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# The Shift in Gender Roles and Household Wellbeing in Rural and Urban Ghana

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#### **Abstract**

Gender roles and relations play a critical part in development processes. However, gender stereotyping over the years generated the conventional gender division of labour which gave men exclusive rights over productive resources often to the disadvantage of women. Presently, however, gender roles have changed and are still changing, giving way to a shift in gender roles; a movement away from gender stereotyping to a more equal and all-inclusive society. Wellbeing is a multidimensional concept that encompasses many aspects of human lives. Tracking the improvement in human wellbeing over time is critical to monitoring the progress of development programmes. The current change in gender roles is perceived to have both positive and negative ramifications on people's general wellbeing. This paper therefore sought to investigate how the shift in gender roles has affected household wellbeing in rural and urban spaces in Ghana. The mixed-method approach was used with questionnaire administration to 400 households, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions. Wellbeing is operationalised in this paper to include material conditions (income, job earnings, and housing), quality of life (health status, educational skills, social connections, personal security), happiness (expression of joy and satisfaction) and self-worth (the feeling of being useful and appreciated). The quality of life, happiness, self-worth, and material conditions of households were subsequently found to have improved due to equal access to productive resources by both men and women. Development players and policymakers must therefore seek to economically empower both men and women to have equal access to productive resources and make improved household wellbeing sustainable.

#### **Keywords**

Shift in Gender Roles, Wellbeing, Happiness, Gender Roles, Stereotyping

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## 1. Introduction

Gender plays an important role in development processes. In some societies, gender role prescription has over the years improved wellbeing while in other cultural contexts, it has rather retrogressed development processes [1-5]. This is because, to a large extent, an individual's ability to contribute meaningfully to the wellbeing of society is dependent on the roles prescribed for them for being male or female [5].

Gender stereotyping over the years generated the conventional

gender division of labour which gave men exclusive rights over productive resources to the disadvantage of women. Men were conventionally perceived as responsible and breadwinners that have the role of earning income for their families while women were passive recipients [6]. Africa with its well-celebrated cultural customs and immutable traditions held entrenched positions regarding gender stereotyping [7, 8]. Consequentially, women became care-givers, domestic moderators and passive recipients who had to be married to become part of a family in order to have access to some productive resources ([9, 10, 6].

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Presently, however, gender roles have been shifting globally, Ghana inclusive [11]. Gender stereotyping is therefore gradually fading away, giving way to a more gender-equal society termed in this paper as the shift in gender roles. The shift in gender roles describes the processes, strategies, and the associated development ramifications and implications characterizing the shift from gender stereotyping towards a more gender-equal and all-inclusive society with equal privileges and opportunities for both males and females. It is imperative to admit that in a culturally sensitive country like Ghana, the shift from gender stereotyping towards equality would be neither smooth nor sudden. The current change in gender roles is perceived to have varied implications on household wellbeing across different localities with different cultural entrenchments [12]. This paper discusses the effects of the shift in gender roles on wellbeing within households in rural and urban localities in Ghana. The specific objective of the research was therefore to investigate how gender role reforms affect household wellbeing in rural and urban contexts.

# 2. Theoretical Background

# 2.1. Gender Inequality Theories

Several theories have been put forward in relation to the perceived disadvantaged position of women in relation to men including the socialist gender theory, modern sociological feminist theory and the modern liberal feminist theory [14]. Most theories on gender originated from the socialist gender theory which blames all the ills in society on material inequality. The socialist gender theory which takes its roots from socialism holds the position that the elimination or significant reduction of material inequality, social inequality and status hierarchy is feasible and must be enforced [14]. In consonance with this assumption, the theory moves for lesser differences in living standards, resource ownership and social status between men and women.

