



Gender Progress Score (GPS) Gender attitudes in Lesotho

Based on data collected between 2019-2021 across Lesotho
June 2021



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Executive summary

With an average score of 63%, gender attitudes in Lesotho are gradually changing for the better, but evidence of deep-seated patriarchal attitudes is still strong. For example, while 65% of women and men agree or strongly agree that “A woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom”, 67% agree or strongly agree that “a woman should obey her husband.”

These are among the key findings of the Southern African Gender Progress Study (GPS) administered to 2,452 women and men of all age groups in Lesotho between January 2019 and December 2020. The full set of results is attached at **Annex A**. A technical note on the methodology is attached at **Annex B**.

The GPS is administered by country focal networks of the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance coordinated by Gender Links to better understand different perspectives on gender equality, so as to target efforts to change attitudes and behaviour in more effectively. The Alliance comprises women’s rights networks across SADC that campaigned for the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development adopted in 2008 and produce an annual Barometer to track progress against its provisions. The GPS consists of 25 questions that respondents either strongly agree, agree, or disagree, strongly disagree with. The responses are rated on a scale of zero (least progressive) to 100 most progressive.

On a positive note, relatively low percentages agreed or strongly agreed that “disabled boys should have priority over disabled girls to special needs facilities and services” (5%); “if a man beats his wife, it shows that he loves her (6%); families should spend less money on the education of their daughters than of their sons (6%).

Worrying findings include high percentages of those who agreed or strongly agreed that “It bothers me when a girl acts like a boy” (34%) and “If a woman works she should give her money to her husband” (39%). It is also worrying that only 26% of those surveyed agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “a woman should be able to choose to terminate her pregnancy in the first three months of her pregnancy.”

Female respondents had higher gender attitude scores than male respondents. Overall, women scored 66% compared to men (60%). Although for some questions responses between male and female respondents were similar, for most female respondents held more progressive gender attitudes than male respondents.

The research grouped GPS questions into six clusters: gender-based violence, Harmful practices, Sexual Reproductive Health Rights (SRHR), Sexual diversity, Media, and General questions. Men held more negative gender attitudes in relation to gender-based violence questions, harmful practices questions, sexual diversity questions, media questions, and general questions than female respondents held. Men had more positive gender attitudes than women in relation to SRHR.

Respondents between the ages of 41 and 50 (with a mean score of 64%) had the highest scores. On the other hand, respondents over 60 years of age, had the lowest gender attitude scores (60%). Young people between 18-25 had lower scores (62%) than respondents between the ages of 25 and 40 with a mean score of 63%. This is disappointing in a country where the majority population are young, and high hopes are being pinned on them in the 2030 #GenerationEquality campaign. Respondents with a vocational level of education (66%) had the highest scores. On the other hand, respondents with a primary school level of education, with a mean score of 60% had the lowest gender attitude scores.

The over-riding finding of the GPS is that patriarchy is alive and well in all countries, all ages, and all levels of education. There are no short cuts to accelerating advocacy campaigns to change those attitudes and behaviours that perpetuate gender inequality.

Background

Gender Links has developed this survey to better understand different perspectives on gender equality and help us change lives. The Alliance administers the Gender Progress Score (GPS) which measures gender awareness in the SADC region across all sexes. The GPS developed by Gender Links, which coordinates the Alliance, includes a standard set of questions to gauge gender attitudes. The GPS has evolved from a 20 question attitude survey derived from the Gender Links' Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) survey, which was based on a standard WHO attitude survey, to a 25 question survey that includes questions on contentious areas such as polygamy; choice of termination of pregnancy; sex work and sexual orientation. This 25 question questionnaire helps even the most seasoned activists measure their progress towards achieving gender awareness. This survey reflects societies in transition, from gender blind (and gender blinkered) to gender awareness, tolerance, and sensitivity.

Sample

Number of respondents

A total of 2452 responses to the Gender Progress Score survey were collected in Lesotho.

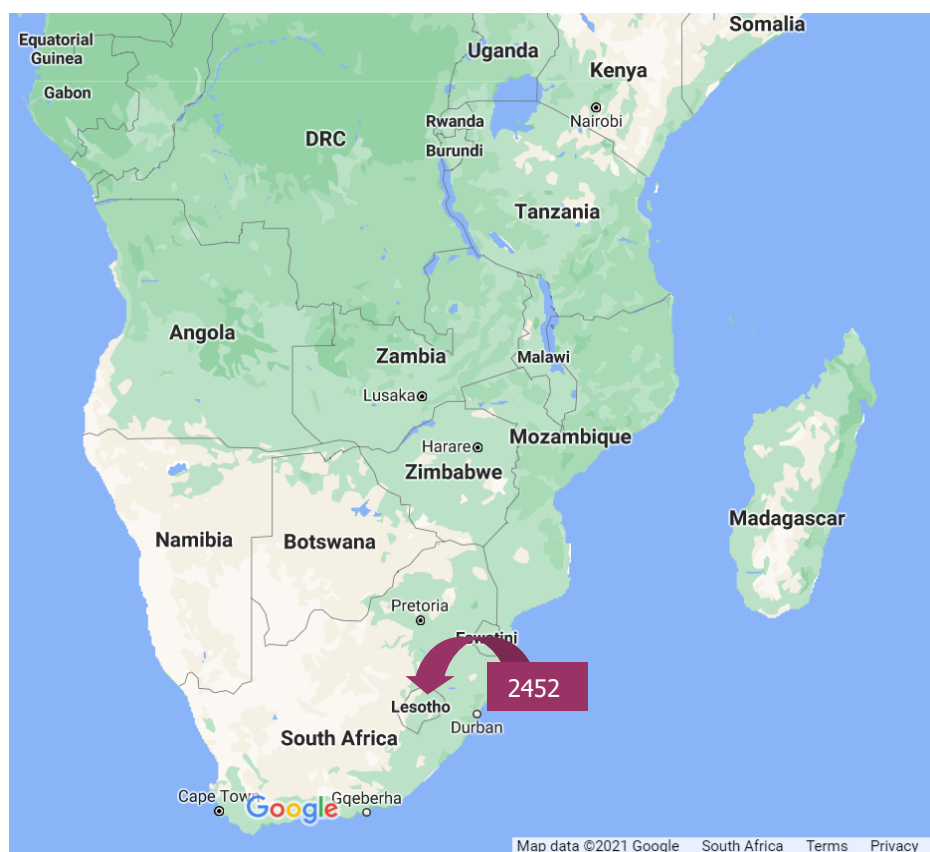
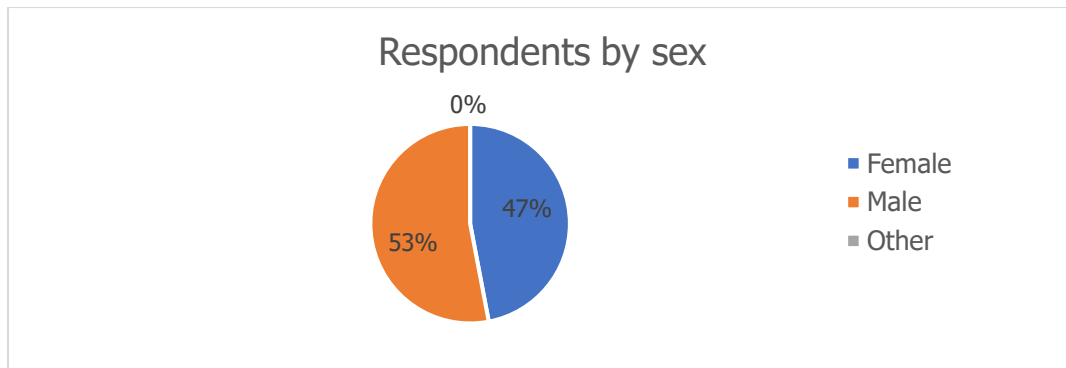


