GENDER AND THE CHANGING DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE NAMIBIAN

HOUSEHOLD: A

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FAMILIES IN ONGWEDIVA CONSTITUENCY URBAN AND RURAL

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT

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ABSTRACT

The study investigated the changing gender division of labour between individuals of Ongwediva rural and urban households. The study involved 18 participants who were selected from 6 different families, 3 families from Ongwediva rural and 3 families from Ongwediva urban. These families were selected through snowball sampling strategies and the sampling criteria were that the family members should be married, legally and stay together. In addition to that an extra member of the family was also selected from each of the families that were involved in the study and in depth interviews were used as data collection instruments. The research design was qualitative, explorative and ethnographic in approach. Findings of the results of the study indicate that there are marked differences in the gender division of labour among the rural and urban dwellers. On the rural population, the gender division of labour greater gender inequality with the greater burden being on women taking care of household roles, while males seem not to play a significant role in helping out on household tasks and roles. Men in urban settings tend to have a more enlightened understanding of division of labour and they are involved in helping their women in household roles and tasks even if they are doing paid work that brings money at home. In addition to that, the study also revealed that the factors that contribute to differences in division of labour between the rural and urban population are education, socialisation, culture, modernisation and religious beliefs. The study recommended a need to strengthen policies on gender, gender imbalances between males and females most specifically aligned to the rural and urban population, making them to understand the roles that each individual should play in the household. Furthermore, the study recommended that churches needed to play a pivotal role in levelling the ground on the imbalances that already existed in gender division of labour, giving a burden on the rural women community. Moreover, the study recommended awareness campaigns on gender division of labour in both rural and urban communities.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late close-hearted friend, Mr. Hendrik Masamo, who passed away on the 20th of February 2016. He was very much technical, morally supportive to my study, and he believed in me. I honour this work to your memories. May your soul continue its rest in everlasting peace!

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Gender and gender roles remain some of the most important sources of social conflict among various societal groups. Issues related to gender expose many irregularities among different ethnicities since they mean different things to different people due to culture. This study investigated the issue of gender division labour in contemporary Namibia's Ongwediva rural and urban communities

The first part of this chapter focuses on the statement of the problem of the study. It also presents the research questions to be addressed in the current study. In addition to that, this chapter presents the significance of the study and then presents the limitation of the study. It highlights the literature that has been used to elaborate on the issues at hand. This chapter also presents in brief components of methodological aspects in terms of design, population, samples and sampling strategies which were used in the study. Finally, it gives the summary of the chapters in this study.

1.2 Background to the study

Before Namibia became independent in 1990, gender issues where not considered as important social matters or discussed substantively in communities. After Namibia gained its independence, women become more aware of the inequality and lack of gender rights, whether it was in the workplace where women frequently earned less than men, and in the family setting where male and female roles came to be seen as unequal and unfair (Ruppel, 2008).Urbanisation and modernisation changed the general understanding of the issues related to family household division of labour between men and women in Owamboland (Iipinge & Le Beau, 2005). This problem seems to have translated into the urban population

having more equal division of roles in the family household as compared to the rural counterpart. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate if there is a significant change in the division of labour in family households between Ongwediva rural and urban communities.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Arbache, Kolevand and Filipiak (2010, p.89) define gender as "a state of being male or female, which is not determined biologically, but is constructed socially and determined by the conception and roles attributed to women and men in society, in public or private life". In Namibia it seems that gender disparities was better understood in the way men and women should treat each other in the workplace but not well elucidated in the family household and this resulted in many social problems such as divorce and family disintegration. Gender disputes are also generally seen as the cause of on-going femicide taking place in most parts of the Namibian community with greater occurrences in Northern Namibia (Iipinge & Williams, 2000). Fewer studies have been done on gender division of labour in the Namibian context. Some of these studies were done by such authors like (Hishongwa, 1991; Williams, 1991; Hango-Rummukainen, 2000) just to mention a few. However no study has been done specifically focusing on Ongwediva Constituency, therefore this study has been undertaken to specifically investigate on the understanding of the urban and rural communities on gender division on labour. There have been no studies done on the changing nature of roles people undertaken in Ongwediva constituency of modern Namibian family. Therefore, the current study investigated on the changing division of labour in the family households in Ongwediva rural and urban areas.

Ruppel (2008) argues that effective women's empowerment policies in Namibia have greatly changed the gender perceptions between women and men, thus a large stride is being taken in ensuring equality between men and women. Therefore, this study investigated the extent of

the changes gender division of labour among the families in Northern Namibian. The study endeavours to ascertain whether urban and rural families in Ongwediva are experiencing shifting gender roles between men and women as a result of more women taking up paid employment, and how tasks or roles are changing as a result of social transformation, the impact of gender empowerment policies and gender mainstreaming among others.

1.4 Research objectives
The study had three objectives, namely:

a. Explore the extent of the changing domestic division of labour in Ongwediva urban and rural family household.

b. Identify the varying factors influencing the change in the family household division of labour between urban and rural dwellers of Ongwediva constituency.

c. Establish the extent of empowerment of women in Namibian families in relation to the division of labour between men and women.

1.5 Significance of the study
This study will fill the knowledge gap on the obstacles or challenges that prevent men and women in families from engaging in gender equality practices in family role sharing tasks. It also identified gaps within gender equality intervention programmes which might equip social service providers responsible for gender empowerment. Furthermore, it will allow other researchers and gender policy developers to understand whether or not women's empowerment and growing equality is being reflected within the family itself in the face of wider socio-economic variations.

1.6 Limitation of the study
The researcher had challenges in identified extended family households in both urban and rural areas. To mitigate this, the researcher utilised the snowball sampling technique which allowed the interviewee to refer the researcher to the next participant. The gender topic is

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very sensitive, mostly to men as they regard such a topic as women issues only. Men did not want to participate in the study openly, but the researcher explained the purpose of the study well in detail to them and then they participated freely. The research is confined to one area and cultural group (Oshiwambo speakers), and cannot be a representation of all ethnic groups of Namibia.

1.7 Background studies on the Changing gender division of labour in Namibia

Adams and Welch (2008, p.113) define the division of labour in the family as a "practice of directing men and women to perform certain tasks and forbidding them from performing other tasks based on their gender". Furthermore, Adams and Welch (2008) state that as a result of industrialization, first in the West and then elsewhere during the 20th century, women increasingly left the home to work, although they retained most of the gendered domestic duties such as cooking and child rearing and it has been the case in Namibia too. There are many factors that affect the gender division of labour in households, including cultural belief systems tied up with ethnicity, gendered discriminatory education, and general patriarchal systems. Marxist feminists argue that the family division of roles and tasks in a household is balanced to favour and privilege men in capitalist societies, and that men and economic work systems as a whole control and shape women's labour in the household (Adams & Welch 2008).

In addition, in Namibia, the Namibian Constitution and women's empowerment policies have helped to begin change in conservative gender relations. The Constitution enshrines the equal treatment of women and men. Namibia introduced policies, programmes and regulatory frameworks including the Married Persons Equality Act 1 of 1996 that abolishes the marital power of man over woman, thereby establishing legal equality in marriage and promoting formal gender equality in the domestic sphere. This current research investigated whether or

not this policies, programmes and regulatory frameworks have reshaped family roles and decision-making practices.

In this study, the researcher focused on both women and men's relationships, their roles, household tasks, and the domestic division of roles and tasks in general. However, in the past and before independence in 1990, most men in Owamboland entered the paid labour force and worked away from home under the colonial contract labour system for twelve or more months in Namibia or beyond on a contract basis, while mothers and children attended exclusively to family roles and tasks. Winterfeldt (2002) estimates that the proportion of Owambo men on contract, (as a percentage of all Owambo men), varied between one fifth and one third in the period between 1910 and 1971. Currently, things have changed in that both men and women are increasingly participating in paid work while retaining responsibilities for the family sphere (Angula, 2013).

However, this research aims to address the following questions: "Do contemporary families today share household roles and tasks? Is there greater equality, or have gender-based attitudes and behaviours changed?" This study, thus explored a transformation in the gender roles in urban and rural families of Ongwediva underway and also determined whether or not progress is slower in more conservative rural locations, as chapter four levelled the changing progress. A review of literature on the changing gender division of labour will be presented in chapter two. Literature will also be used to elaborate on various factors shaping the division of labour in Namibia. Finally, literature will be used to propose possible mitigation strategies to improve on division of labour between rural and urban communities.

1.8 A Brief Discussion of the Research Methodology for the study
A qualitative research methodology was utilized for this study. The qualitative approach was found appropriate because the study would take place in a natural setting, data would be gathered by directly talking to people in their areas where they were experiencing the problem

(Shank, 2002). It is believed that people continuously interpret, create and give meaning to, define, justify and rationalize their actions (Marlow, 1998). De Vos, Straydom, Fouche, Poggenpoel & Schurink, (1998) defined qualitative research as "a form of systematic empirical enquiry into meaning". By systematic, he means" planned, ordered and public," following rules, agreed upon by members of the qualitative research community. By empirical, he means that this type of inquiry is grounded in the world of experiences. Inquiry into meaning is about the researcher trying to understand how others make sense of their experiences. Specifically, this study adopted a descriptive and an explorative research design with descriptive design being a scientific method and involves observing and describing the behaviour of a subject without influencing it in any way (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). A descriptive study is one in which information is collected without changing the environment (that is, nothing is manipulated (Babbie & Mouton, 2012).

Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014, p. 132) define population as "the total set from which individuals or units of the study are chosen for research purposes." In this study, the population of interest is the extended families living in urban areas of Ongwediva (Elyambala and Hanover) and in rural areas of Ongwediva (Onamutayi and Oikango villages) respectively. Oshiwambo speaking people are the majority residents of these areas and they were the population for the study. Adults rather than children were interviewed and included parents and grandparents who undertook tasks and fulfilled roles in the household. The researcher selected these areas since she was born in this area and has been informally observing changes in local family roles.

A snowball technique based within non-probability sampling was utilised to select research participants. Du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014) use the term "non-probability" to describe the various sampling strategies that qualitative evaluators favour. Non-probability sampling is

used "when it is nearly impossible to determine who the entire population is or when it is difficult to gain access to the entire population (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014, p.137).

The samples were progressively merged through a process of referral from one family to the next until they were saturated to the number of 6 extended families, 3 of which were extended families from Ongwediva urban, and 3 were extended families from Ongwediva rural.

The main research instruments were semi-structured open-ended questionnaires which were undertaken through face-to-face interviews conducted with 3 members from each household family individually. Participants were allowed maximum opportunity to tell their stories and ethnographically describe their cultural roles and domestic practices around the family and gender division of labour (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014).

The researcher organized the final collected data and during analysis, assessed the relevant content. The researcher translated the field notes data to make sense out of them. In line with Du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014) the data was processed to develop and identify sociological concepts, themes and patterns of similarity and difference in terms of meaning, and the researcher developed headings which shaped the main sections of the thesis.

1.9 Summary of Chapters

Chapter 1 identifies the problem that will be addressed in this study and also provides a rationale for the study. This Chapter also outlines the purpose, aims and objectives and also provides brief explanations of the methodology and theoretical framework used in the study.

Chapter 2 provides a critical review of literature of the study (in this study the issue of gender division of labour in family households of Ongwediva rural and urban will be explored).

Chapter 3 provides details on the methodology applied within this study. This chapter includes information on the research process, the sampling procedures and techniques, data

collection tools and methods used. This chapter also presents an outline of data analysis and the aspects of ethical considerations which are applied in this study.

Chapter 4 deals with the presentation and discussion of the research findings with the purpose of answering the objectives posed in Chapter 1. This chapter furthermore, interprets the research findings and uses them to justify, compare and contrast.

Chapter 5 contains the conclusions on the findings. This chapter concludes by giving some recommendations for further studies.

1.10 Summary

This chapter presented a brief overview and the background of the study, the statement of the problem and the researcher does question. It also elaborates the aims and objectives of the study and general overview of the methodology which was used in the study .It presents the significance of the study and an overview of review of literature for the study. Finally, it presents an outline of the study with an elaboration of what aspect each chapter would cover in this study. The next chapter presents a comprehensive review of literature for the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Social inequality between men and women has a long history, and conflict with in the family over roles, tasks and authority sharing have traditionally been seen in many families including in Namibia. Inequality in the family is seen as a reflection of wider inequality in the society itself. This chapter will present a comprehensive review of literature on division of labour among rural and urban inhabitants. The first part will present the theoretical framework of the study, followed by an exploration of the domestic division of labour in rural and urban communities. In addition, the chapter will discuss the factors influencing changes in the division of labour in rural and urban communities. Apart from that, it will also give highlights on gender empowerment and equality issues within the modern family. Finally, this chapter will look at strategies to improve the current misconception regarding gender division of labour for both rural and urban family household.

2.2 Definition of the key concepts

2.2.1 Gender as a concept

This research is a gender study, it intends to analyse changes in gender division of labour between men and women in Ongwediva rural and urban family household. Iipinge and Williams (2000, p.2) define gender as a socially constructed attribute of roles and activities connected to being feminine and masculine in a given social grouping. Both femininity and masculinity are constructed from roles women and men are assigned; the expectation which society has of women and men based on sexes (Edwards-Jauch, 2014). Further state that, there are some similarities in what is feminine and masculine across some societies; these similarities are culturally bound or culturally specific and temporarily or historically and politically determined.

This gender concept implies that, men are more dominant over women in society, thus gender division of labour in family household could be influenced by the fact that men are more dominant, by nature, against women (Tong, 2014). Furthermore, Kolev & Filipiak (2010) define gender as a state of being male or female which is not determined biologically, but is constructed socially and determined by the conception and roles attributed to women and men in society, in public or private life. Gender is often misunderstood as being the promotion of women only, but gender issues focus on women and men and on the relationship between men and women, such as their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labour, interests and needs (Bryson, 1992). Therefore this concept is relevant to the study because it highlights the fact that gender division of labour in rural and urban family household doesn't presents itself with equality between these two societal groups.

2.2.2 Gender division of Labour

Iipinge and Williams (2000) refer to how labour is allocated / distributed to specific individuals based on their sexual orientation. The roles, responsibilities, and activities assigned to women and men base on gender. Different cultures construct rules about different capacities and aptitudes of women and men and determine gender differentiated roles and responsibilities (Baxter, 2002). These cultures also underpin women and men's differential rights and obligations. This concept is essential for this study because it defines how men and women culturally divide roles and tasks in the family household as it is explained that different cultures define these tasks and roles through socialization (Le Beau, Iipinge & Conteh, 2010).

