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**REPRODUCTION OF GENDER INEQUALITY IN FAMILY DISCOURSE:
A CASE STUDY OF RURAL AREAS OF DISTRICT JAHLMIM, PAKISTAN**

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Abstract

This paper disclose gender inequality regarding family discourse and practices in Jhelum, Paki-
stan. Mainly, the study aims to explore several practices at the household level where women are
maltreated. In rural areas of the country, gender inequality is pervasive because, in these settings,
social organization is based on a flawed cultural system. Gender inequality is characterized in
various social and economic affairs in which women are being deprived of access, control, and
administration. Although, in the last few years, different governments have introduced reforms
and laws regarding gender equality, which allows women to hold all rights equal to men. Still,

the results of these reforms are very minimal in rural areas. The ethnography approach was used for the detailed and accurate data. The study's finding revealed that the males generate their power through different elements like decision making and holding property or assets in family. This study strongly endorses dialectical communication among women and men to lower symbolic power and violence practices. Also advocate gender equality in all family practices, decision-making, socialization, religious obligations, health and food patterns, or education. Effective implementation of governmental laws helps lower the symbolic power of men and reduces symbolic violence.

1. Introduction

Gender equality is the center point of development planning and successful implementation of laws in developing countries (Fonjong, 2008). United Nations General Assembly also supported gender equality through its fifth Sustainable Development Goal (SDG), which targets achieving women empowerment by 2030 (UNDP). In rural areas so-called, family discourses create gender inequality in access to education, health and food patterns, Socialization, and involvement in decision-making processes in which women are the victims specifically (Wineman et al., 2017). Pakistan is the country in which 65% population is living in rural areas. Gender inequality and violence against women is a common problem in our society because it is patriarchal where men primarily hold symbolic power; that is why all the decisions are made by men (Azhar & Sabzwari, 2010). Symbolic power refers to the capacity of defining, selecting, and excluding the elements that shape our shared understanding of things. This capacity is not distributed to all members of society similarly (IJC, 2014).

Most of our rural areas are patriarchal by nature. The men of the family are the dominant group, while Women are considered subordinates. In the patriarchal society, women are discriminated against widely in all fields even the family socialization process also favors male dominance. The social structure of the society and the stereotyped behaviors generate the male power in the family (Gordon, L., & Hunter, A. 1998). The men hold decision-making power. The women have no right to participate in decision-making. Parents do not directly discriminate against the girl child, but the inequality is that they prefer their sons in all walks of life that affects the girls' minds and behavior in the family. All of this discriminated behavior generates symbolic violence in the mind of women of the family (Goody and Jack, 1976).

This type of symbolic power causes symbolic violence either directly or indirectly. The term Symbolic violence is introduced by Bourdieu (Lyon, 1993). This study suggests that the analytical pattern must include indirect symbolic violence in which the receiver is not controlled by direct assertion. Still, the receiver is controlled by the indirect claim. Indirect or symbolic violence refers to the violence in which the receiver is incidental to the intended direction of domination (Lyon, 1993).

According to UNESCO (2002), higher education is a fundamental right for all genders, including males and females. Many underdeveloped countries have no equal rights for men and women in education. Economic Survey, 2010-11 indicates no equal right for men and women in education in most Pakistan. In rural areas, there is no education for girls. The girls of that area are illiterate because of lack of access to education facilities, and early marriages are also the main problem. Overall, Pakistan's literacy rate is 57.7, with a higher rate of 73.2 percent than in rural areas 49.2 percent. The women of literacy limit their capacity to adopt new agriculture skills keeping them low.

Although many studies reflect the role of family practices in constructing specific gender roles (e.g., Benin & Agostinelli, 1998; Ruble, Martin & Berenbaum, 2006; Thompson & Walker, 1989), the present study focused on the elements that generate the power of the men of the family. Through this study, we analyzed that how family-maintained discrimination by creating elements of discrimination. This study also explored the behavior that causes the symbolic violence on the girl of the family. The study will cover physical violence and deal with different indirect symbolic violence dimensions that are more dangerous than physical violence.

1.1 Research Questions

1. How the stereotyped behavior generates and maintains the symbolic power of the men of the family?
2. What is the role of Socialization in promoting symbolic violence among women?
3. How the ritual leads to indirect symbolic violence?