Figure 1: Map of entries per country

Demographic characteristics of the sample

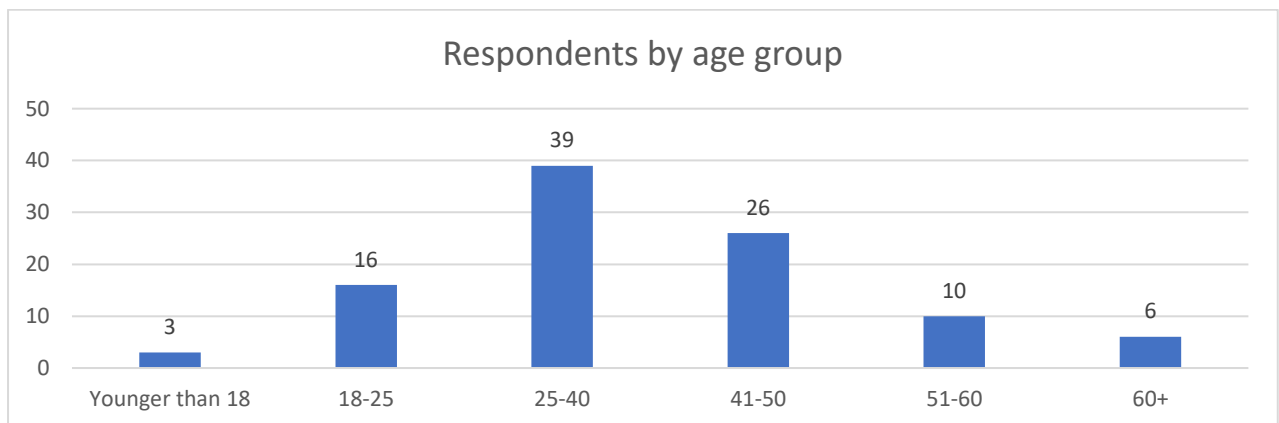
Sex breakdown

The sample was comprised of 47% female and 53% male respondents.



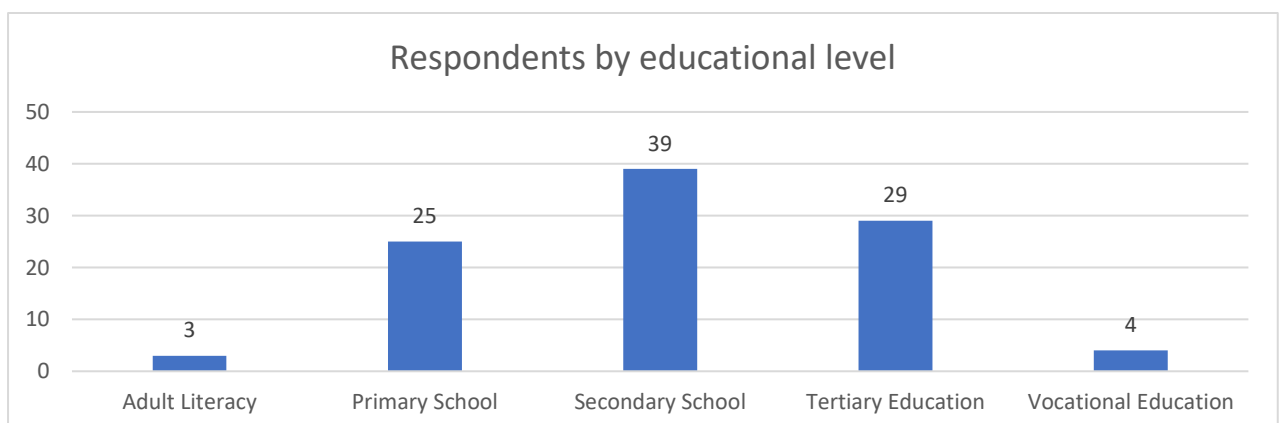
Age group breakdown

Most respondents were between 25-40 years of age (39%) followed by those between 41 and 50 years of age. Only 6% of respondents were over 61 years old and 3% were younger than 18.



Educational level breakdown

Most respondents (39%) indicated having a secondary school, followed by a tertiary (29%) level of education. Only 3% of respondents indicated that they only had adult literacy.



Disability breakdown

1% of respondents indicated living with a disability. Respondents who reported a disability indicated that it was a physical disability (69%), a sensory disability (25%), or a learning disability (6%).

Overall Gender attitudes

Overall gender attitude scores

For this group, the mean gender attitude score was 63 with the lowest score being 26 and the highest 94. Most respondents' scores (77%) fell between 50-74 showing that overall gender attitudes could be said to be moderately positive. 10% of all respondents held moderately negative gender attitudes.