2.2.3 Family as a concept

This research works with the key concept of 'the family', and will therefore require definition and analysis of family. Family and household structures are differentiated from each other on the basis of the different lifestyles, cultures, values and norms surrounding people's

relationships. According to Eshleman (2011) this type of family organization resulted in behaviour patterns and values that remained constant from one generation to the next, in children being socialized basically to be personality duplicates of their parents in their society. Edwards-Jauch (2010) states that a family is an outcome of a number of social structural conditions including the economic mode of production, social class, race, gender and ethnicity. Kolev and Filipiak (2010, p.102) define family as "a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a single household interacting with each other in their respective social role of husband and wife, mother and father, brother and sister creating a common culture." It is on this basis in trying to understand the issues surrounding gender and the changing division of labour that this research focused on the interaction between men and women in a family and significant others that constitutes a family household. Chant (2010) refer to family household in all its different cultural connotations, as the primary social living unit. In it are encapsulated a cluster of activities of people who live together most of the time and provide mutual physical, socio-psychological, and developmental support and functions within the broader organisation and environment of the community.

There are many types of different families' setup or structure in societies such as nuclear families, extended families, single parent family household. According to McGoldrick and Gerson (2002) nuclear families consist of two generations of family members (parents and children) living in the same household. Contacts with wider extended family kin (aunts and cousins) are usually infrequent and more likely to involve impersonal contacts such as the telephone or email. For this reason, this family structure is sometimes called an isolated nuclear (reflecting its isolation from wider kin and its economic isolation from the rest of society) or conjugal family - a self-contained unit where family members are expected to support each other socially, economically and psychologically.

In addition, Edwards-Jauch (2010) defines nuclear family as a family that consists of a husband, wife and their dependent children. Children in nuclear families receive strength and stability from the two parent structure and generally have more opportunities due to the financial ease of two adults. However, Greenstein (2000) explain another type of family household structure that is extended families and as the name suggests it involve additional family members. Moreover, Barnard (1992, p.8) describe extended family as a larger family than the nuclear family, which can be extended vertically when additions occur across generations (inter-generational), or horizontally when additions occur within the same generation (intra-generational)". Edwards (2004) further described the extended family structure as consisting of two or more adults who are related, either by blood or marriage, living in the same household. She emphasises that this family includes many relatives such as cousins, aunts or uncles and grandparents living together and working towards common goals, such as raising the children and keeping up with the household tasks. The extended family is the focus of this study in finding out if there are any changes in gender division of labour among these types of family members.

2.3 Theoretical framework that explain the gender division of labour

2.3.1 Gender Ideology Theory

There are many theoretical frameworks that can be used to understand the changing division of labour in family household. Some of these are the Socialist feminist theory, Marxist feminist theory, relative resources theory, time availability theory, gender relations, gender structures gender identity theory and gender ideology theory. This study adopted the gender ideology theory. The origin of gender ideology can be traced back to the 1930s and the main proponent being Kirkpatrick (Brownmillar, 2000). According to Kirkpatrick gender ideology refers to attitudes regarding the appropriate roles, rights and responsibilities of men and women in society. Kirkpatrick belief that a traditional gender ideology emphasizes the value

of distinctive roles for women and men where men fulfil their family roles through breadwinning activities and women fulfil their roles through homemaker and parenting activities (Stevi, 1999).

Gender ideologies entail how one identifies oneself with regard to marital and family roles traditionally linked to gender (Philip & Currey, 2006). Gender ideology can be distinguished from gender identity, in that gender identities are self-definitions such as male or female, whereas ideologies are the elements that make up such definitions, Beaujot (2000) or an example of two men who think of themselves as male (their gender identity) can have different ideas about what being a male implies (their gender ideologies; one man may assert that being male means believing that household labour is women's work, whereas another man may feel that being male means doing an equal share of household work.

According to this theory, the unequal division of labour is explained by people's adherence to ideologies advocating different roles for men and women (Bond & Sales, 2001). It is further stated that people who hold egalitarian views about gender roles tend to have more equal division of household labour than those with more traditional beliefs as mentioned earlier (Molly, 2009). Therefore, this theory has made the researcher to understand the reasons and main cause of gender division of labour in a family household.

2.3.2 Feminist Perspective on Gender Division of Labour

Some of the most influential theorists who have written on the gender division of labour are feminists. Those who do stand out are the Marxist and the Socialist feminists. Therefore, the literature on how gender division of labour is constructed can never be complete without elucidating on the feminist perspective. Tong (2014:153) defines feminism as the

> "belief in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes; and the belief that women should be allowed the same rights, power and opportunities as men and should be treated in the same way".

The key building block of feminist analysis is how the gender division of labour leads to women's exploitation and oppression (Edwards, 2004). Mitchell (1999) argues that the exploitation of women's labour occurs at two levels in the capitalist society. Firstly, one has productive labour through which the gifts of nature are transformed in usable and saleable products called commodities. Often women workers, who participate in productive labour, are at the lowest end of the hierarchy in low paying jobs (Mitchell, 1999). In addition to productive labour, women are also involved in reproductive labour. Reproductive labour includes childbearing, child rearing, housework and all other forms of domestic work done to ensure the family's continued survival or the ability of the family to reproduce itself biologically and socially (Greenstein, 2000). While women's productive labour is often lowly paid and exploitative, women's reproductive labour is mostly unpaid and also exploitative (Tong, 2014). Adams and Welsh (2008) argue that having children in the household substantially increases the amount of household labour done. Not only do parents have an extensive number of childrearing tasks to perform, but also more household work and generally more consumption work as well (Baxter, 2002). Studies by Luxton (1999) reveal that household division of labour is mostly unequal for women after the birth of the family's first child. First-time parents adopt a highly gendered division of labour, wherein women substantially increase their household labour, while men increase their time spent in paid work to support their increasing family financial needs (Luxton, 1999).

In addition, Barnard (1992) agrees that society is divided into two spheres: a public sphere that consists of the world of work, religion, business, politics, military and education. Then there is the private sphere which consists of the family, children and sexuality. Women mainly inhabit the private sphere while men dominate both private and public spheres (Barnard, 1992). According to Brownmiller (2000) the socialisation process operating in the family and elsewhere encouraged women both rural and urban to accept the traditional gender

roles which entrenched women's disadvantage in the private domestic sphere and in the public sphere of employment, political and social life.

In addition to that, women continue to do domestic work in homes for free in spite of having a paid job outside the home. According to Stevi (1999) the Marxist feminists unable to explain further in exclusively economic terms why domestic work is viewed as women's work in socialist as well as capitalist societies, stated that many Marxist feminists concluded that domestic work is assigned to women in all societies simply because all women belong to the same sex class of the second (female) sex, which exists to serve the first (male) sex.

On the other hand, one of the most influential Socialist Feminist Alexandra Kollontai viewed social responsibilities as being attached to motherhood and thus out of line with the recent feminist thought (Bryson, 1992). Kollontai argued that in any community should care for the pregnant mother and her child, maternity changes from being a personal choice to becoming a social duty. By this Kollontai argues that the mother is not solely responsible for the care of the children, but that it is a societal responsibility (Husselmann, 2016).

2.3.3 Patriarchal Perspectives on Gender Division of Labour

Namibia is a patriarchal society where traditional roles are characterised by a strong culture of patriarchy (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2003). In many Namibian tribes males patronise females, disparage or otherwise denigrate females in the belief that they are inferior to males and thus deserve less treatment or benefit (Iipinge & Williams, 2000). Male chauvinism dominates societal ideology and the way gender and division of labour in the household is handled (Barnett, 2000). This shapes gender perspectives and the division of labour at household level. According to Sherifat and Olanrewaju (2014: p45)

> "patriarchy is a rule of men where men control the available resources
> and women are dependent on them".

The concept of patriarchy is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality based on the beliefs that men and women are the opposite sex. Ambunda and Klerk (2003) explain that until Namibia gained its independence, its society was deeply patriarchal and divided along racial lines. This trait is dominant for both rural and urban communities.

It is still a subject of study as to whether in reality human rights have brought changes in family household in terms of gender division of labour. Stevi (1999) points out that feminists mainly use the term "patriarchy" to describe the power relationship between men and women. Thus, patriarchy is more than just a term; feminists use it like a concept, and like all other concepts, it is a tool to help in the understanding of women's realities. According to Sultana (2001) patriarchal ideology exaggerates biological differences between men and women, making certain that men always have dominance, or masculine roles and women always have to be subordinates. Sultana (2001) further states that this ideology is so powerful that men are usually able to secure the apparent consent of the very women they oppress. They do this through institutions such as the academic, the church and the family, each of which justifies and reinforces women's submission and compliance to men (Ross & Marylyn, 2008). The patriarchal system is characterised by power, dominance, hierarchy, and competition; so patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (Fang & Tech, 2009). With Namibia being predominantly patriarchal, the researcher here would want to investigate how the advent of the human rights has affected the gender division of labour in households in the urban and the rural areas of Ongwediva.

In addition, Ambunda and de Klerk (2003) emphasised that patriarchal systems have been present among Oshiwambo-speaking communities both rural and urban where women are, and have always been, subordinate to men in all spheres of public and private life. The research will try to explore the influence of patriarchy on the Namibian communities under investigation, especially on how it influences and shapes the division of roles and tasks at

household level. The researcher also tried to explore the assertion that men always enjoy the right to make decisions and to control the family's resources, while women are left to handle the day-to-day administration of the household. More importantly the socialisation of women and girls leads to their development of an inferiority complex when they have to compete with men in the division of labour at household level in the community of Ongwediva rural and urban, (Iipinge & Le Beau, 2005). In the Oshiwambo culture, a man is symbolised as an axe (Williams, 1991). The meaning of the simile derives from the belief in these communities that an axe is an indispensable tool portrayed by a strong physical symbol. Furthermore, stated that symbolisms are also attached to the concept of womanhood; thus, in this community women are portrayed as a clay pot. This simile refers to the assumed physical weakness of a woman and that she receives help and caring from the man (Williams, 1991).

Iipinge & Le Beau (2005) explained that women struggle under the triple burden roles of productive labour which are for all tasks that contribute economically to the household and community, such as crop and livestock production, handicrafts production, marketing, and wage employment. Other household roles a woman is meant to perform include caring for the family, collecting water, weaving baskets and making clay pots, both as cooking utensils in the household and for income-generation, and to brew traditional alcoholic beverages (Holloway & Wheele, 1996). Men's roles and responsibilities in Oshiwambo culture are still to look after livestock, and build huts for family shelter, as well as storage barns for millet harvest. Furthermore, the man has to provide water for his family by digging wells, and he has to plough the field for cultivation (Ruppel, 2008).

In Oshiwambo culture man does not collect salt from pans namely Etosha as was the practice during the pre-colonial era, and in most areas (villages) there is tap water even inside most households, which means that men are no more digging wells for water as it was some decade ago. Therefore, some household tasks have changed over a time; and this is the reason this study unveiled more about these changes.

According to Sultan (2001) the Western feminists argue that the family is patriarchy's chief institution and mediates between the individual and social structure to affect conformity to patriarchal norms. The family is seen as the key institution through which patriarchal ideology is transmitted to the young and through which are controlled, even when they have little relationship with the state (Brownmiller, 2000). Angula (2013) concurs that in Namibia, all ethnic groups in the country exhibit gender inequality in the form of patriarchy. The majority of Namibian women are responsible for most of the household roles and have no decision-making power within the household and community (Angula, 2013).

 According to LeBeau, Iipinge and Conteh (2010) women under Western patriarchal colonialism held a lower legal and social status than under any other socio-political environment which exists or has existed in Namibia. They further explained that during the colonial era the prevailing laws (civil and customary) classified women as minors.   For example, women married under community of property had no legal right to enter into legal contracts without their husband's consent; women were not allowed access to education; not allowed to vote; and could not own land.   Given that contemporary Namibia social institutions are derived from the prevailing Western socio-cultural ideology, Western underlying patriarchal ideology parallels and reinforces culturally prescribed gender inequality, (LeBeau et al. 2010). The research explored more on the aspect of women's position in society and how they are viewed at household level, with all the reprieves and statutory changes that Namibia has undergone. The exploration was to see if women are still

being treated as minors in decision making and the general allocation of roles and tasks in the targeted communities of Ongwediva rural and urban.

Throughout the history of colonialism, mechanisms of patriarchy have been used to reinforce male dominance over women (Philip & Currey, 2006). In addition, Walby (2003) states six overlapping structures that define patriarchy and that take different forms in different cultures and different times in terms of the state. The women are unlikely to have formal power and representation; at the household level women are more likely to do the housework and raise the children. This is a cultural construct that has been prevailing in Namibia for both rural and urban communities. In terms of violence women, are more prone to being abused than men; and in the case of paid work, women are likely to be paid less; while women's sexuality is more likely to be treated negatively compared to men's sexuality; and lastly on a cultural level women are more misrepresented in media and popular culture (Mather, 2010). In public spheres division of labour in Namibia is based on experience, skills and qualification one has rather than one's sex (Iipinge & Le Beau, 2005). However, this is sometimes not the situation when it comes to household roles. Gender perspectives are still dominating and it is imperative in this research to find out what the real situation of Namibia is with specific reference to Ongwediva rural and urban areas.

2.4 The factors influencing the changes in the division of labour in rural and urban communities

Padavic & Reskin (2002) pointed out that every society has restrictions on what kinds of tasks men and women do, but there is no global agreement to these roles. Studies show that divisions of labour are influenced by specific environmental and social conditions (Adams & Welsh, 2008; Barnard, 1992). Tasks often associated with women, such as nurturing, domestic roles and childcare, are sometimes performed by men and tasks often associated with men, such as warfare, hunting, and politics, are sometimes performed by women, (Padavic & Reskin, 2002). Although gender is often used to divide labour, there is no

universal set of tasks that can be defined as women's work or men's work, but it varies from society to society (Ruth, 2000). Ruppel (2008) stated that gender household roles are characteristics and thus duties and responsibilities attributed to members of the two sexes by virtue of the fact that they are male or female, are most prominent within the sphere of the family household. Household tasks and roles are divided among husband and wife and siblings based on what is accepted by the society about what men and women should do and behave, and are not necessarily on ability or capacity (Ruppel, 2008).

Belotti (2014) highlights the fact that gender roles emanate from the difference between masculinity and femininity, with masculinity entailing assertiveness, being active, lively and quick to take action and femininity entailing cooperativeness, passivity, gentleness and emotionality. Oriel (2000:67) defines gender roles as the

> "expected behaviour associated with a status, and roles are performed
> according to social norms, shared rules that guide people's behaviour in
> specific situations."

Female and male, are all statuses with different normative role requirements attached to them, for example, mother calls for expected roles involving love, nurturing, self-sacrifice and home-making (Chant, 2010). Different cultures construct rules about different capacities and aptitudes of women and men and determine gender differentiated roles and responsibilities, (Iipinge& Williams, 2000). Luxton (1999) stipulated that gender division of labour is not fixed for all time; it changes in response to wider economic, political and social changes. With the transformation that Namibia has undergone in terms of socio-economic status, particularly family composition, the researcher found it interesting to account this shift in the division of labour focusing on the local community of Ongwediva urban and rural.

