn’t hit he mustn’t have a fist”

Informant 2 says she would not be scared if her boyfriend hit her, she says:

“/.../ you get that a lot here because if my boyfriend would hit me I would go to the police I hit him back “tannie I’m not scared I would hit him back “

Informant 2 says cultural origin does not matter:

“Like another culture /.../Yes it doesn’t matter about colour in this children’s home we love each other people mustn’t be racist tannie because we are not like that like don’t touch me because you are black or don’t touch me because your white we are all playing together because in my school it’s a lot of white girls that are going out with maybe a coloured or a african or like that it’s a free country tannie not like the old days”

When asked if they would get a divorce if a future husband would not treat them well, the answers are widely spread. Some would, one say she does not understand why people are getting divorced, two say they rather live together before getting married. Half of the informants say that they could consider living their life as a single. Overall the informants have a positive view of

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2 Tannie means auntie in Afrikaans, it is used when speaking to someone older to show respect.
their future; they seem to want a traditional family with a husband and children. Two informants say they want a future household to be equal, that both the man and the woman should help each other out.

**Life as a couple**

All of the informants state that the boy must ask the girl out, that is how a boy and a girl become a couple. When asked about what activities they like performing as a couple, most of the informants say they like being able to talk with a boyfriend, but they also like kissing, holding hands and going to the movies. All the informants state that their boyfriend would get angry and upset if he would find out that they had another boyfriend. If their boyfriend had another girlfriend, most of the informants would dump him or ignore him, but first they would ask him if it was true.

Informant 2 says when asked how a boy and girl becomes a couple:

“Well actually it’s the boy who ask the girl out the teenage boy go to the girl and say do you want to go to the movies tonight asking her on a date or something and they the go closer and closer and they become a couple starting to like each other”

The answers of the question; what kind of activities a boyfriend would like to perform, is widely spread, some say it is the same, another says he likes being with his friends or to sleep with you. Qualities a boy would find important in a girlfriend, is that a girl should be trustworthy, nice, honest and not cheat. Almost all of the informants think sex without having a relationship is bad, most of the informants mention the risk of contracting AIDS, HIV, that a girl could get pregnant and get a bad reputation. Most of the informants do not think a boy minds sleeping around. Half of the informants do not know how to answer the question about the purpose of sex is in a relationship. Some say you should wait with sex and one says the purpose is to show someone how much you love him. All of the seven informants think a boyfriend would get angry if a girlfriend refuses to have sex with him.

Informant 6 explains that a boyfriend sometimes force a girl to have sex with him:

“Then he gets cross and he hits you and he force you and he /.../ open your legs /.../ and all he says I’m not going out with you and I don’t want to see you anymore ... and that things if you (work/walk) in the streets he just sits there and embarrassing you and he just want to make you jealous and do something”

Informant 2 explains what activities a boy would like to perform as a couple:

“You get some of that tannie boys that just want to sleep with the girls but you also get that boys that respect you that ask the girl to take her to the movies and there is a party there tonight and they want you to come and you get those who treat you right but you get those who just want to sleep with you and if you don’t they will hurt you get those boys”
The view on sexuality
A majority of the informants think it is important to use a condom because otherwise you can get AIDS or get pregnant. More than half of the informants think it is the boy’s main responsibility to bring the condoms, even though the same amount of the informants also think a girl can bring the condoms. A majority of the informants think it is bad having experienced more than one sex partner. They say that sleeping around would give a girl a bad reputation and that she is also risking getting HIV. They think boys think differently about it, that they think it is good having experienced more than one sex partner. A majority of the informants do not know how a boy would react if a girl took the initiative to sex. One says she thinks the boy would perceive the girl as a bit forward.

Informant 3 says that she does not think condoms are safe:

“Condoms doesn’t work maybe like sixty percent it isn’t a hundred percent you can still get pregnant the thing can tear and you don’t know if it will tear and ja I think without a condom is the best because you know you get the feeling and you can take the thing out you know because otherwise /.../ if you put the sperm into the girl the girl gets pregnant and then it is a whole mess (he he)”

All the informants think a good age having the sexual debut is between 18 and 21 years old or when married. Still, the informants think people are having their sexual debut when they are much younger. Most of the informants do not think violence is acceptable in a relationship, no matter if you are a man or woman. Most of the informants think violence is common in a relationship. They think it occurs when people are drunk, lack money or when a woman refuses to have sex with a man.

Informant 3 explains that violence could be used in a relationship when a couple lack money:

“When they don’t have money ja because if the woman has the money and doesn’t want to give the man the money for alcohol or something he has to buy and then he gets angry and then they fight and gets in to a whole violence thing”

Informant 5 says some people are being raped at a young age:

“...we were watching this story, it’s about other woman she’s old now...Her uncle was raping her...it start six times there... it started when she was eight years old to 14...Even now that she is old her uncle was still rape her”

7. Integrated analysis
The integrated analysis connects the quantitative and the qualitative results of the study. The themes presented throughout the study will here be analysed in order to detect a holistic view, with the use of the theoretical framework consisting of the theory of social constructionism and gender theory. In the integrated analysis of the results the participants of the quantitative part of the study is called respondents, and the participants of the qualitative part is called informants.
7.1 The role as a mother

About half of the informants come from more traditional households, where the man is the breadwinner and the woman is responsible for taking care of the house and the children. In the quantitative part of the result, a majority state that it is a mother’s duty to take care of the home and the children. In a social constructionist perspective, people are a product of their social and cultural context, but not like passive puppets, they take part in an ongoing, dynamic process in the creation of a socially constructed reality (Wetherell & Maybin, 1998). Connected to this, the Christian values upheld by the children’s home might explain the more traditional view among the informants. The more general view on gender roles differs from how the informants perceive their own duties in the future; in the interviews the informants state they would rather work and bring in the money than stay at home and take care of the household and the children. They seem to value independency. Maybe the social settings surrounding them have influenced them, female childcare workers and social workers at the children’s home working full-time. It could also be past experiences of a mother working as a housewife, being economically dependent on an abusive husband, contributing to attitudes towards independency. Still, most of the informants do not think being a single mother is good, maybe because a majority of them come from dysfunctional families and therefore might value the settings of the nuclear family.

The informants state that a mother who works full-time still can be a good mother, and a majority think that it is acceptable for a woman to focus on her career and not have kids. This is a positive and less stereotyped picture of a woman’s possibilities. In the perspective of gender theory, the informants seem to think that it is important that both men and women work. Some of the informants have been brought up in a context where the mother and father had stereotyped gender roles, but they seem to think differently about their own future. They state that a good age becoming a mother or a father is in the mid 20’s or 30’s and that they want to make their own money. These thoughts could be traced to the children’s home, to school or to relatives, who might teach the children the importance of independency.