Score group	Frequency	%
0-24	0	0%
25-49	238	10%
50-74	1895	77%
75-100	319	13%

Table 1: Frequency of gender attitudes score group

Gender attitudes per question

Most respondents held positive gender attitudes with 70% or more indicating that they **disagreed or strongly disagreed** with the following statements:

- If a man beats a woman it shows that he loves her (87%)
- Families should spend less money on the education of daughters as on the education of sons (86%)
- If a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her (85%)
- Disabled boys should have priority over disabled girls to special needs facilities and services (83%)
- Gender is only about women's issues (78%)
- If a man has paid Lobola (bride price) for his wife, he owns her (76%)
- A man can marry as many wives as he wants but a woman can only marry one man (75%)
- If a woman wears a short skirt she is asking to be raped (73%)
- Children belong to a man and his family (72%)
- I trust what men say in the news more than what women say (70%)

87%



**Disagreed or strongly disagreed
with the statement:**

**If a man beats a woman it
shows that he loves her**

86%



**Disagreed or strongly disagreed
with the statement:
Families should spend less money
on the education of daughters as
on the education of sons**

On the other hand, 67% or more of the respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the statement "A woman should obey her husband".

Respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with each statement

On a positive note, 76% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "Men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking" and 65% agreed or strongly agreed that "A woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom". Finally, 61% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that "A woman can refuse to have sex with her husband".

75%



Agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
People should be treated the same whether they are male or female

65%



Agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
A woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom

On the other hand, 60% or more of the respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statement:

→ A woman should obey her husband (67%)

67%



Agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
A woman should obey her husband

31%



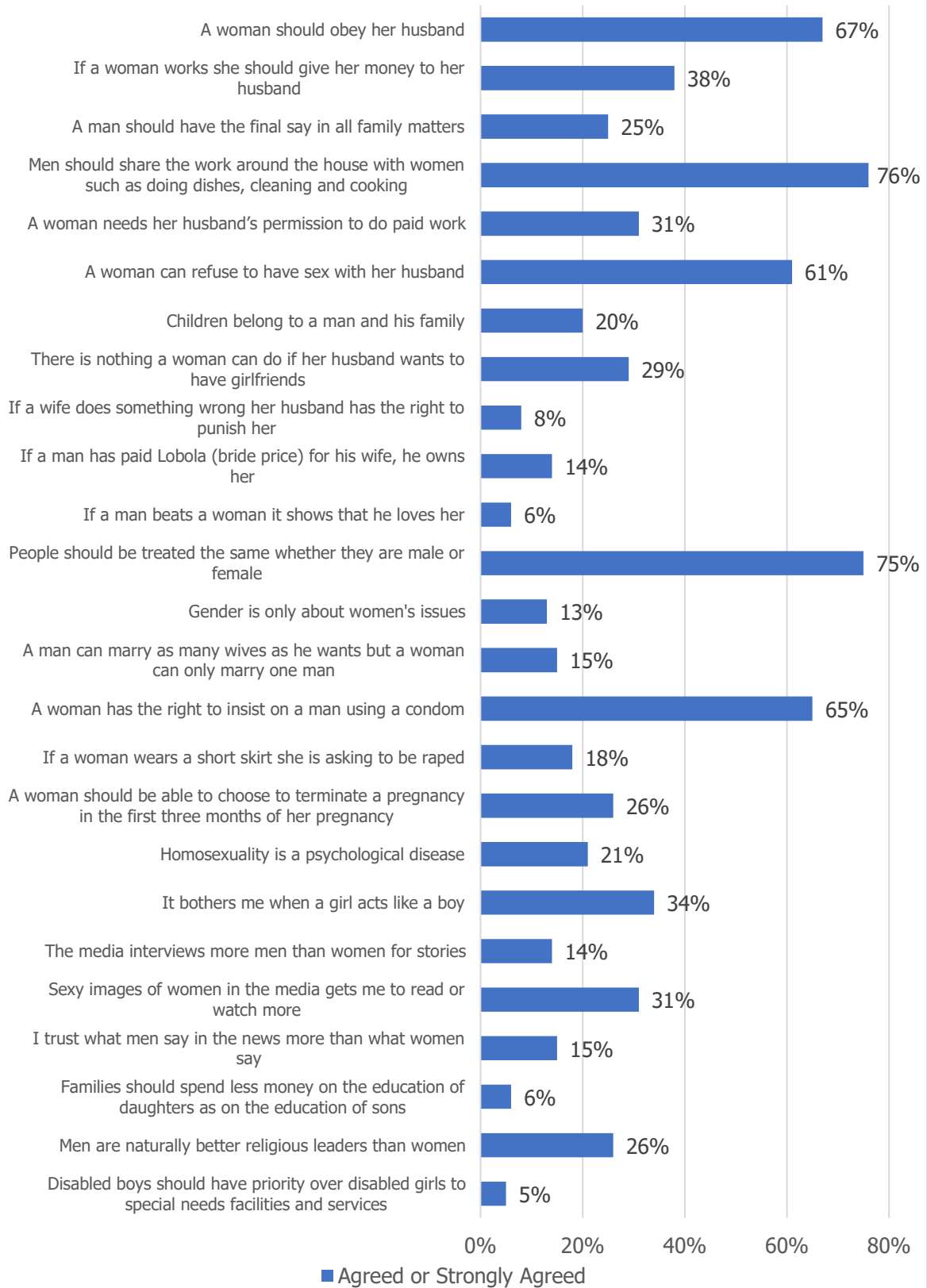
Agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
A woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work

25%



Agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
A man should have the final say in all family

% Who Agreed or Strongly Agreed



Gender attitudes by sex

Female respondents had higher gender attitude scores (62) than male respondents (58).

	Mean	Min	Max
Female	66	37	94
Male	60	26	92

Table 2: Gender attitudes by sex

Respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with each statement by sex

When analysing the differences in responses to individual questions on the gender attitudes scale by sex, 19 questions were found to be statistically significantly different.

