

EXPERIENCES OF GENDER ROLE ASSIGNMENT BY WOMEN IN TRANSITIONAL MARRIAGES

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Masters in Psychology at the Department of Psychology at the University of
the Western Cape



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Keywords: Gender roles, division of household labour, transitional marriage, experiences, conflicts, women, social role theory, qualitative, in-depth interviews; thematic analysis

DECLARATION

I, Karen Kruger, declare that this dissertation, submitted in August 2015 is my original work, and that all the sources used have been acknowledged and referenced in the text. This work has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Signed: Karen Kruger

Date: August 2015



ABSTRACT

BACKGROUND: Global female workforce participation has increased rapidly over the past few decades, and the majority of marriages are now dual-earning. Marriages were therefore expected to shift from traditional to egalitarian, where household tasks are shared equally between spouses. However, decades later, the majority of marriages are still found to be in a transitional phase, where women are employed outside of the home, but maintain responsibility for the majority of domestic tasks and childcare. The transitional marriage holds a number of complications for spouses, as gender roles are no longer clearly defined and more difficult to negotiate. Married women are under particular strain as they now have to balance both the work and family roles.

OBJECT: The aim of the present study is to gain a better understanding of how women in transitional marriages experience and make meaning of the roles that they fulfil. Minimal research has been devoted to this issue, and the literature largely focuses on marriages at the traditional or egalitarian ends of the gender role spectrum.

METHOD: Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight women in transitional marriages, with children living at home. The data were examined using thematic analysis.

RESULTS: The results indicated that the majority of participants worked out of economic necessity as opposed to choice, and that half of the participants earned more than their spouses. Most participants still harboured traditional gender beliefs even though their external circumstances had changed. This discrepancy seemed to cause significant internal and marital conflict, yet the attainment of more egalitarian beliefs seemed difficult to attain owing to feelings of guilt and a perceived threat of identity loss. Consequently, the majority of participants had difficulty relinquishing control over several household tasks. Furthermore, demanding work hours, the lack of family-friendly policies at work, and cultural factors also played a role in the maintenance of traditional beliefs by participants.

CONCLUSIONS: Much research still needs to be conducted to gain a more thorough understanding of changing gender roles in society, as well as to inform new workforce legislation that could enhance the lives of families. Lastly, as most studies focus on the experiences of women regarding the division of labour (probably because of the significant adaptations that have occurred in women's roles), it becomes necessary to gain an understanding of the experiences of men as well, particularly if research is going to be utilised for the benefit of the whole family. As became evident, unequal division of tasks is often maintained by women for several reasons, and is no longer necessarily the result of oppression by men, as much of the literature suggests.

Keywords: Gender roles, division of household labour, transitional marriage, experiences, conflicts, women, social role theory, qualitative, in-depth interviews; thematic analysis

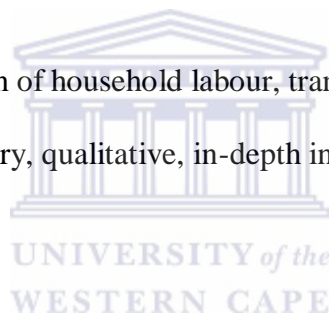


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CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

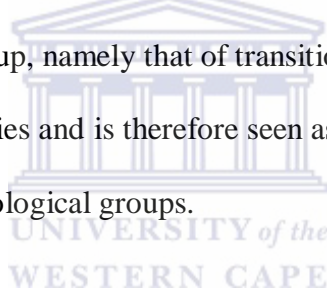
1.1 Background

One of the most significant global trends in the past few decades has been the increasing rate of married women entering the workforce, and therefore the increase of dual-earning marriages in society (Forste & Fox, 2012; Smit, 2002). This rapid change has implications for income sharing as well as the division of household tasks such as childcare and housework (Van der Vijver, 2007); the general expectation was that men would increase their time spent on household tasks and childcare, whilst women would reduce their time spent on these activities. However, whilst some rearrangement has taken place in this regard, the exchange has been markedly unequal, with women still being responsible for most of the domestic labour and childcare duties, despite their increased participation in the workforce (Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie & Robinson, 2012; Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000; Forste & Fox, 2012; Gregory & Milner, 2009; Hochschild & Machung, 2012).

The ongoing inequality in the division of household labour is associated with a sense of unfairness, depression and marital dissatisfaction experienced by women, whilst participation by men in routine repetitive household chores is seen as the leading predictor of marital satisfaction (Coltrane, as cited in Lavee & Katz, 2002; Pina & Bengston, as cited in Coleman, 2006). Consequentially, academic literature has focused extensively on the division of labour between the two genders, as well as on the gender ideologies that influence these role divisions (Kulik, 2004).

The literature largely explores gender role ideology in terms of two ideological groups, namely traditional and egalitarian, and extensively debates the advantages or disadvantages of either of the two ideologies for marriage (Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010). In traditional gender role ideology, specific roles are limited to specific genders, for example the man as the breadwinner and the woman as the childrearer and homemaker. Men also tend to hold the household decision-making power. Egalitarian role ideology, on the other hand, posits that household tasks, childcare and decision-making power are shared equally between the two genders (Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Mickelson, Claffey & Williams, 2006; Lavee & Katz, 2002).

However, in her groundbreaking study entitled the *The Second Shift*, Hochschild (1989) introduced a third ideological group, namely that of transitional ideology, that incorporates aspects of both of these dichotomies and is therefore seen as an ideology that falls between the traditional and egalitarian ideological groups.



The transitional ideology group seemed to be particularly relevant in Hochschild's study, as the majority of couples interviewed at the time were found to have a 'transitional' ideological orientation. Couples who were transitional in nature also predominated in later research (Belsky & Kelly, 1994; Hochschild & Machung, 2012), which confirms the position of Lavee and Katz (2002) that gender role ideology is spread along a continuum, and that the extensive focus on groups at the extreme ends of the spectrum is therefore rather futile.

Transitional marriages also seem to be the most prevalent in South Africa, as the majority of marriages are currently dual-earning (Smit, 2002). Furthermore, research by Viljoen and Steyn (as cited in Smit, 2002) confirms this position by stating that, even though the wife

now has more decision-making power in the household, the husband is still seen as the head of the household.

Transitional gender role ideology holds that the husband still identifies with the primary role of the breadwinner, but that he also supports his wife's desire to work as long as she still prioritizes the family and household over her career (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Belsky and Kelly (1994) suggest that transitional marriages (with both members being transitional in ideological orientation) have similar problems in the assignment of roles and household labour as do marriages where mixed orientations are present. This situation is largely due to the lack of clarity that the transitional position offers in comparison with the clearly defined positions on either end of the scale of role assignments. Furthermore, Cross-Barnet and McDonald (2010) found that many couples displayed discrepancies between their professed egalitarian beliefs and the more traditional actions that materialised for them in reality. These findings are similar to data gathered in earlier studies by La Rossa and Mulligan La Rossa (1981) and Hochschild (1989).

Women in transitional marriages, and mostly full-time working mothers, seem to be particularly challenged as they have to work a 'second shift': after working at their full-time job, they return home to further fulfil their duties towards the children and the home which are still regarded as their primary duties over and above paid work (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Even though this 'second shift' of home and childcare duties has been drastically reduced over time since Hochschild's first study (Hochschild, 1989), more recent studies show that working women still do the majority of housework and experience markedly less leisure than men (Milkie, Raley, & Bianchi, 2009). This situation often leaves women with feelings of resentment, that are then expressed in the marriage as a lack of interest in sexual

intercourse, as well as an over-involvement with the children (Coleman, 2006; Hochschild & Machung, 2012).

1.2 Rationale

Even though a number of positive consequences have been associated with the egalitarian marriage, as several researchers (as cited in Coleman, 2006) have confirmed, difficulties experienced along the continuum to egalitarian achievement can have a negative impact on marriages (Coleman, 2006), particularly on the wellbeing of married women who presently seem to be under more strain than their husbands.

According to Smit (2001), the increasing overlap between work and family life in South Africa has led to the conventional belief that marital dissolution is closely linked to the increasing participation of married women in the workforce. It is therefore vital to understand this phenomenon in greater detail in order to develop more effective intervention strategies for marriages and pressured wives in the South African context.

1.3 Significance of the study

Studies within the field of gender role ideology and the division of labour between spouses are largely quantitative in nature (e.g. Forste & Fox, 2012; Judge & Livingston, 2008; Kulik, 2004). Fewer studies are qualitative in design, and therefore more descriptive information in this field is lacking. Furthermore, the majority of research has been conducted abroad whilst South African studies are limited.

The present research study therefore aimed to contribute more descriptive information unique to the South African context towards the knowledge base on gender ideology transformation and its impact on marriage partners, particularly on married women who are experiencing

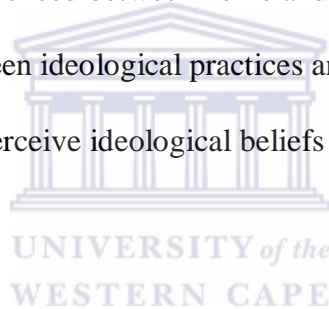
more stress during this transition. The study thereby indirectly assists in the improvement of marital quality and family life in South Africa.

1.4 Aims of the study

The present research study aimed to explore the experiences of women in transitional marriages with regard to gender role assignment in the household.

The objectives of the research study were:

- to explore the experiences of women with regard to the division of household tasks
- to explore the experiences of women with regard to the division of childcare
- to ascertain the conflicts experienced between home and work
- to ascertain the conflicts between ideological practices and ideological beliefs
- to ascertain whether women perceive ideological beliefs as shared by both partners in the marriage.



1.5 Outline of thesis

Chapter One provides the background and rationale for the study, particularly explaining that modern marriages seem to be in a state of transition where ideological beliefs are concerned, and that this rate of transition in ideological beliefs from traditional to more egalitarian orientations seems to lag behind the dramatic increase in dual-earning marriages seen today. Ideological beliefs have therefore not changed as rapidly as expected, and often cause confusion and conflict in marriages today. Furthermore, the chapter outlines how married women seem to be undergoing more change than their husbands during this transitional phase, and are therefore experiencing more strain. Family intervention is therefore critical and needs to take these changing roles of spouses into consideration; however, descriptive research concerning these changing roles is lacking.

In Chapter Two, I review the literature on the experiences of women in transitional marriages. Chapter Three describes the research design that I have utilised, as well as my methods and procedures of collecting and analysing the data. In Chapter Four, I present the findings of the study, particularly in light of the study objectives set out above. Lastly, I provide in Chapter Five an overview of the key findings of the study and present final recommendations.



CHAPTER 2

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review below focuses on studies in the field of gender role ideology and the division of labour in households. Concepts such as the increasing rate of female employment, gender role ideology and the impact on the division of household labour, the impact of transitional marriages on women in transitional marriages, and the theoretical framework considered for this study are discussed.

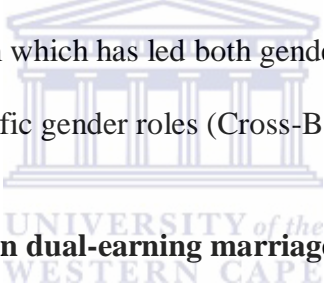
2.1 The rise of the dual-earning marriage

Van de Vijver (2007) and Kulik (2004) hold that Western countries in particular have seen a significant increase in female work participation in the past few decades. According to the United States (US) Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics (2011), more than half (65.4%) of married couples were reported as dual-earner families in 2010. According to data published by The World Bank (2015), the female labour participation rate in South Africa has increased from 39% in 1990, to 44% in 2012. However, this rate is still lower than that of other countries. Recent South African census data document the labour participation rate of women at 51% (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

Most notable is the rise in working mothers with small children. Looking at statistics from the USA (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, as cited in Hochschild & Machung, 2012), the number of working mothers with children under the age of 18 has risen from approximately 50% in 1975 to nearly 75% in 2009. Similarly, 34% of mothers with children aged three years and under comprised part of the labour force in 1975; in 2009, however, this figure had risen to 64%, with three-quarters of these women working full-time (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, as cited in Hochschild & Machung, 2012). For many of these mothers, the workday is also

now longer as the combined weekly work hours of married couples has risen by 20%, from 56 hours a week in 1969 to 67 hours in 2000 (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, as cited in Hochschild & Machung, 2012). According to an American Time Use Survey conducted in 2009 (as cited in Hochschild & Machung, 2012), the average work hours for employed men and women are now fairly similar, with men working an average of 8.3 hours per day and women an average of 7.5 hours.

The rapid increase of female participation in the labour force is the result of both structural and ideological changes within society; structural in the sense that rising inflation, economic pressures, changes in the job market and an increased emphasis on materialism have led to the traditional model of the sole male breadwinner becoming outdated and impractical; and ideological as a result of feminism which has led both genders to question their long-held beliefs regarding gender and specific gender roles (Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010).



2.2 The impact of the increase in dual-earning marriages on the division of household labour

According to economic bargaining theory, as women gain more financial independence and thus bargaining power, it is expected that marriages will follow a more egalitarian approach in the division of labour between spouses, with husbands devoting more time to household tasks and childcare, and women devoting more time to their occupations outside the home (Davis and Greenstein, as cited in Forste & Fox, 2012; Lewin-Epstein and Stier, as cited in Forste & Fox, 2012).

Empirical evidence has confirmed this theory, as women in fulltime paid work seem to be less involved in housework than women who do not work or who work part-time, and double-income couples also show a more egalitarian distribution of tasks at home (Gershuny,

as cited in Domínguez-Folgueras, 2013). However, even though an exchange with regard to domestic duties has taken place between married men and women across countries, this exchange remains unequal (Davis & Greenstein as cited in Domínguez-Folgueras, 2013; Forste & Fox, 2012), with women still doing twice the workload than that by men at home (Bianchi et al., 2000; Bianchi, Casper, & King as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Gregory & Milner (2009); Coltrane as cited in Lavee & Katz, 2002; Milkie et al., 2009).

In one of the first and most prominent studies conducted on gender roles, namely *The Second Shift*, Hochschild (1989) averaged estimates from major studies conducted in the 1960s and 1970s on time use between men and women. These studies included the time spent on paid employment, housework and childcare. She discovered that a significant ‘leisure gap’ existed between married men and women, and that women worked approximately 15 hours longer each week than men. Over a year, women worked an extra month of 24-hour days.