2. Methodology

This study is conducted in Jhelum city, Pakistan, a patriarchal area where the power is located between the men of the society. Through this qualitative study, we can elaborate on the entire problem of gender inequality in the family in a detailed and explainable manner. The ethnography approach was used for the precise and accurate data for analyzing the patriarchal structures more closely. All populations encompassed elderly girls aged 20 to 40, lived in patriarchal families in 2017. Because of easy access, enough respondents were placed in a particular place; almost 50 respondents were selected to represent the whole population. Convenience sampling was used due to the shortage of time and enough resources. Mainly, justification Convenience sampling (also called accidental, availability, or haphazard sampling) was our primary criteria for selecting cases.

Furthermore, focus group discussions, observations and Interviews were different tools of data collection used in this study. Several Interviews and four focus group discussions were conducted to understand respondents' perspectives concerning issues and what they think and suggest. Data was collected and analyzed accurately in a detailed manner.

3. Results and Discussions

The analysis of this study is about women's discrimination with their various dimensions, which are responsible for producing and maintaining the male dominancy in a family. Symbolic power refers to the capacity of defining, selecting, and excluding the elements that shape our shared understanding of things (IJC, 2014). Most families' decision-making is in the male's hands (Sundaram, A., and Vanneman, R. 2008). Pakistan is a developing country with a vast population; men and women are almost equal in numbers (Asian Development Bank (ADB). 1999). Gender discrimination and violence against women is common practice in our society as it is patriarchal, and symbolic power is located among the men; that is why all the decisions are made by men (Ebert, 1996). On the other hand, females are the subordinate group of society. Most of the participants of this study lie in the group of subordinates.

3.1 Reproduction of Gender inequality

3.1.1 Socialization

Socialization is a process whereby an individual acquires a personal identity and learns the norms, values, behavior, and social skills appropriate to their social position (McMillan 2009).

Mehr (2003) said that the lap of the mother is the first school of the child. Most of the inequality is just because of socialization problems of the mothers who taught their children that the brothers are superior and sisters are inferior (Dawn, 1998). In socialization, the mother taught the children that a daughter is a marginalized group (SiGi 2014).

In the socialization process, our girls are taught that the boys are superior to us and our mothers tell us brothers are always older than sisters. So, the mothers always socialized about the supremacy of the male gender. The girls of my family considered themselves as a marginalized group of our family. (Maham Akhtar)

The socialization pattern of my family prefers the boys of my family. In all matters, our mother prefers our brother. Whether it was food, entertainment or domestic work in all issues our mothers prefer our brothers. So, the socialization pattern of my family favors the male gender of our family. (IrumBatool)

The socialization patterns of the family favor the male gender of the family. Naseem told me that mothers preferred her brothers. She says that her mother socialized her that the brothers are always older than their family girls. Our cultural values restrict the girls of the society from getting an education. Many of the girls in rural areas are not going to school under age five. Our available social infrastructure is also in favor of the men of the society (King and Hill, 1995). All the above findings show that there are socialization problems that cause gender inequality in family discourse. All participants answered that women are too responsible for gender inequality in family discourse. Furthermore, Men considered that their son would be the future breadwinner of their family, giving much attention to their son rather than a daughter (Moretti, 2004).

3.1.2 Decision Making in Everyday Life:

Decision-making is identifying and choosing alternatives based on the values and preferences of the decision-maker (Anthony 2002). Decision-making is the cognitive process resulting in selecting a belief or a course of action among several alternative possibilities (Nogueires, 2015). Every decision-making process produces a final choice, which may or may not prompt action (Hunter, 1998). Decision-making is the primary right of every individual, but most people did not care for this right. In rural areas, parents do not consider this right (Morilo 2015). As Participants mentioned:

Decision-making power is in the hand of men of my family. The girls have no right to participate in decision-making. They do not have the right to choose to select their life partners. The boys of my family have the right to choose their life partners. If a boy denies the order of his parents, there is no action on the other side; a girl cannot even think about this. So, all decision-making power is in the hands of men of my family. (Robina Kosar)

The males are the primary decision-maker of our family. To some extent, our mothers are allowed to participate in the decision. Still, in the end, the decisions are made by the men of our family. In marriage, the girls are only informed about their life partners. The boys are told in the same manner, but they are allowed to deny or accept. (Shameem Akhtar)

In rural areas, most of the decisions are in the hand of the men of the family; girls have no right to participate in decision-making (Jackson, 1998). Aqsa Naz told me that the decision-making is in the hand of her male family member. She told me that they are not allowed to even participate in their marriage decision. They are only informed about their marriage decision and timing. All participants told me that there is no autonomy for the girls, whereas the boys enjoyed this facility. The boys can make decisions and manipulate all of the matters. Women's independence can

be defined as the capability and the ability to operate the unique environment (Dyson and Moore, 1983).

