"When a mother is employed, her children suffer": A quantitative analysis of factors influencing attitudes towards women's employment and gender roles in Rwanda

Nadine Mumporeze

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By Nadine Mumporeze[1]

Abstract

Socialist feminist theory has assumed that patriarchy and capitalism are the main sources of women's limited roles and related attitudes in society. Informed by this theory and using the data from the World Values Survey wave six, this study aimed at analysing the factors influencing individuals' attitudes towards women's employment and gender roles in Rwandan society. A hierarchical multiple regression modelling method was used to analyse data through R and SPSS statistics programs. The main findings yielded by three research models show that Rwandans express ambivalent attitudes toward women's work and gender roles, comprising both traditional and non-traditional attitudes. Women, young people, highly educated people, private-sector workers and people who rarely use mass media have non-traditional attitudes while men, old people, less educated people, public sector workers, and media-heavy users hold traditional attitudes toward gender roles. Overall, these results bear important theoretical implications as they broaden the existing literature by arguing that patriarchy and capitalism are not the only factors determining peoples' attitudes on women's employment and gender roles as claimed by socialist feminist theory. Instead, the study suggests that additional dynamics including gender, age, educational level, job sectors, and mass media factors work together to shape individuals' attitudes on women's work and gender roles.

Keywords: Capitalism, Gender Roles, Patriarchy, Rwanda, Women's Employment, Sexist Attitudes, Socialist Feminism

Introduction

Socialist feminist theory sustains that gender roles and related attitudes mostly stem from the social structure based on both capitalism and patriarchy (Cudd & Holmstrom, 2011; Holmstrom, 2011; Tong, 2014;). Besides, this theory assumes that imbalanced gender division of labour may generate sexist attitudes which, in turn, could contribute to gender hierarchy legitimization and maintain traditional gender roles (Ibid). Building on this socialist feminism framework, the present study uses the evidence from the World Values Survey (hereafter "WVS"), to analyse the factors influencing Rwandans attitudes towards women's employment and gender roles (hereafter "ATWE & GR").

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Analysing what shapes people's ATWE & GR in Rwanda is of importance due to the scarcity of academic studies. Numerous previous studies have only analysed people's ATWE & GR in Western countries and United States of America (hereafter "USA") (Donnelly et al., 2015; Montañés et al., 2012; Schober & Scott, 2012; Zhou, 2017). Generally, these studies highlight changes in ATWE & GR and argue that people are less likely to have sexist perceptions of women's participation in the labour market and gender roles, with some variation of attitudes correlated to gender. Specifically, a common finding is that men's attitudes are likely to be more traditional than women's attitudes.

Besides, Rwanda is an interesting case study not only for the dearth of independent academic studies but also for its socio-political context. Rwanda is one of the smallest landlocked developing countries that face acute development challenges such as low productivity from subsistence agriculture and the absence of natural resources, amongst others. Following the shocking effects of the Genocide against the Tutsis which damaged the very fabric of Rwandan society, the country has turned out to be a relatively peaceful country. The country has also experienced an incredible record of economic growth and women are reported to play a pivotal role in this impressive progress (Wallace, Haerpfer, & Abbott, 2008). Rwanda has closed the gender gap at 80 per cent, which places the country in sixth place in the global gender gap report published in 2018 (The World Economic Forum, 2018).

Regardless of this incredible record on gender equality, the country is far away from being a secure place for women and some scholars have begun to question the contradictory and problematic nature of women's emancipation in this country. A study by Berry (2015) is one of the scarcest qualitative researches in this area that explore some paradoxes by illustrating how the efforts used to promote gender equality in Rwanda may be jeopardized by deeply embedded patriarchal processes that reinforce and maintain women's dependence on men. Therefore, the present study contributes to this endeavour by employing quantitative methods to analyse the factors influencing Rwandan's ATWE & GR. This study also joins a tradition of feminist perspectives which argue that sexist beliefs toward women's employment and gender roles may impede the promotion of gender equality.

Theoretical framework

This paper draws from a socialist feminist perspective to analyse different factors that determine peoples' attitudes towards the gender division of labour at home and workplace. Socialist feminist theory arose in the 1960s and 1970s and resulted from aspects of Marxist feminism and radical feminism as a solution to the edges of existing feminist theories. On the one hand, Marxist feminism refers to capitalism as the main source of women's oppression and radical theory contends that women are subjugated by men through the patriarchal system. On the other hand, the socialist perspective attempts to examine the nature of gender inequality and scrutinises women's social roles as embedded in both the capitalist and patriarchal systems (Lorber, 2012).

Theoretically, the socialist feminist approach assumes that gender is socially constructed and gender roles along with related attitudes are not functional as postulated by structural functionalism theory. The situation is worse in societies wherein men dominate and exploit women in all social institutions. Therefore, as argued by several socialist feminist scholars, women's oppression is embedded in the social organization of production and the way labour is divided between men and women (Cheal, 2003; Hartmann, 2003; Walby, 2002).