Modern sociological feminist theory severely criticises the conventional family household for burdening women with all or most of the unpaid domestic and child-care work and of conventional marriage for causing women's economic dependence and limiting their autonomy [15-17]. As a precondition for gender equality, the theory calls for extensive changes in both the traditional marriage concept and the household division of labour [14]. The theory is also based on the assumption that gender-egalitarianism is only possible with the reduction of women's economic dependence on men, the increase in women's control over reproduction, improvement and availability of non-domestic childcare services, flexibility in occupational working time and men's gradual realization that gender-egalitarian role of

both family and domestic work is in their interest in the long run [14].

Modern liberal feminist theories of gender equality are established on the assumption that for men and women to achieve equal status, all stereotyped social roles for men and women need to be abolished [14]. The conventional gender division of labour allocates major responsibility for unpaid domestic and especially child-care work to women, which prevents them from assuming other income-generating occupational roles [18, 14]. To correct the situation therefore, there is a need for men to step in to take some domestic responsibilities to enable women also take up professional responsibilities.

# 2.2. The Concept of Wellbeing

Wellbeing is a multidimensional concept that encompasses many aspects of human lives. Although research in wellbeing has increased in recent times, the concept lacks a universally accepted definition and often face competing interpretations [19, 20]. Wellbeing is insubstantial, challenging to define and even more challenging to measure [21]. Nevertheless, understanding the human wellbeing concept is essential for researchers and policymakers alike. Tracking the improvement in human wellbeing over time is critical to monitoring the progress of development programmes [19].

In search of the appropriate way to measure wellbeing, a number of indices have been developed including Bhutan's gross national happiness index, the Canadian index of wellbeing, France's national wellbeing measurement, Germany's international forum on wellbeing, Italy's equitable and sustainable wellbeing project, Korea's national policies centred on citizen happiness, US's plan for national happiness index, and UK's national well-being index [20]. These indices are among the many efforts to quantify and measure wellbeing levels.

Contemporary philosophers often stress substantive theories of well-being which explain what ultimately makes something good or bad for an individual as well as what makes life go well or poorly for the individual living it [22]. This therefore makes wellbeing subjective to a large extent. It is argued that wellbeing broadly captures the feeling of satisfaction with one's life which includes the individual's perception and the generally acceptable state of physical, mental, social and emotional health [23]. Wellbeing is more than the absence of illness; it has subjective (self-assessed) and objective (attributed) dimensions which can be measured at individual and societal levels [24]. It encompasses elements of life satisfaction that cannot be defined, explained or primarily influenced by economic growth.

There is also a three-dimensional approach to the wellbeing

concept which includes material, relational and subjective [25]. Material wellbeing concerns practical welfare and standards of living; the relational dimension concerns personal and social relations; and the subjective dimension has to do with values, perceptions and experience [25]. Considering White's approach therefore an individual has to obtain the entire three to achieve holistic wellbeing. Wellbeing could also mean the objective descriptions and subjective evaluations of the physical, material, social and emotional wellbeing as well as personal development and purposeful activity, all measured by a set of values [24]. The objective and subjective nature of wellbeing as well as its physical, material, social and emotional components are all highlighted by this definition. It however states that wellbeing could be measured by a set of values that were not specified. All perspectives however emphasise wellbeing as a multi-dimensional concept.

Wellbeing is further described as positive and sustainable conditions that allow individuals, groups or nations to thrive and flourish [24]. This definition introduces the concept of sustainability. By this concept, the factors that bring about wellbeing must be sustainable for the wellbeing itself to also be sustainable [26]. This reaffirms the paper's position that both males and females being allowed to perform roles beyond what society or culture allows could create the

necessary conditions for the household to "thrive and flourish". This is however on the condition that while one person steps out of their traditional roles, the other steps in to cover up and vice versa.

Rising economic growth and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita have not always been accompanied by corresponding increases in life satisfaction [24]. This is because wellbeing is usually associated with qualitative development that reflects in the quality of life of people rather than rise in economic indicators [26]. Happiness is one of the main underpinnings of wellbeing [27]. Happiness is explained in terms of life satisfaction and migration from depression to bliss. It must however be stressed that wellbeing is purely subjective and exclusively dependent on people's evaluations of their own lives. This assertion is acceptable because how satisfied or happy someone is, will be best explained and evaluated by the person. This however does not eliminate the fact that generally acceptable parameters could be set for the concept based on empirical and theoretical findings. This paper conceptualises wellbeing as the general satisfaction with one's life, self-worth, happiness, increased income, good living conditions and a decent standard of living. The subjective wellbeing model summarises the different aspects of wellbeing [27].