A more recent time allocation study was conducted by Milkie et al. (2009), where it was found that fulltime working mothers with preschool children were still working an extra five hours a week in comparison with working fathers, which translates into an extra one-and-a-half weeks of 24-hour days of work. Almost 20 years later, fulltime working women in transitional marriages therefore still seem to work a ‘second shift’ of domestic and childcare duties after working during the day, even though the length of this ‘shift’ has been reduced by more than 50%. However, when looking at the differences in time spent between part-time working mothers and their fulltime working husbands, a degree of parity was achieved, with women spending 66 hours on total labour, as opposed to their husbands who spent 68 hours on total labour.

Research by Georgas et al. (cited in Van de Vijver, 2007) found that women still do most of the housework in a number of cultures, even in north-west European countries that are more egalitarian in their outlook. A female respondent in a study conducted by Porter (as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010) aptly describes this conundrum: ‘We got equality at work. We really didn't get equality at home.’

Owing to the gender equalities that seem to persist in the domestic sphere (Fernández, Quiroga, Escorial, & Privado, 2014), conducted a recent study to determine the extent to which gender inequality in the home still persists. They found that activities within the domestic sphere in Western societies are largely still gender determined, with women being more likely than men to do activities such as washing, ironing, sewing, cleaning the house, and caring for children and adults, which require more time and are socially less valued (Shelton & John, as cited in Fernández et al., 2014; Wood & Eagly as cited in Fernández et al., 2014). This conclusion confirms earlier findings by Bianchi et al. (2000), where women were shown to do the core traditionally feminine tasks whilst men did more episodic, discretionary tasks at home.

Hochschild & Machung (2012) claim that the time spent by men on tasks at home is largely allocated to childcare as opposed to housework, as the former is the more desirable option of the two. Women devote more time at home to housework and proportionately less time to childcare. Regarding childcare, women are also more likely to spend time on maintenance tasks, for example bathing and feeding their children, whereas men tend to spend more time on enjoyable outings with their children.

However, Milkie et al. (2009) dispute this observation as they found that full-time working mothers have a more favourable ratio of childcare versus other unpaid work (0.46) as

opposed to their husbands (0.39). Furthermore, they found that fulltime working mothers also seemed to spend more time than their husbands on enjoyable childcare activities. For part-time working wives and their husbands, these ratios were more equal.

Bianchi et al. (2012) found that, whilst men did tend to do more housework than they had in 1995, they have shifted to doing more work related to childcare, which is in line with findings by Hochschild & Machung (2012); yet women are still doing 1.9 times more work related to childcare than their husbands.

2.3 Different gender role ideologies and their impact on the division of household labour

According to Kulik (2004), gender role ideology largely determines the roles that each spouse undertakes, and thus how labour is divided within the household. Spence, Helmreich and Sawin (as cited in Scherer & Petrick, 2001) define gender role orientation as the acceptance or rejection of socially appropriate norms for individuals of a specific sex with regard to responsibilities, duties and behavioural rules that they each are expected to assume in particular contexts. It is also defined more simply as the 'beliefs that refer to the general perception of gender roles such as gender-related tasks and power distribution. (Van de Vijver, 2007, p.1.).

The literature largely explores gender role ideology in terms of two ideological groups, namely traditional gender role orientation and egalitarian gender role orientation. A traditional gender role orientation generally refers to a belief that gender roles are separate (Van de Vijver, 2007), and individuals with these beliefs generally accept the societal norms for gender-related behaviour. Women identify strongly with their activities at home, want their husbands to base their identities on work, and want less decision-making power than

their husbands (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). In this ideological framework, women are believed to be responsible for the maintenance of the home (housework, cooking, décor), for child rearing and for the maintenance of relationships, whilst men are expected to generate income and, as a result, are less involved with children (Van de Vijver, 2007; Coleman, 2006). Individuals with this belief system regard any work performed by the man in the household (parenting or housework) as helping to lighten the load of the wife, rather than contributing to an equal partnership (Coleman, 2006).

In contrast, individuals with an egalitarian gender role orientation are generally more prone to reject societal norms for gender-related tasks and power distribution (Brooks, Morgan and Scherer, as cited in Scherer & Petrick, 2001). Individuals who hold egalitarian gender role orientations do not see gender roles as separate (as is the case with traditional gender role orientation) and believe that both man and woman are equally suited for housework, parenting and career (Coleman, 2006). The egalitarian woman wants to identify with the same areas that her husband bases his identity on, and she wants an equal amount of power in the relationship (Hochschild & Machung, 2012).

Both partners will therefore believe that the woman has a right to a career and is allowed to generate part of the family income, and that both parents are equally able to parent children and to sacrifice time from work on their behalf (e.g. to make doctor's appointments, take absence from work when the child is ill, etc.). Fathers in egalitarian households are generally very involved with their children and believe that their parental contributions are just as important as those of their wives (Coleman, 2006).

Hochschild (1989) introduced a third ideological group in her groundbreaking study on working families and how gender roles are revolutionised at home. This ideological group is

referred to as the transitional gender ideology and is described as a variety of gender ideological beliefs that incorporate ideological beliefs from both the traditional and egalitarian groups at either end of the belief spectrum. In contrast to traditional ideology, however, a transitional woman wants to build her identity on her role at work and at home, yet she still believes that her husband should base his identity more on work than she does. A transitional woman would therefore assist her husband in the earning of money, but wants him to focus on earning a living, whereas a transitional man supports the fact that his wife wants to work, but he expects her to do most of the work at home.

The majority of people interviewed in Hochschild's study were transitional in their beliefs (Hochschild, 1989), and this finding was confirmed in more recent work (Belsky & Kelly, as cited in Coleman, 2006; Fernández et al., 2014; Hochschild & Machung, 2012). In an afterword to her original study written more than 20 years later, Hochschild confirms that, whilst men have become more involved in domestic duties and less traditional in their beliefs over the years, many couples still feel that the husband's job should receive preference over his wife's (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Research by Viljoen and Steyn (as cited in Smit, 2002) confirms that South African marriages also seem to be largely transitional in nature as men are still regarded as the head of the household; however, their wives now have more decision-making power than they did in the past.

2.4 The slow change of gender ideological beliefs

Eagly and Wood (as cited in Van de Vijver, 2007) hold that gender role beliefs are mostly attributed to the specific social roles that are performed by men and women in society. Given the dramatic increase in participation of women in the workforce, an equally dramatic change in gender role attitudes from the traditional ideology to the egalitarian ideology has consequently been expected; however, this anticipated change in ideology is lagging behind

that which was forecast (Doucet, 1995; Forste & Fox, 2012). This phenomenon (or lack thereof) seems to be the result of a number of factors.

Firstly, the slow progress in gender role ideology transformation might be attributed to the lengthy process of acculturation (Van de Vijver, 2007). This process is difficult to understand as longitudinal research is often costly and difficult to administer (Van de Vijver, 2007). Nevertheless, studies conducted by Leaper and Valin as well as Rosenthal, Rainieri and Klimdis (as cited in Van de Vijver, 2007) have found that traditional gender beliefs decrease during acculturation. Furthermore, Kranau et al. (as cited in Van de Vijver, 2007) found that more acculturated Mexican-American women held gender-role ideologies that were less traditional than those of their less acculturated female counterparts.

Gender seems to play an important role in the process of gender role ideology transformation, as men continue to hold more traditional beliefs in contrast to their female counterparts (Eagly, Diekmann, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Koenig, as cited in Judge & Livingston, 2008; Larsen & Long, Locke & Richman, Tang & Dion, as cited in Van de Vijver, 2007). This discrepancy in ideology between men and women could be ascribed to the fact that people tend to hold beliefs that are advantageous to the groups with which they identify at the levels of power, status and position that these groups occupy in society (Treas & Widmer, as cited in Judge & Livingston, 2008). Given that men are still predominantly placed at an advantage over women in society, particularly in more patriarchal societies such as that in South Africa, the expectation is then for men to continue to hold beliefs that would maintain their advantage over women, whereas women would begin to integrate beliefs that would improve their current disadvantage in comparison with their male counterparts (Judge & Livingstone, 2008).

The transitional marital arrangement, which predominates in society today, gives support to this viewpoint of the striving toward or maintenance of advantage in society, as the roles of husbands (who have traditionally been at an advantage over women) have changed at a slower pace whilst more dramatic adjustments have been made by wives (who have traditionally been at a disadvantage to their husbands).

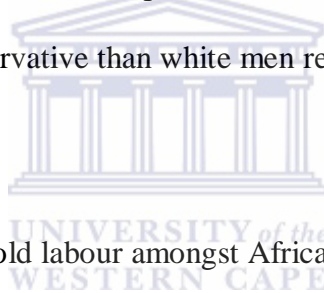
2.5 Other factors that affect gender role ideology

Several other factors, as well, have an effect on gender role ideology formation. Age is a significant determinant; as the younger generation is more upwardly mobile, less traditional, more exposed to mainstream society and more adaptable to societal changes (Van den Vijver, 2007), younger individuals are believed to be more egalitarian in nature. Other factors that predict a more egalitarian outcome are higher levels of both paternal and maternal education (Mason, Czajka, & Arber, as cited in Judge & Livingstone, 2008; Brayfield; Haredsty, & Bokemeier, as cited in Kulik, 2004) and urbanisation (Judge & Livingston, 2008). Several researchers (as cited in Judge & Livingston, 2008) posit that religiosity is associated with a more traditional gender role orientation, as well as being married (Judge & Livingston, 2008). Research (as cited in Kulik, 2004) has also confirmed that having larger families leads to a more traditional orientation.

Race and ethnicity also play a role in gender role ideology formation, and it is particularly important to take note of in a diverse society such as South Africa's. Whilst South African studies are limited in this regard, American studies have shown that African-Americans are more likely to hold egalitarian gender beliefs than white people (Judge & Livingston, 2008), and that African-American women tend to be more likely to view a career as a female ideal as opposed to their white counterparts (De Four & Brown, as cited in Judge & Livingstone, 2008; Epstein, as cited in Judge & Livingstone, 2008), and rates of employment have

historically been higher for African-American women than for their white counterparts (Furdyna, Tucker, & James, as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010). According to various researchers (as cited in Judge & Livingston, 2008), African-American women also tend to be more aware of the existence of gender inequality.

Furthermore, several studies (as cited in Judge & Livingston, 2008) have shown that, whilst African-American women tend to be more egalitarian in their gender role beliefs than African-American men, African-American men are much more liberal than their white male counterparts on various aspects related to gender, for example the roles of women in the workplace. However, other studies (as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010) have found that, whilst African-American men are more positive with regard to female workforce participation, they are more conservative than white men regarding other aspects of gender equality.



Studies on the division of household labour amongst African-American families have therefore produced mixed results, with some studies showing a more egalitarian role division of household tasks in African-American families as opposed to European-American families, and other studies showing that household tasks in African-American families are still very gender-determined (as cited in Van de Vijver, 2007).

In research conducted in a township community and a mixed black and coloured residential area in Western Cape Province, it was found that traditional gender ideologies were mostly present at home, with men being regarded as the heads of the household who make the significant decisions for the family, and that these traditional gender ideologies are endorsed by traditional values, culture and religion (Strebel et al., 2006). However, there was an acknowledgement across groups of men and women that these roles were in fact shifting, as

many women are now breadwinners and heads of households, whilst many men are unemployed. All participants recognised that women now have more power over men in relationships, and some regarded this as detrimental as it undermines traditional beliefs. However, others (both men and women) felt that men now tend to exploit working women as the former become lazy and use their earned income on alcohol and drugs (Strebel et al., 2006). Some men indicated that they feel undermined by women, and consequently marginalised and disempowered in their communities. Men therefore felt ambivalent with regard to changing gender roles and were not particularly egalitarian in their viewpoints.

2.6 The role of societal factors on the ‘stalled’ revolution of gender roles

Hochschild and Machung (2012) refer to the sluggish change in the division of gender roles as the ‘stalled’ revolution, and instead of ascribing this to the slow change in gender ideology, they blame the government for the lack of family-friendly policies in the workplace. In their argument, they compare Norway, the country with the highest rates of child well-being in a 2007 UNESCO report to the United States, where child well-being is ranked 20th out of 21 advanced nations. Both countries enjoy high rates of maternal employment (75% of Norwegian women earn an income), therefore this is not a factor that detracts from child well-being, as is so often thought. However, according to Norwegian policy, parents of new or adopted babies are granted 11 months’ paid leave, and new fathers receive a month’s paid leave exclusive to them, to be forfeited if they decline. Furthermore, parents receive cash benefits if they are unable to place their children at a public day centre; and a working week for both men and women is only 35 hours. Labour policies in Norway are therefore conducive to family life, which means that both men and women can work and raise children effectively, leading to a revolution in the division of gender roles. Sadly, however, labour policies are much more restrictive in many industrialised countries such as

the USA and South Africa, where mothers are granted four months of maternity leave, and fathers only a week of paternity leave. Furthermore, both parents are granted limited sick leave, and the average working week is 45 hours.

Gregory and Milner (2009) point out that egalitarianism is more likely to be achieved in countries such as Norway owing to the fact that labour policies benefit both parents in the marriage and not only women. In many other countries, they argue, benefits are limited to flexi-time arrangements, which are most likely to be taken up by working women. The take-up by men on these offers is limited owing to several factors that constitute the organizational work-life culture, namely organizational time expectations, negative career consequences for taking up such offers, limited manager and co-worker support, and the ‘gendered’ perception of policy use.

Research by Bianchi et al. (2012) confirms that women are more likely than men to reduce their paid work in order to care for children, and that this gendered care-giving slows down the movement to gender equality, particularly in the workplace.

Gregory and Milner (2009) argue that there is a need for collective rights to back up individual choice at work, and that framing these rights in a gender-neutral way, as is done in Scandinavian countries such as Norway, can potentially shift the current gender inequality in a more positive direction.

2.7 Difficulties of the transitional marriage and the impact on working mothers

Coleman (2006) describes how the transitional marriage may practically transpire; husbands want to be more involved and active in the household, yet their wives are still seen as the authorities regarding household management and childcare, even though they work fulltime

outside of the home. Any participation by husbands in these domains is still regarded as helping their wives, and equal participation is therefore not a requirement. Furthermore, wives wish to identify with both the work and family roles; however, husbands are still required to primarily identify with the work role. Wives therefore need to prioritise family over career, and as a result tend to be the ones who take more leave from work to address children's needs.