In the Marxian view, socialist feminists contend that the nature of an individual's relations in society is best understood through the concept of historical materialism. Historical materialism emerges from an important reality of human survival. As a matter of fact, for human beings to live and stay in existence from one generation to the next one, they need to produce and reproduce the prerequisite material. Therefore, people have to exchange precise social relations, most especially production relations. However, there is an imbalanced division of labour in which individuals not only carry out different works, but also according to Marxist theory, some individuals live on the fruits of others' hard work by possessing the means of production such as tools, raw materials, instruments, technology, land, and human knowledge.

In fact, the ancient society was constructed on a different system of production such as feudalism based on the relationship between landowners and serfs; and capitalism based on exchange relations between the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class possesses the means of production such as factories, mines, shops whereas the working-class lives by exchanging their labour with the capitalist class for salaries (Marx, 2013). In this production model, women's roles were restricted to the production and raising of children as well as maintaining the household while men's roles included owning the property, working for a wage and controlling women's work and sexuality. While there might have been a value to women's housework, it was not a work that was valued for exchange for the reason that many sorts of activities traditionally executed by women, such as childcare or housework, were considered as surplus value within the capitalist system and therefore they would not value as a productive labour (Engels, 2010).

This idea of the sexual division of labour, imbalanced exchange and extraction of surplus in traditional society and have also been applied to modern family relations. A number of socialist feminist scholars argue that during the industrialization process, there was a sexual division of work in the production and family organization which is similar to the division of labour between owners and producers in pre-industrialized societies (Ehrenreich & English, 2013; Rowbotham, 2015). These scholars maintain that women do more of domestic chores – child care, cleaning, washing dishes and clothes, preparing food, etc. – than men. Therefore, men in families take advantage of an unequal exchange embedded in the unequal gender division of labour. Men benefit *materially*, in the Marxian sense of the term, from women's hard work in the sort of extra free time for leisure (Haraway, 2001).

Besides, socialist feminist scholars claimed that, in contemporary society, women are facing a gender pay gap. Many women are employed in lower-paid jobs – those requiring a low level of education and skills – while men are employed in higher-paid positions that require high education level and good professional experience (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Connell, 2014). A recent global gender pay gap report based on about 80 per cent of the world's employees indicated that the median monthly wages for women is approximately 22 per cent lower than the median monthly salaries for men into 2018 and 2019 (The International Labour Organization, 2018). Furthermore, Ehrenreich & Hochschild (2003) and Connell (2014) also shed light on the equivalence relation between gender stereotypes and skills and behaviour needed in women's work such as children caring (elementary school teachers) and rearranging or cleaning up after men (office assistant). To these scholars, these stereotypes create negative attitudes towards women's employment as it seems natural that they are good for some job categories and not others. Those stereotypes contribute to devaluing women's jobs and the salaries they can command. Therefore, under the shadow of the capitalist and patriarchal system, contemporary capitalists also benefit from women's hard work as the owners in traditional societies.

Research model and hypotheses

Informed by the Rwandan socio-economic context, socialist feminist theory and previous studies about the influence of gender, education level, age, sector of employment, radio, TV and the Internet on ATWE & GR, the present study devised a research model as is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Research model
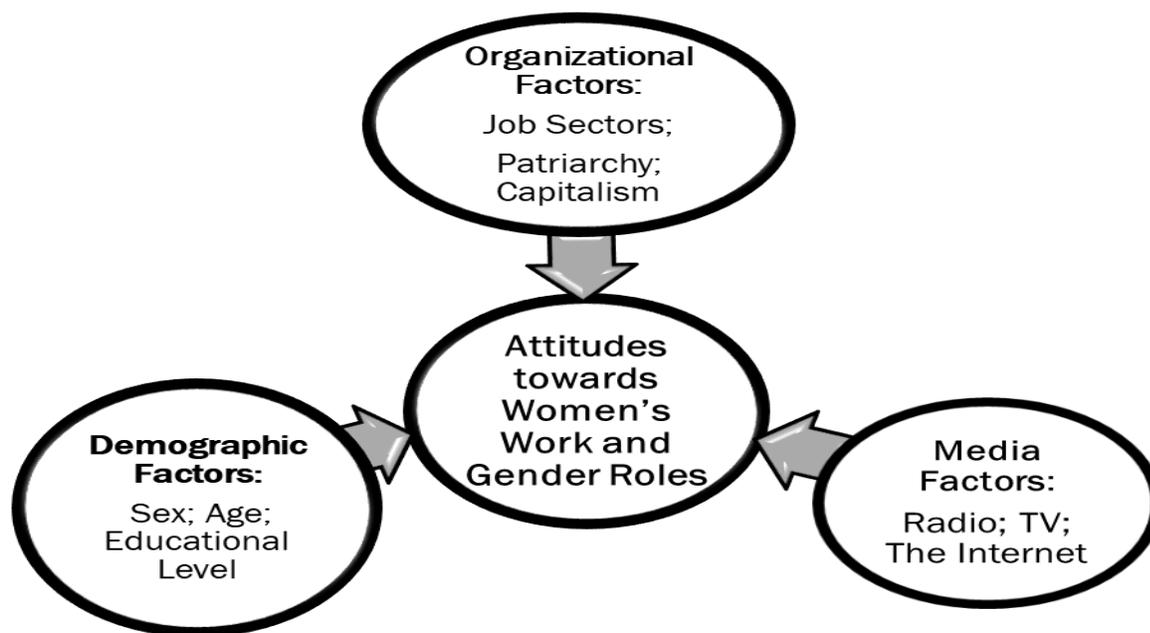
Based on this research model and the findings of previous studies, I hypothesise as follows: Firstly, I posit that individuals' gender category affects their ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 1). The rationale of testing this hypothesis stems from previous studies that reveal a significant difference in ATWE & GR by gender, with men holding less egalitarian attitudes than women (Fortin, 2005; Hanson, Fuchs, Aisenbrey, & Kravets, 2004). Thus, this research continues in this way and assumes that women hold non-traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 1a) while men have traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 1b).