Female
28%



Agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:

If a woman works she should give her money to her husband

Male
50%

Female
19%



Agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:

A man should have the final say in all family matters

Male
30%

Female
66%



Male
67%

Agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:

A woman should obey her husband

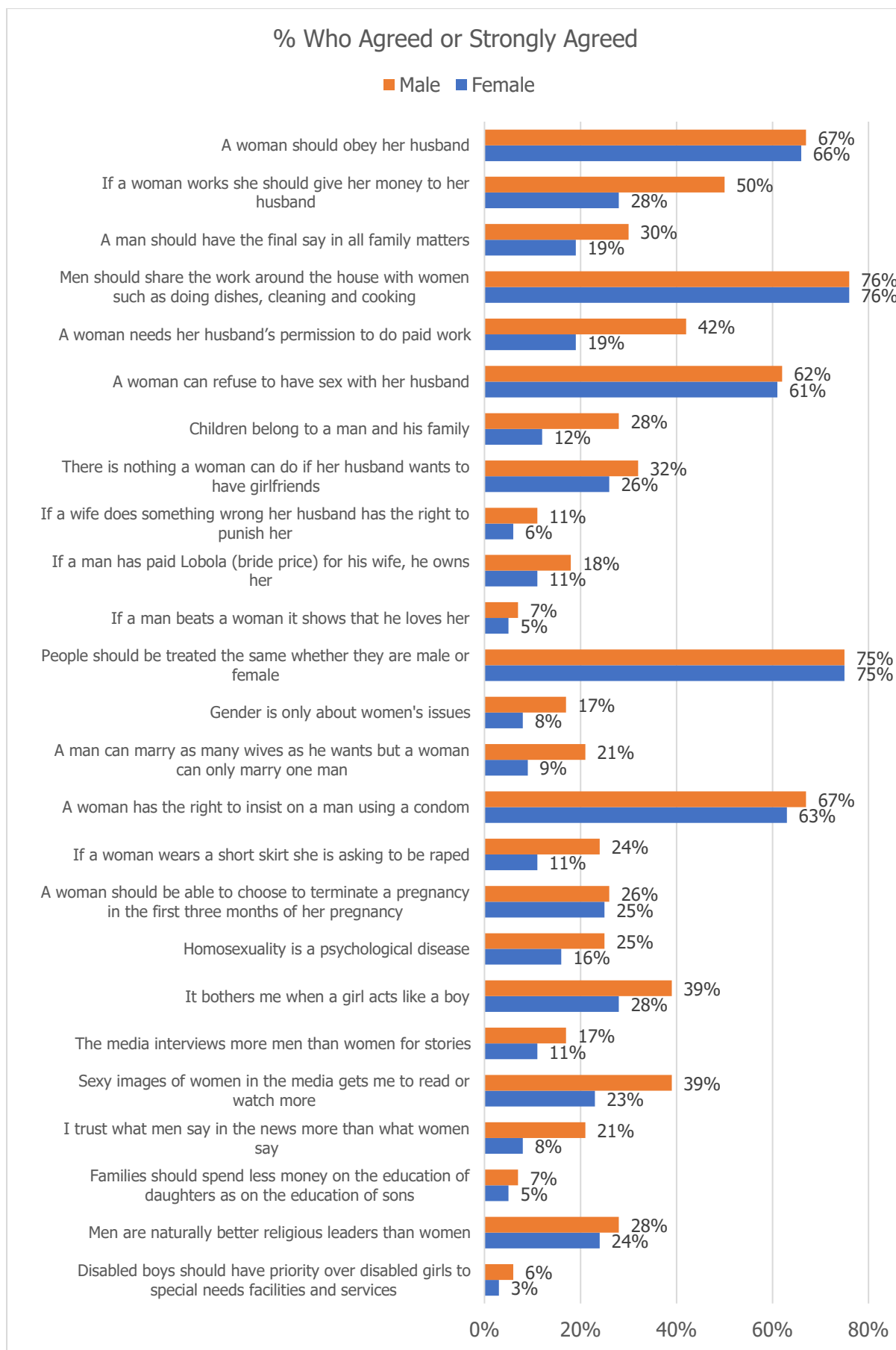


Table 3: Respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with each statement by sex



Gender attitudes by thematic area

Each of the questions were divided into different thematic areas and provide insight into the gender attitudes regarding different themes. In the section below we explore the proportion of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with each statement based on the thematic areas and the gender differences based on these.

Gender-based violence

Nine questions were seen as falling under the gender-based violence theme.

On the positive side, 61% of respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the statement "A woman can refuse to have sex with her husband". In addition, few respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statements:

- If a man beats a woman it shows that he loves her (6%)
- If a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her (8%)
- If a woman wears a short skirt she is asking to be raped (18%)

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed All
A woman should obey her husband	67%
A man should have the final say in all family matters	25%
If a woman works she should give her money to her husband	39%
A woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work	31%
There is nothing a woman can do if her husband wants to have girlfriends	29%
If a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	8%
If a man beats a woman it shows that he loves her	6%
If a woman wears a short skirt she is asking to be raped	18%
A woman can refuse to have sex with her husband	61%

Table 4: Responses to questions under GBV

Of concern is the high proportion of respondents that **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statements:

- A woman should obey her husband (67%)
- If a woman works she should give her money to her husband (39%)
- A woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work (31%)
- There is nothing a woman can do if her husband wants to have girlfriends (29%)

Differences by sex

22%



More male respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
If a woman works she should give her money to her husband

11%



More male respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
A man should have the final say in all family matters

Male respondents held more negative gender attitudes in relation to gender-based violence questions than female respondents. A **higher proportion of male respondents agree or strongly agree** with the following statements:

- A woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work (23% more male than female respondents)
- If a woman works she should give her money to her husband (22% more male than female respondents)
- If a woman wears a short skirt she is asking to be raped (13% more male respondents than female respondents)
- A man should have the final say in all family matters (11% more male than female respondents)

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed		% more males %
	Female	Male	
A woman should obey her husband	66%	67%	1%
A man should have the final say in all family matters	19%	30%	11%
If a woman works she should give her money to her husband	28%	50%	22%
A woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work	19%	42%	23%
There is nothing a woman can do if her husband wants to have girlfriends	26%	32%	6%
If a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	6%	11%	5%
If a man beats a woman it shows that he loves her	5%	7%	2%
If a woman wears a short skirt she is asking to be raped	11%	24%	13%
A woman can refuse to have sex with her husband	61%	62%	1%

Table 5: Responses to questions under GBV by sex

Harmful practices

Five questions were grouped together under the theme of harmful practices.

On the positive side, only 5% respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statement “Disabled boys should have priority over disabled girls to special needs facilities and services” and 6% respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statement “Families should spend less money on the education of daughters as on the education of sons”.

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed All
Children belong to a man and his family	20%
If a man has paid Lobola (bride price) for his wife, he owns her	14%
A man can marry as many wives as he wants but a woman can only marry one man	15%
Families should spend less money on the education of daughters as on the education of sons	6%
Disabled boys should have priority over disabled girls to special needs facilities and services	5%

Table 6: Responses to questions under Harmful Practices

Of concern is that 20% of respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statement “Children belong to a man and his family”.