2.4.1 Socialisation and Cultural beliefs

The way household roles and tasks are divided between men and women are mainly shaped by socialisation which takes place primarily during childhood. In this period, boys and girls learn the appropriate behaviour for their sex (Molly, 2009). Molly (2009:123) defines socialization as a

> "process through which culture is transmitted to others; learning how to conform to the demands of an institution, society or social group".

Carter (2014) argues that the gender socialization process begins at birth; families usually treat new-borns differently according to their sex. Indeed, families begin to socialize gender roles even in delivery rooms; boys are dressed in blue, while girls are dressed in pink (or other colours that are symbolically attached to gender). Carter (2014) stated that from the moment that a baby enters the world, it is inundated with symbols and language that shape its conception of gender roles and gender stereotypes. Through the family socialization, the language used by families to describe boys is often centred on physical characteristics and such themes as strength and agility, while language appropriate for girls used by families might address affection, expressivity, daintiness, or fragility (Doucet, 1995). Therefore, Beaujot (2000) emphasises that these different approaches and treatment of babies by the family serve to shape behaviour patterns and define gender role boundaries already at the early age of children. These gender role boundaries are eventually internalized and become identity standards for reference in which interactions, settings, and contexts are used to compare the self to others (Carter, 2014). Thus, gender is phenomenon created and maintained in practice; doing a task associated with a specific gender which creates and perpetuates meanings that define who one is and what it means to be a man or woman, or masculine or feminine (Fang & Tech, 2009).

Gender division of labour in the household is significantly influenced by the presence of children in the family (Allen & Fulluga, 2010). It may be obvious the number of children in a household has a negative influence on the tasks and roles to be done in respect of child upbringing and socialisation. The upbringing and socialisation of children is different between rural and urban family households (Chafetz, 1990). Urban societies believe that colours that boys and girls should dress in are specific, for example, in towns boys could be much concerned about gender socialisation (Adams & Welsh, 2008). Due to modernisation, for clothing, boys wear blue, while girls wear pink but in rural areas both males and females accept any colour available due to poverty or insufficient resources (Carter, 2014). Oshiwambo speaking people's culture emphasizes that boys in the urban area are socialised through cleaning the yard and washing the car as male gender roles, whereas boys in the rural areas are socialised through grazing the cattle, repairing the household boundary poles and collecting water although water is also collected by girls (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2003). Girls in urban areas are socialised through cleaning the house, sweeping and mopping the floor, doing laundry, ironing and cooking although girls in the rural area also cook. On the other hand, the girls in the rural area mostly socialized through pounding mahangu, collecting wood for cooking, collecting water and cleaning the house in general (Allen & Fulluga, 2010).

Hays (1996) states that in the past, the rearing of children in rural and urban areas was not regarded as requiring much effort as it is today, because during that period children would naturally grow and learn as they lived and worked alongside other household members; while some effort was expended on teaching them basic life and work skills. They were not seen to require the constant supervision and guidance that is now advocated for. Lately, raising children is considered as hard work, which requires much planning, adequate resources, hardship and effort. Owing to this, there is a change in gender perspective around this whole idea; men are gradually being encouraged to get involved particularly in socialisation and

promoting bonding with the children (Baxter, 2002). Walzel (1996) asserts that raising children is increasingly seen as a scientific process during which both parents are encouraged to pay attention to physical, social, and emotional needs, while enhancing cognitive, social, and gross and fine motor skill development, and providing suitable discipline to the children (Barnett, 2000). Although child rearing is a time immemorial phenomenon, possibly what has changed is the perception, the art and skill of raising children and this needs to be tested in this study, that is how gender gets involved in this phenomenon.

Walzel (1996) further states that tasks associated with raising children at both rural and urban areas are amorphous and often difficult to quantify and identify, especially since they change as children grow older. The actual tasks of caring for young children include feeding, changing diapers, dressing, and bathing them, keeping them safe and occupied, and putting them to bed, and given the frequency of night-time awakenings, these tasks may be performed throughout the 24 hour day (Doucet, 1995). This in most situations is seen as a female role in the bringing up of the family and possibly this is peculiar to our African societies to which the study area is part of. However, Krefting (1991) argues that regardless of the age of children, parenting is an on-going family role both in the rural and urban areas which calls for division of labour. In any given environment which needs testing how in Namibia the aspect of gender and labour division is done, this is demanding work in a family household.

2.4.2 Religious Affiliations

All religions are associated with beliefs which affect gender roles but African Traditional religion; Muslim and Buddhism suppress women as compared to Christianity (Hajj & Panizza, 2006). Therefore, African Traditional religion has norms and beliefs which discourage women from participating in certain household roles such as milking cows which is regarded as men's role in Oshiwambo speaking culture (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2003).

Therefore, all religions stress traditional gender roles. Religion affects greatly gender roles because people who are believer of a certain religion have their lives shaped and modelled around the religious values and ethos of that religion (Takyi & Addai, 2002). Most religious affiliations are patriarchal but the degree of patriarchy varies from religion to religion (Röder, 2012). There are religions which do not value women in both urban and rural settings. For instance, Muslim suppresses women using religious beliefs. In the same vein (Brankovic, Fortuna, Macri, Salbi, Wynkoop, & Xaver, 2003)postulate that, some Muslim countries impose serious constraints on the ability of women to conduct what is, by western standard, considered a normal life (in Saudi Arabia, women cannot drive, not to mention voting) and even the most liberal Middle Eastern countries often have legislation that explicitly discriminates against women (in Lebanon, for instance, women do not transmit citizenship to their spouses or children). This affects gender roles because women rights are suppressed. This causes a strained interaction between men women in a family household. Muslims and Buddhists seem to have less egalitarian gender role attitudes than Jews, Protestants and Catholics even when other factors are controlled. For instance, Islam in particular has been criticised for suppressing women, and gender is probably the area where negative attitudes about Islam are articulated most frequently in Western societies (Oladémo, 2008). Hajj & Panizza (2006) postulate that, Islamic leaders tend to emphasize that, men and women have equal value, but they have very different roles in society.

Religion has different impact in societies; it shapes the character of people. Also, its teachings differentiate the roles of women and men in the society (Seguino & Lovinsky, 2009). In addition, religious teachings and beliefs play an important role in either promoting or discouraging gender equality (Röder, 2012).

Therefore, key beliefs of each religion have their impact on gender division of labour which changes from time to time, Takyi & Addai (2002) argue that, each religion has its key beliefs which directly shape the culture of its believers. Some religious groups suppress women rights and they are not valued greatly in other religious groups. Therefore, religious beliefs may influence gender division of labour in the family household in the sense that people who belong to a certain religious group behave in accordance with their religion (Chafetz, 1990) especially the community of Ongwediva rural and urban are mostly Christian and this belief and behaviour which is influenced by the religion is likely to be experienced in their family households.

Among all religious groups in the world, Christianity is one of the largest religious groups (Olademo, 2008). Takyi & Addai (2002) in the same line, postulate that Christianity is one of the largest religions practised in different societies and cultures around the world. This means religion has great influence on gender inequalities in different societies (Hajj & Panizza, 2006). Different religious groups have gender aspects and there are different beliefs which state the roles of men and women. Molly (2009) argues that in many religions men and women are ascribed 'natural' roles that centre on the domestic role for women and the breadwinning role for men. This clearly means that in many religious groups women are expected to be dependent on men whilst men are expected to play dominant roles in supplying basic necessities to the household. Takyi & Addai (2002) point out that, for example, in Muslim religion men excel in the physical aspect of life responsible for the material well-being of the wife by providing food, clothing and housing; while a woman should provide physical companionship to her husband and comply with his requests on condition that they do not conflict with religious tenets according to the Qumran. The way Muslim women conform to their religious expectations is the same in urban and rural areas. In Hinduism religion a husband's role is to support, protect the family, while a woman's role

is to take care of the children (Seguino & Lovinsky, 2009). The Holy Bible (2015) in 1Corinthians 14:34-35 emphasises that women must keep silence in the churches for it is not permitted unto them to speak but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law, and if they learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home for it is a shame for women to speak in the church. Based on these verses from the Holy Bible, it can be concluded that women are oppressed and are supposed to be obedient followers of men in the institution of church. These sentiments suggest that religion plays a pivotal role in the determination of gender division of labour at household level for both urban and rural dwellers.

2.4.3 Education

Several studies indicate that education levels influence gender division of labour in the household (Gaszo-Windle and McMullin, 2003; Braverman, 1999; Doucet, 1995). These authors further argue that husbands and wives with more education generally tend to have more equitable division of labour in terms of equal task sharing. For example; highly educated men spend more time doing housework than men with less education. However, Marshall (2003) states that education does not influence the amount of time men spend with children, but women with high education spend more time in childcare as mothers. With education, the element of class difference comes into the picture as families get employed in specialised jobs which at times are well remunerating. This research also explored the substantial differences between families of different social classes in the two locations of Ongwediva rural and urban. A second substantive question was whether the domestic division of labour between men and women was significantly different. Braverman (1999) assumed that women spend less time on housework as a consequence of many goods previously produced in the home, such as clothing and bread, now being purchased on the capitalist market, and this phenomenon is more common in high class families.

However, according to Sullivan (2000) analysis of household labour in the United Kingdom (England) found some evidence of modest class difference, that families in what was called a manual/clerical class had a slightly more equal distribution of labour than those in a professional/technical group. Bond & Sales (2001) found some evidence that people in higher social classes may have a more equitable division of household labour. But, none of these studies found large differences by class, suggesting that it is not an important factor in shaping the household division of labour. This study looked at how urban and rural families share responsibilities at household level.

There is a negative correlation between hours spent in paid work and those spent on household labour (Marshall, 2003). Marshall (2003) further points out that people who work more hours for pay perform less unpaid household labour. The relationship between paid work and housework is even more substantial for men than for women. Mothers working full time tend to do a fair amount of household labour as compared to their male counterparts (Gazco-Windle & McMullin, 2003).

2.4.4 Modernisation

Household roles and tasks might have changed because before Namibia's independence, managing a typical rural household was more physically demanding as most villages if not all in Oshana Regions (Owamboland) did not have or lacked clean water (tap water), electricity, and family members had to collect water from wells and boreholes far from their household and collect wood from the field to make fire for cooking (Angula, 2010). Without modern services and conveniences, families had to do everything by hand and household tasks were arduous and time consuming. After independence in 1990, electricity became widely available and the invention and distribution of labour saving appliances changed the nature of household tasks (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2003). Urban household family members used their hands for laundry as opposed to washing machines which have dominated modern society

(Arbache, Kolev, & Filipiak, 2010). The introduction of modern machinery like grinding mills, washing machines, etc. it has changed the gender roles in both urban and rural families household (Barnard, 1992).

According to Beaujot (2000) in preindustrial American, women combined their household roles of cooking and cleaning for their families with other roles, such as growing vegetables, dairying, and making clothes, candles, soap, and other household goods. However they continued to state that household roles and tasks came to be a full-time job; and historical accounts indicate that it often required very difficult and time consuming physical labour. Furthermore, Ross & Marylyn (2008) argue that household labour became somewhat easier with technological change: automatic washers and electric stoves and ovens, and vacuum cleaners reduced some of the hardship household roles but yet it did not reduce the time spent in household labour as much as one might expect.

According to Davis & Carrier (1999) many studies documenting the nature of household work are old; but yet, in many essentials household has not changed significantly in recent years; and this could be the situation in Namibia especially in the rural set up, though modernisation has taken over in towns the African traditional beliefs of doing things are still intact and perpetuated from one generation to another through oral traditional.

2.4.5 Financial Level
Barnett (2000) acknowledges that the economic system contributes to division of labour in the household between men and women, since the family has to maintain their physiological needs through what they bring in the family from outside the household. Eshleman (2011) argues that traditional norms state that men are expected to bring home bread or support the family, which implies that men should be employed in paid labour force; while women belong in the house, doing household roles and tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and child

care. Household roles and tasks, according to Butler (2006) are intricately linked to a capitalistic type of economic system in that the free and unpaid labour of the woman makes it possible for the men to leave home to work, earn wages (income) and support the family. In addition to that, men's wages contribute to the dominant position of males and make the wife/woman depended on him (Tong, 2014). However, from the European perspective Davis & Carrier (1999) report that when women earn more or the same amount as their husbands, they tend to do more household work, but generally, time spent in household labour appears to be less influenced by income than it is by paid work hours and other factors.

Some studies have explored class differences in the division of household labour, using widely varying definitions of class and yielding varying result (Barnard, 1992; Beaujot, 2000; Oriel, 2000). The analysis of class and household labour in Sweden and United States of America found that social class has little effect on the division of labour (Greenstein, 2000).

Working families can also hire domestic labourer for them to prepare with little effort; they may also hire someone to do household roles for them such as homecare and yard maintenance. In addition to that, Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson (2000) agreed that while these purchases help reduce the amount of household labour family members should perform tasks such as; planning, coordinating services provision, shopping for goods and services. The working poor or those who are not employed outside the home have limited income for consumption and, therefore, must attempt to provide more around the house. The level of income of the family is likely to have a direct effect on division of household roles and tasks (Arbache, Kolev, & Filipiak, 2010). Those who can afford to pay services can go for them despite being in rural or urban areas.

Household roles and tasks also entail budgeting and shopping, to ensure that the household has the things it needs to function. Ross & Marylyn (2008) point out that acquiring goods

and services for household takes planning, budgeting, and often shopping around, particularly in households with limited funds. Furthermore, Ross & Marylyn (2008) state that these activities have become more common with the expansion of markets, consumerism, and the prevalence of dual-earner families. Households with no one at home to perform household roles would replace some of it with purchased goods and services. Parents who cannot look after their children must purchase childcare services or make some informal arrangements with their relatives for assistance (Ross & Marylyn, 2008).

Attitudes shape the household division of labour, but they generally work in tandem with other factors; therefore, a couple that holds traditional views on the gender division of labour may divide tasks more equitably if it relies on the women's income (Davis & Carrier, 1999). Women who believe strongly that a woman's place is in the home caring for the household and children, these women do more housework than those who do not believe that home is a place of a woman, argues (Butler, 2006). When men and women hold more egalitarian views, they are more likely to secure an equitable division of household labour (Wright, Shire, Hwang, Dolan & Baxter, 2000). In the household, evidence suggests that increased gender equality between men and women changes the allocation of household expenditures, resulting in a larger share of resources devoted to children's education and health (Mauris, 2007). Mauris (2007) further states that gender inequalities influence the distribution of household tasks, and often is limiting women's ability to work outside the home, as well as women's control over fertility decisions. Doucet (1995) points out that some review of the literature on this subject across a number of countries reveals that no matter what technique is used to measure the household division of labour, the household's work still belongs largely to women. Iipinge and Williams (2000:35) define gender equality that

> "is when women and men enjoy the same status by having equal opportunity for participation in and benefits from a given situation".