Secondly, consistent with previous researches findings which show that young people have non-traditional ATWE & GR than do old people (Brajdić-Vuković, Birkelund, & Štulhofer, 2007; Mostafa, 2005), I assume that age may determine people's ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 2). Precisely, I predict that old people have traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 2a) whereas young people hold non-traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 2b).

Thirdly, I postulate that the level of education influences individuals' ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 3). This hypothesis is based on a recent study that has shown that different levels of education might lead to differences in ATWE & GR (Sayo, 2011). Sayo's findings support the claim that educational level influences teachers' attitudes towards women managers to the extent that 59.7 per cent of respondents with university education level show attitudes that tasks at work should be shared equally between men and women. In light of that, this study assumes that people with low education would show traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 3a) while highly educated people display non-traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 3b).

Fourth, I postulate that the kind of work sector people belong to would affect their ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 4). This argument finds its foundation in recent studies that show that public and private sector workers differ in perceptions towards self-determination and ability to perform work responsibilities, etc. (Baarspul & Wilderom, 2013; Kaur & Lomash, 2015). Thus, in this research, I hypothesise that public sector workers would hold traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 4a) whereas private-sector employees have non-traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 4b).

Fifth, I maintain that listening to the radio is likely to determine people's ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 5). The formulation of this hypothesis was induced by several previous types of research that recognised the social power of the mass media on individuals' attitudes (Wakefield, Barbar, & Hornik, 2010). In this study, the findings show that mass media campaigns are often used to change the attitudes and behaviour of the general public in various ways. In the same light, other studies report a correlation between exposure to the soul city radio series and a change in attitudes towards domestic violence (Usdin, Scheepers, Goldstein, & Japhet, 2005). Understood that way, it goes without saying that domestic violence may embed ATWE & GR. Most particularly, it was evidenced that radio programs reinforce the salience of gender stereotypes in heavy listeners (Hurtz & Durkin, 2006). For that reason, I presume that heavy radio listeners have traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 5a) while light radio listeners hold non-traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 5b).

Sixth, I assume that TV influences viewers' ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 6). Because of a significant role that TV plays on people's attitudes to gender roles, previous studies argue that prosocial contents are generally used in media to enhance people's attitudes (Becker, Burwell, Gilman, Herzog, & Hamburg, 2002; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008). Besides, according to Rauterberg (2004) and Simon & Hoyt (2013), heavy viewers of prosocial contents are more likely to enhance positive views. In contrast, it was demonstrated that media contents, whether prosocial or antisocial, are likely to reinforce traditional ATWE & GR, especially in media-naïve societies. A study conducted in Japan revealed that television has a non-negligible potential to slow down the social change process by promoting traditional ATWE & GR (Saito, 2007). Thus, in this paper, I postulate that heavy TV viewers have traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 6a) whereas light TV viewers have non-traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 6b).

Seventh, I hypothesise that the Internet affects users' ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 7). The construction of this hypothesis was driven by the fact that the Internet is getting increasingly influential in affecting various peoples' attitudes (Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, Kraut, & Gross, 2001) as it covers all aspects of life (Erdoğan, 2008). Many other scholars show that the Internet provides benefits to its users such as increasing their career through easy and free access to career-related skills (Colley & Maltby, 2008; Li & Kirkup, 2007). However, the Internet also has negative effects on heavy users such as alienating people from normal social contacts (Beard, 2002; Widyanto & McMurran, 2004). Therefore, I assume that heavy Internet users have traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 7a) while light Internet users have non-traditional ATWE & GR (Hypothesis 7b).

Research methods

The goal of this study is to empirically analyse how gender, age, education, employment sector, radio, TV and the Internet influence people's ATWE & GR and the unique degree of influence of each factor. To achieve this research aim, seven hypotheses were tested (see Table 1) by using quantitative methods described in the following section.