Differences by sex

16%



More male respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
Children belong to a man and his family

7%



More male respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
If a man has paid Lobola (bride price) for his wife, he owns her

Male respondents held more negative gender attitudes than female respondents in relation to all of the statements falling under harmful practices. A higher proportion of male respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statement:

- Children belong to a man and his family (16% more male respondents than female respondents)
- A man can marry as many wives as he wants but a woman can only marry one man (12% more male than female respondents)
- If a man has paid Lobola (bride price) for his wife, he owns her (7% more male than female respondents)

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed		% more males %
	Female	Male	
Children belong to a man and his family	12%	28%	16%
If a man has paid Lobola (bride price) for his wife, he owns her	11%	18%	7%
A man can marry as many wives as he wants but a woman can only marry one man	9%	21%	12%
Families should spend less money on the education of daughters as on the education of sons	5%	7%	2%
Disabled boys should have priority over disabled girls to special needs facilities and services	3%	6%	3%

Table 7: Responses to questions under Harmful Practices by sex

Sexual Reproductive Health Rights (SRHR)

Two questions were grouped together under the SRHR theme.

On the positive side, 65% of respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** that a woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom.

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed All
A woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom	65%
A woman should be able to choose to terminate a pregnancy in the first three months of her pregnancy	26%

Table 8: Responses to questions under SRHR

Of concern is that only 26% respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** that a woman should be able to choose to terminate a pregnancy in the first three months of her pregnancy.

Differences by sex

4%



**More male respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
A woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom**

1% more male respondents than female respondents agreed or strongly agreed that a woman should be able to choose to terminate a pregnancy in the first three months of her pregnancy and 4% more male respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "A woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom". This indicates that in relation to SRHR, male respondents had more positive gender attitudes.

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed		% more males %
	Female	Male	
A woman should be able to choose to terminate a pregnancy in the first three months of her pregnancy	25%	26%	1%
A woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom	63%	67%	4%

Table 9: Responses to questions under SRHR by sex

Sexual diversity

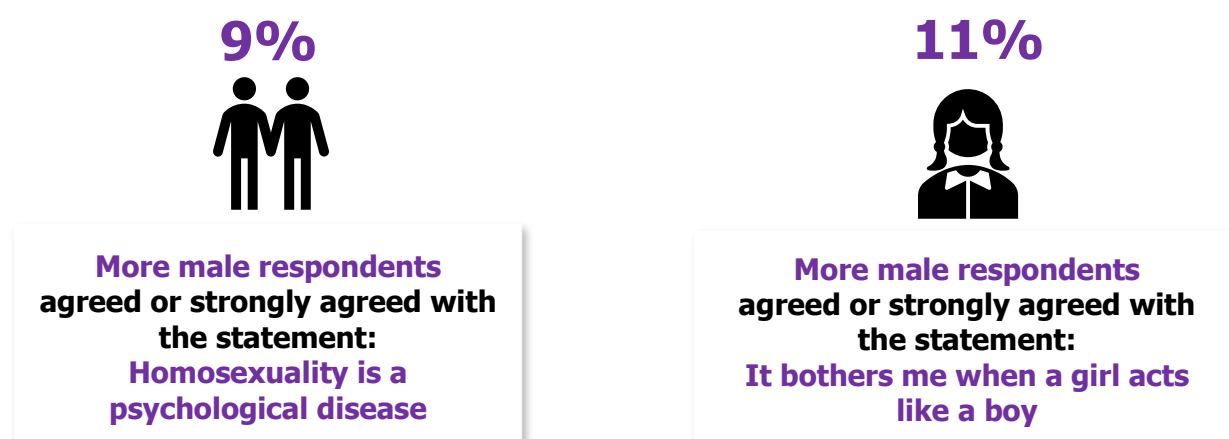
Two questions were grouped together under the theme of sexual diversity.

When respondents were asked questions regarding sexual diversity, 21% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "Homosexuality is a psychological disease" and 34% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "It bothers me when a girl acts like a boy". This indicates that a few respondents held negative attitudes in relation to sexual diversity.

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed All
Homosexuality is a psychological disease	21%
It bothers me when a girl acts like a boy	34%

Table 10: Responses to questions under sexual diversity

Differences by sex



A higher proportion of male respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the statement “It bothers me when a girl acts like a boy” (11% more male respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing than female respondents). 9% more male respondents than female respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “Homosexuality is a psychological disease”.

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed		% more males %
	Female	Male	
Homosexuality is a psychological disease	16%	25%	9%
It bothers me when a girl acts like a boy	28%	39%	11%

Table 11: Responses to questions under sexual diversity by sex

Media

Three questions were grouped together under the media theme.

Responses to these questions seem to indicate more positive gender attitudes. This can be seen by a lower proportion of respondents **agreeing or strongly agreeing** with the following statements:

- I trust what men say in the news more than what women say (15%)
- The media interviews more men than women for stories (14%)

However, 31% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “Sexy images of women in the media gets me to read or watch more”.

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed All
The media interviews more men than women for stories	14%
Sexy images of women in the media gets me to read or watch more	31%
I trust what men say in the news more than what women say	15%

Table 12: Responses to questions under media

Differences by sex

13%



**More male respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
I trust what men say in the news more than what women say**

16%



**More male respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:
Sexy images of women in the media gets me to read or watch more**

A higher proportion of male respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statement:

- I trust what men say in the news more than what women say (13% more male than female respondents)
- Sexy images of women in the media gets me to read or watch more (16% more male than female respondents)
- The media interviews more men than women for stories (6% more male respondents than female respondents)

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed		% more males %
	Female	Male	
The media interviews more men than women for stories	11%	17%	6%
Sexy images of women in the media gets me to read or watch more	23%	39%	16%
I trust what men say in the news more than what women say	8%	21%	13%

Table 13: Responses to questions under media by sex

General

Four questions were grouped together under the general theme.