Transitional women therefore see their role as income provider to the household as secondary, which leads to the maintenance of economic advantages for men and disadvantages for women, even though both genders are now participating equally in the workforce (Judge & Livingstone, 2008). Furthermore, Judge and Livingstone (2008) posit that a transitional role orientation leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy at work whereby the belief that work is more central to a man's identity and therefore he should be paid more, would lead to behaviours that bring about that exact outcome (that men are paid more than women). Unfortunately, by taking more leave for childcare than their male counterparts, women could easily be perceived as being less dedicated to their jobs and more dedicated to their families, which tends to confirm stereotypes of women in general, thus setting a precedent for lower income for all women. To illustrate this dynamic, Coleman (2006) found that, even though the discrepancies between female and male salaries have narrowed dramatically, particularly in the 1980s to 1990s, an earnings gap of at least 20% has nevertheless persisted for the last 20 years.

Several emotional challenges are also experienced by women in transitional marriages. Married women were found to be under immense pressure as they have to balance two roles (work and home), and still spend significantly more time on work, as opposed to their husbands who spend more time on leisure (Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Milkie et al.,

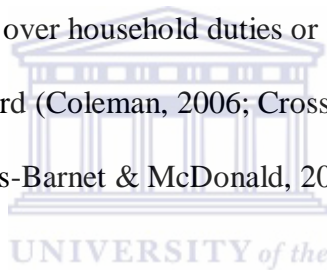
2009). Working mothers therefore often feel emotionally drained and complain of frequently falling ill. However, whilst the majority of mothers in Hochschild's initial study (Hochschild, 1989) indicated that sleep was a scarce commodity, it has now been established that women sleep as long as their husbands do (Milkie et al., 2009). Fulltime working women do sleep less than women working less than fulltime, and may therefore feel deprived in this regard (Milkie et al., 2009).

A number of studies (as cited in Coleman, 2006) have confirmed that women tend to be more depressed when spending more of their time on household tasks and that they are more likely to consider divorce when married to men who are uninvolved with the children and household. Some studies have also found that men who share some of the household tasks report better wellbeing than men who do not take part in housework (Coleman, 2006; Van de Vijver, 2007).

It is particularly noteworthy in the study by Milkie et al. (2009) that fulltime working mothers experience a seven-hour per week leisure deficit compared with their husbands and women working less than fulltime. They therefore spend less time on leisure activities such as exercise, watching television and community activities, which could have a pronounced effect on their mental and physical health.

Furthermore, Mikie et al. (2009) found that mothers working fulltime report having fewer quality connections with their children, laugh less with them and feel less satisfied about how their children are doing. Similarly, husbands of fulltime working mothers also indicated that they less frequently read to, laugh with, and praise their children than do fathers married to part-time working mothers.

Transitional gender beliefs also have implications for the quality of marriages. Whilst a number of studies (as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010) claim that the more ‘collaborative couples’ tend to enjoy stronger emotional connections, more fulfilling sexual experiences and more happiness owing to a reduced financial burden, Coleman (2006) postulates that transitional marriages often have additional challenges as it is more difficult to translate this concept into reality than it is for couples at each end of the ideology spectrum. As a result of the ambivalence inherent in this set of beliefs, married women might be confused by the expectations that are held of them, in comparison with traditional and egalitarian marriages where expectations are very clear. Whilst women in transitional marriages tend to believe that their husbands should be active parents, they may also feel guilty about relinquishing control over household duties or childcare, which could lead to extensive gatekeeping in this regard (Coleman, 2006; Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Allen & Hawkins as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Hochschild, 1989).



Hochschild & Machung (2012) discovered contradictions between people’s professed beliefs about marital roles and how they in fact seemed to feel about these roles. One working mother, as a specific instance, believed that she should love her work and think that it was important, yet she felt strangely dissociated from her successful career and did not think that it mattered. She thus felt a conflict between what she thought she ought to feel and what she actually did feel, and experienced this tension as troubling.

Furthermore, contradictions between people’s ideological beliefs about marital roles and the actions that flow from these beliefs were also noted in a number of studies (Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Hochschild & Machung, 2012; La Rossa and Mulligan La Rossa, 1981), with couples often professing that they were egalitarian in nature, yet their actions were more transitional in nature. For example, a married couple interviewed by Hochschild (Hochschild

& Machung, 2012) eagerly explained that they shared all the housework, yet the wife still cooked meals and was consulted by her husband about the appropriate time to put the baby to bed.

2.8 Theoretical considerations

Social role theory, as initially presented by Eagly in 1987 (as cited in Eagly & Karau, 2002), was used as the theoretical underpinning for the conceptualisation of the present study.

According to social role theory, behavioural differences between genders are the result of differential social roles held by men and women in society (Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, as cited in Harrison & Lynch, 2005). Historically, owing to various pressures (e.g. social and economic pressures), men and women were required to fulfil tasks that were coherent with their physical attributes; men fulfilled tasks requiring speed and physical strength, whereas women, owing to their responsibility for childbearing, tended to perform tasks related to home and family. As a result of this labour specialization, gender roles concerning the characteristics and behaviour expected of both women and men have developed and become more specialised over time, and tended to inform further development of these role qualities by each gender. Men are therefore expected and taught from a young age to fulfil roles reflecting agentic qualities, namely assertiveness and confidence, whereas women are expected to fulfil roles that reflect communal qualities, namely a concern for the welfare of other people (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Wood & Eagly, as cited in Harrison & Lynch, 2005).

Adherence to gender roles is maintained by descriptive and injunctive social norms.

Descriptive norms inform an individual on how similar people behave in specific situations, thus guiding the individual on the appropriate behaviour required, particularly in ambiguous situations (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, as cited in Harrison & Lynch, 2005). Injunctive norms are consensual expectations about what a group of people ought to do and therefore provide

guidelines for behaviours that will elicit disapproval or shame (Cialdini et al., as cited in Harrison & Lynch, 2005). The violation of these norms often elicits surprise in others as well as social disapproval. Deviations from these roles are consequently avoided in order to prevent the emotional discomfort experienced during unpleasant social interactions (Harrison & Lynch, 2005), and social norms are largely maintained accordingly. This social standpoint is illustrated clearly today by the fact that women often feel judged by society as selfish mothers when wanting to identify more with their work, whereas men tend to be regarded as unambitious and less masculine if they want to take more time off from work for the sake of their families. The status quo of the transitional marriage is therefore preserved unless a larger proportion of people in society begin to violate these social rules.

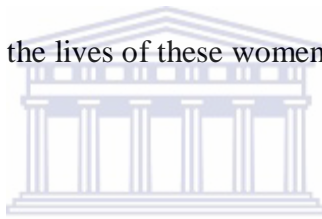
Several researchers hold that gender roles have pervasive effects as stereotypes about men and women are easily and automatically activated (as cited in Eagly & Karau, 2002). This is evident in the fact that, although women now participate in the labour force more readily, they still have a tendency to assume the primary caretaking responsibility in the household (Bianchi et al., 2012; Bianchi et al., 2000) and therefore are seen as less dedicated and are paid lower salaries as a result (Judge & Livingstone, 2008). Furthermore, women are also more drawn towards occupations that focus on caring for others, such as nursing or teaching (Cejka & Eagly, as cited in Diekmann & Schneider, 2010).

CHAPTER 3

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the present study was to gain an understanding of the perceptions and experiences of married women in transitional marriage arrangements. Whilst I acknowledge that the perceptions of both partners in a transitional marriage are important in order to gain an in-depth understanding of this phenomenon, I decided to focus my study particularly on married women with children, as they seem to be subjected to a more significant amount of change and therefore stress. The aim of the study is to gain a detailed account from multiple perspectives, and thus insight into the lives of these women; hence a qualitative research approach was followed.



In the present chapter, I describe the research methodology employed in the study, the participants who took part in the study, the instrument that was used to collect data, and the method of data collection and data analysis.

3.2 Research design

The study was conducted from an interpretive paradigm. Whilst studies conducted from the perspective of positivism (as is the case with most quantitative studies) mainly concentrate on objective facts, the interpretive paradigm is better suited to studies that aim to explore the particular meanings that individuals tend to associate with such facts (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006).

Interpretive research is therefore interested in the way that people make sense of the world as well as the way that they experience events (Willig, 2008). Whereas research conducted from

the framework of positivism often aims to determine objective reality, interpretive research acknowledges the fact that the subjective personal and social experiences of individuals are experienced by them as reality, and that it is therefore equally important to explore and understand their perceptions of their reality. Hence, interpretive researchers do not regard subjectivity as an enemy to the truth, but rather aim to understand and make sense of personal and social realities by applying careful listening and empathy to what respondents tell them (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

The aim of interpretive research is often to gain an understanding of what it is like to experience certain conditions and events (e.g. how it feels, or the meaning one attaches, to being unemployed, being a victim of certain types of trauma, etc.) and is therefore well suited to the present study which aims to gain an understanding of how women in transitional marriages experience the division of housework and childcare according to gender roles. The aim is therefore to focus on the quality and texture of the experience – as opposed to the factors that cause the experience, which is often a focus in positivistic research (Willig, 2008).

Given that the detail of experiences is paramount in gaining a better understanding of the phenomena investigated, data are collected and analysed qualitatively rather than quantitatively. Instead of trying to control and isolate confounding variables, as is often the point of focus in quantitative research, variables are controlled minimally and the power of language as the main medium of expression is harnessed with the aim of acquiring a better understanding of the world that we live in (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

3.3 Participants

A convenience sample of participants was recruited for the study, given the sensitivity of the topic, and the likelihood of respondent drop-out. Research participants were recruited from the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, an area which was easily accessible to me as the researcher.

I approached individuals at corporate organisations that I had been affiliated with through previous working relationships. Individuals who met the sample criteria took part in the study. In turn, these individuals referred me to other potential participants who met the criteria for the sample and who also participated in the study.

The sample size was dictated by the point at which saturation was achieved, and a sample size of eight individuals was found to be sufficient for the study. This number is in line with findings by Terre Blanche et al. (2006) who suggest that six to eight respondents are generally sufficient for a homogenous sample.

The study participants were required to fulfil several criteria to be allowed to participate. The criteria were ascertained by means of a recruitment questionnaire, in which participants indicated Yes or No to the various criteria.

Participants were required to be South African citizens, female, married, between the ages of 30 and 45, have at least one child, live with their husband and at least one child in the same home, and fulfil the additional criteria of the transitional marriage arrangement as outlined in the literature. These criteria were operationalised as follows: the participants had to be employed outside of the home, largely responsible for childcare and maintenance of the home, and largely responsible for taking their children to a doctor when they fell ill.

Participants of the study met all the criteria as outlined above, except for one participant who was not employed by an organisation outside of the home, but ran her own dietetics practice from her own home. She was involved, however, in projects conducted by organisations outside of her home. She worked for the majority of the day and saw clients until late in the afternoon; however, her work day was more flexible than that of the other participants and she was able to structure her own schedule. As her work still encompassed a significant portion of her time, generated a fair amount of household income and was additional to her general home and childcare duties, she still met the criteria for the transitional marriage arrangement and was therefore included in the study.

Another participant was employed part-time at an organisation and worked three days a week, as opposed to the other seven participants who worked every day. Six of the eight participants were employed fulltime at organisations outside of the home.

Even though a representative sample was not required for this study, I endeavoured to recruit a sample that was as racially and culturally diverse as possible. Whilst the majority of the sample were white and Afrikaans speaking, two individuals were black and Xhosa speaking, and one respondent was of coloured ethnicity and spoke both Afrikaans and English at home.

3.4 Data collection

Data were collected by means of in-depth, semi-structured interviews. An interview schedule was used to guide the process of the interviews (see Appendix D) and the following areas were explored: (1) how participants experienced the division of household tasks and childcare; (2) whether they experienced any conflicts between home and work, and how they dealt with these conflicts; (3) whether they experienced differences between their ideological beliefs and practices, and how they coped with these differences; and (4) whether they

perceived differences in their gender role ideological orientation as opposed to the ideological orientation of their spouses.

Semi-structured interviews were selected for this study on the basis that it contains open-ended questions that enable participants to explore and discuss topics freely, thereby generating rich, descriptive data. However, the interview schedule ensured that the interviewing process still remained within certain parameters and that the most important areas as determined by the literature were covered. As new information became apparent throughout the interviewing process, questions were adapted slightly and new questions were added. These changes were made to improve the flow of the interview and the quality of the information that was generated; however, the main areas of exploration as outlined in the interviewing schedule were not adjusted and were covered in every interview.

3.5 Procedures

Data were collected after obtaining ethical clearance from the higher degrees and research committees of the University of the Western Cape. I approached potential participants telephonically or via email to ask them to participate in the study. A brief overview of the study was given, as well as the sampling criteria required. In cases where individuals were interested in participating in the study, an information letter was sent to them, giving a more detailed description of the study, the interviewing process, ethical concerns such as confidentiality, as well as an outline of the rights of the participant. It was further indicated that it would be helpful if interviews were audio-recorded for transcribing; however, recordings would only be made upon consent given by the participant. The potential participants were encouraged to contact me with any questions, should the information on the form not be clear.

Once individuals had read the letter and indicated their willingness to participate, a recruitment questionnaire and a letter of consent was sent to them for completion. On the letter of consent, participants were also asked for their consent to audio-record the interviews. All participants met the recruitment criteria and none of the individuals approached was excluded from the study. A date and place for the interview was then arranged. Interviews were conducted where it was convenient for the participant, and all interviews were conducted by me.

My aim was to set participants at ease in order for them to feel comfortable enough to share as much descriptive information as possible, and therefore the interviews were conducted in an informal, conversational manner. The interviews were conducted face-to-face, in either Afrikaans or English according to the preference of the participant. All participants indicated that they were fluent in these languages, and the use of a translator was therefore not required. Interviews were 45 – 60 minutes in duration on average. All the participants gave their consent for the audio recording of the interviews, which were then transcribed verbatim from these audio recordings.