Informant 5 says her grandmother tells her to get an education:

“Ja … she always tell me about shool you must keep on … you see because she say and maybe I will die here and you must take care of your own family”

The informants seemed to have a similar view on how a good mother should be, even though some of them do not have parents or have grown up within dysfunctional families. Maybe this clear perception of how a good mother should be, is the result of most informants having a mother figure in their lives. This applies to the theory of social constructionism, which uncovers ways in which individuals and groups participate in the creation of their perceived reality and how a shared view of reality is created and institutionalized within an ongoing dynamic process (Payne, 1997). The informants state a good mother should be loving and caring and should listen to her children, respect them and teach them what is right and wrong. According to the theory of social constructionism this view could be influenced by how mothers are portrayed in media, literature, and by general views within the South African society. In search of a mother figure, the informants might look for these qualities upheld by the society.
7.2 The professional role

In the interviews, almost all of the informants state they have a dream job. Occupations mentioned were working as a doctor, a teacher or a social worker. When asked if some areas could be closed for them because they are girls, a majority did not seem to understand the question. When asked more provocative questions, like if they think they could become professional rugby players or become a boss in a big office, or a doctor, traditionally regarded as male dominated professions, they did not seem to think it would be any difficulties. In the perspective of gender theory, this lack of stereotyped thinking and unawareness about gender inequalities, could on one hand be considered positive, but on the other hand, be a sign of unrealistic expectations. The lack of awareness of inequalities between men and women, might be an obstacle in the future, when applying for a job. The fact that the informants once have been rescued and brought into protection at the children’s home, might make them think that everything is possible. Maybe the lack of career counseling in the current placement at the children’s home adds to this. Another possible explanation could be that gender as a discourse is not widely spread, neither in the context of the children’s home, nor in the South African society.

The quantitative study also shows that the respondents seem to view a career as something important, for instance, 76 percent of the respondents state that it is okay for a woman to focus on her career and not have kids. A majority also believe a woman can be a good leader and a good supervisor for construction workers. Almost the same amount of the respondents think a boy can be a good leader and that it is okay for a man to focus on his career. Connected to gender theory, the opinion that a woman can maintain a career as well as a man and be as successful, oppose more conservative ideas among the respondents in the study, for instance, that a woman’s main responsibility is to take care of the children and the home. This also oppose the opinions in the quantitative study, where 86 percent think a woman’s duty is to cook and take care of the household, and where about half of the respondents do not think a woman should be the breadwinner of the family. It is obvious that the respondents seem to have one opinion about gender roles in general, about how it is supposed to be, and another less conservative view when talking about their own future occupations and households. In the perspective of social constructionism, these more stereotyped constructions of male and female gender roles might be the product of a traditional patriarchal upbringing or influenced by Christian ideals, that women and men are equal but have different tasks. The other ideas, based on male and female equality might be influenced by progressive forces in the society, laws and NGOs ascribing women the same rights as men.

Informant 5 says about when asked if her life would be different since she is a girl:

“Yes both... if you want to become something you can be that something... I think girls and boys can do the same things”

7.3 The role as a friend

In the interviews, about half of the informants state they have a best friend. Yet, some of the informants do not seem to trust people. Only a few of the informants think they will keep in contact with the children from the children’s home in the future. In a social constructionist perspective this lack of trust could be the result of the constant changes in the environment of the children’s home, staff and children come and go, children is brought back to their biological
family or being adopted to a new family. Sometimes children return, because they have been abused or abandoned again. It seems as if most of the informants do not trust people and that they lack someone to talk to. Some of the informants say they have best friends, but just tell them the basics.

Informant 3: “No I still don’t have a best friend because maybe they will stab you in the back I just keep my own stuff to myself because If you tell that one everybody will know”

7.4 The role as a partner

Gender theory investigates the social organization of sexual differences, constructed and/or inherent (Conell, 2002). Throughout the interviews a quite traditional female gender role is emerging. When asked if they would get a divorce the answers are widely spread among the informants, some say they would if their husband did not treat them right, others say they rather live together before marriage, which is interesting because it goes against traditional Christian beliefs. All the informants want to marry one day and state a good age is between 20 and 30. Since a majority of the informants stated that their parents were married when they were children, they might see marriage as a tradition. In a social constructionist perspective, their background and living in a children’s home where traditional and Christian values are norm could play an important part in how the informants perceive marriage. Half of the informants state they could consider living their life as a single others say it would be boring. Overall, they all seem to have a quite positive view of their future. Connected to gender theory, it seems as if the informants think a man and a woman have different roles in a relationship. The boy is the one who takes the initiative and asks a girl out, he is also the one initiating sex. It seems as if these conditions are quite accepted among the informants, they do not really seem to question them. The role as a partner and in particular the sexual dimensions, seem to be the man’s arena.

Having a relationship with someone of another age/culture/religion

Most informants could be in a relationship with someone of another culture. In the perspective of social constructionism, living in a multi-cultural context in the children’s home, could have contributed to this. Almost all of the informants would not be in a relationship with someone younger, maybe this could be related to a conservative view on the male gender role; the man should be older, stronger and able to support a family. Half of the informants could be in a relationship with someone of another religion, the other half can not picture themselves with someone of another religion, this is predominantly a statement by the Afrikaans-speaking informants. All informants view homosexuality as wrong, some say it is against the Bible, which also display Christian beliefs, maybe influenced by the beliefs upheld by the children’s home.

7.5 The role as a pupil/living in the children’s home

In the quantitative study, Most of the respondents state that girls should behave better in school than boys. Three quarter state that the staff at the children’s home should expect better conduct of girls than of boys. According to Conell (2002) sex categories become gendered through the use of gender markers. Gender is a socially constructed means of assigning characteristics to sex categories. In the perspective of gender theory, many cultures expect women to take the main responsible for the household, the children and old family members. These tasks involves a high level of responsibility and maturity. Therefore, girls might be expected to show a higher level of maturity in all areas of life, in preparation of becoming a woman. The expectations on girls, that
they should behave better than boys could be influenced by a stereotyped view on gender roles in the society. In the qualitative study, the predominant view among the informants is that it is better to live in the children’s home than in the world outside, because they are protected and can get an education. The main disadvantage seems to be how the staff is dealing with the children at the children’s home, that some do not seem to like the children. Some also state that the staff rather call the police or send the children to another children’s home than to have a conversation with them. In a social constructionist view, the informants might perceive themselves as privileged living in the children’s home where they can get an education, maybe because the children’s home upholds education as something valuable. Maybe, they would not have valued it as much if they had stayed in their past context, living with uneducated parents. Of course, on the other hand, previous experiences also could add to their positive perception of education.

8. Final discussion
The aim of this study is to develop an understanding of how adolescent South African girls in institutional care perceive their female gender role, in the dimensions of past, present and future. In this section we will present a summary of the results connected to the research question. The interpretation of the results will be presented connected to previous research and the themes: the role as a mother, the role as a friend and the role as a partner. The reason why we only present these themes is that we could not find research in line with the other themes.

8.1 Summary of the results
The research question in this study is: How do adolescent girls living in institutional care in South Africa perceive their female gender role in the areas of motherhood, partnership, friendship, future occupation and being a pupil/living in a children’s home, in the dimensions of past, present and future?

The results show that the informants think it is possible to work full-time and still be a good mother, and that they rather work and bring in the money in a future relationship, than take care of the children and the household. The informants also want to wait until they are in their mid 20’s up to 30’s until they get married and become mothers. Still, they regard marriage as important and that it is the woman’s duty to take care of the household and the children. The informants think it would be difficult to be a single mother. When it comes to the professional role, most of the informants want to become something professional. They do not think it would be more difficult to achieve a career because they are girls.

In the area of love, partnership and sex, the man dominates the arena. If a girl initiates a relationship or sex, she could be perceived as too forward. The informants state that violence in a relationship is unacceptable, still, they think it is common. They think violence in a relationship is used when people are drunk, lack money or if a woman refuses to have sex with a man. Most informants think a boy would get upset if a girl does not want to have sex when he wants. They state a good age for the sexual debut is in the 20’s, but most of the informants think people have sex at a younger age. All of the informants want to get married one day, and think a good age getting married is in the mid 20’s up to the 30’s. Some of the informants could consider getting a divorce if their husband would not treat them right, and some of them could consider life as a single. The informants could be in a relationship with someone of another culture, and half of the informants could be in a relationship with someone of another religion, but being in a relationship
with someone younger, seems to be a great taboo. Homosexuality is not accepted and perceived as wrong. The informants have predominantly conventional views about the role as a partner, while their views are more progressive and equal in the area of the professional role. The theme the role as a friend, shows that some girls, have a best friend, but do not really trust people. The theme living in the children’s home/being a pupil shows that the informants think they should behave better than boys, both in school and in the children’s home.