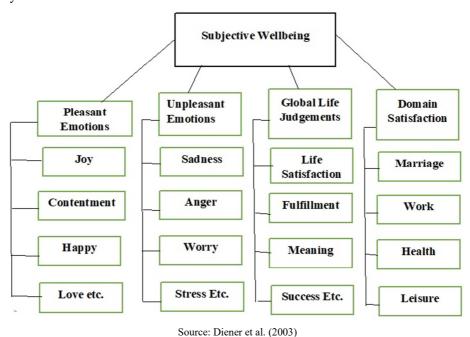


Figure 1. Subjective Wellbeing Model.

The model depicts that subjective wellbeing as expressed by individuals could be either positive or negative emotions. These could then be measured based on generally accepted and generalised indicators. There are also various domains through which people realise improved wellbeing. Based on this analysis, the number of positive or negative emotions

expressed by an individual corresponds to their level of improved wellbeing [20] The quality of lives led by people rather than GDP per capita therefore depicts wellbeing. This is in response to the fact that there is currently an increasing consciousness that macro-economic statistics, like GDP is not enough to provide policy-makers with the accurate

picture of the living conditions and experiences of ordinary citizens [26].

The better life initiative research by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development categorised wellbeing under three main concepts namely material conditions, quality of life and sustainability [26]. The quality of life dimension includes health status, work-life balance, education and skills, social connections, civic engagement

and governance, environmental quality and personal security. The material condition component comprises jobs and earnings, income, wealth and housing. The sustainability factor requires human capital, social capital, natural capital and economic capital [26]. These classifications help in assessing the improvements in the quality of lives of the people in households and also act as a requirement for the achievement of improved wellbeing.

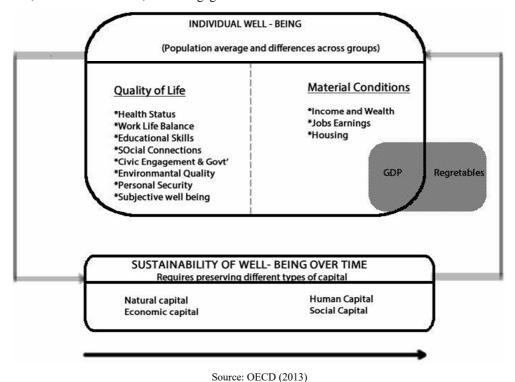


Figure 2. Wellbeing Measurement and Progress Framework.

Several socio-political factors that affect how well, satisfied and happy people are have been identified [24]. These were generalised into personal relationships, social and community relationships, employment and political regimes. These propositions are right because an individual's happiness and wellbeing have almost always depended on how well they are accepted and treated within the household or community [25]. The absence of domestic violence and equal treatment of all genders within households and communities could have a positive association with wellbeing hence the need for this research to acquire empirical verification. Employment, aside from providing economic support also increases an individual's self-worth and sense of security. It is therefore possible that women who have the opportunity to participate in paid jobs might have more improved wellbeing than those who do not work contrary to the opposing arguments by earlier researches [28]. The British Household Panel Survey points out that women in traditional marriages who concentrate on domestic roles have improved well-being while those who earn more than their husbands and still have to do most of the domestic workers have lower well-being. They therefore opt to work part-time in order to reduce time pressures [28]. This explains that the shift in gender roles must occur in both directions for the household to earn its benefits. It means when the woman steps out from the home to join the labour force, the man would have to equally step into domestic work for the family to maintain its equilibrium. Failure on the part of the man to do so could result in conflicts or exacerbate household wellbeing that in some cases result in domestic violence [29, 30]. The role of men therefore remains very crucial in ensuring gender equality and driving a progressive gender role reform process.