Gender equality mean men and women have equal conditions for realising their full human rights and potential to contribute to national, political, economic, and social and cultural development, and to benefit from the results. Therefore, gender equality is when society gives equal weight and value to the similarities and differences between women and men, and to the varying roles that they play.

2.5 Gender empowerment and equality issues within the modern family

In the modern world, women and men are moving towards equal representation in many areas, from working outside the home to childcare. However, in the realm of household roles, it appears that little progress has been made and this could be the situation in Namibia especially in the rural set up where the research was conducted. While it is true that men are working more in the home, although their increased contributions tend to be more fun in nature, and revolves around playing with children and cooking, whereas the women are still scrubbing the toilets and sweeping floors (Luxton, 1999). Additionally, in policy terms such as gender equality policy, at least women are no longer seen as being solely responsible for family work and care; because household roles that were regarded as solely the females' tasks such as washing are now being shared by women and men (Philip & Currey, 2006). The world over gender roles are rapidly changing due to multiple factors such as new family structures, education, media which has enabled people to live in a global village.

Iipinge and Williams (2000:56) define gender

> "as a socially given attribute of roles and activities connected to being feminine and masculine in a given social grouping. Both femininity and masculinity are constructed from roles women and men are assigned; the expectation which society has of women and men based on sexes. While there are some similarities in what is feminine and masculine across some

societies, these similarities are culturally bound or culturally specific and temporarily or historically and politically determined".

Kolev and Filipiak (2010:56) define

"gender as a state of being male or female which is not determined biologically, but is constructed socially and determined by the conception and roles attributed to women and men in society, in public or private life".

Chant (2010) points out that gender is often misunderstood as being the promotion of women only, but gender issues focus on women and men and on the relationship between men and women, such as their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labour, interests and needs. Since gender is not biological but constructed socially, it means gender is learned through socialisation and therefore, gender socialization is often examined by socialist feminists to determine how and why males and females act differently (Braverman, 1999). The assertions are not far from the Namibian reality. The researcher explored how years of cultural socialisation have impacted on the gender division of labour in the family households of Ongwediva urban and rural.

2.6 Strategies to improve gender division of labour for both rural and urban family household.

Policies are needed to improve the living standard of people, especially on gender division of labour in a family household. Policies strengthen the relationship between men and women as they are viewed equally in all areas. There are many policies and Acts in Namibia that are promoting gender equality between men and women such as Married Persons Equality Act of 1996 and National Gender Policy (2010 – 2020) under (mandate for) the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare (MGECW).

The Married Persons Equality Act was promulgated. In terms of the Act, a husband's (man's) marital power as the head of the household has been abolished. It provides for equal power to both man and woman. The National Gender Policy is designed to effectively contribute to the attainment of the objectives of Vision 2030, in order to create a society in which women and men enjoy equal rights and access to basic services (Arbache, Kolev, & Filipiak, 2010).

It serves also to provide opportunities for women and men to participate in and contribute towards the political, social, economic, and cultural development of Namibia. In order to address gender inequality and promote women's empowerment, the National Gender Policy focuses on the following key programme areas such as poverty and rural development, education and training, gender equality in the family context which the current study texted if gender equality prevails in the household concerning gender division of labour (Davis & Carrier, 2011).The policy is monitored to see how well it has enshrined gender equality principles; to measure the effectiveness and impact of the policy and to assess whether in the long term there has been positive impact on women in particular, and on society in general (Beaujot, 2000). Monitoring and evaluation of the National Gender Policy is in line with agreed national, regional and international instruments and standards, such as SADC Protocol on gender and development, Vision 2030 and Namibia Development Plan 5.

Education is a tool which can be used to address gender disparities in any nation or community. In Zimbabwe, Midlands State University has been the first University in Africa to have a stand-alone department for gender whose main purpose is to administer all gender modules to all other departments within the university (Kayongo-Male & Onyango, 1994). At Midlands State University, the Gender Module is compulsory to all students doing any course. This is the education response to address gender related disparities within the university.

Midlands State University policy makers are of the understanding that addressing gender disparities at tertiary level will go a long way in mitigating on the gender challenges currently being experienced in work places (McGoldrick & Gerson, 2002). If students who are coming from different departments are already equipped with gender related information, they are less likely to be taken advantage of if they are females.

The role of the awareness campaigns in general will educate or alert the community on new developments that need to be implemented (Eshleman, 2011). By conducting awareness campaigns on gender empowerment to the community, this will increase the knowledge of a nation on gender equality. Awareness campaigns on gender empowerment will enlighten and inform the rural and urban communities on issues concerning gender division of labour in a household (Mitchell, 1999).

2.7 Summary

These factors interacting with the economic, political and social ideological shifts are issues that countries are experiencing in terms of gender equality and household division of labour. The Namibian situation is not an exception to these changes. The gender and division of labour is a phenomenon that needs exploration to understand the shifts involved in order to explore the extent to which gender empowerment has been embraced within the modern family. More importantly, the study found out how division of labour has re-defined interpersonal domestic relationships, attitudes and behaviour. This study filled in the knowledge gap on literature on the Namibian situation regarding gender and division of labour. The research embarked on a qualitative research in which the participants from the chosen site took part in an interview using the research methodology to be explained in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology that was used in conducting this research on the changing division of labour and shifting gender roles. A research design is the overall plan that was adopted in the process of undertaking the research study. Babbie & Mouton (2012) define a research design as the overall strategy which is used in the proceess of collecting data for a specific study. This study adopted the ethnographic qualitative research design in collecting data. Fossey (2002:56) states that, "qualitative research is a broad umbrella term for research methodologies that explore, describe and explain persons' experiences, behaviours, interactions and social contexts without the use of statistical procedures or quantification." This chapter presents the various methodological aspects which were complied with in the process of data collection. It also presents issues related to data collection, data and instrumentation, data analysis; definition of the target population, sample and sampling strategies which were used in the study. Finally, this chapter presents the consideration for ethical issues and research ethics.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted a qualitative, ethnographic and explorative research design. Creswell (2014) states that ethnographic research allows the researcher to explore a cultural phenomenon and the researcher observes the society from the point of view of the subjects under study. In this study, the researcher was observing the issues related to gender division of labour between rural and urban populations. A qualitative research approach allows the researcher to elicit the participants' opinions on the issue under study (Sarantakos, 2013).

This research design and strategy was suitable because the researcher had to understand subjective views of the rural and urban populations with regard to factors contributing to gender division of labour between the individuals from the two different societal settings (Creswell, 2014).

In order to answer the grand research questions posed above, a qualitative research approach was employed for this purpose. According to Strauss & Corbin (1998) qualitative research means any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons' lives, lived experiences, emotions and feelings as well as about organisational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena and interactions between nations. De Vos et al. (1998) define qualitative methods of research as methods that emphasise depth of understanding and the deeper meanings about human experiences with the aim of generating theoretically rich observations, analysis and the capturing of participant discussion and insight.

According to Creswell (2014) some of the characteristics of the qualitative approach are as follows: Qualitative researchers are interested in meaning – how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world. In this research endeavour, the researcher is mainly interested in gender and the changing division of labour in households. The qualitative researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis (De Vos et al. 1998). Data is mediated through this human instrument, (i.e. the researcher conducting the interviews and doing participant observation), rather than through inventories, questionnaires or machines. Qualitative research involves field work. The researcher physically goes to the people, sitting with them at their site or institution, observing and recording their behaviour in their natural setting (household). Qualitative research is explorative in nature. The researcher explored the phenomenon under investigation. Qualitative research is descriptive in that the

researcher is interested in process, meaning and understanding gained through words and observation. The process of qualitative research is inductive in that the researcher builds abstractions, concepts and theories from the words and narratives of the participants.

In view of the aforementioned characteristics inherent in the qualitative approach, and the fact that qualitative research concerns itself with the study of people in their natural environment as they go about their daily lives and by trying to understand how people live, talk and behave, what captivates and distresses them, the researcher concluded that this approach is well suited to realising the goal of this study.

From this qualitative stance, the researcher came to an understanding of gender and the changing divisions of labour in households. The researcher explored and described the experiences relating to gender and division of labour in households using the qualitative approach, for an explorative, descriptive and strategy of inquiry.

Exploratory research is appropriate when problems have been identified, but our understanding of them is quite limited (Yegidis and Weinbach, 1996). Exploratory research designs are used to begin the process of building knowledge about a problem and or question. The researcher included the explorative strategy of inquiry as part of her research design in exploring the experiences surrounding the gender and division of labour in households in the northern Namibian part of Ongwediva urban and rural areas. A descriptive strategy of inquiry was also used as part of the research design for this study because it allowed the researcher the opportunity to look with intense accuracy at the phenomenon of the moment, namely gender and how labour divisions in households are possibly changing, and then described what the researcher found (Leedy,1997).

Within a qualitative paradigm, there exists a number of different research approaches. In this study, the researcher used an ethnographic explorative approach as the research focused on the description of the lived experiences and culture of the family life of each of the participants in relation to gender role changes between the rural and urban populations. The ethnographic method is chiefly interested in actor meaning and insight into culture, social situations and changes (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis, & Bezuidenhout (2014:34) point out that ethnography is the work of describing culture, and they define the word "culture" in broader terms, as patterned behaviours or way of life of a group of people. This study adopted a qualitative ethnographic explorative research design. In this study the researcher was observing the issues related to gender division of labour between rural and urban populations. Qualitative research approach allows the researcher to elicit the participants' opinions on the issue under study (Sarantakos, 2013). This research design and strategy was suitable because the researcher had to understand subjective views of the rural and urban populations with regard to factors contributing to gender division of labour between the individuals from the two different societal settings (Creswell, 2014).

The researcher described as accurately as possible the phenomenon, refraining from any pre-given framework, but remaining true to the facts (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). In addition to this, the method allowed the researcher to understand the culture of the changing division of labour in household family because she observed what people did in their realistic or naturalistic setting (family household); this approach does not rely totally on what people say, but also focuses on both verbal and non-verbal behaviours (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Therefore, the ethnographic explorative qualitative research approach which was chosen was found to be the best approach for this type of study as it allowed the researcher to conduct

home visits during data collection and be able to observe how household roles were divided between men and women.

The ethnographic approach involves the use of various techniques for collecting data on human beliefs, values and practices such as observation, interviews, documents, focus group discussions. This allowed the researcher to use the multiple sources of data for this study such as interviews and participant observation that improved validity and reliability of this study too.

When conducting ethnographic research, it is important to go for depth and a rich description rather than for more general investigations, which is one of the reasons why this research utilized the ethnographic approach. This means that the goal of an ethnographer is to create a deep and credible snapshot of changing culture in terms of a shifting division of labour in the family, how it was in the past, and how it may have changed today (Leedy, 1997). Ethnographic studies mainly use in-depth interviewing techniques and participant observation to understand people rather than studying people (Punch, 2014).

Ethnography originated early in anthropology and is attributed to studies at the turn of the twentieth century, notably the works of Bronislaw Mallinowsky in the Trobriand Islands where he took meticulous care in noting every possible detail of the islander's everyday lives (Punch, 2014). In addition, Punch (2014) further emphasized that in later years, ethnographers became more and more aware of the problems associated with describing foreign cultures from the point of view of the ethnographer's own culture; and through the course of this process, ethnographers began thinking of other cultures not as something to be studied, but rather as an opportunity where they could learn new and different things from the

people of those cultures. This study explored the culture of Oshiwambo- speaking people on changing gender division of labour in families and ethnography was chosen as the best approach.

3.3 Population

Marlow (1998:123) defines population as, "the sum of all possible cases that the researcher is ultimately interested in studying." This means population refers to the totality of all the participants to be studied. The population for this study can be all (extended) families living in urban areas of Ongwediva (5000), (Elyambala and Hanover) and in rural areas of Ongwediva (10000) (Onamutayi village), respectively.

3.4 Sampling used in the Research

A sample is a subset of the population. It is a part of the population that is taken and is representative of the population characteristics (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). The process of selecting a representative sample is called sampling. The sample must be representative of the population from which it was extracted. Qualitative researchers intentionally seek out participants for inclusion in the sample because of their knowledge of and ability to describe the phenomenon of the topic of study (Donalek & Soldwisch, 2004). This study utilised the snowball and convenient sampling strategy to select participants for the study.

Fossey et al. (2002: 123) state that:

> "Convenient sampling is concerned with information-richness, for which two key considerations should guide the sampling methods namely; appropriateness and adequacy. In other words, convenient sampling requires identification of appropriate participants, being those who can best inform the study. It also requires adequate sampling of information sources, (i.e. people, places, events, types of data) so as to address the research question and to develop a full description of the phenomenon being studied."

However, due to no statistic and location of extended family household not available, a technique of snowball sampling was used as a method to access extended family household

with husband and wife. Referral or snowball technique made it possible for the researcher to find the next extended family household for interviews. The snowball sampling technique is sometimes referred to as a network chain of referral, reputational, respondent-driven sampling Neuman (1997).

This method uses an analogy of a snowball which begins small but progressively becomes larger as it is rolled and picks up additional snow. Thus it is a technique that begins with a few people and becomes larger based on links to the initial cases Du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014). Thus the researcher started with two household families who do not know each other, each one of these household was asked to name one or more well-known household that meet the research requirements. The process continues with the set of further identified household and continues in the same manner and before long a larger group of households was identified. This process stopped because the network was large reached it limit of what can be studied meaning the information were repeating itself from the new participants, which gives the indication to the researcher who collected data that sample saturated.

The criteria for inclusion in the sample for the proposed study was that, all participant household family members were part of an extended family aged between 18 years and above, an extended household family with husband and wife, and adult people living in that household were also part of the interview. All husband and wife participants in the study were married in civil marriage. Both males and females were eligible for selection for the interview.

The researcher employed snowball sampling techniques that procured a sample of families who were fit for the criteria for inclusion as stated above. According to Sarantakos (2013) convenience sampling is based on the assumption that this sampling method will provide the researcher access to some specialised insight or a special perspective, experience,

characteristic or condition that he or she wishes to understand. The researcher was also well versed with the communities she visited but needed the input of the community members to help her select eligible members whom they knew would provide the most needed information to complete this study. Snowball sampling was used in this regard after the researcher identified the first family, then that family had to identify another suitable family that would provide the needed information until the field work was completed.

A specific sample size was not determined at the outset of the study, but the number of participants in the sample was known when the data had reached a point of "saturation," that is when the information being gathered becomes repetitive (Tutty et al. 1996*; Donalek & Soldwisch, 2004).* However, the sample was saturated when three family households, each from urban and rural areas were interviewed, whereby three people (husband, wife and any adult family member) from each family household were interviewed. The researcher therefore interviewed six families in all, which constituted a total of six individuals.