Table 1. Research Hypotheses

Research Hypotheses	
H1: Individuals' sex affects their ATWE & GR	H1a: Women hold non-traditional ATWE & GR
	H1b: Men hold traditional ATWE & GR
H2: Age may determine people's ATWE & GR	H2a: Old people have traditional ATWE & GR
	H2b: Young people hold non-traditional ATWE & GR
H3: Level of education influences Rwandans ATWE & GR	H3a: People with low education tend to show traditional ATWE & GR
	H3b: Highly educated people tend to display non-traditional ATWE & GR
H4: Kind of work sector people belong to would affect their ATWE & GR	H4a: Public sector workers would hold traditional ATWE & GR
	H4b: Private sector employees have non-traditional ATWE & GR
H5: Radio influences listeners' ATWE & GR	H5a: Heavy radio listeners hold traditional ATWE & GR
	H5b: Light radio listeners hold non-traditional ATWE & GR
H6: TV shapes viewers' ATWE & GR	H6a: Heavy viewers of TV have traditional ATWE & GR
	H6b: Light viewers of TV non-traditional ATWE & GR
H7: The Internet effects users' ATWE & GR	H7a: Heavy Internet users have traditional ATWE & GR
	H7b: Light Internet users have non-traditional ATWE & GR

Sample and data

The analysis in this study uses data from WVS wave six. The data were voluntarily collected by a group of research teams who conducted a representative countrywide survey on a sample of adult people during a period of one year. The number of people who participated in this survey was 1526. A stratified random sampling technique was used to gather respondents' information. However, in isolated regions where this was problematic, the survey team used cluster or quota sampling (The World Values Survey Association, 2014).

In general, respondents were relatively adult, mostly male, 50.67 per cent. Besides, respondents with the highest level of education were 31.04 per cent, while the people with low schooling level were 68, 96 per cent (see Table 2). The majority of respondents worked in the private sector or non-profit organisations (The World Values Survey Association, 2014).

Table 1. Respondents' characteristics

Variables	Percentage/Mean /SD
Gender (%)	
❖ Female	49.57
❖ Male	50.67
Age (Mean)	33.77 (11.23)
Education Level (%)	
❖ Low	68.96
❖ High	31.04
Employment Sector (%)	
❖ Public	14.60
❖ Private &Other	85.60

Note: The numbers noted in parentheses indicate standard deviations. The age range was 18–85.

Variables and measures

Grounded in the theoretical discussion, the dependent variable for this study was defined as attitudes towards women's employment and gender roles. The independent variables in this study include demographic factors such as gender, age, and education level; an organisational factor which consists of employment sector; mass media factors which embrace radio, TV and the Internet. All variables were measured as follows:

Attitudes towards women's employment

The WVS includes three items on attitudes towards women's employment (hereafter "ATWE"): "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women", "If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems", "Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person"(The World Values Survey Association, 2012, p.3). Response choices were agree (1), neither (2) or disagree (3). Given the number of variables measuring ATWE, I merged the above-mentioned statements using R and SPSS statistics programs. This technique of merging different variables was used by a recent study and has proven to be very efficient (Alibeli, 2015). To test the reliability of this newly created variable, a Cronbach's reliability statistic was performed. ATWE was found to be reliable with an alpha of .88.

Attitudes towards gender roles

The WVS survey contains five statements on attitudes towards gender roles (hereafter "ATGR"): (1) When a mother works for pay, the children suffer, (2) On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do, (3) A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl, (4) On the whole, men make better business executives than women do, (5) Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay (The World Values Survey Association, 2012, p.4). Response choices were strongly agree (1), agree (2), disagree (3), or strongly disagree (4). These statements were also combined into a composite (Cronbach's alpha: .92).

All answers on the ATWE and ATGR questions were also divided into three types: "non-traditional" if the participant answered "disagree" and "disagree strongly", "transitional" if they replied "neither" and "traditional" when they answered, "agree and strongly agree".

Demographic and organizational variables

To analyze ATWE & GR, many previous studies used gender, age, education level and employment sector as independent variables (Crompton & Lyonette, 2005; Knudsen & Wærness, 2001). To examine the effect of gender on ATWE & GR, I define a dummy variable as female (0=Male, 1= Female). Age was categorized as younger (participants aged 18-54 years) or older (participants aged older than 55 years). The level of education was measured by years of schooling through ordinal scale: (1) No formal education, (2) Incomplete primary school, (3) Complete primary school, (4) Incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type, (5) Complete secondary school: technical/vocational type, (6) Incomplete secondary: university-preparatory type, (7) Complete secondary: university-preparatory type, (8) Some university-level education, without degree, (9) University-level education, with degree. The sector of employment was recorded as (1) Government or public institution and (0) otherwise: private business or industry, non-profit organization.

Mass media variables

Mass media play a significant role in the modern world, by broadcasting information at a fast pace and giving entertainment to vast audiences. The media referred to in this study consist of radio, television and the Internet. Previous studies used these mass media to measure how they can manipulate people's attitudes and opinions (Baum & Potter, 2008). The impact of mass media was assessed by a 5-point Likert scale. This is the most widely used approach to scaling responses in recent research, such as traditional or less traditional gender roles (Shephard, Pookulangara, Kinley, & Josiam, 2018). Thus, to measure how often people use mass media, a five-point scale was used: Daily (1), Weekly (2), Monthly (3), Less than monthly (4), Never (5).