A few of the respondents became emotional during the interview, and in such cases debriefing took place after the interview to enable the participant to work through any sensitive areas that might have come to the fore during the interviewing process. A referral for further counselling was also offered; however, participants indicated that they did not require such services.

3.6 Data analysis

Interviews were transcribed verbatim, and these documents served as the main source of data for purposes of analysis. Data were analysed using a thematic analysis as described by Braun

and Clarke (2006). The aim of this method is to identify, analyse and report patterns or themes within the data. Data are organised to a minimal extent and described in rich detail. However, the data are also used to interpret various aspects of the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In contrast to other qualitative analytic methods (such as interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), grounded theory and thematic decomposition analysis), thematic analysis is not grounded in any pre-existing analytical framework, hence implying that greater flexibility in the use of data is possible. Thematic analysis can be used within different theoretical frameworks and can be used in various ways. Data analysis can, for example, either follow a realist approach where experiences and the meaning that participants attach to these experiences are reported, or it could follow a constructionist method where these experiences and meanings are examined in light of the range of discourses that operate in society (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, data analysis can also follow more of a contextualist method, where both the way in which individuals make meaning of their experiences are acknowledged, as well as the way that the social context impinges on such realities (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which is the method largely followed in the present study. Thematic analysis can therefore be used both to reflect reality as well as to unravel the surface of reality (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The study analysis was conducted by broadly following the process and phases as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006). As noted by Terre Blanche et al. (2006), interpretive research rarely proceeds in an orderly manner as suggested by step-wise presentations and, similarly, the phases followed during this analysis often overlapped and were not clearly demarcated. Braun and Clarke (2006) also hold that analysis is not a linear

process where one step necessarily leads onto the next; it is more of a recursive process where one moves back and forth as needed, throughout each of the steps.

The first phase entails that the researcher familiarises him or herself with the data. In the present study, I gathered the data myself and had prior analytic thoughts and interests with regard to this field of study. However, in line with the recommendations by Braun and Clarke (2006) that the researcher should be familiar with both the depth and breadth of content, I engaged in repeated reading of the transcripts in an active way; in other words, I actively searched for meanings and patterns in the data which were predominantly directed by the literature. I began to make notes of potential ideas or areas of interest before moving on to the next stage.

The second phase entails the generation of initial codes. This involves the marking of different sections of the data as being instances of the general areas of interest and essentially means that the data are organised into meaningful groups (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, it is important to note that coded data differ from themes which are usually broader and generated in the next phase (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I used a theory-driven and therefore top-down approach, and coded the data around specific research questions. Data were coded manually, in order to identify segments of data, which were then grouped together under code headings. Accounts that departed from the dominant story in the analysis were also coded separately.

Phase three entails the searching for themes and takes place after a long list of codes have been identified for the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The different codes were now collated into broader themes and the relationship between the codes was investigated. Main themes as well as sub-themes were identified according to significance.

Phase four encompasses the reviewing of the themes. During this phase, themes were reviewed and were either broken up into smaller sub-themes, or grouped together to form larger main themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), two stages are inherent to this phase. Firstly, the themes are reviewed at the level of the coded extracts. Collated extracts for each theme are read through again to ensure that they form a coherent pattern. In cases where the data did not seem to fit, the theme had to be reworked or the data were moved to a different theme. Secondly, the themes must be reviewed against the entire data set to ascertain whether the themes are logical in relation to the entire data set. Data that have been missed can now be coded and grouped.

Phase five entails defining and further refining the themes that will be presented for analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this phase, the essence of each theme was identified and elaborated to capture the finer nuances that were not originally captured by the coding system. Braun and Clarke (2006) describe the importance of identifying the main story that each theme tells, as well as the broader story that is told about the data set in relation to the research question, in order to prevent the overlapping of themes. At this stage, themes were also given concise names that tell the reader what the theme is about.

Phase six is the last phase and entails the producing of the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this phase, the themes and data extracts under each theme were written up to give a concise, logical and interesting account of the story that the data tell. Data extracts included in the report were translated into English.

3.7 Validity and rigour

Validity is generally understood as the degree to which the research conclusions are sound, and hence entails, in the case of positivist research, the elimination confounding variables

that might influence the validity of the study (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). However, qualitative researchers have great difficulty in determining validity threats at outset, and prefer to see confounding variables as an integral part of the naturalistic setting. The aim is to determine and describe the impact of these variables, rather than eliminating them entirely (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). Qualitative researchers hold that the credibility of the research findings determine the quality of the study, and the researcher therefore has to apply the required rigour during the research process to ensure that discrepant evidence to the hypothesis is continuously considered (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006).

To ensure validity, the following procedures, as recommended by Cresswell and Miller (2000), were followed during the research process: (1) disconfirming evidence, where data were searched for evidence that confirms or disconfirms the preliminary themes established during the analytical process; and (2) leaving an audit trail, which entails the provision of clear documentation of research decisions and activities to allow validation of the findings.

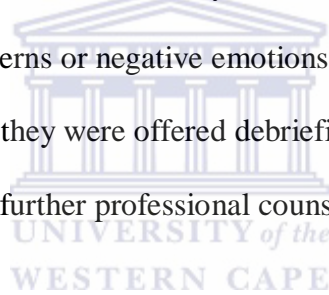
3.8 Ethics

The present study adhered to the ethics considerations for research as stipulated by the University of the Western Cape. Ethical approval was sought and obtained from the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences Higher Degrees Committee of the University of the Western Cape. Data collection commenced only after ethical clearance was obtained.

Participants were fully informed of all aspects of the study by means of an information sheet which was also explained to them verbally. Furthermore, participants were encouraged to ask questions where information was not clear. Participants therefore agreed to take part in the study after fully understanding the aims of the research, the process that was going to be

followed, and their rights during the research process. Those who agreed to participate signed a letter of consent before interviewing commenced. Participants were also asked for their consent to audio-record their interviews and were told that their consent to this aspect was not a prerequisite to participating in the research.

Participants were informed of their rights during the research process, namely not to reply to any questions that made them uncomfortable, and to be able to withdraw from the research at any time without any consequences. Confidentiality was also ensured and was simple to execute as I was the interviewer. Participants were assured that they would remain anonymous and that pseudonyms would be used if required during reporting. Research material was also kept in a safe place to which only I have access, and is password protected. Furthermore, in cases where concerns or negative emotions arose amongst respondents owing to their involvement in the study, they were offered debriefing upon the conclusion of the interview as well as a referral for further professional counselling.



3.9 Reflexivity

When undertaking a qualitative study, the researcher is often the individual who recruits, collects and analyses the data, and is therefore the main instrument through which the entire research process is conducted. It is consequently vital that the role that the researcher plays in creating and interpreting the data is acknowledged. Medved and Turner (2011) describe reflexivity as a process during which critical self-examination is applied by the researcher in relation to his or her research pursuits. They postulate that, for research to be rigorous and worthwhile, it often requires meaningful and at times uncomfortable self-analysis.

In line with this approach, it is important that I consider the implications of my background and current position on the study. Firstly, I became interested in the topic of gender role

division during prior studies and decided to deepen my understanding in this field. It has always fascinated me to see how we as humans are deeply influenced by the societal and cultural status quo, and that we often blindly follow social conventions without questioning them and exploring where they come from.

It is also relevant to note that I grew up in a largely patriarchal society, where my father was the breadwinner and my mother the proverbial housewife. I did not always agree with the levels of participation and division of labour in my household, and hence began to question them.

Lastly, I am a married woman myself, whose marriage takes the form of a typical transitional marital arrangement. I therefore have an understanding of the difficulties inherent to this type of marriage, as I have experienced how difficult it is to change social roles that are imprinted on us through habit and through our cultures. Being in the transitional phase myself, I often found that boundaries and roles between my husband and me became blurred, and thus often required more ongoing communication and negotiation to create a space of safety for both of us.

I believe that my background was advantageous to this study, as I shared many similarities with the participants (female, similar age bracket and working outside of the home). This commonality enabled them to open up to me and share content more freely as they probably felt that they were better understood. Given the common ground that we shared, we could relate to one another easily and often utilised humour to deepen rapport.

The fact that I do not have children as yet could, however, have influenced the study negatively as participants might have felt that they could not relate to me in that respect. To

remedy this possibility, I declared this fact during the interview and maintained an open and interested position, as though I wished to learn from the participant. I also at times noticed negative internal reaction within myself when participants were more traditional and accepting of the status quo, and I had to remain mindful of my reactions and of not advancing my own agenda but remain interested in their viewpoints instead. Lastly, in cases where some of the participants were negatively emotionally affected by their current realities (some of them became tearful during the interview), I also felt a deep sense of sadness for them as well as a sense of guilt for enhancing their awareness on the matter of gender role division, as it seemed to be to their detriment.



CHAPTER 4

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter describes and discusses the results of the study, outlining and discussing the numerous themes that arose from the eight semi-structured interviews conducted with working mothers. The following issues were explored during the interviewing process: (1) how mothers experience the division of housework and childcare at home; (2) whether they experience conflicts between home and work; (3) discrepancies between gender ideological beliefs and practices; and (4) whether they see the gender beliefs as shared between them and their husbands.

The themes have broadly been divided into four central analytical categories, namely (1) The changing reality; (2) Holding on to traditional gender beliefs; (3) Factors preventing the adjustment to reality; and (4) Cultural differences.

4.2 The changing reality

4.2.1 The changing economic reality

Cross-Barnet and McDonald (2010) hold that the increased participation of women in the workforce results from both structural factors (i.e. economic pressures, a higher emphasis on materialism, and change in the structuring of the job market) and ideological changes (a shift towards a more egalitarian gender role ideology).

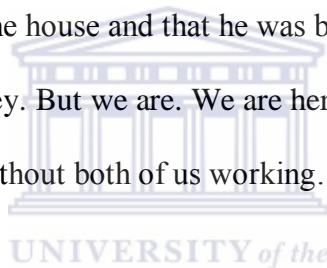
It was therefore interesting and significant to note that the majority of participants (particularly those who work fulltime) indicated that they worked out of home, mostly as a

result of economic pressures (i.e. structural factors) as opposed to the fact that their ideological beliefs are changing.

‘Life outside is expensive, so we must both work to be able to survive with three children.’

‘Yes, we both contribute, because the one can’t work without the other at this stage. If we don’t both earn salaries, we would be getting ourselves into a real predicament. That’s just the way it is.’

‘It would be ideal if he was earning more, definitely a whole lot more maybe... you know, being the head of the house and that he was bringing money and I didn’t have the pressure to bring money. But we are. We are here now and we both realise that we can’t have this lifestyle without both of us working.’



Whilst the majority indicated that they find their jobs satisfying and that they enjoyed working, six of the eight participants (including women who held senior positions at large corporations) indicated that they would prefer working part-time if they had the choice; mainly to be able to look after their children whilst also keeping themselves intellectually stimulated and occupied. They did not indicate that they would actively pursue a career path of interest and therefore did not see their work as an important factor that gave them a sense of purpose and identity. Another interviewee indicated that she would not work at all if she had the choice, and that she would prefer to home-school her child instead. Only one interviewee indicated that she is career driven and that she would prefer to continue working fulltime in a senior position. The majority of participants therefore still regard their work as secondary to their role as mother and keeper of the house, even though they work fulltime.

They also work fulltime, primarily as a result of financial necessity and not because they wish to do so.

‘I was always, always a career woman until I had a child. I was always chasing for the CEO role. And as soon as you get a child, you just mellow down and suddenly it is not so important anymore. It’s about surviving and having time with your child. Because this is someone looking up to you and you are not going to get these years back.’

‘I would be married to the same man, have a bit more kids and have loads and loads of money and be at home with the kids, with a small business that I run to when I need to. That would be my ideal world.’

‘I don’t think I am a stay-at-home mom. Although I like to be at home... but I prefer to work in the morning and then I will look after my children in the afternoon. But I can’t sit at home all day...there is only so much you can do at home. Especially when the bigger kids are at school.’

Conversational extract:

A: I’ll stay at home. I would stay at home. Maybe I will consider the half day thing, because then money would not be an issue.

Q: But if you didn’t get half day? Would you then stay at home?

A: Yes, and pursue other things. I have been interested in interior design. I’ll find out what the home moms are doing each day. Classes maybe.

These views are partly in line with how Hochschild (1989) saw the transitional gender ideology playing out, namely that a transitional woman would assist her husband in the earning of money while still identifying primarily with the home and children; on the other hand, husbands should still identify primarily with work and thereby focus on earning a living. However, for several participants, their financial contributions were so significant that it could no longer be regarded as financial ‘assistance’, and prioritising family and home over work hence becomes more problematic.

Four of the eight participants were earning more than their husbands and were therefore considered as the breadwinners of the household. They therefore experienced a sense of ‘role-switching’ and attributed this to the changing employment equity policies taking effect in the workplace, where women in South Africa often find that they are more employable than men. In the majority of cases, this ‘role switching’ did not occur out of choice, and happened very suddenly as their husbands were retrenched or their businesses closed down.

Sudden ‘role switching’ called for rapid adaptation in the division of labour between partners; however, the participants indicated that they found the change difficult and slow as they did not have time to process it mentally and adapt their ideological viewpoints accordingly. Some still have a yearning for a more traditional arrangement. In most cases, participants described how both they and their husbands have experienced or are still experiencing a profound sense of loss, as reality can no longer play out the way that they imagined or wanted it to be.

‘The economy played out in a way that men now have to start working for themselves. You are now forced to be at home more often, because there just isn’t any work. And you know, one comes to realise that this is a bigger thing. It is a social thing that is busy changing in our social circles. There are more and more instances

where the dad is at home...where the roles are forced to change. And I think it will still take many years before those deeply rooted traditional feelings would disappear. I think men want to be responsible for the household, both financially and emotionally, but that power has been ripped out of their hands by forces out of their control. So the quicker one makes that mind shift that the model of the dad at home who is more involved can work, the easier the transition would be.'

'You know, it is incredibly sad for me that I need to budget for him so that he can spoil me with a dinner or something... I would have wanted for something like that to occur more spontaneously, because he should also contribute a large part of the finances. Things like these irritate me, particularly when I am at a low point spiritually, emotionally and physically ... He also started doubting himself a lot, you know? That whole story. I think we are now at a place where we have accepted the new roles and I think it works well. But we didn't have the luxury to sit and work it out.'