8.2 Interpretation of results

8.2.1 The role as a mother

The perception of the role as a mother among the informants is that a good mother should be loving and caring and should listen to her children, respect them and tell them what is right and wrong. They also valued having an open conversation with a mother. According to previous research, by Alberts, Mbalo and Ackermann (2002) adolescent girls expressed the importance of being able to have a good relationship with their parents, speaking freely to them about personal matters.

8.2.2 The role as a partner

Violence in a relationship

The quantitative study shows that a third of the respondents think it is acceptable that a boyfriend hits his girlfriend since she has been out drinking with a male friend, while more than half of the respondents do not think it is acceptable that a girlfriend hits her boyfriend when he has been kissing another girl. Most of the respondents think it is more acceptable for a guy to hit a girl, than the opposite. This is in line with previous research which states that violence often is used by a boyfriend in order to control a girl in a relationship if he suspects that she is unfaithful (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). In the qualitative study, most of the informants do not think violence is acceptable in a relationship, no matter if you are a man or woman. Still, they think it is common and used when people are drunk, lack money or when a girl refuses to have sex with a boy. All of the seven informants think a boyfriend would threaten the girl, and tell her that he would leave her if she does not have sex with him. Two informants think a boyfriend would get violent and force a girl. Wood & Jewkes (2001) state that boys use violence to control girls in a relationship. Infidelity, or suspected infidelity, on the part of a girlfriend is often a catalyst for assault, or if a girlfriend tries to end a relationship. Violence, as forced or coerced sex is also used when a girl refuses to have sex.

The sexual dimension of a relationship

In the interviews, the informants also stated that a girl do not usually ask a boy out or take the initiative to sex, because then she could be regarded as too forward. This is in line with previous research, where teenage girls are not allowed to demonstrate desire and initiate sex because they would then be regarded as loose (Wood, Maforah and Jewkes, 1996). Most of the informants also state that it is bad having experienced more than one sex partner or having sex without having a relationship. The informants explain that the reason why it is bad is that you could contract diseases like AIDS, that the girl could get pregnant and left with the baby, that the girl could get a
bad reputation and that girls are softer inside. Most informants think boys think differently about this, they state that boys can not get a bad reputation and that they do not care that much about the risk of getting diseases. This is in line with previous research, which states that for a boy, having more than one sexpartner is an important defining feature to prove his masculinity (Wood & Jewkes, 1998). A majority of the informants also stated that the boy is mainly responsible for bringing the condoms, although the same amount stated that a girl also could. It seems like the informants in our study is more positive about a girl carrying condoms, than showed in previous research. Previous research reveals a contradiction, avoiding pregnancy is perceived as a solely female responsibility, yet many girls state that if a woman practises a contraceptive method, she would not tell her partner for fear of his negative reaction because she might be perceived as promiscuous (Varga, 2003).

The sexual debut
In the qualitative study all of the informants think a good age having the sexual debut is between 18 and 21 years old, or when married. Still, most informants think people are having their sexual debut when they are much younger. Almost all of the informants uphold Christian values, maybe because of their upbringings in the Eastern Cape and in the children’s home. This is in line with previous research, in which it is stated that moral and religious values are strongly featured among Xhosa-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking youth from the Eastern Cape (Alberts, Mbalo, and Ackermann, 2002). When asked about the purpose of sex in a relationship, most informants seemed to find it difficult to answer the question. Some of them said that you should wait with sex until you get married, rather avoiding the question. When asked if sex could be something good or beautiful within a marriage, one of the informants denied it and stated that sex could be neither good nor beautiful. In the perspective of social constructionism, this again, could be related to Christian values where abstinence is pleaded for. This is in line with previous research which shows that adolescent girls rather want to wait with sex until they are married and state it is a bad activity, something you are forced to do by someone who is stronger (Wood, Maforah and Jewkes, 1996).

Divorce and living life as a single
In previous research, family life is more important to Xhosa-speaking adolescents. They seem to have concern for the welfare of their parents (Alberts, Mbalo, Ackermann, 2002). In our study some girls expressed a desire to take care of a future family, maybe since most of them lack strong family bonds. Opposed to this more traditional view on marriage, over 75 percent state that a woman could focus on her career and not have kids (in the quantitative study). In previous research, formal education and career goals is an area of high priority. To some extent relatively more Xhosa-speaking participants than Afrikaans- and English-speaking adolescents and more females than males referred to education as an area of major importance (Alberts, Mbalo, Ackermann, 2002). Maybe the importance of getting a good education and getting a profession is competing with more traditional beliefs that a woman should take care of the household and the children. Since the informants want to get married in a more mature age, they could do both. In comparance with other themes in this study, the role as a partner seems to be the most stagnant area when it comes to equality between women and men. The informants seem to be confident and forward when it comes to other themes, in particular, the professional role where they rather be independent and bring in their own money, than depend on a man. According to a study by Mdikana (2000) an acute awareness of gender role issues among Xhosa-speaking adolescents from both genders, clearly indicates a movement away from gender stereotyping. This trend
seems to be in line with the process of democratization in South Africa, in which gender issues are highly regarded.

8.2.3 The role as a pupil/living in the children’s home

In the quantitative study, Most of the respondents think that girls should behave better in school than boys. Three quarter state that the staff at the children’s home should expect better conduct of girls than of boys. In a gender perspective, the expectations on girls are that they should behave better than boys. In line with previous research, it seems as if female adolescents, particularly in Eastern Cape Afrikaans-speaking girls, regard questions like “What kind of person do I want to be” and “how to conduct oneself” as very important (Alberts, Mbalao and Ackermann, 2002). The expectations on boys might be different, according to previous research among boys in the Xhosa-culture, it is seen to be essential for boys to pass through a stage of experimentation, in order to have such behaviours successfully curbed in adulthood. Many actions taken by teenage boys were not regarded as seriously, as those of older men. The sense of thinking were more “Boys would be boys” (Wood & Jewkes, 1998).

8.3 Final comment

When the different themes are connected to each other the emerging pattern shows that most informants have one view of gender roles in general, a more traditional picture of how things are supposed to be, and another, less conservative when they express their own desires of how they want their future life and household. In particular, the informants think the woman’s duty in the home is to cook and clean, while their view on career related issues are more non-traditional. For example, a majority of the informants could see themselves focusing on their career and not have children, careers mentioned were for example being a social worker or a doctor. It seems to be very important for the informants to be able to earn their own money in order to be independent. In a way, this is positive but since most universities have a fee and that it is hard to get in, these expectations might be unrealistic and difficult to fullfil. The reason for this might be the lack of career counseling during the stay at the children’s home. It might also be related to that the informants once were rescued and brought into protection at the childrens home, which might lead to assumptions that everything is possible. A majority of the informants want to get married and have children in their mid 20’s or 30’s. They also think they will become good mothers themselves, despite their upbringing in a children’s home. A more traditional view of the female gender role can also be discerned in the area of relationships and sexuality; where a woman can not take the initiative to sex without being seen as promiscious and forward. The perception of the gender role in this sphere seems to be very static, the informants do not seem to question prevalent norms. In conclusion, the girls have faith in the future but the main question is if this is enough to achieve a succesful future, despite their disadvantaged situation. Maybe, this is more of a wishful thinking than a concrete strategy towards a distinct goal.