Analytic techniques

To test the research hypotheses, I first conducted a Pearson correlation test between research variables. Next, I conducted a series of multiple regression analysis to find out whether or not independent variables such as gender, age, education level, a sector of employment, radio, TV and the Internet are effective predictors of dependent variables (ATWE and ATGR). Regression equation models are given as follows:

$$Yi = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_k X_{ki}$$

In this equation, Y represents a dependent variable and X indicates independent variables. β_0 describes constant as the value of Y when X = 0, whereas β is the slope of the line (Stockburger,

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2003). The usage of hierarchical linear regression analysis was motivated by the fact that it is beyond a shadow of the best extensively used tool in the statistical analysis of socio-economic and related data (Woltman, Feldstain, MacKay, & Rocchi, 2012).

Results

Prior to analyzing the factors affecting people's ATWE & GR, I first present some cross tables, displaying an overall picture of the Rwandan people ATWE & GR. As indicated in Table 3, on the one hand, traditional attitudes toward women's employment are dominant among Rwandans.

Table 2. Overall Picture of Rwandans' Attitudes towards women's employment

	N	Non-Traditional	Transitional	Traditional
When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	1527	35.06%	22.66%	42.31%
If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems	1527	33.53%	35.69%	30.78%
Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person	1527	30.06%	23.64%	46.30%

On the other hand, the responses were given to statements like "If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems", participants expressed what we would call non-traditional attitude. Likewise, as indicated in Table 4, Rwandans overwhelmingly seem to be non-traditional towards gender roles.

Table 4. The General Image of Rwandans' Attitudes towards gender roles

	N	Non-Traditional	Traditional
When a mother works for pay, the children suffer	1527	60%	40%
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do	1527	53%	47%
A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl	1527	62%	38%
On the whole, men make better business executives than women do	1527	56%	44%
Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay	1527	53%	47%

Besides, an attempt was made to examine the correlation between research variables. As illustrated in Table 5, the present study established that there is a strong correlation between research variables. The correlation analysis also shows that multicollinearity between independent variables is not an issue in this study. All correlation values were ranging between +1 and –1.

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Variables

Variables			Correlations						
	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. ATWE&GR	7.07	1.87	-						
2. Gender	.50	.50	.82**	-					
3. Age	33.77	11.23	-.92***	-.75*	-				
4. Education Level	4.73	2.46	-.77***	-.72**	-.83***	-			
5. Employment Sector	.15	.35	.91*	-.86*	.94*	.90***	-		
6. Radio	1.55	1.11	-.71***	-.85	-.96*	-.75***	-.84*	-	
7. TV	2.92	1.66	-.72***	.82*	.98***	-.85***	-.73***	.82***	-
8. The Internet	3.84	1.44	-.80***	.72*	.77*	-.88***	-.73***	.85*	.96***

Note: *** p< .001; ** p< .01; * p< .05

Factors influencing ATWE

To analyze what determines ATWE, three regression models were built, with gender, age, education level, employment sector, radio, TV and the Internet as predictors (see Table 6). The first regression model regresses the index of ATWE on demographic variables like gender, age, and education level. The second regression model regresses the index of ATWE on demographic variables and organizational variable which comprises the employment sector. The third regression model indicates the contribution of demographic variables, organizational variable and mass media variables which consist of radio, TV and the Internet.

Looking at the index measuring the effect of demographic variables on ATWE, we notice that gender, age, and education level contribute significantly to the regression model one, the F $(3,1523) = 25.65$, $p<.001$ and account for 79 per cent of the variation in ATWE (see Table 6). According to this model, indicators of traditional ATWE are male sex, older age, and lower education while female sex, younger age, and higher education indicate less traditional ATWE.

The inclusion of organizational factor in regression analysis at stage two (Model 2) also offers an additional 85 per cent of the variation in people's ATWE, F $(4, 1522) = 20.22$, $p <.000$ (see Table 6). The regression equation of demographic variables and organizational variables also were significant ($p<.001$). Specifically, the result produced by model two indicated that men, old people, low educated persons, and public sector workers have traditional ATWE whereas women, young people, highly educated people, and private sector employees have less traditional ATWE.

Regarding the third model, all predictors are also statistically significant and have a high correlation with the dependent variable which is explained by 97 per cent of the variation in ATWE, and the F $(7, 1519) = 18.68$, $p <.001$ (see Table 6). More precisely, this model shows that men, old people, low educated persons, public sector workers, heavy radio listeners, heavy TV viewers, and heavy Internet users have traditional ATWE whereas women, young people, highly educated people, private sector employees, light radio listeners, light TV viewers, and light Internet users have less traditional ATWE.