Some participants were better able to adapt than others. One interviewee shared that her husband has not come to terms with this loss yet, and that he continues to hold on to his traditional ideals. His inability to adapt has negative repercussions for her as she now needs to manage a demanding career and most of the work at home.

'He would keep telling me that it would be cool if I didn't have to work. But instead of saying, but let me come and help you at least [laughs]... he would just say that it would have been better if I didn't work. It's like he has this thing in his head that we are still going to get there, and then everything would be okay.'

4.2.2 The changing reality at home

It was interesting to see how the shifting economic reality affected the division of roles at home. The majority of participants indicated that they were still the responsible parties concerning housework and childcare. This would not be surprising, considering the literature indicating that women still perform the bulk of these tasks (Bianchi et al., 2000; Bianchi, Casper & King as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Davis & Greenstein as cited in Domínguez-Folgueras, 2013; Forste & Fox, 2012; Gregory & Milner, 2009; Coltrane as cited in Lavee & Katz, 2002; Milkie et al., 2009).

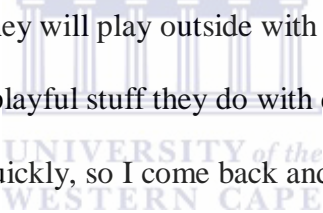
However, upon closer inspection, when asking the participants to list the tasks for which they were responsible as well as the tasks for which their husbands were responsible, it transpired in four of the eight cases that husbands shared a fairly equal amount of household tasks. Two of these participants, who were both women with demanding, senior positions, indicated that their husbands took care of most of the childcare responsibilities.

The other four participants were still responsible for the bulk of the housework and childcare tasks. Two participants indicated that they were unhappy about this arrangement, particularly one woman who is the breadwinner and who still performs most of the tasks. The other two participants were more accepting of the situation. One interviewee indicated that her husband has a demanding job, whilst she only worked part-time; she therefore felt that it was fair that she should do more of the household tasks.

Husbands were more eager to share tasks related to childcare as opposed to housework, which is in line with findings by Hochschild and Machung (2012) and Bianchi et al. (2012); however, in most cases, the bulk of the housework was done by hiring a domestic helper.

Participation in domestic tasks was gendered to some extent, which corresponds with the literature (Fernández et al., 2014), and participants were responsible for cooking, cleaning the bathroom and washing clothes in most cases, whilst their husbands tended more to work in the garden, take out the garbage and repair appliances. However, husbands also often washed dishes, hung up clothes and packed away toys.

Participants were also more likely than their husbands to take their children to a doctor when sick and to give them the required medication; however, this seemed to occur out of choice and not because their husbands did not wish to be involved. Two participants indicated that their husbands were more likely to engage in leisure activities with their children than they were, which is also in line with findings of Hochschild and Machung (2012).



‘On Saturdays mornings they will play outside with the ball, tennis racquet, table tennis and all that. So the playful stuff they do with daddy. I’m also involved, I play with them but I get tired quickly, so I come back and sit down, but going to the park, I’m like, uh-uh, I can’t walk there. It’s fine, I will see you when you get back.’

4.3 Holding on to traditional gender beliefs

It was particularly noteworthy to observe that the majority of participants still harboured fairly traditional gender beliefs, although their realities were beginning to take on a more egalitarian picture. Even in cases where women had switched to becoming the breadwinners, they still believed that they should be the nurturers who look after the home and children and that it was not sufficient to only provide for them financially. When asked what a woman’s role is, one interviewee (who is the breadwinner in her household and holds a lucrative, senior position in a corporate company) summed it up as follows:

‘The nurturer, the emotional nurturer. The one who needs to cook, and this sounds so weird [laughs] but it is. The one who needs to ensure that the basic needs in the household are taken care of. You know, if a child is unhappy, then the mom must be there to console him. If the child is hungry, the mother should ensure that he has something to eat. Not just providing the food on the table. So my ideological viewpoint is still very traditional...yes, yes. Like the dad must go and hunt and bring the buck to a certain point, but to take it and bring it to where the child can eat it is the mother’s job [laughs]. And I know that this is not at all how things are playing out for us currently.’

Another interviewee said:

‘My belief is that a woman’s role is to be submissive to the husband. Bear and take care of the kids, do some of the housework, that’s what I believe that it should be.’

All the participants felt that their husbands should be the ‘head of the house’, which entailed being the protector, spiritual leader, decision maker and provider for the household, even if they (the participants) provided most of the finance in the home.

‘You know, [he should provide] home, roof over your head, ensure that the means are there for food in the house, those types of things. And I think that deep within [X – interviewee’s husband], this is still something that he longs for, because he is a man.’

Most of the women also felt that decisions should be discussed with them, but that husbands have the final say.

‘My husband is the head of the house. This is one belief that I still hold strongly, and just because our roles have sort of switched, it doesn’t mean that he is no longer the head. If he speaks, then it is so, do you understand? Yes, he is pretty much the guy with the last say.’

The participants were unsure about what their husband’s beliefs were, but felt that they probably also held more traditional beliefs as well.

‘So I don’t think it is that he doesn’t want me to work, he enjoys it when he sees that I am mentally stimulated, but it is actually funny, because I can recall that he specifically told me one day he that he wouldn’t have minded if I stayed at home.’

‘He also gets very depressed when it comes to the end of the month and we are struggling... he feels that that responsibility must not be mine.’

‘He feels that he should have achieved more by now... even though he has a senior position in his company, but he feels that he should have had a house by this stage and that we should no longer struggle financially.’

The present study therefore confirms the findings in the literature review where ideological beliefs regarding gender lagged behind societal changes (Doucet, 1995; Forste & Fox, 2012). However, gender differences in gender beliefs (where men tend to hold more traditional beliefs than women), as proposed in the literature (e.g. Eagly, Diekmann, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Koenig as cited in Judge & Livingston, 2008; Larsen & Long, Locke & Richman, Tang & Dion as cited in Van de Vijver, 2007) were not evident in the study as it seemed that women were just as traditional in their viewpoints as their husbands.

According to Eagly's social role theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Wood & Eagly, as cited in Harrison & Lynch, 2005), gender roles have developed over time as a result of labour specialization that has taken place as a result of social and economic pressures. It is therefore understandable that gender role changes will lag behind structural changes, as is evident in the present study.

It is, however, natural to expect that this discrepancy between gender beliefs and the way that it plays out in reality may lead to confusion and conflict between marriage partners. Even though the reality is beginning to look very different, gender roles still have pervasive effects, as stereotypes about men and women are easily and automatically activated (Banaji & Hardin; Banaji, Hardin, & Rothman; Blair & Banaji, as cited in Eagly & Karau, 2002).

‘I think when one is tired, you are physically drained and your energy is low... then you want to reach back to that primal framework that is built into you... you know... and then you get very irritated if you know that the traditional ways are no longer playing out.’

‘Yes, that is a source of internal conflict. You have a deeply settled ideological picture. And your personality is counter to that. The current situation that you are actually happy with is also counter to that... and yet you still feel deeply guilty.’

4.4 Factors preventing adjustment to reality

The discrepancy between the participants' gender role beliefs and the way that they play out in reality seemed to be a significant source of confusion and internal conflict for most of the participants. This finding is in line with the viewpoints of Coleman (2006), who holds that the transitional ideological concept is often more difficult to translate into reality than

ideological concepts on the traditional or egalitarian ends of the spectrum, probably owing to the ambivalence and lack of clarity inherent in this set of beliefs.

Given that the financial contributions of women to the household have grown so significantly, they now find it difficult to live out the transitional ideal where they still need to prioritise home and children over their careers, whilst their husbands primarily identify with work (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). The majority of participants worked more than 45 hours per week, and some performed longer work hours than their husbands did. This is in line with trends in the USA (American Time Use Survey, 2009, as cited in Hochschild & Machung, 2012), where the average work hours for men and women are now almost equal.

A solution to the above problem would therefore be for both marriage partners to discard the transitional mindset in favour of a set of egalitarian gender beliefs, where both partners can identify with work and home, thereby equally dividing the chores of financial provision, domestic chores and childcare. However, it became evident in the research that several factors prevented this transition from occurring. The following sub-themes are explored below, namely (1) the role of guilt (2) the threat of losing one's identity; and (3) the lack of family-friendly policies in the workplace.

4.4.1 The role of guilt

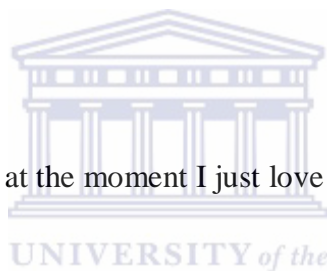
Given that the majority of participants still held traditional gender beliefs, as well as the pervasiveness of traditional beliefs in society, several felt guilty when attempting to identify more with their work, particularly the participants who had fulltime, demanding jobs. They tended to harbour guilt and feelings of selfishness for deriving considerable satisfaction from their jobs and were concerned that they were harming their children by not spending enough time with them. As a result, the majority of participants experienced conflicts between home

and work. One interviewee, for example, had the following to say when asked whether she felt guilty about working:

‘Yes, definitely, definitely. The question “Am I doing enough?” is always there. I don’t think I would be able to do that [be a stay-at-home-mother], but in saying that it is not for me, am I not harming my children? I don’t know, I don’t know, this is the eternal question, do you understand? What is good or bad for them? Is it good for them that I am keeping our family financially strong and that I can provide for their future, whilst still also being able to be a mum when I need to be one or be there for them?’

She added:

‘Does it sound selfish that at the moment I just love my job the way it is?’



Another interviewee felt deeply guilty for enjoying her job more than she enjoyed the chores of child rearing, even though she enjoyed and loved her children. Here she describes how she feels about childcare:

‘I know I need to feel good about it and I should feel like I want to do it... but it is a very difficult thing for me. I don’t completely see myself in that role and it is not something that comes naturally to me. Yes, if I could pay somebody to keep them happy and healthy [laughs] then I would have done it. But this is not how it... they don’t get there by throwing money at the problem.’

She added:

‘Still, if I could choose, I would have another baby. I don’t know what I would do with them once they are here. But yes, these two contradictions are always there.’

As a result of the guilt that they felt, interviewees tended to overcompensate for it in various ways, either by spending more time with their children over weekends at the expense of their marriages, or by taking the sole responsibility for many of the childcare tasks (such as taking leave when their children are sick), often out of choice. By taking more leave from work than men did, they almost strengthen the stereotype of women being less dedicated to their careers than men, and thereby sabotage their careers (Judge & Livingstone, 2008).

‘We already see so little of him [interviewee’s son] that I would rather want to spend time with him. So this month I said to my husband, okay, I hear what you are saying, that you also want us to spend more time together alone, but we can’t always be doing things on our own. It is just not the way it works for me. If you want children, you need to also spend time with them. I told him that we can go out alone one Saturday per month and leave him [their son] with one of our mothers. That day is our day to do stuff, but the rest of the time he must understand that we are not going to go out alone together.’

A: Well, work, they look at you, like, she has a husband, why can’t he be the one taking off, or you can actually tell when they look at you when you come back.

Q: But do you wait for it to get to that point where people look at you funny before asking your husband to do that [take leave]?

A: Well, I don’t know, I think the mommy in me, when they are sick, I jump in first.

‘Ai-jai-jai, because I already have so little time with them [the children], and I remember that when I was small and I didn’t feel well, all I wanted was my mom. Dad tends to think that everything is fine and that it is not so serious... So yes, it just feels like a task for the mother.’

4.4.2 The threat of losing one’s identity

It also became evident in the research that the perceived threat of losing one’s identity is often a major stumbling block in the transition of gender role beliefs from the traditional to the egalitarian. As people tend to build their identities on what they believe, letting go of ingrained traditional beliefs also carries the threat of losing one’s purpose and sense of self. Because of this threat, the majority of participants seemed to struggle to adjust their belief system and appeared to almost stubbornly hold on to it, even though they were aware of the fact that their realities were very different.

This inner conflict could potentially explain the phenomenon noted in half of the interviews where women claimed to be the persons responsible for the bulk of childcare and housework, whilst the actual division of these tasks between them and their spouses was much more equal. One interviewee explained this discrepancy as follows:

‘We keep feeling responsible for the tasks... we feel we remain responsible for the household. To make sure everything... everything must be right.’

‘If you chat to him [interviewee’s husband], he would say it feels as though he is responsible, but in my mind I still see it as my primary role as mother.’

It could therefore be hypothesised that women are fearful of letting go of their traditional responsibilities (even if these responsibilities are primarily based on a felt sense of

responsibility only) as this might imply that they are going to lose their identity as the mother of the house. Even though husbands contributed significantly in half of the cases in the present study, participants still described their husbands as ‘helping’ or ‘assisting’ them, and still saw themselves as the ‘go-to’ persons or task managers in this regard. One of these instances is illustrated below:

‘I would say that I am still the responsible one, but I have now started to delegate a lot more of the chores to my husband.’

One interviewee became particularly emotional and tearful when realising that her husband was taking care of a significant portion of the childcare, even though she contributed most of the finances in the home. She said that she no longer felt as though she had an important role to play in her home, even though she clearly did in terms of her economic contribution.

‘Now I just feel so terribly unimportant... almost like I .. Yes, well, why do they need us? I don’t know? For hugs?’

‘Yes, when I listed everything that he does and what I do... why am I there? What is my role? My list is so short.’

‘If I am no longer here tomorrow, for example, then they are probably going to continue without me much more easily than I would be able to continue without them.’

When pointing out the fact that she was making quite a large contribution towards her household in the form of finances, she had the following to say:

‘Yes, maybe it is because I cannot quantify the money. Because you really just work to survive. It’s not like I have all this money to show for the fact that I am not at home. I am not going to spoil my children by taking them to a resort where we can just have fun.’

Perhaps as a result of the threat of losing their identities, the majority of participants were holding on to beliefs that they were better suited for certain tasks than their husbands were. As a result, they showed the tendency to tenaciously maintain control over certain tasks which has often then lead to extensive gatekeeping and criticism of their husbands’ efforts, as illustrated in the literature (Coleman, 2006; Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Allen & Hawkins as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Hochschild, 1989). In some instances, participants explained that they had to redo tasks as their husbands executed them very poorly; however, this occurred only in a minority of cases. Understandably, these gatekeeping behaviours often lead to marital conflict and tend to keep husbands from getting more involved, which maintains traditional roles in the home. Below are several extracts that illustrate such gatekeeping behaviours:

‘Yeah, because I think mommy would take care of them [the children] better... When they are sick, I will know what they need more then daddy would, because I carried them and I know them better.’