9. Method discussion

An advantage of using a mixed strategy is that it offered us both a general view of the perception of the female gender role among the sample, and also offered a deeper understanding of these views, in the interviews. There is no contradictions between the results of the quantitative and the qualitative study which is a sign of high reliability. Another advantage is that we knew most of the staff and the children and were familiar with the surroundings. It is also likely that our age
and familiarity with the subject matter from previous research, contributed to the willingness of the respondents to discuss sensitive issues like sex and violence. What also might have contributed to this was that the girls were familiar with us, since we did our practical training at the children’s home. This might also have been a disadvantage since people did not seem to understand our role as researchers, both staff and children thought we were back as volunteers. In retrospect, one disadvantage is that we did not test our interview guide in advance, because then we could have added questions about the informant’s intentions and plans for the future, in particular to explore if they are setting any goals to achieve professional goals. Because of this our view of the informants are limited, we do not know much about their plans and intentions, only about their dreams and expectations. The language barrier was also a disadvantage, the children have either Xhosa or Afrikaans as their first language and English as a second language. It is hard to say, if they did not understand some of the questions because of the language barrier or because of the question’s form.

10. Future Research
During our literature search, we discovered the lack of research in the field of adolescent girls in institutional care in South Africa. In particular, in the area of gender and gender roles. We regard this subject matter as highly important and would therefore add some suggestions for future research:

- Research focusing on how effective career guidance could be carried out to children living in institutional care in South Africa.

- Research exploring how children in institutional care perceive their reality, increasing the knowledge about how their identity is constructed and what beliefs they have.

- Research connected to gender issues, to enhance the awareness about how gender is constructed in a South African context.

- Research on how adolescent girls living in institutional care in South Africa could be transferred more effectively into the community, since they need to move out from the children’s home after graduating.
References


**Articles**


Web documents


Appendix

Appendix 1. The questionnaire

Appendix 2. Interview guide

Appendix 3. The results of the qualitative study
Appendix 1

1. A mother who works full-time can still be a good mother
   - I totally agree
   - I agree to some extent
   - I mainly disagree
   - I totally disagree

2. A father can be even more loving than the mother
   - I totally agree
   - I agree to some extent
   - I mainly disagree
   - I totally disagree

3. A father who works full-time can still be a good father?
   - I totally agree
   - I agree to some extent
   - I mainly disagree
   - I totally disagree

4. It is okay for a woman to focus on her career and not have kids
   - I totally agree
   - I agree to some extent
   - I mainly disagree
   - I totally disagree

5. A woman can be a good supervisor for construction workers
   - I totally agree
   - I agree to some extent
   - I mainly disagree
   - I totally disagree

6. It is okej for a man to focus on his career and not have kids
   - I totally agree
   - I agree to some extent
   - I mainly disagree
   - I totally disagree
7. A girl can be a good leader
☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

8. A girl best friend can be a boy
☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

9. A boy can be a good leader
☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

10. A woman should obey her husband
☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

11. A woman's duty should be to cook, clean and take care of the children in a household
☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

12. A husband should always listen to his wife before making any decisions
☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

13. Girls should behave better in school than boys
☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree
14. In the childrens home, the staff should expect better conduct of girls than of boys

☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree
Sarah is 19 years old and is living with her boyfriend Jack, in an apartment in central. They have been going out for 2 years, and things haven't been so good lately. Sarah's best friend is Matt, they grow together in Lorraine and their parents are also best friends. One night Sarah went out with Matt and some other friends, Jack's was in Uitenhage working. Sarah had too much to drink and got a bit drunk and came home 2 o'clock in the morning. Jack was still awake, not knowing that Sarah was out. When she opened the door, Jack got very angry and pushed Sarah against the door so her arm got injured. This was the first time that Jack got so angry. The day after their fight, Jack was very sad and had remorse.

That Jack hit Sarah was acceptable considering the circumstances?

☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I don't have any opinion
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

Rob and Liz have been a couple since they were 16 years old. They are now 24 years. Rob is studying at the University of PE and Jenny in his class is hitting on Rob. Jenny really fancy Rob. Liz partents just got divorced and Liz hasn't been happy lately and have shut out Rob. One night campus, after a big party Jenny and Rob starting to kiss. Rob felt bad about what happened and told Liz about kissing Jenny. Liz got very upset, and sad, and punched him in the face with a candlestick.

Is Liz behavior acceptable considering the circumstances?

☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I don't have any opinion
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

Is it more okay that a guy hits a girl?

☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I don't have any opinion
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

Is it okay that Sarah went out drinking?

☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I don't have any opinion
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree
Is it more okay that a guy can get drunk than a girl?

☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I don’t have any opinion
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

After eight years of study, Julia finally become a doctor and got a job at Greenacres hospital. Julia is married to Brent who works as a technician, loving his job. They are very happy together. They have three children, Mandy, Loren and Marcus, they are all in school. Julia's salary at the hospital is twice as good as Brent's. After some discussions the happy couple decided that Brent is quitting his job, after some fighting, to take care of the children, picking them up from school, cooking and cleaning. Julia has to work a lot overtime at the hospital because her boss is very demanding. Because of this, she can’t spend a lot of time with her family.

It is okay for Julia to be the breadwinner of the family?

☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I don’t have any opinion
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree

Since Ryan was a kid, he always liked to be a chef. Later in life he saw an opportunity when Edward Protea Hotel in central needed maids. Ryan thought this could perhaps lead to a job in the kitchen. His girlfriend, Jill thinks it is a bit embarrassing to tell her friends that Ryan is a maid at a hotel. Though this could perhaps lead to a job as a chef. The work as a maid isn’t very well-off. Ryan has decided to take the job as a maid, without asking Jill what she thinks.

It is good for Ryan working as a maid?

☐ I totally agree
☐ I agree to some extent
☐ I don’t have any opinion
☐ I mainly disagree
☐ I totally disagree
Appendix 2

Age:
Race:
Religion:
How many years living in the childrens home:

The role as a mother

Past:
-What was your mother’s duties in the home?
-What was your father’s duties in the home?

Current:
-How should a good mother behave?
-How should a good father behave?
-Do you have any mother figure in your life? (Is it anyone here at the children’s home or outside)

Future:
-Do you want to become a mother?
-When do you think it’s a good age becoming a mother/ a father?
-Do you think you would become a good mother, explain?
-What do you think about being a single mother?

Professional role

Past:
-What was your dream job when you were a child?
-What did your mother/father/ close relatives/ work with?

Current:
-Would you like to work extra?
-What would you like to do?

Future:
-What would you like to work with when you have finished school?
-Do you think you could work with anything you like, though you are a girl?
Do you think any area is closed to you, because you are a girl?
-If you could choose, what would you rather do, work and bring in the money, or take care of the home and the children?
-Do you have faith in your future?
-Do you think any area is closed for you because you are a girl?
-Do you want to become a professional footballplayer…?(provocative questions)
The role as a friend

Past:
- Did you hang out with both girls and boys (before you moved in here)?
- Did you have any best friend?

Current:
- Do you have any best friend?
- Do you have friends of both sexes?
- Do you think a girl can have a best friend who is a boy?
- Do you think a boy can have a best friend who is a girl?

Future:
- Do you think you will keep in contact with people from the children’s home, when you move out?

The role as a partner

Past:
- Were your parents married?