3.1.3 Marriage Decision-Making:

Marriage, also called matrimony or wedlock, is a socially or formally recognized union between spouses that establishes rights and obligations between them and their children and between them and their in-laws (William 2001). Islam permits us to every individual to choose the life partners. Still, our flawed cultural system does not permit girls to participate in the decision-making of their marriage ceremony (Jamal 2016). Men have been shown to influence women's decisions regarding marriage and divorce and an extensive array of other aspects of women's life such as physical mobility to access services (e.g., Health and Education) and participation in the labor market (Yonous,2011).

Our family marriage system is in the hands of men of our family. Our grandfather makes decisions on the marriage of the children of our whole family. There is no freedom of expression in our family for girls to express. The girls of my family are only informed about their marriage decision. (Kinza Fatima)

The marriage system is in favor of the boy of my family. There is no choice for the girl in my family to participate in her marriage decision. In contrast, the boys of my family can arrange all their functions according to their will. (Zenya Ijaz)

Marriage is the great blessing of God for Islamic society. However, in our society, there is some violation of Islamic laws (Yonous, 2011). For example, we are living in an Islamic country in which Islam is being practiced. There is some traditional norm; because of that tradition, we are not following Islamic law. Khateeb (1998) stated that Islam gives these equal rights to women and the men of the society, but our family holders do not give the same opportunity to both genders. He further argued that there is no opportunity for the girls of the family in the marriage system. If her father dies, then she is in the custody of her brother. This is the inequality with the girls because of our poor structure (Khateeb, 1998).

3.1.4 Property Rights

Property is that sole and despotic dominion which one person claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of other individuals in the universe (Diamond 2009). Property is the primary right of every citizen. Islam gives this right to women and males, but it is a misconception (Bishin & Cherif, 2017). Most rural area people do not give this right to the girls; there is no freedom to raise voice for her property (Struck man-Johnson, C. 2000). People consider rebels to be those girls who demand their property from their brothers (Wineman, A.; Liverpool-Tasie, L.S, 2017). This is a mean value or norm of backward areas. Islam gives this right to women, but the village people do not give this right to women. This is the worst discrimination against girls in our society.

There is also no concept of giving property rights to girls. All the property of the forefather is given to the boys. Because boys are considered their parents' helpers and future family makers, their property is given to them. Girls do not even think about the property; many people think that the dowry is the alternative to a girl's property. (Um e Habiba)

The property right of the gender is not equal for both genders in my family. Our parents give all their property to their sons. There is no concept of the property of the girl in my family. (Zainab Nazir)

Land ownership is held mainly by male household members, and women, even if they have rights, are not given access to land titling due to cultural norms (Panda and Agarwal, 2005). This creates issues of accessing credit. Property is the primary right of all citizens of society. Islam gives the property right to the two females equals the one male share in the fathers' property. But it gives equal permission to both genders to establish their business and property according to their will. Hazrat Khadija's business is an example of it. We live in patriarchal families where people know all the Islamic knowledge, but they are not obeying because of their weak and traditional norms (Bishin & Cherif, 2017). In our society, if a girl raises her voice to take the share of her property to their parents after marriage, it is considered a sin (Levinson, David. 1989).

3.1.5 Baby Preference

In this study, the researcher explores the cruel tradition of family in rural areas of district Jhelum. Son preference means parents prefer the baby boy when any baby comes into this world (Hirano 1979). Most of the people preferred their baby boys. They make celebrations when boys come into this world. When a girl comes in this world, they just say it is a will of God (Pavlic, 2000). There are no celebrations on this occasion. So, in the family discourse, most girls feel inferior or weak creation of God as they compare their value with the boys of their family (Ridgeway, 2011). In this study, many questions were raised on the inequality of gender when a baby comes into this world.