A: I am convinced that I know her [interviewee’s child] better than he [her husband] does [laughs]. So I have the tendency, and I must hold myself back, to tell him when he baths her or puts her nappy on... and he is very involved with her, ‘Don’t bath her so hard.’ or ‘Don’t play puzzles with her like that because she doesn’t understand.’

Q: So how does he react?

A: He hates it. He absolutely hates it and then he will say, ‘I have changed nappies a hundred times before, so stop telling me what I need to be doing.’ [both laughing]

A: I would pack the dishes into the dishwasher because I pack it better than anybody else in the house. So I will pack it, you know?

Q: So if somebody else packs it, do you tend to go and repack all the dishes?

A: Yes. [both laughing]

‘I will only allow myself to do the washing [laughs]. He [interviewee’s husband] wouldn’t even know where to switch on the machine, so it is better for me this way [laughs].’

Q: Did you find that you sometimes, like, butted in, so if he would be busy cooking you would go, ‘No, you must put an onion in or you must do this...?’

A: [laughs] Maybe that’s why he was chasing me out of the kitchen.

Q: [laughs] Did you find that often when he did something like washing, that you would go and redo it?

A: We have that now, because I think he overloads the washing machine and then when it comes out, there’s patches of soap and whatnot... it’s not properly washed, so we had that conversation not so long ago. I was saying, ‘You are overloading it, that’s why it’s not able to wash the stuff properly.’ You know, now that we talk about it, we used to have lots of those issues, but now he is able to take that feedback [laughs].

Q: Okay, so before he would become very angry?

A: He would be, like, but then why don’t you do it yourself if you are going to be telling me?

The extract below aptly illustrates how the threat of losing one's identity of being a mother might be the factor behind the tendency of women to tenaciously maintain responsibility for certain tasks:

Q: Would you say that mums feel that if they let go of too many tasks... that their roles become threatened?

A: As nice as it is for somebody else to completely take over... and do everything perfect... [laughs]... one still feels responsible. So you still feel as though something is being taken away from you. Does this make sense?

4.4.3 The lack of family-friendly policies at the workplace

It became evident in the present study that another factor that frequently prevented a more egalitarian gender role division in the households of participants, was a lack of family-friendly policies at the workplace, which is in line with the argument of Hochschild and Machung (2012). participants described that often they did not receive sufficient family leave to take sick children to the doctor; one respondent stated that she only had three days of family leave allocated to her in a year. Interviewees would often have to use their normal leave (which is also limited, usually to 15 days a year) to fulfil these tasks.

Furthermore, the majority of participants indicated that, even though benefits such as flexi-time and family leave are generally available to employees, they often found that it counted against them in their careers (e.g. that they would not be promoted, etc.) when they chose to utilise these benefits.

‘On paper, yes, I think society does flexi hours for moms and all that, but when you require those flexi hours, you can just sense that people are, like, “You wanted a job, you have signed a 40-hour contract,” knowing that you have kids.’

‘Look, it was difficult, because they [the children] get sick often, particularly when they are small, and eventually people start rolling their eyes if you say, “My child is sick, I can’t come in or I have to go.”’

Some participants (even though in the minority) indicated that they feel men are less able to take up benefits such as flexi-time, which is in line with research by Gregory and Milner (2009), who posit that there is a gendered perception of policy use in the workplace.

‘I think the first thing, they would expect the mother to take the time off, so it’s different when it’s the man. I think they would question it if he took more leave when he asks, he will probably say [X – his wife] has already spent all her leave and she’s not able to take time off.’

Another interviewee indicated that the workplace frequently has additional expectations of their staff outside of normal working hours, and that this often has negative career consequences for a person who refuses to take on these additional responsibilities:

‘People at work sometimes have these expectations. I have had experiences where people think you read your work emails over the weekend, and then they sort of expect you to know about it on a Monday morning. Then I say, “Well, it was weekend and my laptop wasn’t on, so...” If I wanted to become a manager, this kind of thing would count against me.’

Lastly, participants generally found the working hours and the job expectations in society to be extremely demanding, and explained that they experienced particular difficulties when both spouses were subject to these demanding work schedules. Several participants felt that it became a necessity for one of the spouses to take on a less lucrative, part-time job, just to survive and be able to complete the very basic childcare tasks. As a result, two of the participants (those who were working part-time) left their successful corporate positions for part-time jobs. Another two participants argued that this factor was one of the primary considerations in their husbands' decisions to work from home. An egalitarian division of tasks is therefore prevented in this manner as tasks remain specialized, and it appears as though roles are now merely switching between the genders.

‘At my previous job, I worked long hours. Some days I started at 7 a.m. and worked until 8 p.m. I was really in the corporate line of work. It was very difficult and bad. That was also the main reason for me leaving my job. Then I only had the two little ones. It was truly terrible.’

‘It felt like they were growing up without me. There were things that happened at crèche that I was never able to see. When I got home in the evenings, they were already sleeping. Often I woke up, got dressed and never saw them on that day. Then I must put in a day of leave just to pick them up at school and so on. So it was really terrible. Emotionally it was exhausting, and then you are half-irritated as well.’

4.5 Cultural factors

The cultural diversity of participants was limited in the present study, as the sample had a predominance of white participants (five out of eight respondents). Two black respondents and one coloured respondent, however, were included in the sample. Nevertheless, some

cultural differences and factors did make their appearance in the study; however, these should be interpreted with caution.

The persistence of traditional gender beliefs was often explained in terms of cultural factors, and respondents explained that the Afrikaans and African cultures are often perceived as being more traditional. As cultural beliefs are deeply ingrained in individuals, it becomes even more difficult to transition to more egalitarian gender beliefs. Below is an extract from an Afrikaans, white participant as well as a black participant, respectively.

‘It sounds very surreal, but I... us Afrikaans girls have grown up with the notion that women do this and men do that...’

‘Seven years down the line I am OK with it. It was a bit hard when we had gotten married because my thinking was if I cook, you wash the dishes; if I do this then you do that; but it... It’s a cultural thing as well, it doesn’t work that way with our culture...’

Husbands of non-white participants were less involved in household tasks than white husbands, although only marginally so in some instances. They were, however, more responsible for leisure activities with the children, whereas their wives would be more responsible for other childcare activities. The coloured interviewee was unhappy with this arrangement and wanted her husband to be more involved in domestic tasks, whilst the black participants were happy with this arrangement and generally felt that they cannot expect their husbands to do more, owing to cultural reasons.

‘It’s a culture thing... I am the owner of the house and therefore I should oversee things.’

‘I wanted 50-50. I did not get it. My beliefs now are that you are a woman, and your culture dictates this and I am okay with it.’

Black participants indicated that it is quite acceptable in their culture for women to work; however, at home they are still expected to do most of the domestic and childcare chores. This attitude is in line with studies that have found black men to be more positive with regard to female workforce participation, whilst they were more conservative than white men regarding other aspects of gender equality (Blee and Tickamyer, as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Kane, as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010).

‘Our parents have done this, so for example like my mother, she’s a teacher... she’s the breadwinner; my dad doesn’t work, so she travels long distance to get to school. Now she has a car, for a long time she didn’t have a car so she had to rely on public transport. And when she gets home, the expectation is she’s a wife, so she must cook and put food on the table. My dad will sleep all day and my mom must come back and do all those things. So for them it was, “Why are you complaining, it’s always been like this.” But also for my mom, I’ve watched them transition because as soon as we all left the house and it became the two of them, he understands now that she can’t do everything. So the idea is she gets home and she just goes to bed and he has to figure out what she’s going to eat and you know... how things are going to be going. You figure it out when it’s just the two of you, as soon as there’s a third person, like in our case there’s a nanny, then he just detaches from everything.’

Both of the black participants explained that their husbands became more involved over time in their marriages as they started to realise that their wives were unable to work a full day and complete the majority of the tasks at home.

‘I think more especially shortly before, after we got married, he was more, like, it took time for me to teach him that housework is not only for women. Guys can do it too. So I think in his mind then it was you clean, I sit, I wait for my food, I do the garden, I wash anything outside of the house... anything inside you do, even making the bed also... but over the 11 years that we’ve been married, he has learned to actually know, you know, that’s not how things work.’

However, these participants also indicated that they started to lower their own standards and that they became less controlling over the tasks that needed to be completed.

‘I have definitely become less controlling and I’m happier because he has taken on a lot more. Also with the pregnancy and how he saw how much I was struggling. Literally, I would tell him, “Look it’s already too much for me to go to work and then to come back and you expect me to do these things. I am not going to do them.” I would get home and make sure the baby has eaten and sometimes I would not even bother if the baby was bathed or not and I would go straight to bed. And I think through that, he realised that I cannot do everything.’

In both instances, the participants indicated that their husbands were willing to do chores in the home, but that they wanted to do it on their own terms and not be told by their wives how or when to do the chores. It seemed culturally important for black men to maintain their identity as the respected head of the house.

‘He is very flexible. He wants to still hang on to the traditional part. He is okay with losing it but you must make him feel... you musn’t make him do it because then he will say no. So he is very traditional... So *ja*. I don’t know how to put it into words.

But yes, he is that traditional guy that still wants... he still wants to feel he is in control. But also the reality is not like that.'

'And me asking him to actually help with the cleaning would get him very grumpy. Because he's the type of person, he says I know something needs to be done and I would do it at my time. I want things to be done now; the dishes are in the sink now, can we wash them now and get it cleaned now? He will see them and he will say, "I will wash them," and when we have all gone to bed then he will wash them in the evening or something.'

One black participant indicated that the transition to more egalitarian roles is often a private affair, and that roles therefore tend to revert back to the traditional when in the company of other traditional black people. It is important to her husband to be regarded as a respected leader in the company of others. They therefore keep up appearances in this regard, even though the reality at home is quite different.

A: He is traditional and he wants to portray that to his peers. So he always says to me it's so funny when there are people in the house, I am the most respectful wife. But when there is no one and we have to have these conversations, then I become someone else. Maybe I am also aware that when there is people around ...

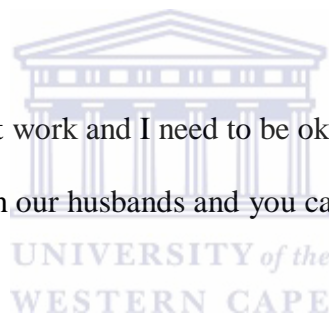
Q: You feel you have to be someone different almost?

A: More I want him to be happy. I don't want to embarrass him. It's more over him than me.

‘When we go down to the Eastern Cape, it’s different. When we go down there, I become the wife that does a, b, c, d... but when we are back here, there is that understanding that whoever is available will go to the pot to cook. I can’t do that when I am in the Eastern Cape. I have to make sure when he walks in there is food.’

Similarly to their white counterparts, non-white participants also held the belief that their husbands should be regarded as the head of the household. However, they were more likely than the white respondents to link this concept to that of the financial provider. Perhaps because of this reason, the majority of non-white participants indicated that their husbands were particularly sensitive about the switching of roles where financial provision was concerned.

‘This 50-50 thing does not work and I need to be okay with that, and the truth is these days we do earn more than our husbands and you cannot be bringing that up in conversations.’



‘Yes, there was a time when I earned much more than he did. And it almost made him feel like he was not the man. I would almost say it took away his dominancy. Not because I made him feel that way... Yes, and he often said to me that he would never allow that I earn more than him again.’

One black participant, however, indicated that her husband was more relaxed about the switching of roles, potentially because he was still respected as the man of the house.

‘My husband has been in a position where he hasn’t worked for about two years and I was the one that was working. We had one child then and then we have gone through that, and he was okay with that because what I did was, he wasn’t less of a man

because he wasn't working or didn't earn as much as I did. To give him the respect as the man of the house, you know, he is my husband and I love you, whether you bring in millions or you don't.'



CHAPTER 5

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The present study aimed to explore the experiences of gender role division by women in transitional marriages. The literature review highlights that female participation in the workforce has increased dramatically, partly owing to structural changes in society and partly owing to ideological changes with regards to gender roles. However, whilst some changes have occurred in the division of labour at home as a result, these changes are taking place rather slowly. Consequently, women are taking especial strain as they work fulltime jobs whilst also being responsible for most of the labour at home. The literature further holds that gender beliefs are therefore still in transition for various reasons, such as acculturation, the maintenance of power, etc. Whilst marriage partners in egalitarian marriages seem to be happier overall, partners in marriages tend to find the arrangement of roles confusing as they have not completely clarified it for themselves yet; this often leads to increased marital conflict.

Given that the majority of marriages are still ‘transitional’ in nature, and that marriage partners, particularly women, experience significant challenges, it was felt to be a worthwhile endeavour to explore the experiences of women in transitional marriages in more depth. This understanding was obtained through semi-structured in-depth interviews with a sample of such women.

Most of the literature focuses on the egalitarian ideal as opposed to the current struggles that are faced in transitional marriages, and an understanding of role division in the South African

context is particularly limited. The aim of the research was therefore to add to the body of literature on gender role division, and it is hoped that in doing so, an improvement in the current experiences of family life in South Africa can be made.

The current chapter aims to provide a synthesis of the central findings of the study. The limitations of the study, as well as recommendations for future research, are discussed.

5.2 Central findings

The study aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of how women in transitional marriages experience gender role division in their homes. In particular, the interviewing process focused on the following aspects: (1) how mothers experience the division of housework and childcare at home; (2) whether they experience conflicts between home and work; (3) discrepancies between gender ideological beliefs and practices; and (4) whether they see the gender beliefs as shared between them and their husbands.

It was interesting to note that women were mainly working for financial reasons, and not because of changing ideological beliefs. This finding was contra to the literature, where it was argued that women participate in the workforce as a result of both structural (economic and societal factors) as well as ideological changes (Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010).

Women indicated that, had they had the choice, they would have preferred part-time jobs, in order to spend more time with their children. They also did not seem interested in following a dedicated career path, and wanted a part-time job merely to generate income and remain occupied or intellectually stimulated. The majority of women in the present study therefore still did not identify primarily with work, even though they were contributing significantly to

the finances in the home. This finding is in line with the transitional gender ideology as outlined by Hochschild and Machung (2012).