Current:
- If you had a boyfriend, would he get jealous if you had another boyfriend?/ friends who are boys?
- How would he react, if he found out?
- What would you do if you found out that he had another girlfriend/friends who are girls?
- What kinds of activities do you like to perform as a couple?
- What kinds of activities do your boyfriend like to perform as a couple?
- How do a boy and a girl become a couple, who takes the initiative?
- Do you think a woman has a certain role in a relationship, explain?
- Do you think a man has a certain role in a relationship, explain?
- Could you mention any qualities a boy would find important in a girlfriend?
- What do you think is important qualities in a boyfriend?

(sex)

- What do you think about having sex without having a relationship?
- Would it be different if you were a boy?
- What do you think is the purpose of sex in a relationship?
- What do you think a boy thinks is the purpose of sex in a relationship?
- How do you think a boyfriend would react if his girlfriend doesn’t want to have sex when he wants?
- What is your opinion of sex without condoms?
- Who should bring the condoms, the boy or the girl?
(- Could you be in a relationship where the boy is younger?
- Could you be in a relationship with someone of another race?
- Could you be in a relationship with someone with another religion?)
- Do you think it’s good having experienced more than one sex partner(if you are a girl/boy)?
-How do you think a boy would react if a girl takes the initiative to sex?
-At what age do you think boys/girls are having their sexual debut?
-When do you think is a good age for a sexual debut if you are a girl/boy?
-Do you think it’s acceptable to use violence in a relationship (if you are a girl/boy?)
-When do you think violence is used?
-What’s your opinion on male/female homosexuality?

**Future:**
-Would you like to get married?
-If your husband wouldn’t be good to you, would you consider getting a divorce?
-When do you think is a good age for marriage if you are a girl/boy?
-How would you like your home/household, in a future family?
-Could you consider living your life as a single?

**The role as a pupil/living in a children’s home**

**Past:**
-At what age were you placed at the children’s home?
-Do you remember how you felt?

**Current:**
-How is life in the children’s home (what is good/bad)?
-What do you think about the staff at the office/ the child care workers?

**Future:**
-Do you think your future will be different since you grew up here, at the childrens home? Because you are a girl?
Appendix 3

1. Qualitative results

1.1 Introduction
The results of the qualitative data will be presented under each theme; the role as mother, the professional role, the role as a friend, the role as partner and the role as a pupil/living in a children’s home. Each theme will also contain a summarizing comment. To obtain an overall picture of the informant’s perception of their female gender role, we will divide the presentation of the themes in the dimensions of past, present and future. We have followed the interview guide throughout the presentation of the results. Answers will be presented as a summary with highlighting quotations. The summary of the theme-The role as a partner is divided into three headings: partnership, life as a couple and views on sexuality. The participants in the qualitative study, is called informants.

1.2 The informants
In order to protect the identities of the informants only their age will be presented before each quotation. The informants are adolescent girls between the age 13-15 years old with different cultural origin including White, Coloured and Africans. The informants have been living in the children’s home from one to six years.

The informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<td>16 years old</td>
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<tr>
<td>Informant 2</td>
<td>13 years old</td>
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<td>Informant 3</td>
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<td>Informant 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Informant 7</td>
<td>15 years old</td>
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1.3 Theme: The role as a mother

Past:

The duties in the home
Half of the informants come from traditional households where the woman is taking care of the children and house and the man works. The other half does not remember what duties their parents or relatives had in the household. One informant says they had a housekeeper and that it seemed to be very equal between her auntie and her husband.
Present:

How a good mother/father should behave
There are many similarities between the informants and how they think a good mother should behave. She should be someone you can have a conversation with, someone you can trust, someone who tells you about right and wrong and someone who sets rules. She should be loving, caring and respectful. She should not drink too much or smoke and she must not hit the children.

Informant 1, explains how a good mother should be:

“A mother a mother must…look after the kids she must work and be neat for herself/…/Ja she mustn’t be dirty you see she must be neat”

The informants seem to have similar ideas of how a good father should behave. They mention things like that he should respect the children, love all children equally, set rules for the children and listen to them. A good father should also do his duties; work and look after the family. A good father should not drink.

A mother figure
A majority of the informants state they have a mother figure in their life (5 out of 7), in most cases it is a relative, like an aunt or a grandmother. One of the informants says she has a father figure who is her auntie’s husband.

Future:

To become a mother
A majority of the informants want to become mothers one day, except for one, who is not sure. She states that there is too much work and responsibility. Almost all of the informants think they will become good mothers one day. The reason for this are that they can give their children what they did not get and that they could tell them about their own lives, about growing up in a children’s home.

Informant 6 explains why she would become a good mother one day:

“Yes I like children and ... because I can tell my children what I went through as a child and I don’t want them to also be in a children’s home ... I don’t want them to have the life that I’ve had ... I want them to have a different life than me”

Informant 1 states that she does not want her children to grow up in a children’s home:

“A good mother I don’t want them to go the same route as I went like live in a children’s home and stuff”

A good age becoming a mother or a father
All the informants think that the mid 20’s up to the 30’s is a good age becoming a mother and a father. One informant says 21 years is a good age, both becoming a father and a mother, not younger. One informant says that a good age becoming a father is in the 40’s.
Being a single mother
A majority of the informants do not want to become single mothers (5 out of 7) they think it would be difficult to raise a child alone. One of the informants thinks society looks at it in a bad way.

Informant 6 explains why she does not think being a single mother is a good thing:

“Oh that wouldn't be nice because the child would grow up and asking about what happened and where's my father and the child wants to know everything what happened and you must tell her ... you can’t keep it away from her because the child has the right to know who is the father”

Informant 3 says it would be difficult to support a child as a single mother:

“I think it will be hard because maybe you have to work and then you must have someone to look after the child and they must get paid to and ja you must cook and everything”

Comment- The role as a mother
A majority of the informants can not remember their parent’s duties in the home, some informants come from a traditional household where the mother were responsible for taking care of the house and the children and where the father was the breadwinner. The informants seem to value respect as an important quality in both a mother and a father. They also think it is important that both a mother and a father teach the children about what is right and wrong. Most of the informants seem to have a mother figure in their lives. A majority of the informants want to become mothers one day. Most of them think they will become good mothers since they could tell their children about their own lives, about growing up in a children’s home. A majority think a good age becoming a mother or a father is in the mid 20’s up to the 30’s. Most of the informants think being a single mother would be difficult.

5.4 Theme: The professional role

Past:

The dream job as a child
All the informants had a dream of becoming something professional, two of them wanted to become lawyers, two wanted to become teachers, other occupations mentioned were becoming a singer, a social worker and a flight attendant.

Informant 4 says when asked about her dream job when she was a child:

“When I was small hey I liked to listen to music then I said to myself when I’m big I want to be a singer”
Their mother’s occupation
3 out of 7 informants could not remember what their mothers or who ever they stayed with did, if they worked or if they stayed at home. Two of the mothers were taking care of the children and the household while another two worked full-time.

Their father’s occupation
Two of the informants could not remember what their fathers worked with, but the other five said that their fathers worked, some of the jobs mentioned were work in a bakery, at a school and putting glasses into cars.

Present:

Working extra during their studies
One of the informants is working extra beside her studies. She is helping a childcare worker at the children’s home to cook, another informant has been working as a clown at a local restaurant. The other informants would like to work extra if possible.

About working as a clown informant 3 says:

“I worked as a clown /.../ No (he he) because everybody is laughing at you and you came home and think of everything they say and it was just bad”

Future:

All seven informants have faith in the future and would rather work and bring in the money than stay at home taking care of the household and the children; two of the informants state they would like to do both; both stay at home and work. All the informants think it is important to make their own money, not being dependent on a husband. In the future, the informants want jobs such as a doctor, a nurse, a social worker or a big boss.