Table 6. Factors Predicting ATWE

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
(Constant)	5.83***	.01	.00	5.80***	.02	.00	8.35***	.03	.00
Gender	. 29**	.06	.10	. 29***	.06	.07	.29***	.05	.07
Age	-01*	.00	-.03	-.01***	.00	-.05	-.01***	.00	-.09
Education Level	.35***	.03	.28	.08***	.02	.20	.08***	.02	.11
Employment Sector				-.14*	.05	-.03	-.20**	.05	-.06
Radio							-.23***	.04	-.14
TV							-.12***	.03	-.11
Internet							-.29***	.04	-.24
R²	.79			.85			.97		
F	25.64***			20.22***			18.68***		
ΔR²	.80			.85			.98		
N	1523			1522			1519		

*Note: *** p< .001; ** p< .01; * p< .05*

Factors influencing GR

To determine more precisely the contribution of each predictors variables, a three-stage of hierarchical multiple-regression analyses was conducted. As illustrated in Table 7, the first step (Model 1) contains demographic variables like gender, age, and education level. In the following next step (Model 2), I added an organizational variable that includes the work sector. In the last step, variables measuring the impact of mass media including radio, TV, and, the Internet is added in Model 3.

Table 7. Factors Predicting ATGR

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
(Constant)	11.61***	.01	.00	6.55***	.02	.00	8.08***	.31	.00
Gender	. 29***	.02	.08	. 27***	.10	.04	.28***	.06	.07
Age	-.01*	.00	-.03	-.01*	.00	-.05	-.01*	.00	-.05
Education Level	.31***	.03	.25	.35***	.03	.28	.24***	.01	.19
Employment Sector				-.77***	.07	-.23	-.76***	.06	-.22
Radio							-.58***	.04	-.28
TV							-.12***	.03	-.11
Internet							-.10**	.00	-.09
R²	.86			.89			.98		
F	25.64***			20.22***			18.68***		
ΔR²	.86			.89			.98		
N	1523			1522			1519		

*Note: *** p< .001; ** p< .01; * p< .05*

The results from this hierarchical multiple regression analysis revealed that at stage one, gender, age, and education level contribute significantly to the regression Model 1, the F (3,1523) = 25.64, p<.001) and account for 86 per cent of the variation in ATGR (see Table 7). This means that demographic factors (sex, age, and education) show a significant influence on people's ATGR. More precisely, women, young people, and highly educated people hold less traditional ATGR while men, old and less educated people have traditional ATGR.

The inclusion of organizational factor in regression analysis at stage two (Model 2) also offers an additional 89 per cent of the variation in people's ATGR, F (4, 1522) = 20.22, *p <.001* (see Table 7). Specifically, this indicates that women, young people, highly educated people, and private sector workforces hold less traditional ATGR whereas men, old persons, less educated people, and public sector workers have traditional ATGR.

The final results obtained by the involvement of mass media variables in regression analysis at stage 3 (Model 3) show an additional 98 per cent of the variation in Rwandans' attitudes to gender roles, F (7, 1519) = 18.68, *p <.001*. The results show that all predictors are statistically significant (see Model 3 in Table 7). Women, young people, highly educated people, private-sector workers, light radio listeners, light TV viewers, and light Internet users have less traditional ATWE whereas men, old people, low educated persons, public sector employees, heavy radio listeners, heavy TV viewers, and heavy Internet users have traditional ATWE.

Discussion of findings

The general objective of this paper is to analyse whether gender, age, education level, employment sector, radio, TV and, the Internet influence Rwandans' ATWE & GR. The main results show that women are more likely to have less traditional ATWE & GR than men, while the latter tend to have traditional ATWE & GR. These differences between men and women indicate that gender is a very important predictor of Rwandans' ATWE & GR. Therefore, it can be observed that the first set of the hypothesis is confirmed as the relationship between individuals' ATWE & GR vary across their gender. This finding slightly diverges from the socialist feminist theory which states that patriarchy and capitalism alone influence people's ATWE & GR (Hartmann, 2003). Instead, this finding aligns with a previous feminist conclusion that an individual's gender also strongly influences how people think about gender roles and women's works (Stewart & Vassar, 2000; Stewart et al., 2006).

So, why did more Rwandan men have traditional ATWE & GR than women? Previous research sustains that the reason behind these traditional attitudes is that men employers tend to pigeonhole women as less hardworking than men. Therefore, employing them might most likely give no great economic profit. If this judgment was correct, it would suggest that employers are following their sensible economic interests, which does not advantage employing women (Schultz, 2018). This corroborates the socialist feminism theory which postulates that patriarchal and capitalist systems play a key role in the unequal division of labour between two gender and related attitudes (Cudd & Holmstrom, 2011; Lamphere & Zimbalist, 2001). In addition, Max (2010) argues that culture is another factor that explains imbalanced access to work and related attitudes. For him, negative attitudes about women's hiring are worsened by the partial distribution of gender roles in different societies. Specifically, in Rwandan society, culture plays a paramount role in the distribution of traditional gender roles. In general, women occupy what Parsons (2014) calls *expressive roles* including providing care, love, and affection to family members while men have the monopoly to *instrumental roles* as the breadwinners. This contributes to the construction of beliefs such as "*umugore ni umutima w'urugo*", which literally means that the woman is the heart of the household. Therefore, many male Rwandans believe that when a mother is employed, her children suffer because, according to this Rwandan cultural model of the gender division of labour, the mother's employment is incompatible with the provision of maternal affection and love, which has a negative impact on children's development. In other words, children who are given mother love and affection in their infant life are smarter, with a better capability to learn. On the one hand, this may be true since recent literature has shown that young children must obtain the care and love, in order to meet normative standards for physical growth including guidelines for healthy weight and receiving of recommended vaccinations (The National Research Council, 2015). However, on the other hand, previous study disagrees with the abovementioned Rwandan culture by stating that children need not only their mother care and love but also provision of affection and love by both parents as it helps to reduce the risk of affective hazards, including those related to anxiety or depression, which can damage children's ability to function well in the family, at school and in the whole society (Osofsky & Hiram E. Fitzgerald, 2000).