Several women indicated that, owing to changes in the economy and the job market, they were now the 'breadwinners' (half of the participants in the study). In many cases, this 'role-switching' from the traditional almost happened overnight as husbands were retrenched, and adjusting to these changes have been found to be particularly challenging for such couples.

In terms of the division of tasks at home, a mixed picture was obtained. Half of the participants were still responsible for most of the labour at home, whilst tasks were shared more equally between wives and husbands in the other four cases. Interestingly, a number of participants claimed to be the responsible person for many of the tasks in the home, whilst their husbands were doing half, or even most, of these tasks. In these cases, participants still regarded their husbands as assisting them, as opposed to taking ownership, for these tasks.

Even though the realities of the participants in the study looked very different from the traditional ways of role division, all of them indicated that they still hold very traditional beliefs. Participants believed that their husbands should be the head of the house (the provider, protector, leader and decision maker), whilst they should primarily look after the home and the children (i.e. take on a more nurturing role). Whilst unsure of their husbands' beliefs in this regard, the majority indicated that they probably also have traditional viewpoints. This discrepancy between beliefs about how roles should be divided and reality seemed to be causing significant internal and marital conflict.

The ideal would therefore be for marriage partners to take on more egalitarian beliefs with regard to gender role division; however, from the research this seemed difficult to attain

owing to a number of factors. As society still holds the view that women should prioritise family over work, the majority of women indicated that they felt guilty when enjoying their jobs and not enjoying the duties of childcare. Several participants were concerned that they were being selfish mothers who harm their children by not being there for them. In consequence, they often overcompensated by spending more time with their children, at the expense of spending valuable time with their husbands. Some working women also felt that they needed to take the sole responsibility for taking their children to the doctor when sick, which affected their careers negatively.

The study also found that women tend to hold on to certain responsibilities, mainly as they fear losing their identity as the mother when handing over too many tasks to their husbands. Even though they have taken on new identities (e.g. co-provider of the house), they were not yet able to see the value of this new identity and still felt a sense of loss of their purpose in the household. To cope with this threat of losing their identity, many participants coped by holding on to beliefs that they were better suited to certain tasks, which lead to extensive gatekeeping, and thus conflict, in their marriages when husbands attempted to do more in the house.

Workplace policies also seemed to be a major factor in the slow transition to egalitarian gender beliefs, as postulated by Hochschild and Machung (2012). Family benefits are limited to a few days of family leave per year and flexi work hours. However, although companies offer these benefits, participants still felt that taking up these offers often had negative consequences for their careers. Family benefits also seemed to be gendered to some participants (albeit a minority of them) as they felt that men were not as able to take up such offers in the workplace; this observation is in line with the literature (Gregory & Milner, 2009). Most of the participants indicated that it was becoming almost impossible for both

partners to have lucrative careers; the demanding work hours and expectations set by the workplace almost necessitated that one spouse takes on a less demanding job, even if it meant that roles should switch and husbands should work from home. The lack of a family-friendly organisational culture and policies therefore maintain the role division at home and prevent the occurrence of task sharing.

Although the cultural diversity of the sample was limited, cultural factors also seemed to play a role. Traditional beliefs seem to be more inherent in Afrikaans and African cultures. Non-white participants were responsible for more of the tasks at home, even if they were working. A black participant said that female workforce participation is regarded as normal in their culture, but that one is still responsible for most of the domestic duties. This statement confirms the literature which postulates that black people are more egalitarian than white people regarding female workforce participation, but that the former were more traditional in other respects (Blee and Tickamyer, as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010; Kane, as cited in Cross-Barnet & McDonald, 2010). Perhaps as a result of the clear cultural expectations made of them, black participants seemed to be more accepting of this situation.

Black participants further claimed that their husbands became more helpful over time as they realised that their wives were no longer able to take on such a significant role at home while working fulltime. However, they stressed the importance of letting go of gatekeeping and control in order to encourage husbands to participate; in the black culture, husbands regard it as disrespectful when being told what to do, and regard it as important to be seen as the respected man of the house. One interviewee also indicated that they often revert back to traditional behaviour when in the presence of other black people, in order to keep up the appearance of the traditional ideal. In two cases (one coloured and one black), participants indicated that men are very sensitive about losing their role as sole provider of the house

(breadwinner); however, another black participant indicated that her husband has a more liberal viewpoint in this regard, as long as he is still respected as the man of the house.

5.3 Limitations of the study

There were several limitations inherent to this study. Even though having a representative sample is not a central aim of qualitative research, the sample could probably have been more diverse culturally. Coloured, black and white English-group respondents were underrepresented in the study. As our cultural frameworks have a large influence on the forming of beliefs, experiences and viewpoints might differ significantly between groups.

That I am a white Afrikaans-speaking person could also have had an influence on my cultural understanding of non-white participants, and these participants might have felt that they were less able to share their true experiences. It might have been more beneficial to employ the help of an interviewer of similar race or culture, in these instances.

Although all participants were working outside of the home, which is in line with the transitional ideology and marriage that the study aimed to understand, the extent to which they have done so differed greatly in the sample and therefore could have affected the results. Two participants were working part-time, and three participants were the main financial providers of their households. It is natural to expect that participants would vary greatly in the way that they experience role division at home, depending on the extent to which they contributed financially.

Lastly, the fact that I do not have children myself could have made me more difficult to relate to as an interviewer. It might have been more beneficial for the interviewer to be a working mother with small children.

5.4 Recommendations for future research

The present study only provided a glimpse into the lives of women in transitional marriages; therefore much research still needs to be conducted to gain a more thorough understanding of changing gender roles in society.

In a diverse country such as South Africa, cultural influences play a major role in gender role transition, and therefore further qualitative research is recommended to gain a thorough understanding of the cultural dynamics at play and the differences between the various groups in the formation of gender roles.

The study alluded to the fact that women vary greatly in the extent to which they contribute to the finances of the home. It will therefore be important to research the effect that the extent of financial provision has on the way that roles are divided at home. Discrepancies between reality and ideological beliefs might be greater for couples where the role of provider has switched, thereby causing greater marital conflict and stress.

As the lack of family-friendly workplace policies for both parents and a supportive organisational culture seemed to be detrimental to a more egalitarian division of roles at home, more research is required to inform new government workforce legislation that hopefully will enhance the lives of families.

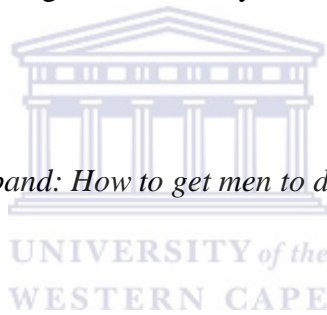
Lastly, as most studies focus on the experiences of the woman regarding the division of labour (probably because of the significant adaptations that occurred in the role of the woman), it becomes necessary to gain an understanding of the experiences of men as well, particularly if research is going to be utilised for the benefit of the whole family. As became evident in the present research, the unequal division of tasks is often maintained by the

woman because of several reasons, and is no longer necessarily the result of oppression by men, as much of the literature suggests.



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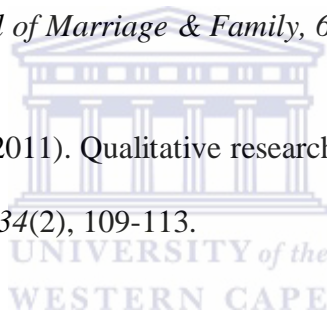
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APPENDIX A: INFORMATION SHEET

Project title: Experiences of gender role assignment by women in transitional marriages

What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Karen Kruger at the University of the Western Cape. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because your participation may provide us with a better understanding of how women experience the assignment of gender roles within the transitional/contemporary marriage. The purpose of this research project is to explore the impact of gender role belief transformation on marriage partners, particularly on married women who are experiencing the most pressure during this transition as they have to work and take care of home and children. It thereby aims to assist in the improvement of marital quality and family life in South Africa.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to provide biographical information via a short recruitment questionnaire, to ascertain that you meet the sample criteria. The questionnaire will take 5 minutes to complete. If we find that you do meet the criteria, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview of approximately 60 minutes. The interview can be conducted at a place that is convenient for you, preferably where you can talk freely. Interviews will be conducted in either English or Afrikaans; whichever language you prefer the most. The interview will take on the format of a discussion. Areas that will be covered during the interview are as follows:

- Experience of division of household tasks
- Experience of division of childcare
- Conflicts between home & work
- Conflicts between ideological beliefs and practices as well as the ideological match between you and your spouse.

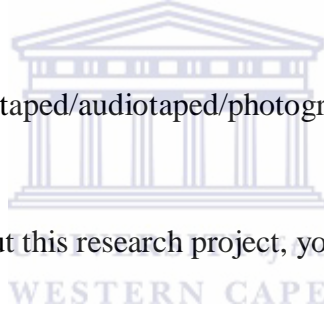
Will my participation in this study be kept confidential?

We will do our best to keep your personal information confidential. To help protect your confidentiality, you will not be required to fill out your actual name on any of the questionnaires or interview guides – you can use a pseudonym (false name) instead. This name will also be used in the final report to protect your identity. Hard copies of questionnaires and interviewing notes will be kept in a locked filing cabinet which is only accessible by the researcher. Electronic data will be password accessible, only to the researcher. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time you wish, without any negative consequences.

This research project involves making audiotapes of our interview, which helps the researcher to be fully present and available to listen during the interview, as she can then go over the information afterwards. Having a copy of the interview also ensures that information is not missed or misinterpreted by the researcher, and valuable themes can be drawn from the audio recording which will then be used during reporting. Please note that only the researcher will have access to these recordings as they will be password protected.

___ I agree to be [videotaped/audiotaped/photographed] during my participation in this study.

___ I do not agree to be [videotaped/audiotaped/photographed] during my participation in this study.



If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible.

In accordance with legal requirements and/or professional standards, we will disclose to the appropriate individuals and/or authorities information that comes to our attention concerning child abuse or neglect or potential harm to you or others.

What are the risks of this research?

Risks from participating in this research study mainly include discomfort around providing private or sensitive information. Should the discussion result in pronounced emotional discomfort or trauma, the researcher will provide references for further counselling to the participant; however, this is deemed unlikely to be the case. There are no other risks associated with participating in this research project. If any of the questions asked during the interview make you feel uncomfortable, you are allowed to refrain from answering it.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about the specific experiences of married women during a time of transition. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of this topic.

Furthermore, the research could be used by professionals to inform effective family and marital interventions, leading to happier families and marriages in society.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits for which you otherwise qualify.

It should be noted that the researcher might terminate participation if she finds that you do not meet the sampling criteria for the study. This will be established by filling in a recruitment questionnaire.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

Should your participation result in pronounced emotional discomfort or trauma, the researcher will provide references for further counselling to you.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Karen Kruger at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Karen Kruger at: 072 327 4094 or karen.dutoit@gmail.com. Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Head of Department: Dr M. Andipatin at (021) 959-2453 or mandipatin@uwc.ac.za

Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences: Professor J. Frantz

University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, Belville, 7535.

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.



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BYLAAG A: VORM TER INLIGTING

Projek Titel: Ervaringe van getroude vroue rondom geslagsrolverdeling binne huwelike in die oorgangsfase.

Waaroor gaan hierdie studie?

Die volgende navorsingsprojek word behartig deur Karen Kruger by die Universiteit van die Wes Kaap. Ons nooi u uit om deel te neem aan hierdie navorsingsprojek omdat u deelname ons 'n beter begrip kan gee van die ervaringe van getroude vroue rondom geslagsrolverdeling in die kontemporere huwelik wat tans in 'n oorgangsfase is. Die doel van die navorsing is om die impak van transformasie in geslagsroloriëntasie op huweliksmaats te verken, veral die impak op die getroude vrou wat op die oomblik die meeste druk ervaar tydens hierdie transisie, aangesien sy nou moet werk en moet omsien na die huis en kinders. Die studie hoop dus om by te dra tot die verbetering in huwelikskwaliteit asook familieleme in Suid Afrika.

Wat sal ek gevra word om te doen indien ek toestemming gee om deel te neem?

U sal gevra word om biografiese inligting te verskaf deur 'n kort werwingsvraeslys in te vul. Die vraeslys sal 5 minute neem om in te vul en die doel daarvan is om te bepaal of u aan die kriteria van die studie voldoen. Indien u wel aan die kriteria voldoen, sal u gevra word om deel te neem aan 'n semi-gestruktureerde onderhoud van ongeveer 60 minute, en 'n afspraak sal met u gemaak word. Die onderhoud sal plaasvind by 'n plek waar u gemaklik voel, verkieslik waar u vrylik kan gesels. Onderhoude sal gevoer word in Afrikaans of Engels, afhangend van watter taal u voorkeur is. Die onderhoud sal die formaat volg van 'n bespreking. Areas wat gedek word tydens die onderhoud is as volg:

- Ervaring met betrekking tot die verdeling van huishoudelike take
- Ervaring met betrekking tot die verdeling van kindersorg
- Konflik ervaar tussen werk en huis
- Konflik tussen ideologiese standpunte en ideologiese praktyke, asook ideologiese passing tussen huweliksvennote.

Sal my deelname in die studie vertroulik gehou word?

Ons sal ons bes doen om u persoonlike inligting vertroulik te hou. Om u te beskerm en vertroulikheid van informasie te verseker, sal dit nie vereis word van u om u regte naam te gee aan die onderhoudvoerder of dit neer te skryf op die vraelys nie. In plaas hiervan, mag u 'n skuilnaam gebruik. Harde kopieë van die vraelyste en onderhoudnotas sal gehou word in 'n liasseer kabinet wat gesluit word en net toeganklik is deur die navorser. Elektroniese data sal beskerm word deur 'n wagwoord waartoe die navorser alleenlik toegang sal hê. U het die reg om enige tyd te onttrek van die studie, sonder enige negatiewe gevolge.