# 3. Results and Discussion

# 3.1. Effects of the Shift in Gender Roles on Household Wellbeing

Attempting to measure a household's wellbeing by a researcher is mostly a daunting task. This is because

wellbeing is a multidimensional concept with many facets and faces [20]. In this research, some of the variables in the subjective wellbeing model and the wellbeing measurement and progress framework were used to measure the effects of the shift in gender roles on household wellbeing [26, 27]. Wellbeing is therefore operationalised in this research to

include material conditions (income, job earnings and housing), quality of life (health status, educational skills, social connections, personal security), happiness (expression of joy and satisfaction) and self-worth (the feeling of being useful and appreciated). The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Effects of the Shift in Gender Roles on Material Conditions, Quality of Life and Happiness.

Variables  Material Conditions	Locality				T. 4.1	
	Rural		Urban		— Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Significantly worsen	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	0.5
Worsen	4	2	2	1	6	1.5
No change	7	3.5	10	5	17	4.3
Improve	47	23.5	90	45	137	34.2
Significantly Improve	141	70.5	97	48.5	238	59.5
Total	200	100	200	100	400	100
Quality of life						
Significantly worsen	3	1.5	1	0.5	4	1
Worsen	0	0	6	3	6	1.5
No change	18	9	15	7.5	33	8.2
Improve	47	23.5	79	39.5	126	31.5
Significantly improve	132	66	99	49.5	231	57.8
Total	200	100	200	100	400	100
Happiness						
Significantly worsen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worsen	3	1.5	4	2	7	1.8
No change	12	6	25	12.5	37	9.3
Improve	50	25	86	43	136	34
Significantly improve	135	67.5	85	42.5	220	55
Total	200	100	200	100	400	100

Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2018

#### 3.2. Material Conditions

Material conditions are operationalised to include income, job earnings and housing. These are part of the fundamental things needed to make life comfortable and worthwhile. These indicators are also described as the positive and sustainable conditions that allow individuals and societies to thrive and flourish [24]. An improvement in material conditions leads to upliftment in the standard of living and wellbeing in general [26]. Earlier studies have posited that extending equal opportunities to both men and women in areas of access to productive resources and career advancement improves the material conditions of an individual [2].

It is confirmed in this paper that both men and women engaging in paid work and sharing domestic duties at the same time improves (significantly improve and improve) household material conditions. This was noted by 94 percent of the respondents in rural communities. It was observed that where both partners were engaged in paid work, there was a general increment in output and the household was able to pay their rent or build their house. A woman reiterated in one

focus group discussion that:

"Our financial resources have significantly improved because both my husband and I are engaged in paid work. We have recently purchased land which we hope to develop soon" (Female Respondent, Focus Group Discussion at Odoyefe, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2018).

It was however discovered that not all households in rural communities had experienced an improvement in material conditions as a result of gender role reforms. During a focus group discussion in a rural community, it was revealed that,

"The woman sees contributing money in the household as a "loan" and demands it from the husband when there is a misunderstanding. Meanwhile, we must all contribute our quota in the upkeep of the house" (Male Respondent, Focus Group Discussion at Ofoase, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2018).

A similar majority (93.5 percent) of the respondents in urban communities also noted that equal access to paid work and shared domestic responsibilities significantly improves material conditions. It was evident that both partners working doubled household income. Inevitably, the place of living also improved since they could afford to pay for the rent.

Also, couples who were both working in urban communities were found to have bought land, started or completed their houses more than those with only one partner working. It was noted in a focus group discussion that,

"Women now work to make a living and are able to contribute to household income to support their husbands with household expenses. We are currently living in our own house because both my husband and I are in full-time employment. My previous neighbour and the husband started their building before us. However, they have not been able to complete it because only the husband is working while the lady is a housewife. Our material and general living conditions have significantly improved because both my husband and I are working" (Female Respondent, Focus Group Discussion at Asafo, 24th June 2018).