Informant 6 explains why she would like to work:

“Both must work, because sometimes if the woman don’t work then the man can come out of job maybe and he had a fight with his boss and take the anger out of you, and you mustn’t stay here because this is my house and then he chase you out /.../ I see this at my mother and father, my father don’t…because my mother don’t work she look after my brothers and sisters … my father works most, and now he always says this is my house and you must go and then my mother can’t say anything because he is working …If he don’t want to buy food he don’t want to because it’s his money …then my mother go to my grandmother maybe to ask there for food… That’s why I want to…”

Informant 1 explains why she would like to become a social worker:

“Now I want to become a social worker/.../ Because of my circumstances …I have experienced a lot of stuff lately hey so that’s why”
If they want to become a professional rugby player

A majority of the informants were positive about being a professional sports player. One of the informants said that she did not want to become a professional rugby player, the other said that they did not think it would be difficult, becoming a professional rugby player.

Comment-The professional role

Most of the informants had a dream of becoming something professional as a child, like becoming a lawyer, a teacher or a social worker. Two informants said their mothers were housewives, and two of the informants said their mothers were working full-time, the other were not sure if their mothers worked or not. A majority seemed to remember that their fathers worked, occupations like working in a bakery, at a school and putting glass into cars were mentioned. One informant is working extra, and the other would like to work extra if possible. All seven informants have faith in the future and would rather work and bring in the money than stay at home with the children. They all seem to value independence, having their own money and not being dependent on a future husband. A majority of the informants were positive about becoming a professional rugby player and did not think it would be difficult becoming one.

1.5 Theme: The role as a friend

Past:

Playing with both boys and girls

A majority of the informants (5 out of 7) state that they played with both girls and boys before they moved into the children’s home. One of the informants says she played rugby with the boys and another informant says she was a tomboy and more like a boy herself. More than half of the informants (4 out of 7) had a best friend before they moved into the children’s home, and all of those had a best friend who was a girl. Among those who did not have a best friend, one says she was too shy, and another informant says she was afraid to leave the house because the world outside was too dangerous.

Present:

Having a best friend

Today, more than half of the informants state that they have a best friend (4 out of 7). Their friends are all girls and live either in the children’s home or are mates at school. Among those of the informants who do not have any best friend one explains that she is friend with everybody, another says she does not have any best friend because she has been more like a tomboy, but does not want to be with the friends she had before, because they are so naughty. Another informant says, that she rather keep things to herself, in case a friend would backstab her.

Informant 3 says:
“No I still don’t have a best friend because maybe they will stab you in the back I just keep my own stuff to myself because If you tell that one everybody will know”

Friends of both sexes
A majority of the informants state that they have friends who are boys. One of the informants says she prefers being friend with boys, because she thinks girls gossip a lot. Another informant says she has friends who are boys, but some of the boys are rude. Five out of seven informants think a boy’s best friend can be a girl and that a girl’s best friend can be a boy, one says a girl and a boy could be best friends, but it could get complicated when they get older.

Informants 6 explains why it could get complicated if a boy and a girl are best friends:

“Yes because you know each other well and then you are going to fall in love with each other…and you go out to this party or maybe to a restaurant and then the things just happen”

Future:
To keep in contact with people from he children’s home
A majority of the informants (4 out of 7) are not sure if they will keep in contact with people from the children’s home. Those among the informants who want to keep in contact with people from the children’s home seem to have close friends, one says she is going to cry and miss the children and her housemother. One informant is not sure if she will keep in contact with people from the children’s home, she states she is not happy in the children’s home but might keep in contact with some friends.

Informant 3 explains that she might keep in contact with some people, but she is not sure if they want to keep in contact with her:

“Yes maybe I will but maybe at that time they don’t want to know you I don’t know what to say /.../Yes when they are big they just keep them lekker and think they are the one and they walking in the streets and don’t want to greet you so I don’t really care about friends so I don’t care about friends I just have one or two “

Comment- The role as a friend
Most of the informants have a best friend, all which are girls, even though a majority state they have friends of both sexes. Most of the informants think a boy’s best friend can be a girl, and the other way around. A majority of the informants are not sure whether they will keep in contact with people from the children’s home when they have moved out.

5.6 Theme: The role as a pupil/living in a children’s home

Past:
All the informants have stayed at the children’s home from one to six years.

Informant 2 says when asked why she was placed in the children’s home:

3 Lekker means nice or good in Afrikaans
"Because my mother wanted us back yeah and my auntie gave us back to our mother and then my mother ran away when I was /.../ and my auntie said we can’t go on like this since your mother has hurt you enough when I came here I was crying a lot but now I like it here because now I am all grown up “

Present:

What they think about living in a children’s home
The answers are widely spread some of the informants do not like living in a children’s home but understand that it is for the best, and that it is better than living in the outside world because they are safe and protected. One informant says that she does not like it but they learn what is right and wrong. Some of the informants say that the childcare workers do not like the children and that they do are not treated right.

Living in a children’s home informant 3 says:

“Yes you don’t get a lot of attention because it is a lot of children here but you learn what is wrong and right when you are outside it is rough “

Informant 1 says:

“Sometimes I think it’s very nice to live here this opportunity I don’t have at home outside I would go the wrong way ... here you have to go to school don’t have boyfriends study and other stuff outside no one talks to you bad people influence you like drinking sleeping with your boyfriend don’t go to school”

Future:

If their life will be different because they are girls and been living in a children’s home
A majority of the respondents point out that because they have had the opportunity to go to school while they have been living at the children’s home, their future will be different. Two out of the seven respondents state that being a boy would be better while the other five say that they do not think they will be treated differently because they are girls.

Informant 2 says:

“Yes I actually wish I was a man because a girl has much more pain than a man“

Informant 5 says:

“Yes both ... if you want to become something you can be that something ... I think girls and boys can do the same things”

Comment -The role as a pupil/living in a children’s home
All the informants have lived in the children’s home ranging from one to six years. When asked about living in the children’s home, the answers are widely spread. Some think it is
mainly good because they can get an education and protection from the world outside. Others say they do not like it and some say the staff does not treat the children right. A majority of the informants think their future will be different since they grew up in a children’s home, because they had the opportunity to go to school. Two out of the seven informants state being a boy would be better while the other five state they do not think their future would be any different because they are girls.

1.7 Theme: The role as a partner

Past:

*If their parents were married*
Most of the informants had parents who were married in the past (5 out of 7). Two do not know if their parents where married or not. One got told by her auntie that her parents were married, another says that her parents was married but that her mother got a new boyfriend whom she do not like. Another said her mother is married to her father’s brother.

Present:

*If their boyfriend would find out that they had another boyfriend, besides him*
All the informants think a boyfriend would get angry and upset if he would find out that they had another boyfriend. Two of the informants say that he would fight with them; then hit the other guy. A majority of the informants said their boyfriend would be very jealous and leave them. One informant said that they would sort it out by talking.

*If their boyfriend had another girlfriend*
The majority said they would ask him straight, to find out if it was true or not, and if he had another girlfriend they would dump him or ignore him. One informant would have given him a warning. One informant said her boyfriend has another girlfriend but that she does not mind, since she has been cheating herself.