Responses to these questions seem to indicate more positive gender attitudes. This can be seen by the low proportion of respondents **agreeing or strongly agreeing** with the following statements:

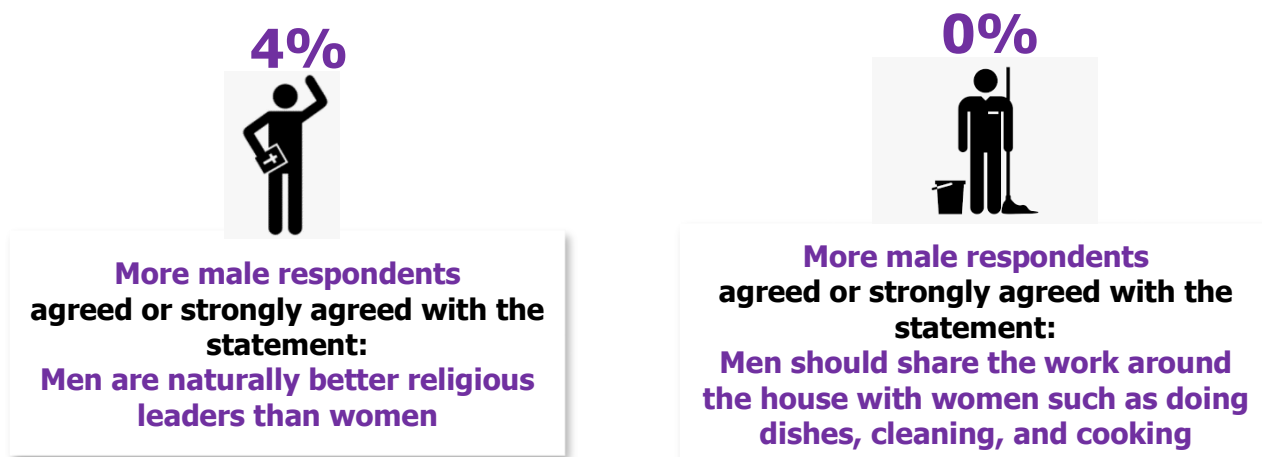
- Men are naturally better religious leaders than women (26%)
- Gender is only about women's issues (13%)

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed All
Men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning, and cooking	76%
People should be treated the same whether they are male or female	75%
Gender is only about women's issues	13%
Men are naturally better religious leaders than women	26%

Table 14: Responses to questions under general

75% of all respondents agreed or strongly agreed that people should be treated the same whether they are male or female, and most (76%) of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “Men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning, and cooking”.

Differences by sex



Again, female respondents tended to show more positive gender attitudes to the questions under this theme. A higher proportion of male respondents **agreed or strongly agreed** with the following statements:

- Gender is only about women's issues (9% more male than female respondents)
- Men are naturally better religious leaders than women (4% more male than female respondents)

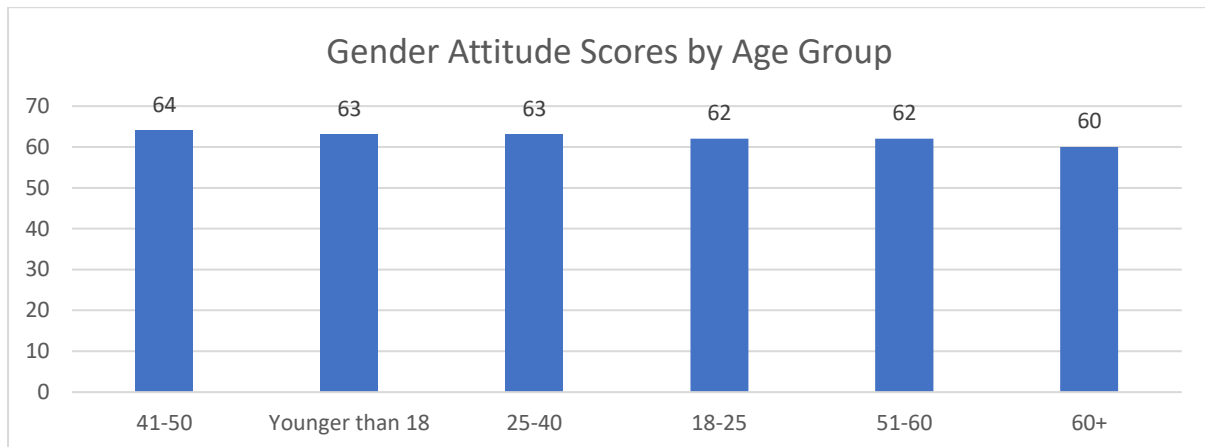
On the other hand, an equal proportion of male and female respondents agreed or strongly agreed that men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking (76%) and that people should be treated the same whether they are male or female (75%).

Question	Agreed or Strongly Agreed		% more males %
	Female	Male	
Men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking	76%	76%	0%
People should be treated the same whether they are male or female	75%	75%	0%
Gender is only about women's issues	8%	17%	9%
Men are naturally better religious leaders than women	24%	28%	4%

Table 15: Responses to questions under general by sex

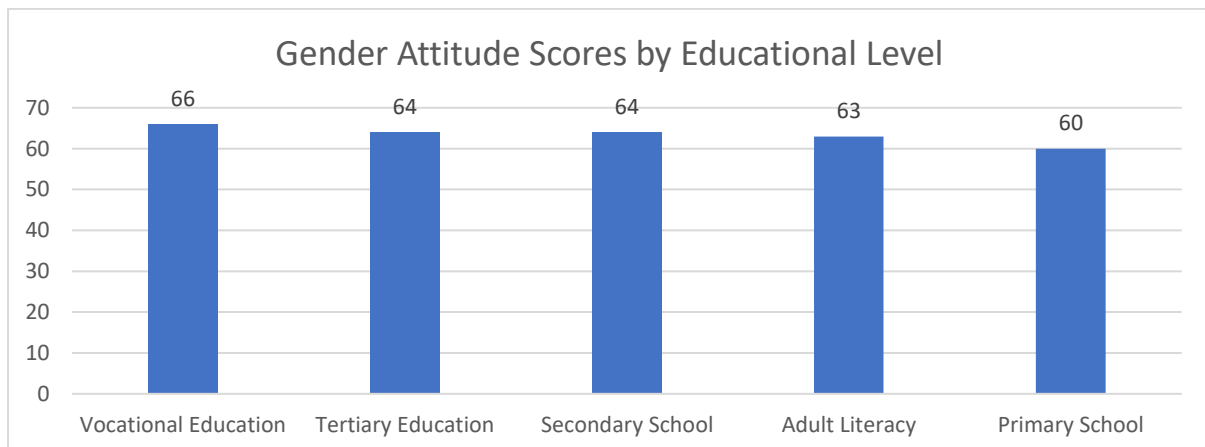
Gender attitudes by age group

Respondents between the ages of 41 and 50, with a mean score of 64 had the highest scores. On the other hand, respondents over 51 years of age (60), had the lowest gender attitude scores¹.