# 3.3. Quality of Life

Quality of life, operationalised in this research to include health status, educational skills, social connections and personal security is an essential aspect of wellbeing. Health, education, social connections and personal security all contribute to making life worth living. Constant improvement in all these indicators is therefore crucial. Earlier studies had indicated that when both parties work in the household, economic conditions and quality of life improve significantly [2, 24]. Equal access to paid job and shared domestic work was found to significantly improve the quality of life by uplifting the health status, educational attainment, social connections and personal security of all members in the household.

In rural communities, households, where both partners helped each other in their traditionally assigned roles, had an improvement in quality of life. This was noted by a significant majority (89.5 percent) of the respondents in rural localities. Parents were able to send their children to school and afford basic health care where necessary. Also, a helping hand in domestic work gave women some time to rest and improvement in health. Additionally, once a woman had access to paid work, they were well accepted in society and had a sense of personal security by not depending entirely on their husbands. It was further revealed in a focus group discussion that,

"The current changes in gender roles helps the family to progress and ensure the proper upkeep of children. For example, days that my husband does not have money to give to the children to go to school, I gladly do so because I am working unlike previously when all financial responsibilities were left to the man" (Female Respondent, Focus Group Discussion at Odoyefe, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2018).

It was equally discovered in urban communities that gender transition led to an improvement in quality of life. This was stated by 89 percent of the respondents in urban communities. The shift in gender roles had made households more capable of assessing health care and paying children's school fees. In addition, there was an improved sense of security because livelihoods were more resilient as expressed by respondents. When one partner lost their job, the other partners' job served as a cushion. There were households where the women were found to be earning more than the men. This implied that 11 percent of the households where women "never" engaged in paid work had lost a great deal of income. It could therefore be deduced that women performing only their traditionally assigned domestic roles had previously "wasted" human resources especially. These human resources are currently being put to full usage both in the home and at the workplace. Both men and women performing more than their culturally assigned roles significantly improve the quality of life of all members of the household.

### 3.4. Happiness

Happiness in this study denotes the expression of joy and general satisfaction with life. Access to improved material conditions and quality of life leads to happiness and a good appreciation of life. It was revealed in the research that women engaging in paid work and men assisting in domestic activities improved happiness in the household. This was observed among 92.5 percent of the respondents in rural communities.

A similar majority of 85.5 percent of the respondents in urban localities also noted that all members of the household experience happiness when both partners share in each other's roles. This was because, the extra income from the woman's job helped in reducing the financial burden on the man, payment of children's school fees on time and even provision of food when the man was not in the position to do so. Children were also observed to have their fair share of happiness as was revealed in a focus group discussion that "se aduane wo fie a, mmofra nsu" meaning "when there is food in the house, children do not cry". This implied that when both partners engage in paid work, there is enough income and food and children are always happy.

Also, men helping with domestic activities eased the stress on the women who have to work and do domestic activities at the same time. An interesting revelation was that couples that shared in each other's traditionally assigned responsibilities had time for each other as well as improved sex life. Also, women who received help with domestic activities were found not to age quickly because they led a relatively stress-free life full of happiness. Assisting in

domestic work by the man was equated to being loved, cared for and respected. One respondent stated in a focus group discussion that,

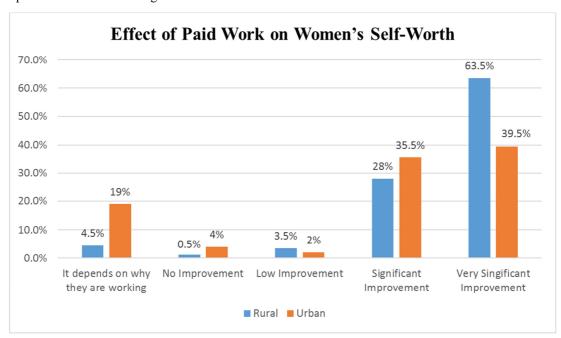
"When I observe my husband assist in domestic activities, I feel loved and cared for, respected, cherished. I now have my peace of mind and have even gained weight. Also, when men help women with household activities, it increases our (women's) beauty and radiance and improves our health because our workload is reduced. It even allows women to aspire for greater heights in education. The bonus for the men is that, when our stress reduces, we do not give the "headache" excuse when it is time for sex. Yes, our sexual life also improves" (Female Respondent, Focus Group Discussion at Amakom, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018).