A boy is the preferred baby in our family. If a boy is born in our family, our family holder announces the birth of a baby boy. They celebrate his birth occasion. They distribute the sweets at the birth of boys. They invite the relatives at lunch on the birth of the son. Where-as I talk about the baby girl, there is no celebration in my family. They feel shame at the birth of their daughter. Our family members do not announce the birth of a daughter. They stay at home for some days after the birth of their daughter. It is a bitter reality. After the birth of a baby boy, our males feel proud, and after the birth of a baby girl, they feel shame and a financial burden. (Maham Akhtar)

The boys are the preferred baby in our family. If a baby boy is born in our family, our parents say it rewards our great virtue. On the other hand, if a girl is born into our family, our family members say it is a punishment for our sins. Our parents feel shame about the birth of baby girls. There is much celebration on the birth of a baby boy in my family. Everywhere will be an environment of joy & happiness in my family. The sugar is distributed as sweets to all relatives. The girls are considered a financial burden. (Zenya Ijaz)

All the above participants expressed that their family members celebrate when a baby boy comes into this world. They make no celebrations when a girl comes into this universe. These types of discrimination are started when a girl comes into the world. When I put this question to Noreen, she said that boys are the preferred baby in her family. Structure and institution play a vital role in strengthening the son's preference. They considered the boy is the provider of the parents in all walks of life. The girls are considered a burden (Mongella, 1994).

3.1.6 Health

Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. (WHO 2011). UN, 2002 stated that health is a basic unit of life for all human beings. In this study, I will explore that our women and girls are poorly discriminated against in the health facility in their families. If a girl is ill their parent will be considered that it

is routine of life; she will get better soon, but on the other side if a boy is ill, his parents will be conscious about his Health (Ashaye 2004). They will send their son to a near able hospital for better treatment. The girls are not treated in the same manner in many backward areas of district Jhelum.

My mother looks after more sons in my family than girls, but if a girl is married, her parents are conscious of her health. But when the girl is in their home, she is badly discriminated against about this facility. When the girls are discriminated against in their parents' house, they will also be discriminated against in the law's house in the same manner. (Nimra Shahzadi)

In my family, health facilities are not the same. The boys are taken to the hospital, whereas the doctor is called at home to treat girls. (Maria Ijaz)

The health issue is another problem of inequality. Brock-Utne, 1989 stated that girls receive inadequate health facilities in Mexico; they suffer from diseases because the medications and vitamins are only given to the boys. This causes health issues for the girls (Brock-Utne, 1989). World health organization 2009 reports that women's limited access to health services creates serious health issues in rural areas. Women also do not receive a proper nutritive diet in their daily routine, making them weak and prone to many diseases (UN, 2003). This affects their health and their infants and children; girl children suffer more as the vicious cycle is repeated (Rhum, 2009).

3.1.7 Education

Education is the basic necessity of all human beings (Dewey, 1944). Our religion is much forced about the education of both genders. Still, it is unfair that most of the people of our society give much attention to the education of the boys of our society. They do not care about family education. They say that the boys will be the future bread earner of our family. This is the main reason for the lack of education of the girls in our society. In our religion, there is a balance education for both genders. In most villages, the people send their girls to the government institution, sending their sons to a private institution. This is also a type of discrimination against the girls in our society.

At the time of our study, there is no attention on the children's education in my family. My qualification is primary level. My sister is not educated. One of my brother's qualifications is inter, and another one is matric. At that time, there is no concept of the girl's education. Our male member said that our son would take our land, so he does not need education. Suppose I talk about the education of today. Some girls of my family go to the government school, and my male cozen go to the private school for better education. (Areeba Kanwal)

In our family, we do not go to the same institution. Our brothers are sent to a private institution—the girls like me sent to the government school. Our parents give more attention to boys in all educational processes than girls. Higher Education is only for the boys of my family. The boys have a facility for technical education as well as university education. The girls can only go to the Madras-as for more education. (Robina Kosar)

Education is a basic necessity for all human beings. On education, our religion has the same focus for boys and girls. There is no discrimination in education in religion. But the poor structure does not allow the girls to go to school. It is widely recognized that high-quality, essential, universal education is the foundation of the world. Various factors play a barrier to female education, one of them being the education of parents themselves that plays a very significant role in

deciding whether they should send their daughters to school for education or not. Other important factors that also contribute and pose as barriers to female education include the household's income. (NIPS, 1992) In developing countries, education plays a pivotal role and directly and indirectly affects female labor participation. Boys are sent to the better institution and private sector. When girls are asked about these types of discrimination, the answer is that the boys are the future bread earner of their family that why they invest their money in them.