Gender attitudes by educational level

Respondents with a vocational level of education (66) had the highest scores. On the other hand, respondents with a primary school level of education, with a mean score of 60 had the lowest gender attitude scores².



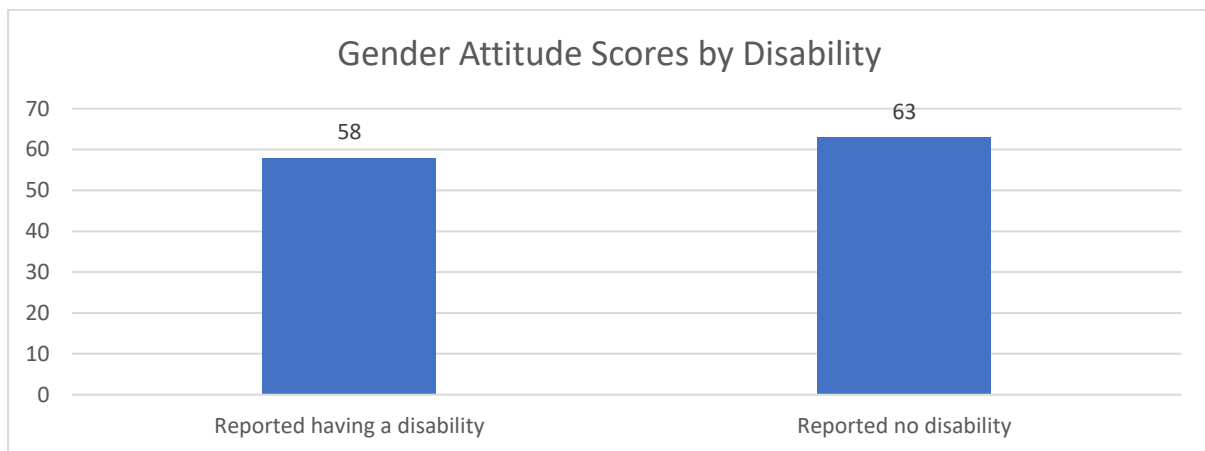
¹ $\chi(5) = 40.95, p < 0.001$

² $\chi(4) = 43.79, p < 0.001$



Gender attitudes by disability

Respondents who reported having a disability had lower gender attitude scores (58) than those who did not (63)³.



Conclusion

Although the study has limitations, the results provide valuable insight into gender attitudes in the country. This information can be used to better understand different perspectives on gender equality and where people in the country are in relation to gender progress. It is clear, that although some progress has been made towards gender awareness, tolerance, and sensitivity, gaps remain and work still needs to be done to reduce the gender blindness in the region. This study provides some guidance on where focus should be placed in order to enhance gender progress.

³ $t(2450) = 2.09, p = 0.036$

ANNEX A – Responses per question

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. A woman should obey her husband	5%	22%	6%	54%	13%
2. If a woman works she should give her money to her husband	7%	44%	9%	31%	9%
3. A man should have the final say in all family matters	15%	51%	9%	18%	7%
4. Men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking	6%	10%	7%	53%	24%
5. A woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work	12%	46%	11%	22%	8%
6. A woman can refuse to have sex with her husband	9%	21%	9%	47%	14%
7. Children belong to a man and his family	15%	57%	8%	14%	7%
8. There is nothing a woman can do if her husband wants to have girlfriends	21%	43%	7%	24%	5%
9. If a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	34%	51%	7%	5%	3%
10. If a man has paid Lobola (bride price) for his wife, he owns her	33%	43%	9%	11%	4%
11. If a man beats a woman it shows that he loves her	38%	49%	7%	4%	2%
12. People should be treated the same whether they are male or female	6%	10%	9%	42%	32%
13. Gender is only about women's issues	16%	62%	9%	8%	5%
14. A man can marry as many wives as he wants but a woman can only marry one man	29%	46%	9%	11%	4%
15. A woman has the right to insist on a man using a condom	10%	13%	12%	50%	15%
16. If a woman wears a short skirt she is asking to be raped	27%	46%	9%	11%	6%
17. A woman should be able to choose to terminate a pregnancy in the first three months of her pregnancy	24%	38%	12%	18%	8%
18. Homosexuality is a psychological disease	12%	47%	20%	11%	10%
19. It bothers me when a girl acts like a boy	13%	40%	13%	23%	11%
20. The media interviews more men than women for stories	15%	50%	21%	12%	2%
21. Sexy images of women in the media gets me to read or watch more	17%	39%	12%	23%	8%
22. I trust what men say in the news more than what women say	16%	54%	14%	12%	3%

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
23. Families should spend less money on the education of daughters as on the education of sons	42%	44%	8%	5%	1%
24. Men are naturally better religious leaders than women	18%	44%	12%	20%	6%
25. Disabled boys should have priority over disabled girls to special needs facilities and services	47%	36%	13%	4%	1%

Table 16: Responses per question

ANNEX B – Methodology

Research design

This research employed a cross-sectional comparative case study research design. Comparative case study research seeks to enhance knowledge about society as a process by exploring the differences and similarities among large macrosocial units such as countries (Ragin, 2014). Comparison enhances description, stimulates concept formation, provides criteria hypothesis testing, and contributes to theory building (Collier, 1991). It underlies almost all forms of research (Bray & Thomas, 1995) and forms an essential part of how humans think (Lor, 2019). Comparison case studies allow researchers to expand the number of variables being analysed and ask questions that may not have been asked when looking at only one unit of analysis (Bray & Thomas, 1995), hereby moving away from narrow national perspectives (Kosmützky, 2018). Comparative case studies “are important in order to deconstruct narrow and often parochial national perspectives” and give “us the opportunity to investigate whether empirical relationships and phenomena found in one context can also be observed in other contexts and to analyse empirical regularities of several cases” (Kosmützky, 2018, p. 14).