Informant 2 says when asked what she would do if she would found out:

“I ask my friend because if some of my friends stay near him and see things like that but if they don’t see things I ask him myself and if he doesn’t want me to tell me the truth then I won’t care about him anymore “

*What kind of activities would a girl like to perform as a couple*
A majority of the informants say that they like going to the movies, drinking milkshake and going out for dinner with their boyfriends. Two of the informants say they like holding hands and kissing. Most of the informants say they think it is important being able to talk with a boyfriend.
**What kind of activities would a boy like to perform as a couple**

The answers are widely spread. One informant says her boyfriend rather spends time with his friends than with her. Another says that he likes doing the same things. Another says he likes to talk about cricket and rugby. One informant says a boyfriend wants to sleep with you.

Informant 2 say when asked what a boy would like to perform as a couple:

“You get some of that tannie boys that just want to sleep with the girls but you also get that boys that respect you that ask the girl to take her to the movies and there is a party there tonight and they want you to come and you get those who treat you right but you get those who just want to sleep with you and if you don’t they will hurt you get those boys “

**How a boy and girl become a couple**

All of the informants state the boy must ask the girl out. Not the other way around. One informant said that the other girls might think you are a slut if you ask a boy out. Usually the boy asks they girl out on a date like going to the movies.

Informant 2 says when asked how a boy and girl become a couple:

“Well actually it’s the boy who ask the girl out the teenage boy go to the girl and say do you want to go to the movies tonight asking her on a date or something and they the go closer and closer and closer and they become a couple starting to like each other”

**Qualities a boy would find important in a girlfriend**

Some qualities mentioned by the informants is that the girl should be trustworthy, nice, honest, don’t cheat, do nice things for him. A girlfriend should not go around and kiss other boys. She must also be clean.

Informant 3 explains what a boyfriend would find important in a girlfriend:

“Okay a guy looks at a girls nails at the girls body and at the girls legs and the hair and the eyes and you must be clean otherwise a boy wouldn’t go for you and you don’t have to wear names and stuff as long as you are clean the boy will find you attractive”

**Having sex without having a relationship- if you are a girl**

Almost all of the informants think sex without having a relationship is bad (except for one, who does not know). Four of the informants mention the risk of contracting AIDS or HIV, as a reason for not having sex without having a relationship. Two of the informants state it is bad because the girl can get pregnant and then the boy denies the child. Two informants mention both the risk of getting HIV and the risk of getting a bad reputation.

Informant 3 explains that a girl can get AIDS and a bad reputation if she is having sex without having a relationship:

“If you’re not in a relationship you can get AIDS because you don’t know if they have AIDS she has to know if he has AIDS and then you sleep with that one and he has AIDS I don’t think its right /…/ If a girl do like that her name will walk around in school and everywhere

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4 Tannie means auntie in Afrikaans, it is used when speaking to someone older to show respect
but a boy likes it their name doesn’t go around school you slept with that one and that one but a girl is another thing”

**Having sex without having a relationship- if you are a boy**

All the informants state boys think differently about having sex without having a relationship. They say boys do not mind and do not get a bad reputation.

Informant 2 explains that boys don’t even care much about the risk of contracting HIV:

“Yes boys think differently tannie some of the boys just want to have it with a girl tannie and then he didn’t tell that girl he had HIV and after they go for a HIV-test and then he says I’m sorry I have HIV just like that tannie some of the boys are like that before you have that you must go for a HIV-test “

Informant 6 says a boy does not mind having sex without having a relationship:

“Uh I don’t know…because some boys don’t know the girl and they go and sleep with the girls and think now I’m done with this girl and then going to the next and have sex… the boys like that... to do that”

**The purpose of sex in a relationship**

Half of the informants do not know how to answer the question about the purpose of sex is in a relationship. Some of them state you should wait with sex. One of the informants states that sex is something you only have when you are an adult and married. Another informant says that the purpose with sex in a relationship is to show how much you love someone, but that a boy would think the purpose of sex is for fun.

Informant 5 says some people say that you can not be in a relationship without having sex, which she thinks is wrong:

“Some people say… that if you want your relationship to go on, you must have sex … Because you can have a relationship without having sex with someone!.../ If you want to have your relationship growing you will have to have sex with someone...That is not correct”

Informant 2 explains that a boy just wants to sleep with a girl, she says:

“Well actually they don’t care how long they have know you for they don’t care about HIV they don’t even think if they something on his mind he wants to sleep with girl baby he thinks I want to get to know that girl so I can sleep with her that is what is on his mind and he gets to know her for two weeks then he wants to sleep with her and all what is on his mind is to sleep with her maybe forget about a condom or something and they sleep together and the child is there and then what is he going to do he doesn’t work and still young and all that stuff and still in school”

**How a boyfriend would react if a girlfriend does not want to have sex when he wants**

All of the seven informants think a boyfriend would get angry if a girlfriend refuses to have sex with him. Two of the informants say that some boys respect that a girl does not want to have sex. Two of the informants say that he would threaten the girl, and tell her that he would
leave her if she does not give him that something. Two of the informants think a boyfriend would get violent and force a girl:

Informant 2 explains a boyfriend could get violent if a girl refuses to have sex with him, although some boys respect the girl:

“They maybe the girl says I don’t want to sleep with you maybe I have a boyfriend I don’t know you or maybe you are a couple but you are saying not now or something and we are too young and we must go for a HIV-test and you don’t want to sleep with you and maybe you doesn’t love him you love someone else and he is forcing you and you don’t want to sleep with him some of the boys rape you or smack you and give you drugs and stuff to sleep with you but you do get some of the boys that accept when you say no “

Informant 6 explains that a boyfriend sometimes force a girl to have sex with him:

“Then he gets cross and he hits you and he force you and he /.../ open your legs /.../ and all he says I’m not going out with you and I don’t want to see you anymore ... and that things if you (work/walk) in the streets he just sits there and embarrassing you and he just want to make you jealous and do something”

Sex without condoms

A majority of the informants (5 out of 7) think it is important to use a condom because otherwise you can get AIDS or get pregnant. A majority of the informants are well informed about HIV and AIDS. Two of the informants state that using a condom is not safe, because they can break. One of them says that condoms are good only when you are married, and that it is better to wait with sex until you are married. Another informant says that it is not the same feeling with a condom, and they are not safe.

Informant 3 says that she does not think condoms are safe:

“Condoms doesn’t work maybe like sixty percent it isn’t a hundred percent you can still get pregnant the thing can tear and you don’t know if it will tear and ja I think without a condom is the best because you know you get the feeling and you can take the thing out you know because otherwise /.../ if you put the sperm into the girl the girl gets pregnant and then it is a whole mess (he he )”

Informant 5 thinks that there is a risk that you could get AIDS if you are having sex without a condom and you do not know who has got it:

“Because...um some people have diseases like AIDS and a lot of people in South Africa died from that you see... So if you don’t protect yourself you might get it... because you don’t know who’s got aids you see even with a beautiful boy you don’t even know if he’s got AIDS”

Informant 2 says it is easier to contract HIV when you are young:

“That is tannie my opinion is that when you are young you must watch out for HIV when you are still young your immune system is very weak and if you get HIV you can die very soon
Who brings the condom - the boy or the girl?
More than half of the informants (4 out of 7) state it is the boy’s main responsibility to bring the condom, even though the same amount of the informants also think a girl can bring a condom. Two informants think that bringing the condoms are both the boy’s and the girl’s responsibility. One informant says the boy should bring it because otherwise the boy would think the girl is too forward. Another informant says the boy should bring it and then the girl can help to put it on.

Having a relationship with someone who is younger
Almost all of the informants, except for one, could not picture themselves in a relationship with someone younger. The informant who thinks she could be in a relationship where the boy is younger says the boy must not be more than one to two years younger than her.