3.1.8 Freedom of Expression

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) strongly advocated freedom of expression for both genders. The degree of freedom to make a friend is not allowed for the girls of rural areas (Jackson, 1998). It is considered harmful for girls to make friends and go out with them for fun. The boys can avail this opportunity. They can go with their friends for options late at night. They have no restriction for this. Daniel Maltz and Ruth Borker (1982) show that speaking of girls and boys can also be gendered.

There is no degree of freedom for girls in my family. This facility is only for the boys. The boys make a celebration. (Saira Parveen)

There is no degree of freedom for the girls of my family. They have no freedom to make friends and to go to their houses. The boys are enjoying these opportunities. (Zainab Bibi) Pavlic (2000) stated that girls of rural areas have no right to make friends, but the boys enjoy this facility. Respondents said that there is no degree of freedom for girls, but their brothers are allowed for options and making friends. They are mostly not allowed to visit her friend. This type of discrimination is also in the family of rural areas. The above discussion explored that there is no freedom of expression for the girls in their family discourse.

3.2.5 Food Pattern

Food is the basic need of human beings. In most families, boys are preferred for the excellent food (Jensen, 2009). Equality is not considered in giving good food to children (Food Encyclopedia 2017). This study raised the question that the villages' people discriminate the gender about the food matter in the backward society. ROSCA (2008) points out that most people give the preferred food to their boys. The conditional food is given to the girl of the family. This type of conditional food causes malnutrition to the girl of the family (Alams, 2007). The mothers give energetic food to the boy like milk, meat, etc. It is considered ethical to give the food first to the male than the female (CIA, 2005). So, all these types of discrimination are highlighted in this research.

Some specific food is only given to boys of my family, so, balanced food is not given to the girls of the family. Conditional foods are only given to the girls of the family. There are considering ethics that all food is given first to men and the girls cannot eat. All girls of my family are facing all these problems. (Naseem Akhtar)

The food pattern of our family supports male members of our family. All food is given first to the male members of my family and then given to the female members. Preferred food is given only to the male members because they are the bread earner of the family, and they do their physical labor; that is why all energetic food is given only to the male members of my family. Only conditional food is given to the female members of my family. (Azra Parveen)

The food pattern is discriminated in the family of all girls. When I asked this question to Aqsa, she told me that they are badly discriminated against in the food pattern of their family. She said their family boys could eat all foods according to their will, but the girls do not enjoy these facilities in their food matters. According to the World Health Organization, girls and women often receive less food and health care services than males. Males get good health services in family dis-course (Bunch, 1995).

3.1.9 Religious Obligations

An obligation is a course of action that someone is required to take, whether legal or moral (Old Bear 2008). A religious obligation is essential in our religion, but most people do not understand its richness (Engle, R.F. and Granger Edward Elgar Pub F. Yonous, 2011). In the village, people considered that the girls are the only creatures expected to fulfill religious obligations. Male is half the population of the world. They have also need to obey religious obligations for balance and civilized societies. But it is ignorant of people or misconception that they did not care about the boys for their religious obligations.

In our family, the girls are restricted from taking purdah. Girls cannot make joys and happiness. The noble girl will obey all religious obligations. In my family, these all types of restrictions are not made for the boys of my family. However, the boys are the leading partner of our society. All socialization factors must apply as well on them, but there is no attention on them. (Zainab Bibi)

The religious obligations are only for girls of my family, not for the boys of my family. All restrictions are made for the girls. The boys are free to do what they want. (Hajira Tasleem)

Religious obligations are only imposed on the girl of the family. All the above participants answered that religious obligation is only for the girl of their family in their families. The parents focus on their girls for their religious practices. At this time, they have no attention on their son for the religious obligation (Riesman, 2008). Mothers much focus on the girls to maintain their purdah and to offer the prayer and fast. However, at the same time, they have no attention to the family boy to participate in all practices. When I told Areeba about religious obligations, she told me that their parents give much attention to the family's girls to obey religious obligations. She told me that the prayer and fast must be forced to each gender nuts their parents only focus on the family's girl for these obligations.