Selection of participants

Non-probability, convenience sampling was used for data collection. In contrast to probability sampling which involves randomisation so that all people in the population have a chance of being selected into the sample, non-probability sampling means that not all units in the population had the chance of being included (Wolf, C. et al., 2016). In non-probability sampling, the probability that a person is selected is unknown and resulting in selection bias (Acharya, A.S. et al., 2013). This form of sampling can be useful when randomization is impossible and when the researcher has limited resources, time, and workforce (Etikan, I., et al, 2016). In this case, limited resources available was the main factor influencing the use of a non-probability sampling method. Convenience non-probability sampling was used, in this method “members of the target population that meet certain practical criteria, such as easy accessibility, geographical proximity, availability at a given time, or the willingness to participate are included for the purpose of the study” (Etikan, I., et al, p.2, 2016).

Data was collected through Gender Links events, partners, or in areas the organisation or its partners work in. The data contained in this report was gathered between January 2019 to December 2020, with most of the responses being collected in 2020.

Country	2019	2020	Total
Lesotho	816	1636	2452

Data collection

Quantitative primary data was collected through a survey administered directly with participants. Survey designs assist researchers to describe phenomena, make inferences

about relationships between variables, and predict relationships between variables over time (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The main advantages of surveys include being cost effective, generating numerical data, providing descriptive, inferential, and explanatory information, derive frequencies, standardisation of information gathered, establishes correlations, is context-free, enables hypotheses testing, generates accurate instruments, makes generalisations, and gathers data that can be statistically manipulated (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018). Some limitations of this method include not providing in-depth understanding of a given problem, less focus on understanding the context of the problem, being less flexible, respondents having to fit into the researcher's categories, and that some phenomena cannot be reduced to numbers (DeCarlo, 2018; Queiros et al., 2017). These limitations were addressed by ensuring that the results are presented as a limited representation of complex issue and understanding that it does not provide a detailed, in-depth understanding of the complex issues under review, but rather a picture of similarities and differences that may require a more in-depth exploration.

Data collectors ensured that all ethical considerations were observed to protect the respondents who took part in the study. The process entailed the provision of the M&E pack from Gender Links articulating what the study entails. Anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. Respondents were sensitised about their voluntary right to participate in the study, including the right to terminate the interview if they felt the content was affecting them in any way. Most forms were administered by the data collectors with individual respondents or in group consultations. Others were self-administered or completed online independently. Participants who could not write were assisted in completing the forms. Where printed copies were not available, participants took turns using Gender Links mobile tablets or their mobile phones to complete the online forms.

Once all responses were collected, data was uploaded into a cloud-based server which used data encryption in transit, at rest, and on all backups. Only the researcher had complete access to all the data. Identifying data was only accessible to the researcher who managed the database. Confidentiality was maintained throughout all study procedures by storing locator information separate from participant data. No identifying data was extracted from the database for analysis.

Data analysis and interpretation

The primary analysis focused on the description of the gender attitudes of respondents and also explored between-group differences (e.g., gender, age groups, country). Correlational data analyses were used to establish the relationships between variables per country or between the same variable across countries (Leedy & Ormrod, 2014). This type of analysis allows researchers to determine relationships between variables (Curtis et al., 2015). Here, we are interested in "an assessment of the relationship between or among variables" and should not be equated to experimental research (Asamoah, 2014, p.51). Inferring causation from simple correlation is problematic because correlation does not provide clarity in terms of the directionality of the correlations and the influence of a third variable (Asamoah, 2014). However, causal inferences can be informed by correlational research (Thompson et al., 2005) through the use of structural equation modelling (Curtis, 2016). This research focused on describing prevalence, the relationship between variables in general and between groups, and causal inferences between variables.

STATA v14 was used for the normality tests, descriptive statistics, inferential statistics and correlations. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were conducted to examine the distribution of all variables, assess relationships between variables, and determine differences between groups. Significance testing was undertaken using a 5% level of significance.

About the tool

The tool included demographic questions (i.e., sex, age group, nationality, level of education, disability) and a gender attitudes scale. The GPS included 25 questions and used a 5-point Likert scale with options ranging from Strongly Disagree (0) to Strongly Agree (4). Responses are added up into a total score. The total score has a possible range of between 0 and 100 with a higher score indicating more positive gender attitudes.

Reliability of an instrument is its ability to measure a construct consistently and with precision over time and groups of respondents (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Reliability is about internal consistency or the extent to which all the items in the scale measure one construct; stability or the consistency of results using the instrument repeatedly; and equivalence or consistency responses among multiple users (Heale & Twycross, 2015). In order to ensure that data capturing, and administration is done consistently a data collection training manual was developed which all data collectors were trained in. The most common statistic used to demonstrate reliability of the instruments is Cronbach's alpha (Taber, 2018). The internal reliability of all scales was measured using Cronbach's alpha coefficient (α), which measures inter-item correlations (Cronbach, 1951). Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency for an instrument (i.e., the questionnaire). Cronbach's alpha coefficients above 0.7 are acceptable (Field, 2018) and indicate that the instrument (questionnaire) is reliable. Cronbach's alpha for the 25 items of the gender attitude scale showed the questionnaire did reach an acceptable reliability, $\alpha = 0.81$.

Limitations

As with all research this study has several limitations that must be considered when reviewing the results. The main limitations of this research are that non-probability sampling methods were used and that the data was collected across a long period of time.

The use on non-probability (and therefore non-randomised) sampling means that we are unable to draw inferences about a population or generalise the results to the broader population. Despite the large sample size obtained which increases the statistical power of the sample, these results cannot be said to be representative of the gender attitudes of people in this country. Limited resources (money, time, and human capacity) available was the main factor influencing the choice of sampling. This limitation is managed by not claiming that these results are representative of the gender attitudes held within this country. Rather, these results are seen as giving insight into prevailing gender attitudes among those from whom data was collected. It provides valuable exploratory information about gender attitudes in the country.

Lastly, the data was collected across 2 years during which things may have occurred that may have impacted on gender attitudes. This limits the degree to which the results are reflective of current attitudes. Authors are cautious to not imply that these results are indicative of current gender attitudes.

Future research of this kind could overcome these limitations by exploring the possibility of using probability sampling hereby making the results generalisable. In addition, future research could look at limiting the period of data collection so as to ensure that the data is indicative of current or recent gender attitudes.

Despite these limitations, this data is rich and paints a useful picture of gender attitudes held across Sub-Saharan Africa. While keeping these limitations in mind, the reader is encouraged

to reflect on what this data is telling us about gender norms, practices, and views and how these could be altered moving forward.