3.5 Research instruments

The researcher utilized semi-structured face-to-face interviews with families. An interview is defined as a conversation with the purpose of gaining an understanding of the perspective of the person being interviewed (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). Participants were allowed maximum opportunity to tell their stories and described their cultural roles and domestic labour practices around the family and gender division of labour (Barnard, 1992). The interview schedule provided the researcher with a set of predetermined questions that were used as an appropriate instrument to engage the participant and designated the narrative terrain related to the research topic (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). Semi-structured, open-ended questions were used to guide and facilitate the interview process, and this structure allowed the researcher to asked new questions as the interview situation suggested, thereby getting an in-depth insight, and

meaning about the phenomenon being studied (Creswell, 2014). The interview guide used during each individual family member's interview is attached as Annexure 2.

3.6 Data Collection Process

Since permission letter was obtained from Ongwediva Constituency Councillor, the researcher started off by telephonic messages and conducting home visits for the purpose of making appointments for in-depth interviews. The researcher also obtained a written permission to undertake this study from the Ethical Clearance Committee of the University of Namibia. Furthermore, the criteria for inclusion were explained and it was pointed out to them that their participation was voluntary and that their privileges/ rights were not jeopardised in any way. They were also prepared by informing them the contents and purpose of the study (see Annexure 1).

Holloway & Wheele (1996) explain that a semi-structured or focused interview makes use of questions that are contained in an interview guide (not a schedule, as in quantitative research) with a focus on the issues to be covered. Questions about each issue were asked in an open-ended manner and at a time when it seemed fit with each participant's narrative (Tutty, Rothery, & Grinnell, 1996). All the interviews were conducted in Oshiwambo by the researcher and were audio-taped with the consent of the participants. All the participants completed informed consent forms before taking part in the interview.

3.7 Data analysis and coding procedures

Neuman (1997) defines data analysis as a search for pattern in recurrent behaviours and objects of a body of knowledge, while Marshall (2003) defines data analysis as the process of bringing order, structure and interpretation to the mass of data collected. The data which was collected in the study was qualitative and was analysed by developing themes which were aligned to answer the research questions of the study. The researcher transcribed the data and then followed the eight steps for data analysis as proposed by Tesch (Creswell, 2014).

This entails the following: The researcher gets a sense of the whole by reading all the transcripts carefully, jotting down along the margin some ideas as they come to mind in connection with each topic. Choosing the transcript on top of the pile of the transcribed interviews, the researcher reads through the transcript, asking herself what it is that she is reading. This step involved thinking about the underlying meaning, rather than the "substance" of information. This process was repeated until a list of all the topics was acquired.

The topics were then clustered together into baskets that could be labelled as "major topics", "unique topics" and "left-overs", with the list at hand, the data was re-visited. An abbreviation for each of the topics was made in the form of codes and the codes were written next to the appropriate segments of the texts. This preliminary organising scheme was used to see if new categories and codes emerged. The researcher found the most descriptive wording for the topics and turned them into categories. Efforts were made to reduce the total list of categories by grouping together topics that related to one another. Lines were drawn between categories to show interrelationships. The researcher then made a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and alphabetised the codes.

3.8 Data Verification

Krefting (1991) model of ensuring the trustworthiness of qualitative data was applied. The four characteristics to ensure trustworthiness are truth-value, applicability, consistency and neutrality.

Truth-value

Truth-value asks how confident the researcher is with the truth of the findings based on the research design, informants and the context in which the study is undertaken. It is concerned

with whether the findings of the study are a true reflection of the experiences of the study participants (Krefting, 1991) or not. Truth-value is established by the strategy of credibility and, for the purpose of this research, the researcher used the following criteria: Interviewing techniques. This researcher made use of various interviewing techniques during the interview, for example probing, verbal and non-verbal expressions, restating and summarising in order to enhance the credibility of the study.

Authority of the Researcher

The researcher is a social worker who is working in the Ministry of Health and Social Services, and who for 6 years has been working with the community of Oshana Region in the area of Social Welfare care.

Applicability

Krefting (1991) defines applicability as the degree to which the findings can be applied to other contexts and settings or to other groups. Applicability is established through the strategy of transferability. In order to achieve transferability, the researcher provided a dense description of the research methodology employed.

Neutrality

The fourth criterion is neutrality. It refers to the extent to which the study findings are free from bias. Krefting (1991) proposes that neutrality in qualitative research should consider the neutrality of the data rather than that of the researcher, which suggests conformability as the strategy to achieve neutrality. The researcher tried to maintain neutrality by not giving her own opinions when the participants were attending to the research questions.

3.9 Research ethics

The research was guided by the general codes of social research ethics. Participants were given an opportunity to read through the interview questions and were informed about the freedom of refusing to participate in the study should they feel uncomfortable with the content of the interview guide. A verbal consent obtained from the participants was to be recorded on audiotape and confidentiality was explained. Participants were further informed that their responses were recorded and that they had an option to listen to the audiotapes on completion of the study. Furthermore, participants were advised that there were no direct benefits derived from their participation, but that rather, through the study findings, the outcomes could help make the social service providers identify gaps within the gender equality intervention program and equip the social service providers responsible for gender empowerment with recommendations on how to address these gaps.

It was thoroughly outlined to the participants that the results were not completely confidential as they would be documented within the research and that there was a possibility that the researcher's supervisor, external examiner and reviewer may have access to the transcripts but their anonymity was assured through no use of specific identification details as well as through the use of pseudonyms. The researcher explained how the recorded materials on the audiotapes would be discarded. The participants were offered the opportunity to select their own pseudonym for the purpose of this study to ensure confidentiality. These pseudonyms were marked on the transcription to protect their identity.

3.10 Summary

Research methodology forms the heart and core for any research study. Each research design goes along with a specific research instrument and approach. This chapter presented the research designs which were used in the study. In the current study, the qualitative, exploratory and ethnographical research was used and well elaborated. In addition to that, this chapter also presented the research sample and sampling strategies which were used in the study. The snowball and convenience sampling strategies were used in this study. Social research ethics were applied throughout the study. This chapter also deliberated on the issues of data analysis, instrumentation and the data collection procedures which were used in the study. The data was collected through individual interviews. To ensure reliability and validity, the researcher applied data verification through truth-value, peer examination, applicability, consistency and neutrality of data. The research findings and discussions are presented in chapter four. The next chapter presents the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and interprets the findings of the study. The data was collected through interviews to address the aim of the study which is to explore the changing division of labour in family household of Ongwediva urban and rural areas. The first part resents the biographic information of the participants. Thereafter, the findings of the study are presented in the form of merged themes which will be compared with the reviewed literature and will be aligned to answer the questions of this research study. The study used a qualitative approach since its strength is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience the changing division of labour. Qualitative research helps to interpret and enhance a better understanding of complex reality of a given situation or gain a rich and complex understanding of a specific social context or phenomenon.

4.2 Namibia/research setting description

This study was conducted in Oshana Region in Northern Namibia. Namibia is a country which gained independence from apartheid South African rule in 1990. It covers an area of approximately 824268 km², and is divided into fourteen administrative regions, which are further sub-divided into constituencies (Angula, 2013). Each administrative region is governed by a governor. It has various constituencies and each constituency has a councillor, who is responsible for implementing government's programmes for community members. There are several ethnic groups in Namibia, and their Traditional Authority has jurisdiction over a particular trial area. The roles of the Traditional Authorities are to administer tribal affairs, resolve conflicts and allocate land and grazing rights (Angula, 2013). Williams (1991) explains that there are eight tribal authorities among Owambo, one among Damaras and two among Herero tribes. These tribes are either administered by councils of senior headmen or by a king's rule in conjunction with councils of senior headmen. Each senior headman is in

charge of the district within a tribal area, and each district is divided into villages with a headman/headwoman in charge of each village. Oshana region is one of the northern regions of Namibia made up of ten constituencies, and has three towns namely, Ondangwa, Ongwediva and Oshakati. Among these towns, Oshakati is the provincial capital. Millet is the principal staple crop grown in Oshana region, while the fish which breed in the Oshanas (pans) provide an important source of dietary protein, (Namibia Population and Housing Census, 2011). Namibia Population and Housing Census (2011) add that Oshana region has a population of 176,674 people, 34 065 of which are for Ongwediva Constituency (18835 women and 15230 men).

4.2.1 Ongwediva Town (Urban Area)

Ongwediva is a town in the Oshana Region in the northern part of Namibia electoral constituency (Figure 1). It was established in the 1960s while Namibia was under South African occupation, (Williams, 1991). Its purpose was to serve as a residential area for people employed by businesses and government in Oshakati and Ondangwa, (Namibia Population and Housing Census, 2011). Currently, it is the district capital of the Ongwediva electoral constituency. The Namibia Population and Housing Census (2011), states that Ongwediva has 27000 inhabitants and covers 4,102 hectares of land and is governed by a town council that currently has seven seats. Inhabitants of Ongwediva reside in houses made of cement/bricks, and have several churches, two high schools: Mweshipandeka High School and Gabriel Taapopi Senior Secondary School and five primary schools (Namibia Population and Housing Census, 2011). There is a newly created Faculty of Engineering and Information Technology and Faculty of Education of the University of Namibia. In addition to that, Ongwediva has three main shopping malls.

4.2.2 Onamutayi Village (Rural Area)

Onamutayi village is situated in the northern part of Namibia. It stretches approximately 25km north of Ongwediva Town, where the council office of Ongwediva Constituency is located. The village falls within the communal area of the Ongwediva constituency, Oshana Region. The household sizes vary from 5 to 25 people per household with an average of 9.7 members each (Namibia Population and Housing Census, 2011). The types of house in Onamutayi area are traditional houses build out of sticks and mud/clay/cow dung for walls and roofs made with thatching grass. Although most of the households in this village are considered poor, there are a number of employed household members within the community (Namibia Population and Housing Census, 2011). This is attributed to the fact that the village is not far from the main towns (Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa) in the Northern-Central Namibia. In addition to that, it should be noted that some household members are employed elsewhere and only visit the village either during the weekend or festive holidays. Inhabitants are Oshiwambo-speaking, either born in the area or joined the community through marriage or as extended family members. There are a few individually owned "cuca" shops (spaza shops) where community members socialise and buy basic needs. Moreover, there are three schools and one clinic in Onamutayi village.

4.3 Establishing the background of the participants

The criteria for inclusion in the sample for the proposed study was that, all participant household family members were part of an extended family aged eighteen years and above, extended household family with husband and wife, and adult people living in that household were also part of interviewing. The study established the participants' background information. The table below presents the information.

Table 4.1: **Demographic details of participants**

House	*Name	Gender	Age group	Marital status	Position in the family	Number of people in the household
A - Urban	Tobias	Male	40-59	Married	Husband, employed as driver	9
	Line	Female	30-39	Married	Wife, employed as Registered nurse	
	Ndiilo	Female	30-39	Single	Cousin, unemployed, but works as a domestic worker in this family	
B - Urban	Haimbodi	Male	60+	Married	Husband, pensioner	5
	Ali	Female	40-59	Married	Wife, employed as Enrolled nurse	
	Jako	Female	30-39	Single	Cousin, unemployed, but works as a domestic worker in this family	
C - Urban	Silka	Female	40-59	Married	Wife, employed as Teacher	6
	Keny	Male	40-59	Married	Husband, employed as Social worker	
	Thomas	Male	18-29	Single	Cousin, employed as shop salesman	
D - Rural	Indileni	Female	30-39	Married	Wife, unemployed	8
	Mutota	Male	60+	Married	Husband, pensioner	
	Shiimi	Male	30-39	Single	Cousin, unemployed, but still schooling at the vocational school	
E - Rural	David	Male	60+	Married	Husband, pensioner	10
	Ndeyapo	Female	40-59	Married	Wife, unemployed	
	Shimbome	Male	30-39	Single	Uncle, unemployed, but tries to be employed on contract basis in construction companies	

F - Rural	Ndesheetelwa	Female	40-59	Married	Wife, unemployed, but has a business to run for her shop	
	Amos	Male	60+	Married	Husband, pensioner	14
	Sabina	Female	30-39	Single	Aunt, unemployed, but she sells part-time goods from Angola	

*Means the names reflected in the table are pseudonyms

The table shows that four males and five females participated in the study for those participants in town, while five males and four females participated in the study for the rural respondents. In addition to that, the table also shows that husbands and wives who participated in the study were married in the civil court. Furthermore, the table shows that all the participants were aged between thirty (30) and sixty (60) years. Two married women (11%) who participated in the study were between the ages of 30-39 years, while four married women (22%) were of the range between 40-59 years and two (11%) married men ranged between 40-59 years. Four married men (22%) were above 60 years. The third group of participants in the study were family members aged between 18-39 years.

Urban household A and B are located in Valombola Township, while household C is located in Hannova Township. Rural household D, E and F are all located in Onamutayi village. Furthermore, all the legally married couples who took part in the study indicated that they were married in community of property which means their property is shared as couples. While all other participants in the study indicated that they were not married and they were relatives of either the wife or husband. Three of the participants assisted as domestic workers in those family households even though they were relatives.

The number of people living in urban household ranged between five and nine, while in rural household the number ranged between eight and fourteen people. The aforementioned

information is in agreement with Edwards (2004) who described this structure of many family members living together as an 'extended family' because it consists of two or more adults who are related, either by blood or marriage, living in the same household. This family includes many relatives such as cousins, aunts or uncles and grandparents living together. This family pattern is also confirmed by the literature which states that although modernisation is slowly gaining momentum, the remnants of extended families are still visible in urban set ups as opposed to complete nuclear families (Namibia Population and Housing Census, 2011).

4.4 Presentation and discussion of data

Data presentation includes the description of the collected data into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the people and situations under investigation.

The researcher's interpretations and analysis are integrated with the literature, which serve as evidence of the themes and concepts (Holloway & Wheeler, 2003). The themes were identified through sequential phases which are data familiarization, data coding, searching for themes and theme development, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and finally writing up the themes. The data was then presented in themes with transcribed quotations of the respondents being included to support the findings. The themes and concepts that emerged from the analyzed, transcribed collected data are tabulated in Table 2.