3.1.10 Livelihood

A group of similar tasks is related by the resemblance of roles when achieved by an employee in exchange for payment; a job consists of duties, responsibilities, and tasks; through the job, an individual can get the pay to fulfill their basic need (Weed Wood 1885). Job is another discrimination factor of the backward areas, i.e., the girls are not permitted to do the job; it is only for the boys (Daniel N Maltz, Ruth A Borker, 1982). Most people say that the women's primary job is to look after his children. Journals of politics (2013) stated that even most girls deserve jobs than boys, but they are not allowed from their male members.

The girls are not allowed to do the job. According to my family members, girls' primary duty is to perform domestic work. It is her top job. The boys do every job that they want. They even go to foreign countries. On the other hand, the girls do not even have permission to work in the native region. (Zenya Ijaz)

The girls of my family have no right to a job. The boys are considered the breadwinner and family holders. So, only boys can do the job in my family. The girl's primary job is to run the house. (Qamar Sana)

The above participants said that most people send their girls to government institutions in their families. When I asked Miss Aniqqa about the education of her family girls, she replied that most of our family girls are sent to the government sector. They do not have permission for college education and university education. Boys are sent to colleges and universities. If a girl gets good grades in studies and after this when she wants to do the job there will be no permission for the job to the family's girl. If a girl is permitted a job, she is only allowed to teach.

3.1.11 Recreational Activities

Recreation is a way to achieve a 'perfect' overall feeling. Care, recovery, or development of our physical, spiritual and intellectual energies and performances through our leisure activities (Antho-ny, W., 2002). Recreation is a productive activity through which an individual can achieve mental and physical energy (Boda, 2015). In rural areas, entertainment is only allowed for the boys. They can go outing, watching television and using mobile phones. The girls are not allowed this type of entertainment. They are allowed only to watch Pakistan Television (PTV).

In entertainment activities, girls have only access to television; they can watch only news or Pakistani entertainment channels. Nevertheless, the girls have not accessed to internet and laptop etc. Girls are not allowed to possess a personal mobile phone and email, Facebook, or WhatsApp ID. At the same time, girls are not allowed to sleep late at night or awake in the late morning. However, on the other hand, boys can enjoy all these types of entertainment as the internet, television. They can possess their mobiles, personal Facebook, email, and watsapp ID. They can sleep and be weak when they want. This type of discrimination has faced all girls of my family. (Nasira Fazal)

The boys of our family enjoy recreational activities. They can enjoy the festivals they can enjoy TV, film internet, and visit their friends. They can go for an outing. (Naseem Akhtar)

The boys are allowed to enjoy the recreational activities in family discourse (Jamil, 2011). On the other hand, there is no permission for the girls to go out of their house. The girls are not allowed recreational activities. Boys can go far from the house for many days. However, according to her will, the girl is not allowed to visit her aunt or uncle's house. Many of the girls are not allowed to make friends (Cahill, S. 1989). Many girls told me that in their house there is the lousy concept of a friend. So, she does not make friends. If some girls are allowed to make friends, they cannot visit their friends' houses.

4. Conclusion

Briefly, in the family discourse, there are two groups; one is controlled by the other. The dominant group (male) generates its power through different decision-making and holding property or assets. Their power is called symbolic power. They enjoy their power and dominance without any physical force. This dominance causes many types of inequalities in family discourse. These inequalities are in the form of a preferred baby, preferred food and health facilities, a boy's preference on education rights, and the right of livelihood. All these elements equally create inequality and discrimination among females. This inequality causes symbolic violence that is not in the form of physical violence. This violence is invisible that affects the mind of the victim. In short, in this study, all the respondents were the victim of symbolic violence through the symbolic

power of their male members. Symbolic violence is subtle, minor, and invisible violence. Its effects on the victims are normal and legitimate that structures the inequality. Through this violence, the subordinate group accepts its subordination and the dominant group imposed their orders. The women accept these types of hierarchies, creating their mental structure (Swing wood, 2000). Thus, symbolic violence impairs the dominant (male) to dominated (female) of cognitive categories and social roles, including gender roles. (Gamson1992).

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