This supports an earlier research that put forward the shift in gender roles could bring about happiness and improved wellbeing [2]. It was also conceptualized in this study that improvement of the wellbeing of all members within the household is possible to feedback of gender transition. The

research results have confirmed that that quality of life, improvement in material conditions and happiness which are critical components of wellbeing are some of the positive outcomes of the shift in gender roles.

# 3.5. Effect of Paid Work on Women's Self-Worth

Apart from the income and other job earnings derived from paid work, there are other intangible benefits accrued to those who engage it. This may be in the form of job satisfaction, happiness or a sense of self-worth because one feels useful in the household, workplace and society as a whole. Self-worth constitutes a major component of wellbeing [27, 4]. This is the feeling of being useful, needed and appreciated. Self-worth is a very sensitive issue when it comes to women. Having an improved sense of worth, feeling useful, needed, empowered or equipped is very significant to most women. It was therefore examined in this study whether women in paid jobs had much-improved self-worth.



Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2018

Figure 3. Effect of Paid Work on Women's Self-Worth.

A significant proportion (91.5 percent) of the respondents in rural communities noted that paid work has very positive implications (significant improvement and very significant improvement) on the self-worth of women. This was because women who previously relied entirely on their husbands for all their needs could now cater for themselves and even take care of the family. It was also observed that women in paid work were much accepted and respected in society because they could pay their community dues and also contribute to community development projects. Also, because they were

financially independent, they were respected by their husbands and that made them feel good about themselves. It could therefore be deduced that economic empowerment of women could reduce their risk to domestic violence in the household since women in paid work are respected by their husbands and seen as assets rather than burden or liability.

In urban communities also, women in paid work were found to have much-improved self-worth than those who were not. This was noted by 75 percent of the respondents. This was because, working women were found to be independent, selfreliant and lived better lives. They had some rights over what to do with their lives and were able to take part in household decision making which was previously the sole right of the man. Also, because they were helping with the financial needs of their children, they could decide together with the husband, the number of children to give birth to and also had other sexual reproductive rights. It was revealed in one focus group discussion in an urban community that:

"It feels fulfilling to know that I am needed elsewhere apart from the house. I am able to help in the accumulation of resources rather than just babysitting. This sense of responsibility and good self-esteem really help with my self-development. I feel really accomplished knowing that I am not a burden to my family and society" (Female Respondent, Focus Group Discussion at Amakom, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018).

These observations contest an earlier British Household Panel Survey which pointed out that women in traditional marriages who concentrate on domestic roles lived improved lives than those engaged in paid work [28]. Even though time pressures and increased responsibility sometimes increases the stress of some women (especially when the shift in roles is unidirectional), their self-worth is greatly improved knowing they are fulfilling a need in the household and society. Equal access to productive resources by both men and women therefore does not accrue only economic benefits but has other positive social outcomes like improved self-worth for women.

# 4. Conclusion

Gender stereotyping, which over the years restricted women to domestic and care-giving roles amounted to a significant waste of productive human resource. Gender role reform and its resultant women's economic empowerment and access to productive livelihood resources have proved to have a positive impact on household wellbeing. Household's material conditions and quality of life have improved due to gender justice. More women have improved self-worth due to access to paid jobs while general happiness in households has improved. There are however pockets of gender stereotyping that prevent individuals from doing more than what society prescribes. Development players, including the central government, metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies and the ministry of gender, children and social protection must seek to economically empower both men and women. This could be done through the institution of livelihood empowerment programmes, aimed at giving employable skills especially to women in rural communities and enhance their capacities to assume more robust responsibilities. This would help to improve the wellbeing of most households and help tackle one of the leading global

development challenges, poverty.

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