Table 4.2: Themes and Concepts

THEMES	CONCEPTS
Theme 1: Impact of unequal division of labour	**Concept 1.1**: Women inability to make decisions
	Concept 1.2:Lowered societal status of the women
	Concept 1.3 Increased marriage break ups
	Concept 1.4: Increased women societal abuse
	Concept 1.5: Women overloaded with household roles and responsibilities
Theme 2: Factors influencing changing division of labour	**Concept 2.1** Variability in socialization between rural and urban populations
	Concept 2.2 Education
	Concept 2.3: Modernization
	Concept 2.4: Religious influence
	Concept 2.5: Influence of finance on gender roles
Theme 3: Strategies to balance gender division of labour between urban and rural	**Concept 3.1:** Gender empowerment through education
	Concept 3.2: Strengthening of existing policies on gender policy and advocacy
	Concept 3.4 Community awareness on gender division of labour

4.5 Theme 1: Impact of unequal division of labour

The impact of unequal division of labour varies considerably between town and rural dwellers. For those dwellers who reside in the village, the division of labour seems to be very unequal in the sense that it casts a burden on the woman who becomes responsible for most of the household tasks, while the man goes out for beer drinking (Barnard, 1992). In addition to that, the women and children are the ones who are predominantly involved in farming and other food production activities in the rural villages (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2003). Those families in towns are open- minded and do understand gender division of labour from a radical perspective (Baxter, 2002).

Urban population is well- informed with regards to division of labour since most of the women also work and bring finances to the house and for that reason, they do not get fully involved in the household tasks that much. As a result of their enlightenment on gender division of labour, they also force their husbands to be involved in such household responsibilities as cooking; cleaning the dishes and other related household tasks (Doucet, 1995). Participants in the study showed that there are variable distinctions on the way the impact of an equal distribution of labour presents itself in towns and in rural areas. The following sentiments substantiate this claim:

> *"My husband does not even have time to come and work with us in the field, it is only me and the children who are always in the field, while he comes home only when he is hungry and wants to demand for something to eat". (Ndesheetelwa, Wife, Household F, Rural.)*

> *"I don't even have anything to say regarding any household chores. My husband is a typical Oshiwambo husband."(Ndeyapo, Wife, Household E, Rural).*

> *"At our church we are taught to submit to our husbands and as a result, I have nothing to tell my husband about household chores."(Ali, Wife, Household B, Urban).*

> *"My husband understands that if both of us are from work and we are both tired, he has to be involved too in cooking if we have no one to help in the house."(Silka, Wife, Household C, Urban).*

> *"Grew up in town and I am very much enlightened when it comes to gender division of labour, I will not let my husband abuse me in any way."(Line, Wife, Household A, Urban).*

The findings above harmonise with the earlier findings of Arbache, Kolev, & Filipiak (2010) who indicated that gender division of labour between rural and urban populations does notpresent itself the same way. It is understood differently depending on one's socialisation and level of enlightenment on gender division of labour.

On this note Ambunda & De Klerk (2003) stated that in the rural setting, the women are heavily overburdened as there is no equal division of labour between men and women.

4.5.1 Women inability to make decisions
An individual who is not socially free is unable to make meaningful decisions in the household (Tong, 2014). Such an individual is subjected to abuse by anyone in the household. Women in the rural areas subdue to men's domination as a result of either their religious affiliation or the way they were socialized or as a result of their cultures (Brankovic, Fortuna, Macri, Salbi, Wynkoop, & Xaver, 2003). They do not have the autonomy to make meaningful decisions regarding the household division of labour, while those women in urban areas are more enlightened regarding the equality of gender and application of policies and their implementation (Ruth, 2000). Participants in this study showed that gender division of labour between the rural and urban population positions the women in such a situation that they are not able to make decisions with regards to household division of labour. The following statements support this claim:

"My husband is a man of his own words. I have nothing to say; whatever he says is what I follow." (Indileni, Wife, Household D, rural).

"In my house, my husband is the one to dictate when to eat a chicken and which chicken to kill. If he is not there we cannot kill any chicken, neither can we do anything, even when a child falls sick it is him to decide what to do with the child." (Ndeyapo, Wife, Household E, rural).

"My husband knows that, he respects my decision, whatever decision I have made is what he has to tally with because he knows that I have my own right as a woman in the house and division of labour as a decision making process for me

is something that I have also a role to play not only him to decide on things that

also impact on my life." (Line, Wife, Household A, Urban).

"My husband understands very well and whatever I decide to do, sometimes he

asks me what we have to do regarding the money that we have generated. I also

have input to whatever we have produced; I also have a decision to

make."(Silka, Wife, Household C, Urban).

The findings above corroborate with the early findings of Sultana (2001) who stated that women in the rural areas are sucked out of their ability to make decisions as a result of the societal make up, while those women in towns are in a better position to debate with their husbands on what has to be done regarding the running of their household. From the gender ideology theory which forms the theoretical framework of this study, it can be concluded that women in towns are more exposed to equality of gender division of labour and decision making, than those women in the rural areas who succumb to patriarchal abuse (Philip & Currey, 2006).

4.5.2 Lowered societal status of the women

Every individual has got his/her personal ego. It is the ego that makes one develop a sense of belonging (Allen & Fulluga, 2010). If an individual who is in the community does not have a sense of belonging, such a person has no confidence in whatever they do. Such individuals may not be able to make meaningful decisions for anything they feel. Whatever opinions they want to air may be considered by some as valueless (Eshleman, 2011). Women in the community are said to occupy a lower community rank as a result of the way the man treat them, while those women who reside in towns feel that they are at par with their male counterparts. Even in the household they have got a voice. They do not feel belittled in their ideas and opinions are always taken into consideration; they feel they are part and parcel of the family household (Luxton, 1999).

The study found out that the participants in the study, particularly the women in the village have lower societal positions that emanate from the way their husbands handle or treat them. The lowering of their societal positions creates an unequal division of labour within the household since they feel that they have nothing meaningful to contribute to the household. The following quotations substantiate these claims:

"My husband does not even listen to me when I am talking. He thinks all my ideas are useless." (Indileni, Wife, Household D, Rural).

"My husband listens to whatever I say because he knows that am also part and parcel of the household make up, so on household division of labour for me we have equal distribution of division of labour and I feel important in the household because my opinions and my ideas are always considered."(Silka, Wife, Household C, Urban).

"I always feel that my wife has to contribute towards the household decisions and I always value whatever opinions she gives. I don't care what my wife thinks about; they have to listen to me. I am the head of the house." (Haimbodi, Husband, Household B, Urban).

These findings correspond with the earlier findings of McGoldrick & Gerson (2002) who indicated that an unequal division of labour in the household lowers the societal position of the other part, and in most cases women are the victims of this. Findings further concur with the findings of Beaujot (2000) who found out that women in towns have got a societal ranking that is perceived as being higher than that of those in rural areas.

4.5.3 Increased marriage break ups

Most disputes in the marriages are a result of misunderstandings between the two partners who are married couples (Hays, 1996). Those in towns who believe that they have got rights, especially the women tend to divorce more as a result of the women failing to comply with the man's requirements. As a result, they end up quarrelling, leading to marriage break ups (Mauris, 2007). However, among those who are in rural areas, females tend to be more submissive to their men since they respect gender division of labour and that they have specific roles to fulfil within the household setup (Dolan & Baxter, 1992). If there is a contradiction between the perspectives of the women and those of the men regarding division of labour in the household, this leads to the two parties quarrelling and increases marriage break ups. Participants in the study indicated that gender division of labour was leading to breaks up in marriages with higher frequencies of occurrence in towns as compared to rural areas. The following citations seem to support these claims:

> *"I have got my neighbour who uses to argue a lot with her husband, especially on the household tasks and currently they are no longer together," (Ali, Wife, Household B, Urban).*

> *In this village women know their gender roles and they don't normally argue with regards to household tasks because each party knows what he or she has to do in the household, (Sabina, Member of the family, Household F, Rural)*

> *I will not even tolerate a woman who does not want to do her tasks in the house. She must listen to whatever I say. If she does not want, I will let her go. Women should understand that they fall under men and they have to respect whatever the man says. If she does not want, she can move on, so that I can look for someone whoever wants to stay with me or understand what I want in my household, (Mutota, Husband, Household D, Rural)*

The findings above are similar to the early findings of Oriel (2000) who states that unequal of distribution of power between males and females leads to unequal division of labour between men and women, but they are common threats among those who are dwelling in towns, where women tend to understand their rights as compared to men. As a result, they end up parting with their husbands and marriages break up. This trend is more dominant in towns and more often children are left without a mother and do not know which direction to follow as their parents breakup.

4.5.4 Increased women societal abuse
Societal abuse is when an individual is being used or not treated fairly in the community where he or she is staying (Allen & Fulluga, 2010). Women societal abuse emanates from various aspects ranging from the way their husbands treat them and the way they are looked at by the community. An individual who is abused by the society feels uncomfortable and develops a sense of not belonging to a particular community (Carter, 2014). Such an individual is likely to end up even in a state of madness which emanates from the fact that the person feels dejected and rejected by the community in which he/she stays (Barnett, 2000). Participants in the study indicated that, those participants in the villages or rural areas are heavily affected by the gender division of labour that leads to an abuse of women (Kayongo-Male & Onyango, 1994), while those participants in towns who are more enlightened on understanding gender roles and responsibilities are not burdened. Participants in the study showed that there is a difference between the levels of abuse that women go through as a result of where they are (rural and urban community). The following citations substantiate these claims:

> *"My husband heavily abuses me. I don't have anything to say in the household;*
>
> *whatever he says is what I have to follow. Whether he is right or wrong, I am*

left with no ability to make any decision regarding the running of the household," (Ndeyapo, Wife, Household E, Rural).

"Me and my wife understand each other very well and if I see that my wife is tired, I have to take over and help her as much as I can," (Keny, Husband, Household C, Urban).

"The husband of this house is a man of his own words; no one debates with him in the house neither his wife, nor his children know that it is only him who has overall says on everything and one could tell that our mother feels unvalued and abused by our father, because she is always quiet," (Shiimi, member of the family, Household D, Rural).

The findings above corroborate with the early findings of Adams & Welsh (2008)who indicated that women who are heavily abused become powerless and that reduces their productive capacity since there is unequal distribution of power with their male counterparts. The abuse affected women especially in the rural setup where the culture suppresses the gender issues of gender equality that proposes equity between men and women in the household.

4.5.5 Women overloaded with household roles and responsibilities
Iipinge & Le Beau (2005) state that women struggle under the triple burden roles of production which are for all tasks that contribute economically to the household and community, such as crop farming, livestock production, handicrafts production, marketing, education and wage employment. However, women in the rural areas find difficulties in coping with and balancing different life roles in the household (Barnard, 1992). The struggle to strike a balance on different roles is prevalent among the women of urban areas in comparison with rural women. Women in the urban area are employed, have careers and

they further their studies for better employment as compared to rural women (Allen & Fulluga, 2010). This women's overloading of household responsibilities is supported by the following sentiments:

> *"Even when 1 am not at my paid work, is when I do my personal things like going to the bank, doing my assignment for school since I am studying, looking at my children's books; helping them with their school work, but in most cases I come late from work or am tired to do any tasks at home," (Household A, Urban, Wife, Line).*

> *"The responsibilities are made worse because I am improving my Grade 12 points through Namibia College of Open Learning," (Household A, urban, women, member of the family, Ndiilo).*

> *"I cannot cope with the demands of full time work and take care of the family. As a result, I have to employee someone to help me do most of the household tasks like the washing, ironing, cooking sometimes and cleaning the house," (Household B, urban, wife, Ali).*

These findings corroborate with the earlier findings of Ambunda & de Klerk (2003) who stated that patriarchal system has been practised among Oshiwambo-speaking communities because women have always been subordinate to men in all areas. The findings further correspond with the findings of Angula (2010) who indicated that rural women are overloaded with household roles as a result of male domination emanating from unequal distribution of power between males and females.

4.6 Theme 2: Factors influencing changing division of labour

There are several factors that are influencing changing division of labour between rural and urban dwellers. These factors range from socialization, culture, religion, one's financial status

and general upbringing (Adams & Welsh, 2008). Changing division of labour varies considerably depending on where one was socialised or grew up and one's religious affiliation. Participants in the study indicated that changing division of labour is influenced by a number of factors within their various settings. The following citations substantiate these claims:

> "The way I was raised by my father and mother tells me that there are certain things that I can do as a woman and certain things that I cannot do," (Jako, member of the family, Household B, Urban).

> "It dates back years when it used to be that women would be compelled to accept men's authoritative power but of late, things have changed. Men should understand that I, being a woman, am also productive in my capacity and I go to work just like him. He has to understand how we have to distribute the household tasks," (Ali, Wife, Household B, Urban).

> "I have seen the humility of my mother in the household; respecting whatever her husband tells her. She is coerced to it even if she feels it is not the best. She has to comply with it because she has no ground to argue with her husband," (Thomas, a member of the family household, Household C, Urban).

The findings above concur with the earlier findings of Adams & Welsh (2008) who stated that changing division of labour varies considerably depending on where one was socialized or where one grew up. In addition to that, Butler (2006), articulates that religious affiliation also plays a significant and pivotal role in determining how one responds to changing division of labour in the household.

4.6.1 Variability in socialisation between rural and urban populations

Molly (2009) defines socialisation as a process through which culture is transmitted to others; learning how to conform to the demands of an institution, society or social group. However, according to Carter (2014) the way household roles and tasks are divided between men and women are mainly shaped by socialisation which takes place primarily during childhood. During this period, boys and girls learn the appropriate behaviour for their sex and this was confirmed by the supervision that men supervise boys and women supervise girls in their household tasks. The gender socialisation has so much impact on division of labour and varies considerably between urban and rural dwellers (Oriel, 2000). Households that belong to the rural communities are socialised to do certain things that households which are socialised in the urban area do not do.

In rural areas women are socialised to cook, weave baskets, make traditional drinks: (*omagongo*, *omalodu* and *ontaku*), pick spinach, process marula oil, pound *mahangu* and sorghum grains, while the husbands are responsible for provision of security, grazing livestock, building granaries, cutting wood carving household utensils, fixing fences, building and roofing huts for family shelter (Barnett, 2000). Participants in the urban area seem share these responsibilities between males and females. There is no distinct difference on what males and females do in towns because of the way they were socialized by the environment that they live in. In towns men are also responsible for cooking and women are also responsible for providing food for the household. Participants in the study indicated significant diverse variability in gender division of labour between the urban and rural population which emanates from the way they were socialised. The following quotations substantiate these claims:

The way I grew up makes me believe that I am the one who should be at home with kids and who should be in the field providing for them, (Ndeyapo, Wife, Household E, Rural).

I believe that my responsibility in the house is to make sure that the household members are safe. I make sure that there is enough shelter because I was socialized to be a responsible father of the family and I will not be found in the kitchen or cooking, (Mutota, Husband, Household D, Rural).

"I do try much to delegate tasks to my children, especially the female when they are around because I am also preparing them to become wives one day," Ali, Wife, Household B, Urban)

My husband and I share household tasks equally in the family. We have been both socialised to believe that in my absence my husband can take my tasks in the house, can also cook for the family and he can be also take the children to the doctor and I can also do the same if I have time. The way we do our household tasks is how we were socialized to believe that there are no gender tasks, but we have to help each other unless we have a domestic worker to help in the household, (Silka, Wife, Household C, Urban).