Hierdie navorsingsprojek behels die opname van onderhoude op klankbande, wat die navorser sal help om haar aandag ten volle te bepaal by die onderhoud, aangesien sy nie notas hoef te maak nie en na die tyd 'n rekord het van die onderhoud. Deur 'n kopie van die onderhoud te hê, sal sy ook verseker dat waardevolle inligting nie gemis word nie, dat die inligting nie verkeerd geïnterpreteer word nie en dat waardevolle temas in die data geïdentifiseer word, wat dan gebruik sal word in die finale verslag. Neem asb. kennis dat slegs die navorser toegang gaan hê tot hierdie opnames en dat toegang beskerm sal word deur 'n wagwoord.

___ Ek gee my toestemming vir die opname van my deelname in 'n onderhoud deur middel van 'n klankband.

___ Ek gee nie my toestemming vir die opname van my deelname in 'n onderhoud deur middel van 'n klankband nie.

Indien ons 'n verslag of artikel moet skryf oor hierdie navorsingsprojek, sal ons u identiteit beskerm tot die beste van ons vermoë.

In ooreenstemming met wetgewing en professionele standaarde, sal ons enige inligting rondom kindermishandeling, verwaarlosing en potensiele skade aan uself of ander moet meld aan die relevante individue of instansies.

Wat is die risiko's van hierdie navorsing?

Risiko's rondom u deelname in die studie mag moontlik ongemak insluit aangesien u private en sensitiewe inligting gaan verskaf. Indien die onderhoud lei tot meer geaksentueerde emosionele ongemak en trauma, sal die navorser u verskaf met 'n verwysing na iemand wat u verdere terapie of berading kan gee. Geen ander risiko's word geassosieer met u deelname in hierdie navorsingsprojek nie. Indien enige van die vrae gedurende die onderhoud u ongemaklik laat, is u meer as welkom om dit nie te antwoord nie.

FWat is die voordele van die navorsing?

Die navorsing is nie ontwerp om vir u tot voordeel te strek nie, maar die resultate kan die navorser help om meer te leer van die spesifieke ervaringe van getroude vroue gedurende 'n tydperk van transisie. Ons hoop ander mense in die toekoms daarby voordeel sal trek deur 'n verbeterde begrip van hierdie onderwerp.

Die navorsing kan ook gebruik word deur professionele mense om effektiewe oplossings te vind vir huweliks- en gesinsprobleme, wat sal lei tot gelukkiger gesinne en huwelikke in die gemeenskap.

Moet ek deelneem aan die navorsing en mag ek enige tyd onttrek?

U deelname in die navorsing is totaal en al vrywillig. U mag kies om glad nie deel te neem nie. Indien u besluit om wel deel te neem in die studie, mag u enige tyd onttrek, sonder om gepenaliseer te word daarvoor. Neem asb. kennis dat die navorser u deelname mag stop indien sy vind dat u nie aan die kriteria vir die studie voldoen nie. Die voldoening van kriteria sal bepaal word deur die werwingsvraelys.

Is daar enige hulp beskikbaar indien ek negatief geaffekteer word deur my deelname in die studie?

Indien u deelname lei tot verhoogde emosionele ongemak en trauma, sal die navorser u verskaf met 'n verwysing na 'n opgeleide terapeut wat vir u verdere terapie of berading kan gee.

Wat moet ek doen as ek vrae het?

Die navorsing word uitgevoer deur Karen Kruger van die Universiteit van die Wes Kaap. Indien u enige navrae het rondom die studie, kontak asb. vir Karen Kruger by 072 327 4094 of by karen.dutoit@gmail.com. Sou u enige verdere vrae hê rondom die studie en u reg as 'n deelnemer in die navorsingsprojek, of sou u enige probleme ervaar tydens die navorsing wil rapporteer, kontak gerus:

Hoof van die Departement: Dr M. Andipatin by (021) 959-2453 of mandipatin@uwc.ac.za.

Dekaan van die Fakulteit van Gemeenskap en Gesondheidsdienste: Professor J. Frantz

Universiteit van die Wes Kaap, Privaatsak X17, Belville, 7535.

Hierdie navorsing is goedgekeur deur die Universiteit van die Wes Kaap se Senaat Navorsingskomitee en Etiëkkomitee.



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Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

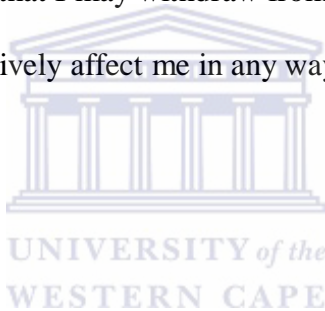
Tel: +27 21-959, Fax: 27 21-959

E-mail: karen.dutoit@gmail.com

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Experiences of gender role assignment by women in transitional marriages.

The study has been described to me in language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect me in any way.



Participant's name.....

Participant's signature.....

Witness.....

Date.....

Should you have any questions regarding this study or wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact the study coordinator:

Study coordinator's name: Karen Kruger

University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, Belville 7535

Cell: 072 327 4094

Email: karen.dutoit@gmail.com





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Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

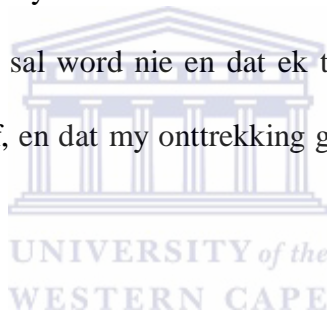
Tel: +27 21-959, Fax: 27 21-959

E-mail: karen.dutoit@gmail.com

BYLAAG B: VERLENING VAN TOESTEMMING

Titel van navorsingsprojek: Ervaringe van getroude vroue rondom geslagsrolverdeling binne huwelike in die oorgangsfase.

Hierdie studie is aan my beskryf in 'n taal wat ek verstaan en ek stem vrylik en vrywilliglik in om deel te neem aan die studie. My vrae rondom die studie is beantwoord. Ek verstaan dat my identiteit nie bekend gemaak sal word nie en dat ek ten enige tyd mag onttrek van die studie sonder om redes te verskaf, en dat my onttrekking geen negatiewe effek op my sal hê nie.



Deelnemer se naam.....

Deelnemer se handtekening.....

Getuie.....

Datum.....

Indien u enige vrae het rondom hierdie studie of enige probleme wat u ervaar het in verband met die studie wil rapporteer, kontak asb. die studie koördineerder:

Studie koördineerder se naam: Karen Kruger

Universiteit van die Wes Kaap, Privaatsak X17, Belville 7535

Selfoonnommer: 072 327 4094

Epos: karen.dutoit@gmail.com





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APPENDIX C: RECRUITMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill out the following in the space provided:

	Yes	No
I am a South African citizen.		
I am female.		
My age falls into the 30 - 45 age bracket.		
I live in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town.		
I am married and live with my husband.		
I have at least one child who lives in the home.		
I am employed outside of the home.		
When my child/children are sick, I am generally responsible for taking them to the doctor.		
I am largely responsible for childcare and housework within my household.		

If you have answered No to any of the above statements, please refrain from answering any further questions. Participants of this study have to answer Yes to all of the above statements.

Thank you for your participation.



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BYLAAG C: WERWINGSVRAELYS

Vul asseblief die volgende inligting in in die spasies soos uitgelê:

	Ja	Nee
Ek is 'n Suid-Afrikaanse burger.		
Ek is 'n vrou		
My ouderdom val in die 30 - 45 ouderdomskategorie.		
Ek woon in die Noordelike Voorstede van Kaapstad.		
Ek is getroud en woon tans saam met my man.		
Ek het ten minste een kind wat tans saam met ons in die huis woon.		
Ek is tans in diens geneem en werk buite die huis		
Wanneer my kind of kinders siek is, is ek gewoonlik verantwoordelik daarvoor om hom/haar/hulle dokter toe te neem.		
Ek is grotendeels verantwoordelik vir huiswerk en kindersorg binne my huishouding.		

Indien u Nee geantwoord het op enige van die bogenoemde stellings, vra u ons asseblief om geen verdere vrae te antwoord nie. Deelnemers aan hierdie studie moet Ja antwoord op al die bogenoemde stellings.

Dankie vir u deelname.



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 Tel: +27 21-959, Fax: 27 21-959
 E-mail: karen.dutoit@gmail.com

APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Name of Interviewer:

.....

Name of interviewee:

.....

Date of interview:

.....

Place of interview:

.....



Topic	Questions
Experience of division of household tasks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who in your home would you say is responsible for housework? • How do you feel about this arrangement? • How do you feel about housework? Are there any nice things about it? Any things that you dislike about housework? • Do you have other domestic help in the house? How much housework does she handle? Who manages her? Are there things that you still do yourself? • What would you typically do in the house on a normal day? When do you do this work? How do you feel about this? • How involved is your husband in housework? What tasks does he get involved in? How do you feel about his level of involvement? Are you happy with the way things are or would you like it to change? • Do you find yourself often re-doing tasks that your husband has done? Tell me a bit about that?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you and your husband have conflicts over housework sometimes? How do you resolve these?
Experience of division of childcare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who in your home would you say is mainly responsible for looking after the children? • How do you feel about this arrangement? • Are there things that you enjoy about looking after your children? • Are there things that you dislike about looking after your children? • What tasks involving the children do you do on a typical day? Is this easy for you to handle or difficult? Is there something that you would like to change? • What is your husband's involvement with the children? What would he normally do when it comes to the children? Are you happy with his level of involvement or would you like it to change? • If the children are sick, who takes them to the doctor or stays at home to care for them? • Does this person have to take leave from work? How easy is this to do? Are there repercussions at work when you do take leave for the children? • Who does homework with the children? Are you happy with this? • Who do your child/children stay with while you work? How do you feel about this?
Conflicts between home & work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you see work and family – is one more important than the other, or are both equally important? • How do you handle both? Are there some times where you feel it is difficult? • Do you feel that your work and family sometimes interfere with one another? Tell me a bit more about that? • Do you enjoy your job? Tell me what do you enjoy? How would you feel about staying at home permanently? • How do you feel about being a working mom? • How does your husband feel about you working?
Conflicts between ideological beliefs and practices as well as ideological match-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you believe is a woman's role in marriage and home? • What is a man's role in marriage and home? • What do you think your husband believes? • You have just told me how you believe it should be and how your husband believes it should be...what does reality look like in your home? • What is it like for you to live this way? • How do you and your husband negotiate if there are differences in the way that you see these things? • Imagine that you could have things just the way you want them in your marriage and home. Describe the picture to me?



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BYLAAG D: SEMI-GESTRUKTUREERDE ONDERHOUDSGIDS

Naam van onderhoudvoerder:

.....

Naam van onderhoud deelnemer:

.....

Datum van onderhoud:

.....

Plek van onderhoud:

.....



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Onderwerp	Vrae
Ervaring met betrekking tot die verdeling van huishoudelike take	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Na u mening, wie in u huis is grotendeels verantwoordelik vir huiswerk? • Hoe voel u oor hierdie reëling? • Hoe voel u tans oor huiswerk? Is daar positiewe aspekte vir u rondom huiswerk? Is daar enige negatiewe aspekte wat u rondom huiswerk ervaar? • Het u enige huishoudelike hulp in die huis? Hoeveel van die huiswerk hanteer sy? Wie bestuur die huishoudster? Is daar dinge wat u steeds self hanteer? • Watter take in die huis sou u tipies verrig op 'n normale dag? Wanneer doen u hierdie werk? Hoe voel u hieroor? • Hoe betrokke is u eggenoot met die huiswerk? Watter take raak hy by betrokke? Hoe voel u oor sy vlak van betrokkenheid? Is u gelukkig met die manier wat dinge nou is of sou u dit graag wou verander? • Vind u dat u take dikwels moet oordoen nadat u eggenoot klaar is daarmee? Vertel my 'n bietjie meer hiervan? • Ervaar u en u eggenoot somtyds konflik rondom huiswerk? Hoe los julle hierdie geskille op?

<p>Ervaring met betrekking tot die verdeling van kindersorg</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Na u mening, wie in u huis is grotendeels verantwoordelik vir kindersorg? • Hoe voel u oor hierdie reëling? • Is daar dinge wat u geniet rondom kindersorg? • Is daar enige negatiewe aspekte rondom kindersorg? • Watter take rondom kindersorg sou u tipies verrig op 'n normale dag? Is dit maklik of moeilik om te hanteer? Is daar iets wat u sal wil verander? • Hoe betrokke is u eggenoot by die kind/kinders? Wat sou hy normaalweg doen wanneer dit by die kinders kom? Is u gelukkig met sy vlak van betrokkenheid of sou u dit wil verander? • Indien u kind of kinders siek word, wie sal hulle normaalweg na die dokter toe neem of by die huis bly om vir die kind of kinders te sorg? • Moet hierdie persoon verlov neem? Hoe maklik is dit vir die persoon om verlov in te sit vir kindersorg? Is daar enige gevolge wanneer die persoon verlov neem vir kindersorg? • Wie doen huiswerk saam met die kinders? Is u gelukkig hiermee? • Wie kyk na u kind/kinders terwyl u werk? Hoe voel u hieroor?
<p>Konflik ervaar tussen werk en huis</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hoe sien u werk en familie – is die een meer belangrik as die ander of is beide ewe belangrik? • Hoe hanteer u beide? Is daar tye wat u ervaar dit is moeilik? • Voel u dat u werk en familie somtyds inmeng met mekaar? Vertel my meer daarvan? • Geniet u u werk? Vertel my watter aspekte geniet u? Hoe sou u voel daarvoor om permanent tuis te wees? • Hoe voel u daarvoor om 'n werkende ma te wees? • Hoe voel u eggenoot oor die feit dat u werk?
<p>Konflik tussen ideologiese standpunte en ideologiese praktyke, asook ideologiese passing tussen huweliksvennote</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wat glo u is 'n vrou se rol in 'n huwelik en in die huis? • Wat is 'n man se rol in die huwelik en in die huis? • Wat dink u is u eggenoot se standpunte rondom hierdie rolle? • U het my pas vertel wat u en u eggenoot se standpunte is rondom rolle van man en vrou in die huwelik en huis – hoe lyk die realiteit in u huishouding? • Hoe ervaar u hierdie lewenswyse? • Hoe onderhandel u met u eggenoot as julle verskil ten opsigte van hoe julle dinge sien in hierdie verband? • Verbeel u dat u dinge kan he net soos u wil in u huwelik en by die huis. Beskryf hierdie prentjie aan my?