Informant 2 explains why she could not be in a relationship where the boy is younger:

“No tannie that is for me we call it that the older girl chicks with him because the older girls is raping the younger boys (he he) Not sex rape but we are saying that she is raping him because she can’t go and kiss a younger boy “

Having a relationship with someone of another race or religion
A majority of the girls could be in a relationship with someone of another race (5 out of 7), they state colour does not matter. It could also be a good thing because then you can learn about another culture, one informant says. One informant says she does not like white boys. Three informants out of seven think they could be in a relationship with someone with another religion, one does not know.

Informant 2 says race/culture does not matter:

“Like another culture /.../Yes it doesn’t matter about colour in this children’s home we love each other people must’n be racist tannie because we are not like that like don’t touch me because you are black or don’t touch me because your white we are all playing together because in my school it’s a lot of white girls that are going out with maybe a coloured or a african or like that it’s a free country tannie not like the old days”

Having experienced more than one sex partner
A majority of the informants (6 out of 7) think it is bad having experienced more than one sex partner. They state sleeping around would give a girl a bad reputation and she is also risking getting HIV. A majority of the informants also state that they do not think boys mind having more than one sex partner.

Informant 7 explains why she does not think girls should have more than one sex partner:

“Because girls we are different than boys and maybe if a girl sleep with that and that she can get...girls man are softer inside now we can be spoilt something in here...we can get lots of things”
How a boy would react if a girl takes the initiative to sex

A majority of the girls (5 out of 7) do not know how a boy would react if a girl took the initiative to sex. One says she thinks the boy would perceive the girl as a bit forward.

The sexual debut

All the informants think a good age having the sexual debut is between 18 and 21 years old, or when married. Still, the informants think people are having their sexual debut when they are much younger. The answers are widely spread, one informant says she think people are having their sexual debut by the age of 13, another says around 14, when they are in high school.

Informant 5 says some people are being raped at a young age:

“/…/we were watching this story, it’s about other woman she’s old now…Her uncle was raping her… it start six times there… it started when she was eight years old to 14…Even now that she is old her uncle was still rape her”

The acceptance of violence in a relationship

Most of the informants do not think violence is acceptable in a relationship (5 out of 7) no matter if you are a man or woman. One informant does not know and one says she could accept it under certain circumstances.

Informant 2 says she would not be scared if her boyfriend hit her:

“/…/you get that a lot here because if my boyfriend would hit me I would go to the police I hit him back tannie I’m not scared I would hit him back “

Informant 1 says violence is acceptable if she has done something seriously bad and it depends on how the boy hits her:

“It depends how he slaps you /…/ he mustn’t hit he mustn’t have a fist”

Informant 3 does not think a man should hit a woman:

“No a man can’t hit a woman because she will look ugly with a blue eye and the man is a lot stronger than a woman”

When violence is used in a relationship

Most of the informants think violence is common in a relationship. Some of the informants have experienced violence among family and friends, some say they know it is common in South Africa. They think violence occur in a relationship for several reasons; for example when people are drunk, when they lack money and when a woman refuses to have sex with a man. Most of the girls think it is more common that a man hits a woman, than that a woman hits a man.

Informant 3 explains that violence could be used in a relationship when a couple lack money:

“When they don’t have money ja because if the woman has the money and doesn’t want to give the man the money for alcohol or something he has to buy and then he gets angry and then they fight and gets in to a whole violence thing”
Opinions on Homosexuality
All the informants think homosexuality is wrong, some say it is weird, gross and even disgusting. Two informants state that homosexuality is against the Bible and against god’s intentions and that a woman shall be with a man. One informant says it is common in South Africa.

Future:

If they want to marry one day
A majority of the informants state they would like to get married one day. One informant say that she will get married, but that she does not want to because then she can not look at other men.

When is a good age to get married
The majority of the informants state around 25 up to 30 is a good age for getting married, and the same age for a man.

If they would leave their husband if he would not treat them right
When asked if they would leave their husband the answers were widely spread. One informant states that she would get a divorce if her husband was rude to her but does not understand why people divorce at all. Another said that she would get a divorce but would not get married again. Two of the informants says they want to live together before getting married so they can see if he is good or not.

Informant 2 says about getting a divorce:

“Yes but its not a good thing to divorce it’s also a promise to the judge but I will get divorce but then I won’t marry again /.../ If he hits me if my husband hits me I take a pan and hit him over the head (he he) I don’t want my children to grow up in a household fighting stuff”

Considering living a life a single woman
Half of the informants state they could consider living their life as a single. Some of them say that they could not consider living their life as a single since they would find it boring.

Informant 3 says when asked if she could consider living her life as a single:

“No I will get bored you will get old and old alone you can’t talk to someone by your side you want to love somebody”

How they see their future household
Two of the informants state they want both the man and the wife to be responsible for the household and help each other out. They have a positive picture about their future, with a husband, a house, a car, children and no fighting.
1.8 Comment-The role as a partner

**Partnership**
Most of the informants had parents who were married in the past. A majority of the informants state they would like to get married one day. A majority of the informants think around 25 up to 30 is a good age getting married, both for a man and a woman. Almost all of the informants, except for one, could not picture themselves in a relationship with someone younger. A majority of the girls could be in a relationship with someone of another cultural origin, and half of the informants could be in a relationship with someone of another religion. All the informants think homosexuality is wrong. When asked if they would get a divorce if a future husband would not treat them right, the answers are widely spread. Some would, one says she does not understand why people are getting divorced, two state they rather live together before getting married. Half of the informants state they could consider living their life as a single. Overall, the informants have a positive view of their future, they seem to want a traditional family with a husband and children. Two informants state they want a future household to be equal, that both the man and the woman should help each other out.

**Life as a couple**
All of the informants state that the boy must ask the girl out, that is how a boy and a girl become a couple. When asked about what activities they like performing as a couple, most of the informants say they like being able to talk with a boyfriend, but they also like kissing, holding hands and going to the movies. All the informants state their boyfriend would get angry and upset if he would find out that they had another boyfriend. If their boyfriend had another girlfriend, most of the informants would dump him or ignore him, but first they would ask him if it was true. The answers on what kind of activities a boyfriend would like to perform are widely spread, some say it is the same, another says her boyfriend likes being with his friends or to sleep with you. Qualities a boy would find important in a girlfriend is that a girl should be trustworthy, nice, honest and not cheat. Almost all of the informants think sex without having a relationship is bad, most of the informants mention the risk of contracting AIDS, HIV, that a girl could get pregnant and get a bad reputation. Most of the informants do not know how to answer the question about the purpose of sex is in a relationship. Some say you should wait with sex and one says the purpose is to show someone how much you love him. All of the seven informants think a boyfriend would get angry if a girlfriend refuses to have sex with him.

**The view on sexuality**
A majority of the informants think it is important to use a condom because otherwise you can get AIDS or get pregnant. More than half of the informants think it is the boy’s main responsibility to bring the condoms, even though the same amount of the informants also think a girl can bring the condoms. A majority of the informants think it is bad having experienced more than one sex partner. They say that sleeping around would give a girl a bad reputation and that she is also risking getting HIV. They think boys think differently about it, that they think it is good having experienced more than one sex partner. A majority of the informants do not know how a boy would react if a girl took the initiative to sex. One says she thinks the boy would perceive the girl as a bit forward. All the informants think a good age having the sexual debut is between 18 and 21 years old or when married. Still, the informants think people are having their sexual debut when they are much younger. Most of the informants do not think violence is acceptable in a relationship, no matter if you are a man or
woman. Most of the informants think violence is common in a relationship. They think it occurs when people are drunk, lack money or when a woman refuses to have sex with a man.