This finding above harmonise with the early findings of Eshleman (2011) who indicated socialisation as a very important factor that influences gender division of labour in the household between urban and rural population. On this note Carter (2014), also indicated that the way one was socialised as a young boy or girl was the same way he/she was also going to pass on the socialisation even to his/her own kids.

4.6.2 Education

Education is defined by Greenstein (2000) as the knowledge which one receives for him/her to fit in a particular society. Education is given to individuals for them to be able to fit in a society that has its own norms and values. If an individual is said not to be educated, it means he does not have the knowledge that matches him with that particular society (Angula, 2010). Such a person becomes an outlier of the community where he/she lives. Every individual wants to have a sense of belonging, and that sense of belonging comes from education, (Luxton, 1999). People need education for them to feel that they are part and parcel of that particular community. Philip & Currey (2006) state that the world over, including Namibia, gender roles are shaped by one's level of education.

Individuals who are in the villages have got a form of education that allows them to be part of the rural community (Donalek & Soldwisch, 2004). Such individuals have got community norms that bind them to that particular society and these norms emanate from their culture (Sullivan, 2000). It is the education and the culture that define who does what and where. Individuals from villages have lower level of formal education and as a result of that, they have little exposure to modern education that exposes them to an understanding of gender equality (Iipinge & Le Beau, 2005). As a result of that, division of labour is associated with one's level of education or one's form of education that he/she has been given or grounded with (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2003).

Individuals in towns have got formal education that exposes them more to broader understanding of policies on gender and their implementation and keep them alert with any changes that take place in terms of gender disposition or gender changes that take place in their community (Molly, 2009). Participants in this study indicated differences in the way gender division of labour is influenced by their education. Those in the rural community who

have lower education tend to be bound to their culture and become more conservative in that culture as compared to those participants who are in towns who have go a broadened understanding of policy and its implementation. The following citations substantiate these claims:

"Education empowers one to become more assertive, productive and independent with education and income, one can hire a domestic worker to work in the house," (Jako, Woman, Member of the family, Household B, Urban).

"Am a grade 7 person, I didn't go far with my education, but I believe that without education, it is only the cultural norms that bind us together in our society and we live up to those norms,"(Shimbome, man, member of the family, Household E, Rural).

"My husband and I both have Master's Degree, and my husband knows that if I tell him I want to go out and spend time with my friends or am tired I cannot cook, he understands and he has to stand in and cook for the kids," (Silka, Wife, Household C, Urban).

The findings above are in agreement with the early findings of Gazco-Windle & McMullin (2003) who indicated that education plays a significant role in determining division of labour within the household for rural and urban areas.

4.6.3 Modernisation

Modernisation has to do with change of environment, an individual change and understanding of the environment with time (Kolev & Filipiak, 2010). The way things were done a long time ago, differs with the way things are done today. Things are moving forward and cultural norms are changing. Everything is changing with great emphasis and enlightenment is given

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to individuals on what they have to do and what they don't have to (Edwards-Jauch, 2010). Gender division of labour changes as a result of what time it is. Those women who lived in old days used to believe in submissiveness and with the passage and unfolding of time and modernisation, things started to change slowly and humans migrating to other places started bringing changes to their own communities (Williams, 1991). Modernisation affects the way people perceive things (Beaujot, 2000). Participants in the study indicated diversity in the way modernisation shaped their gender division of labour. Those participants in the rural villages showed a bit of conservativeness and resistance to modernity as a result of solid cultural norms, while the ones in towns changed faster and seemed to be flexible with time change and modernisation. This difference in the way modernisation shapes the gender division of labour is substantiated in the following claims:

> *"In town we understand things almost at the same level that what a man does a woman also can do," (Ali, Wife, Household B, Urban).*

> *"I could say in town we understand each other better than people in the rural area on gender division of labour," (Thomas, Man, member of the family, Household C, Urban).*

These findings corroborate with the early findings of Padavic & Reskin (2002) who indicated that modernisation is a critical significant factor that shapes and pre-determines the gender division of labour in the comminity where people live. People in town tend to deviate from their cultural norms as modernisation hits them.They tend to leave what has been part of their culture and adopt modernization.

4.6.4 Religious influence

Religion plays a crucial role in shaping gender roles for both rural and urban dwellers (Olademo, 2008). Religious affiliation, especially for the Christians who emphasize more on women being silent in the home and being submissive to male domination, stops women from doing certain things which are reserved for males (Seguino & Lovinsky, 2009). In some churches women are not allowed to wear trousers. They are not allowed to do their hair, are not allowed to do makeup, while some religious affiliations allow women to be free, and to speak their voices out. Churches that are in the rural areas, even if they may be teaching the same doctrine there, there are things that they tend to be liberal on, letting women do certain things and shun others (Takyi & Addai, 2002). The Christian faith for example, in the rural community does not allow women to preach in church while in towns the same church might portray itself differently by allowing women to preach (Sherifat & Olanrewein, 2014). Participants in the study indicated variability in the way religious affiliation influences the gender division of labour between town and rural dwellers. The following citations validate these claims:

> *"In our church we are not allowed to stand and preach; preaching is for males and if we want to ask something we have to ask our husbands at home," (Sabina, woman, a member of the family, Household F, Rural).*

> *In my church I am not allowed to sleep in the same room with my husband if I am menstruating. I have to sleep in my own room because I am seen as being dirty," (Ndeeshetelwa, Wife, Household F, Rural).*

> *"I don't allow my wife to sleep in the same bedroom with me if she is menstruating and neither to cook for me, because this is the rule of our church," (Amos, Husband, Household F, rural).*

"According to our church I can sleep in the same bedroom with my husband even if am menstruating, and my husband understands me in the same way when I am menstruating and when I am not menstruating," (Silka, Wife, Household C, Urban).

The findings above are similar to the findings that were earlier stated in the Holy Bible (2015) when it stated that women should remain silent in the church and they can ask their husbands if they have anything to ask regarding anything that they may want to understand. In addition to that, these findings further concur with what Brankovic, et al. (2003) and Hajj & Panizza (2006) stated that one's understanding of religion shapes the way one understands the gender division of labour. Some women in towns believe that they are at the same level with their men and they can compete for any vacant post or any roles in the household they can do at the same level.Some womenemphasise on men helping them, whileothers emphasise on women being quiet, thereby bringing out the disparaties between the two types of people.

4.6.5 Influence of finance on gender roles
Economic level means the salary or money that men and women earn from their paid work that what place them to which economical level their stand (Allen & Fulluga, 2010). Economical level contributes to division of labour in the household between men and women since the family has to maintain psychosocial needs through what they bring to the family and from outside the household (Barnett, 2000). Women who earn a salary and stay in towns look at themselves as producers and as a result, the way they play their household roles differs from the way a village woman would play the same roles if she does not earn a salary (Le Beau et al., 2010). As a result of that, division of labour is determined and is shaped by one's economic level, that is, what one brings home. Some women in the village, even if they go to work, they are still controlled by the culture in which they live, while those who are in towns tend to be driven by modernisation that they bring something home. They are put at

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the same level with their husbands (Baxter, 2002). Participants in the study indicated that financial position plays a crucial role in shaping gender division of labour in the household. Men who do not earn a salary or do not bring anything home and are staying either in rural or urban areas, have got no say. They submit to women's needs because women are the ones who have money and tend to dominate the household since they are the ones who are capable of sustaining it better than the person who has no money (Marshall, 2003). The following quotations substantiate these claims:

> *"In my house my husband is the one who is working although he is on pension and I believe he plays his role, providing for his family and I am also providing for my family. We are fine and we are living in our village," (Mutota, Husband, Household D, Rural).*

> *"In our house my husband does not work since he is on pension, but we are mostly quarrelling because he thinks that I am dominating him and am ruling the house because I have got money from my business shop and at one point I was thinking of dumping and leaving him and moving on with my life because he doesn't seem to submit to what I say," (Ndesheetelwa, Wife, Household F, Rural).*

> *"I have seen many marriages fail to work out because the man is not working and while the woman is working, the one who is dominating the household finances, this financial level is destroying many families," (Haimbodi, Husband, Household B, Urban).*

> *"A lot of household tasks are affected by the hours I am spending at my paid work, such as cooking for the family, washing and cleaning the house, helping my children with homework, shopping for the home needs. That's why I have a*

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nanny; this girl helps me so much with household tasks such as school homework for children and doing shopping for the house also," (Line, Wife, Household A, urban).

The above findings concur with the findings of Davis & Carrier (2011) who indicated that one's financial status determines the level to which that person controls the household roles. Hays (1996) ellaborates that some men who do not want to submit to women dominination when they do not work, end up moving out of the house because they donot want to be under the women's control.

4.7 Theme 3: Strategies to balance gender division of labour between urban and rural

Imbalances that are emanating from gender division of labour can only be resolved through negotiation processes that involve the participation of both men and women. Various strategies have been proposed Baxter (2002) and Fang & Tech (2009), proposed education as one of the greatest tool that can be used to level the ground of division of labour between female and male. However, Arbache et al. (2010) suggested stregthening of religious beliefs as one of the strategies that could be used to mitigate on gender division of labour and others emphasise on the issue of stregthening the existing policies on gender equality as being instrumental in closing the gap on the division of labour between males and females. In this study, several strategies were proposed by the study participants. The following segments substantiate these claims:

"I believe education has helped us to be were we are today because we were eduacated and we are in professional work like nursing, teaching that make us understand different situations including gender and that's why I am be able to cook for my family sometimes," (Keny, Husaband, Household C, Urban).

"In order to have a complete change in gender roles in the household, it should start with our church to educate people differently that we are equal because the church has a big influence since we believe in our pastors too much," (Indileni, Wife, Household D, Rural).

These findings corroborate with the early findings of Barnett (2000) who indicated that the strategies to balance gender division of labour in rural and urban family households could be done by streghtheningeducation and religious beliefs which are significant tools that need to reach urban and rural communities.

4.7.1 Gender empowerment through education

Education is the greatest equalizer to all social inequalities. Through education, people are able to understand the world better than they would do if they were not educated. Greenstein (2000) defines education as the knowledge which one receives for him/her to fit in a particular society. An educated person has the relevant knowledge that he needs to be able to fit well in a certain society. Participants in the study emphasise on the education of rural participants in understanding the division of labour that exists between males and females for both rural and urban occupants. The following segments substantiate these claims:

"I believe people need to be educated on their rights in the way that is not provoking, but in a way that both males and females understand the division of labour that exists in the household," (Silka, Wife, Household C, Urban).

"One can say women are empowered through education now to do everything men used to do alone without women being involved. Women drive cars now and they can also drop children to schools, and this was just done by men," (Ndiilo, woman, member of the family, Household A, Urban).

"...is how to bring man and woman from where they are to the next level and because most of women and men are empowered through education and they are working for wages and are independent people, they are also helping each other in terms of tasks in the household or financially, alike men and women working can put money together and install tap water in the household," (Keny, Husband, Household C, Urban).

"This gender empowerment through education was done mostly to women like the literacy programmes happening in our village. This programme is teaching women to read and write, that is those who are old and cannot go back to formal school anymore. Many women in our village are running their small businesses, selling things and I believe it is because of gender empowerment. This way, women become independent and they do not rely on men anymore to support them financially and this has made many women to be more interdependent compared to men now. In my house I appreciate the way the women are empowered now because they are contributing to the needs of the household; not only me doing everything of the house, that's why am not intimidated by that," (Amos, Husband, Household F, Rural).

These findings are similar to the early findings of Chafetz (1990) who indicated that education is one of the posssible means that could be used to mitigate on gender imbalances in division of labour. On this note, Brownmillar (2000) and Doucet (1995) also emphasise that formal education that is being received in schools should involve gender as a subject so as to conscientise the boys and girls in understanding gender division of labour even from the classroom setup until they become responsible adults.

4.7.2 Strengthening of existing Gender Policy and advocacy

Policies are needed to improve the living standards of people, especially on gender division of labour in a family household (Barnard, 1992). Policies strengthen the relationship between men and women as they are viewed equally in all areas. Implementation of policies needs to be strengthened and should be practical. There is a big need of increasing research regarding the effectiveness of the current policies on gender equalities whether they need to be changed to match the time change or not (Angula, 2010). To strengthen the policies, there is a need to evaluate and review the policies regularly after five or ten years because some policies where made where the women were not involved. Reviewing of polices on gender imbalances needs to be done regularly so that considerations can be made on the era of women going to work. Women also still need to conceive and do household tasks. The participants in this study shared their experiences and views as demonstrated in the quotes below:

> *"I believe that the gender equality policy needs to be emphasised in the household ,especially how men and women should help each other with the household, for example, my husband has to do laundry,"* (Line, Wife, Household A, Urban).

> *"Nowadays there is a new policy of gender equality but we don't understand it well, especially here in the rural area,"* (Mutota, Husband, Household D, Rural).

> *"We should avoid discrimination of people in our household, therefore Namibia has introduced the gender equality policy in all areas, and myself I support the policy of gender equality, but we need to understand it very well in order to apply it in our household, "* (Haimbodi, Husband, Household B, Urban).

> *"As we are in the world whereby government promotes gender equality with many programmes and policies, we need to endorse them in our everyday activities, focusing on our household roles,"* (David, Husband, Household E, Rural).

The above findings concur with early findings from Oriel (2000) who indicated that strengthening of National Gender Policies would also strengthen the weakening relatioship between men and women regarding the equal division of labour in the household. National Gender policy (2010 - 2020) ellaborates that it is designed to effectively contribute to the attainment of the objectives of Vision 2030, in order to create a society in which women and men enjoy equal rights and access to basic services.

4.7.3 Community awareness on gender division of labour

Community awareness is when the community is being informed by the experts on a certain important aspect (Beaujot, 2000).   The community awareness could be done through meetings by sensitizing the community on gender division of labour. Such awareness may include the community leaders, for example, church leaders, headmen/women for villages. Awareness can also be done through radio talks and distribution of leaflets and booklets for the community people to read (Belotti, 2014). Participants in the study indicated variability in the way awareness should be done in their community so that it can sensitise men and women on gender division of labour. The following citations substantiate these claims:

> *"I remember there was a meeting in our village held long time about ten or so years ago at the councillor's office with officials from Oshakati and talked about gender equality between men and women and how we should help each other,"* (*Amos, Husband, Household F, Rural,*).

> *"When we hear information on the radio because sometimes there are programmes that teach us how to help each other with the household tasks, it is what we try to put into practice in our household," (Ndileni, Wife, Household D, Rural).*

The findings above are in accordance with the early findings of Gazco-Windle & McMullin (2003) who indicated that community awareness plays a significant role in influencing division of labour within the household for both rural and urban dwellers.