Moreover, the findings indicate that peoples' ATWE & GR are not only influenced by a patriarchal system, as sustained by socialist feminism theory (Holmstrom, 2011) but also age contributes to the construction of individuals' ATWE & GR. More specifically, the result indicates that individuals' ATWE & GR differ from one generation to another. The younger generations are more likely to hold less traditional ATWE & GR than the older ones. Thus, the second set of the hypothesis is also confirmed. This corroborates previous studies that concluded that young people

have more non-traditional attitudes to gender roles than old people (Brajdić-Vuković et al., 2007; Mostafa, 2005).

Another interesting finding is that education level also plays a considerable role in shaping Rwandans' ATWE & GR. People with a high level of education have non-traditional ATWE & GR and less-educated people hold traditional ATWE & GR. Therefore, the third set of the hypothesis is also confirmed. This is congruent with previous studies (Bernhardt, Noack, & Hovde Lyngstad, 2007; Knudsen & Wærness, 2001) and it is usually interpreted in the literature such that the level of education has a strong effect on individuals' opinions.

In addition to the effect of gender, age and education on people's ATWE & GR, the findings also point to a significant influence of the employment sector on people's ATWE & GR. More precisely, the outcome shows that respondents working in the Rwandan public sector have traditional ATWE & GR than employees from the other sectors including private, civil societies, etc. Therefore, it can be observed that the fourth set of the hypothesis is confirmed. This result is consistent with a previous suggestion that individuals' ATWE & GR are more likely to be affected by their sector of employment (Arkorful, Doe, & Agyemang, 2014). This result is also consistent with other recent researches arguing that the public sector in Rwanda is dominated by males who have patriarchal ATWE & GR (The National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, The Gender Monitoring Office, & The United Nations Women, 2011; The United Nations, 2015). This evidence was based on the second civil servant census conducted in 2010 which indicated that females make up 33.4 per cent of public institutions servants whereas males are 66.6 per cent (The government of Rwanda, 2010). Therefore, as it was previously shown that Rwandan males have traditional ATWE & GR, this overrepresentation of males in public organizations may explain public workers' traditional ATWE & GR.

One more significant and novel finding is that different mass media including radio, TV and the internet, influence people's ATWE & GR. Specifically, the finding reveals that the people who listen to the radio every day tend to have traditional ATWE & GR while those who do not do so tend to express less traditional ATWE & GR. These results confirm the fifth set of this study's hypothesis. This difference may be explained by the fact that, in Rwanda, radio contents are mostly dominated by entertainment contents which are equivalent to 82.2 per cent while gender issues contents cover 72.9 per cent (The Rwanda Governance Board, 2013). It is also important to note that Rwandan women have less access to radio sets than males. In many households, radio sets are referred to as "*radiyo ya papa*" (Dady's radio), nobody else has the right of listening to the news or other radio programs (The Rwanda Governance Board, 2013:86). This corroborates recent statistics showing that 87.1 per cent of men listen to the radio at least once a week while women who use radio as a source of information are 68.2 per cent (The National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2012). Besides, these results prove that people (mostly males) who frequently listen to the radio have traditional ATWE & GR and, as highlighted above, males have less favourable ATWE & GR. In view of this phenomenon, the existing literature substantiates that radio contents are likely to reinforce heavy listeners' attitudes regarding men's and women's roles and works. These contents have often been regarded as supporting ideologies that promote patriarchal and commercial needs instead of promoting less traditional gender roles and women's works (Neto & Santos, 2004).

The results also confirm the sixth set of the hypothesis that TV influences peoples' ATWE & GR. More precisely, the findings prove that heavy viewers of TV tend to have traditional ATWE & GR while people who watch TV rarely tend to express less traditional ATWE & GR. Thus, these findings corroborate a previous socialist feminism study which contends that, when TV depicts

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certain social groups in a negative and unrealistic manner, viewers are most likely to be influenced by stereotypes like *men are breadwinners and women housekeepers* (Matthews, 2007). Therefore, as argued by Eisend (2010), such stereotypes can negatively impact and restrict opportunities for work, especially for women, by lowering self-esteem, career, and self-development.