4.8 Summary

This chapter presented the results of an examination of the family household's lived experiences as relayed through individual interviews. It was revealed that the findings support much of what the literature revealed. The rural family household does many of the tasks as compared to family households in urban areas. Although women also participate in paid work like men, they end up doing household tasks still after they come back home from the paid work. The findings further revealed changes in Ongwediva urban and rural family household division of labour that men and women were helping each other with household tasks regardless of their gender and all these were brought about by empowerment of women through education programmes and legal framework such as the gender equality policy which was introduced after Namibia's independence. Participants from both the rural and urban settings indicated their happiness about these changes. The research conclusions and recommendations are presented in the following chapter.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will present a summary of the study, the conclusions of the findings and recommendations for future research. The aim of this research was to develop an understanding of the Namibian perspectives towards the changing gender division of labour brought by urbanization and participation of women in full-time employment, particularly in rural and urban areas of Oshana region. Furthermore, it explored the changing family roles and tasks that men and women are witnessing in terms of decision making over matters of parenting, socialisation of children, household finances and the general running of the domestic spheres. The study adopted a qualitative research approach defined as a "form of systematic empirical enquiry into meaning (Neuman, 1997). An ethnographic approach was used in the lived experiences of men and women in family household as the focus.The question was answered in Chapter 4 where research findings were presented and discussed.

The study had three main objectives namely to:

- Explore the extent of the changing domestic division of labour in Ongwediva urban and rural family households.

- Identify the varying factors influencing the change family household division of labour between urban and rural dwellers.

- Establish the extent of empowerment of women in Namibian families in relation to the division of labour between men and women.

The data collected was analysed, from which three main themes emerged that were elaborated on in Chapter Four. Literature and theory was used to corroborate, explain, associate and contrast the findings of this study. A brief summary on each of the previous chapters, as well

as conclusions and recommendations from the findings will be presented in the following sections.

5.2 Summary of the chapters.

The summary of the study provides a brief account of the chapters, without going into detail, as they have been thoroughly discussed already.

5.2.1. Chapter 1: Introduction of the study.

This chapter provided the reader with a general contextual overview of the research study, the research problem, research goal, research objectives and methodology used to execute the study.

5.2.2. Chapter 2: Literature review.

In Chapter 2, the research presented a comprehensive review of literature. The literature which was explored mainly focused on factors that influenced the changing division of labour in the family household of rural and urban areas. It also presented the gender ideology theory which formed the theoretical framework of the study.

5.2.3. Chapter 3: Research methodology.

This research chose and used an explorative and ethnographic design with a qualitative approach as the best suited in seeking to achieve the study's aim. Chapter 3 elaborated more on research methodology and the steps used to complete the research study successfully. This chapter presented the research design (explorative and ethnographic) approach (qualitative), description of the studied population (men and women in family household) and sampling strategies (random and snowball) which were adopted in the study. In this study, the samples were women and men in a family household setup. The data was collected by means of semi-structured face-to-face in-depth interviews. In addition to that, this chapter also presented issues of data collection and analysis, and ethical issues which were considered in the study.

5.2.4. Chapter 4: Presentation and discussion of the findings.

Chapter 4 presented a discussion of the main findings which were presented in the form of themes and concepts that were generated from the in-depth interviews which were carried out. This chapter also presented the demographic information of the eighteen participants in the study. With the three themes which emerged in the study, literature and theory were both used to substantiate, explain, compare and contrast the findings of this study. Specifically, the following themes emerged from the study:

- Theme 1: Impact of unequal division of labour.

- Theme 2: Factors influencing changing division of labour.

- Theme 3: Strategies to balance gender division of labour between urban and rural.

5.2.5. Chapter 5: Conclusion and recommendations.
Lastly, Chapter 5 presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study. It presents an overall summary of the chapters covered in the study, as well as the limitations that need to be observed simultaneously with the findings of the study. The chapter also provides recommendations for future research.

5.3 Limitations of the Study.
The researcher had challenges in identifying extended family households in both urban and rural areas. To mitigate this, the researcher utilised the snowball sampling technique which allowed the interviewee to refer the researcher to the next participant. The gender topic is very sensitive, mostly to men who regard it women issue only. Men did not want to participate in the study openly, but the researcher explained the purpose of the study well in detail to them and then they participated freely. The research was confined to one area and cultural group (Oshiwambo speakers), and the findings cannot be generalised to other ethnic groups of Namibia.

5.4 Conclusion

Based on the on the set objectives and according to themes that emerged in the study, the following conclusions were drawn:

5.4.1. Theme 1: Impact of unequal division of labour

The study revealed that gender division of labour between rural and urban populations did not present itself the same way. In the rural setting, the women were heavily overburdened as there was no equal division of labour between men and women. It was understood differently depending on one's socialisation and level of enlightment on gender division of labour. The study also found out that the participants particularly the women in the village (rural) have lower societal positions as compared to women in the town (urban). This conclusion was derived from the way their husbands handle or treat them. This lowering of their societal positions creates an unequal division of labour within the housheold since women feel that they have nothing meaningful to contribute to the household. As was discovered, women both at rural and urban do carry the burden of the triple roles only receive limited help from their husbands although women at the urban indicate that they struggle to strike a balance on different roles in comparison with rural women.

5.4.2. Theme 2: Factors influencing changing division of labour.

The study also indicated that the changing division of labour is influenced by a number of factors within their various settings, and these factors range from culture, financial status and also general upbringing which vary depending on where one was socialised or grew up as well as religious affiliation. This theme sheds more light in understanding the effects of socialisation as a factor that influence the changing division of labour as the majority of the participants from both rural and urban expressed how socialisation took place. The study also shows that gender socialisation has significant impact on division of labour and varies considerably between urban and rural dwellers. Participants in the study also indicated

significantly diverse variability in gender division of labour between the urban and rural population which emanates from the way they are socialised.

The personal narratives that were shared by the participants in the study especially urban people who are more employed as compared to rural people who are unemployed highlighted that the economic level has an impact on changing the division of labour in the household.. Economic level play an integral part in the lives of the family in their household because it makes women to be independent because they also participate in paid work like men and be able to contribute to the needs of the household financially and this makes men and women to share the household tasks and help each other, as Butler (2006) a emphasized that when men earn wages and support the family alone, that makes them in return to dominate women because they provide for them.

Another factor that influence the changing division of labour as stipulated by the participant of this study was education, were the participants indicated that people in the rural community who have lower education tend to be bound to their culture and become more conservative in their culture as compared to those participants who are in towns who have got a broadened understanding of policy and its implementation and cannot be abused by their male counterparts.

On the other hand, participants in the study revealed variability in the way religious affiliation influences the gender division of labour between town and rural dwellers. In some churches women are not allowed to wear trousers, while some religious groups allow women to be free, and to speak their voice out.

5.4.3. Theme 3: Strategies to balance gender division of labour between urban and rural.

The study found out that education is one of the greatest tool that can be used to level the ground of division of labour between females and males. In addition to that, the stregthening of religious beliefs was one of the strategies that could be used to mitigate on disparities on gender division of labour whereas others emphasised issues of stregthening the existing policies on gender equality as being instrumental in closing the gap on the division of labour between males and females. Participants of this study shows a great need to strengthen the existing policies by evaluating and reviewing the policies regularly after five or ten years because some policies were made without the involvement of the women concerned. The study revealed that there is a great need for community awareness on gender division of labour which can be done through radio talks and distribution of leaflets, and such awareness could include the community leaders such as church leaders, headmen/women for villages.

Although these findings cannot be generalised to the entire community, it gave the researcher an inside view into how the division of labour is done among the men and women of this area. By conducting this ethnographic exploratory study, the researcher has produced a body of literature in a community that has a knowledge gap.   It is important to keep in mind that more research must be done in order to better understand the changing in gender division of labour in family household of this community and others.

5.5 Recommendations.
5.5.1 Recommendations to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare.
The Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare is the department responsible for informing through education, the community about the gender equality policy in the study. Some of the participants have not heard or been educated about the gender equality policy.

- Therefore, the study recommends that each Ministry appoint a Gender Officer who will be constantly in contact with the Department of Gender of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare who will promote gender equality programmes.

- The service providers should improve service delivery by increasing awareness campaigns targeting both rural and urban men and women.

- It is important for Gender officers to be trained specifically on gender matters regarding family household division of labour and sustain these programmes of sensitizing the community.

- The government, through the Department of Gender Equality within the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, should provide and facilitate the provision of incentives for ordinal community members to enhance programmes and service delivery related to educating the community about the Policy of Gender Equality and the meaning of it.

- It is vital for other Ministries and non-governmental stakeholders to be involved in regional planning and budget for the implementation of activities related to strengthening gender division of labour in a family household.

5.5.2 Recommendations to family household.

It will also be beneficial for family members, both men and women to make an effort to actively participate in the community education awareness regarding gender equality. These community educational awareness campaigns or programmes should include gender inclusive education on gender socialisation since socialisation was identified as one of the main causes of promoting gender division of labour in the family household.

5.6 Suggestions for further research

This study was done in Oshana Region, as a comparative between rural (Onamutayi village) and urban (Ongwediva-Valombola town) areas of Ongwediva Constituency in Northern Namibia. Therefore, studies need to be done in other Namibian areas to:

- Compare the findings so as to have a better understanding of changing gender division of labour in other family household in Namibia.

- Undertake the same study in other ethnic groups so that the gender division of labour can be compared across various tribes of Namibia.

- Compare if this changing division of labour is also occurring in other family households comparable in other big towns and deeper rural Namibia.

- Find ways to assist the rural and urban younger generation to be socialized in a gender-sensitive manner so that the gender division of labour in a family household can be equal between men and women.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the summary of the chapters in the study, followed by a summary of the main findings emanating from the study. It also presented recommendations and areas for further research.

A qualitative approach was used to answer the research question, thereby attaining the research goal and objectives of the study. The results of this study provided insight into the gender changing division of labour in the rural and urban family household. This last chapter of the study provided the reader with a summary and the conclusions of the preceding chapters, from the introduction, literature review, applied methodology to the presentation of the research findings.

A number of recommendations were made to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare and the families in household setups, based on these results. In addition, the researcher made suggestions for future research. In conclusion, the study is expected to add new knowledge to a limited body of literature on gender division of labour in family households of Namibia.

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ANNEXURE 1: INFORMED CONSENT

My name is Donata Tshivoro, I am a social worker in service of the Ministry of Health and Social Service in Oshakati, and also a part-time Masters student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Namibia. In fulfilment of requirements for the Master's degree, I have to undertake a research project and have consequently decided to focus on the following research topic: Gender and the changing division of labour in family household and the causes of these changes in Ongwediva urban and rural areas. As you most probably know, gender equality is a cause for concern to people in Namibia and the rest of the world. The researcher is very interested in finding out more about the gender changing division of labour in family household and the causes of these changes in Ongwediva urban and rural areas. The purpose of this interview is to gather your views and experiences on gender division of labour in the family household and this information will be used to prepare a thesis report on gender division of labour in the family household. In view of the fact that you are well-informed about the topic, I hereby approach you with the request to participate in the study.

The interview will take about an hour of your time, depending on your responses. Everything you share with me in this interview will be kept completely private and confidential and will not be linked back to you. It is entirely up to you whether you want to take part in this study or not. If you agree, you would have the right to refuse to answer any question or to change your mind at any point and end the interview altogether. Your refusal to participate will not affect you in any way or form. However, because your answers are very important to the researcher, I humbly request that, if you do agree to be interviewed, you be completely honest and sincere, and respond to all questions.

With your permission, the interview(s) will be audiotaped. The recorded interviews will be transcribed word-for-word. Your responses to the interview (both the taped and transcribed versions) will be kept strictly confidential. The audiotape(s) will be coded to disguise any identifying information. The transcripts (without any identifying information) will be made available to my research Supervisor. The audiotapes and the transcripts of the interviews will be destroyed upon the completion of the study. Identifying information will be deleted or disguised in any subsequent publication and/or presentation of the research findings.

Your views, opinions and experiences will be highly appreciated.

May I please proceed with the interview? **Yes** [ ] **No** [ ]

ANNEXURE 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

<u>Demographic/identify information</u>

1. Your name for this study (real or preferred name)…………………………………………..

2. Marriage type:

   Married out of community of property ☐

   Married in community of property ☐

   Traditionally married ☐

3. How old are you?   Age group in years :

18-29	30-39	40-59	60+
☐	☐	☐	☐

4. What is your gender?   Female ☐   Male ☐

5. What is your position in this family? (*Grandparent, wife, husband, aunt, uncle*)

   ………………………………………………………………

6. How many people are staying in this household?

   a) Children age 0-18   Female ☐

      Male ☐

   b) Adult age 19-60+   Female ☐

      Male ☐

Personal Experiences Questions

1. What are the main roles and tasks which you tend to undertake in your household? Can you explain what type of things family members do in the running of the household?

2. Do you think that there are jobs only men normally do, and jobs that only women normally do in family households? Or is this no longer the case in modern Namibian families?

3. Do you have other people who help you with household work?

4. Do you think the way men and women undertake tasks have changed much from the way your parents did things in the past?

5. Have you experienced changes in who does jobs in your family household, and if its 'yes', what do you feel about these changes?

6. Does the education level influence who does what around the family household?

7. Are you employed or working?

8. Do you believe that women in the household should be allowed to go out to work or get employment outside the house? Is it good for them to have their own work careers?

9. Are you comfortable with men and women in general working together in paid work?

10. Are there changes in household tasks/roles that you think are affected by the hours that you are spending at your paid work? If yes, what type of roles/tasks change?

11. Does your income (money) that you bring to the household influence the change in tasks /roles in your family household? Does the paid work of the men / women in your family household make them to be important people as members of the family?

12. Do you think men and women are treated the same in terms of household roles/tasks? In your family household do men and women mix tasks, rather than men do their jobs and women do theirs only?

13. Do you think there are any changes in the way men and women are treated in your family compared to a few years ago?

14. Are you familiar with the term 'gender empowerment'? Do you have any examples that show how women and men in the family household are now experiencing empowerment?

    I. If 'no', in your own view how do you explain gender inequality examples in your family?

    II. If 'yes' how do you see this empowerment influencing and changing the gender tasks in your family household?

15. Do you think there are any differences in how roles or tasks are done in rural compared with urban family households? When you are in your relatives' rural homes, do you revert to men's jobs/women's jobs division?

16. Do you think migratory movements of people from rural to urban areas affects the way family households are organized in terms of the jobs men and women do in the home?

17. In your family household are women allowed to make decisions about family matters? Who takes the decision on the following area?

(a) Financial decisions

(b) Children and schooling matters

(c) Moving house

(d) What to buy or to sell

(e) Who to socialize with?

(f) Agricultural and farming matters

(g) Livestock management issues.

Are there any other areas of decision-making you are involved in? Does your partner/husband/wife ever try to stop you making decisions about family or household matters? Do you decide matters by agreement?