As regards the effects of the Internet, the findings indicate that greater Internet users have traditional ATWE & GR while light Internet users have less traditional ATWE & GR. Therefore, it can be observed that the last set of hypothesis is also confirmed. This finding aligns with previous feminist studies which indicate that when people are exposed to several gender-stereotypical contents, some of them are likely to adopt gender stereotypes as displayed in those contents (Aubrey & Harrison, 2004; Collins, 2011; Park, 2009). Besides, this finding dovetails with the symbolic interactionism theory which postulates that individuals' life is like a symbolic sphere (Blumer, 2004) and every culture shapes culture symbolic codes that help to make gender identity and relationships (Goffman, 2008). For instance, the way males and females are portrayed together in mass media draws from these codes (Goffman, 2008). In his work on men and women's depiction in advertisements, Goffman shows that media do not portray how men and women really behave. Instead, mass media attempt to convince audiences that this is how women and men are, want to be, or should be. To illustrate, Goffman notes that in advertisements' images whereby men and women are portrayed together, men are always exposed as taller. However, according to these symbolic codes, if a woman is taller than the man, the latter is the more powerful symbol. Regarding conventional codes, our cultural ideal is to depict the man as the dominating, more powerful person. Therefore, the Internet negative contents also have a big role in influencing individuals' attitudes and behaviours.

An additional reason explaining why Rwandan people who use very often the internet have traditional ATWE & GR is that most of them are men and, as has been noted previously, men hold traditional ATWE & GR. This result supports a recent study revealing that Rwandan women have less access and use of ICTs in general and the internet in particular, because of different socio-economic factors including lack of computer literacy (Mumporeze & Prieler, 2017). As can be seen, this is also consistent with the recent statistics indicating that the proportion of computer literacy of women aged above 15 years is 6.8 per cent whereas for men it is 10.3 per cent of the Rwandan population (The National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2015).

All things considered, the findings unveil a paradox in the literature related to the status of gender equality in Rwanda. More precisely, although Rwanda is known as the most gender-equality country in the world (The World Economic Forum, 2017), the findings from the current study contradict this because different categories of Rwandan people still have traditional ATWE & GR, which may hinder considerably these efforts meant to eradicate gender inequality. One of the reason explaining why Rwandan women are still facing these traditional ATWE & GR and related consequences such as occupational segregation or gender pay gaps is rooted in gender equality strategies, which were characterised by several studies as paradoxical because the beneficiaries of those strategies do not embody all the spectrum of economic classes, ethnicities or education levels for all Rwandan women nowadays (Berry, 2015; Longman, 2006; Pottier, 2002; Reyntjens, 2004). Moreover, a recent study also shows that these gender strategies may also somewhat be a mere strategy to attract overseas investors and recognition. Indeed, the state's need to promote gender equality may be viewed as less important to its goals of sustaining economic development and upholding political control (Debusscher & Ansoms, 2013). As it turns out, Rwanda gender equality strategies have not yet succeeded to deeply eradicate gender inequality.

Instead, these efforts are likely to generate a new form of gender inequality rooted in traditional ATWE & GR which may impede women's labour-force and social participation.

In addition, compared to the findings by older researches, the present study provides a novel perspective on women's employment and gender roles. Thus, this study broadens the existing literature by stating that the major tenants of patriarchy and capitalism including men control of women's work and related attitudes are not the only factors that control peoples' ATWE & GR as revealed by socialist feminist theory. Instead, this study concludes that additional dynamics including gender, age, educational level, job sectors, and mass media factors work together to influence individuals' ATWE & GR.

Conclusion and research implications

Informed by socialist feminism theory on gender roles and women's work, this study aimed at analysing whether gender, age, education level, employment sector, radio, TV, and the Internet may influence people's ATWE & GR. The main results indicate that Rwandans express ambivalent attitudes toward women's work and gender roles, comprising both traditional and non-traditional attitudes. Overall, these results bear theoretical and policy-related implications.

Theory wise, this paper adds on existing explanatory models the fact that determinants of ATWE & GR go beyond patriarchy and capitalism to include other factors such as gender, age, educational level, job sectors and mass media factors that work together to shape individuals' ATWE & GR.

As for policy implications, this study draws from worrying traditional ATWE & GR expressed by various categories of people including men, old people, low educated people, public employees, and heavy media users to stimulate policymakers for more gender-sensitive strategies in order to create awareness about gender roles and women's work in the workplace as well as in the entire society.

To open the horizons for further academic research, the present study submits that deeper empirical insight is needed to explain how socioeconomic class, region, and religion in addition to the factors explored herein, might influence people's ATWE & GR. Besides, while the mainstream scholarship views patriarchy as revolving around a dichotomous mindset whereby men and women are always considered based on domination and sex-based relations (Lorber, 2012), the findings of this study point to the fact that patriarchy alone may not fully explain a number of issues including the prevalence of negative ATWE & GR in areas such as the media despite relentless efforts by the Rwandan Government to mainstream gender and curb stereotypes in various institutions (The Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, 2011). To better comprehend this, other venues may arguably need to be explored such as the market forces, hence the capitalistic drive behind media institutions' political economy.

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