

**The Subjective Well-Being
and Experience of Life Roles
of White Employed Married Mothers**

A multiple case study

by

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Abstract

The number of women who choose to combine careers and traditional roles as mothers has been increasing steadily over the last number of years. As a result, the subjective well-being of these women has been the focus of many research projects over the last number of years. Subjective well-being has been defined in various ways by different authors. One definition describes subjective well-being as people's evaluations of their lives, which includes happiness, pleasant emotions, life satisfaction, and a relative absence of unpleasant moods and emotions. The current study, which took the form of a multiple case study, attempted to explore and describe White employed married mothers' subjective experience of their well-being. The study also explored these women's experiences of combining the roles of employee and motherhood. The sample was obtained through the snowballing technique, and both qualitative (in-depth interviews) and quantitative techniques (two questionnaires - the Satisfaction with Life Scale and the Beck Depression Inventory) were utilized. The analysis of the data that was gathered was done by means of thematic and content analyses.

Key words: subjective well-being, life roles, White married employed mothers.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter provides a general orientation to the present study. The need for this research is outlined and a concise theoretical overview is presented. Thereafter, the aims of the study are discussed. The chapter concludes with a description of the chapters that follow.

1.2 Need and rationale for the research

Research and related literature have indicated a tremendous need for continued research in gender related topics. The number of women who choose to combine careers and traditional roles as mothers has been increasing steadily over the last number of years. Repetti and Crouter (2000) reported that the years between 1970 and 1990 saw a steady increase in the growth of women's labour force participation and that an ever-growing proportion of these working women are women with children. Lewis and Cooper (1989) argued that, although the concept of working wives was not a new phenomenon, a "quiet revolution" (p. 2) had taken place during the previous two decades with more and more women pursuing full-time careers.

In 1971, the term "dual-career family" was first coined by Rapoport and Rapoport in their research on this emerging new trend. They used this term to describe families in which both heads of the household pursued a professional career, whilst maintaining a family relationship. Wilkie (1991) found that, amongst the majority of married couples in the 1990's, husbands were no longer the sole breadwinners. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1998), 62.1% of married-couple families had both husband and wife in the labour force (see table I). No similar figures are currently available for the South Africa population. The above-mentioned and other research have thus shown that the dual-earner couple is an important population to understand in its own right.

Table 1

Percentage of married U.S.A. women in the labour force (1998) (ages 16 & over, all races)

Indicator	1980	1985	1990	1995	1998
All women	50.1	54.2	58.2	61.1	62.1
Women with children under 6 years	45.1	53.4	58.9	63.5	63.6
Women with children 6 - 17 years	61.7	67.8	73.6	76.2	77.6

The results of the various research studies on working mothers' subjective well-being have been contradictory. Some studies (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987; Warr & Parry, 1982) have shown that married women with families, who are also employed outside

of the home on a full-time paid basis, often experience "role overload"; this impacts negatively on their subjective well-being, when compared to mothers who are not employed outside of the home.

On the other hand, many studies have found more advantages than disadvantages for mothers who are also employed. Certain studies have shown that the additional work role can serve as a protective factor against depression and other psychological problems, and thus adds to women's subjective well-being (Thoits, 1986; Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Froberg, Gjerdingen, & Preston, 1987; Niven & Carroll, 1992).

The present research was grounded on two theoretical perspectives, the scarcity hypothesis and the expansion hypothesis. The scarcity hypothesis emphasises energy limitations and role strain (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987; Bielby & Bielby, 1989) while the expansion hypothesis focuses on gratification derived from accumulating diverse roles (Rosenfield, 1989; Wethington & Kessler, 1989).

In South Africa, Heald (1985) conducted research to establish whether there was a difference in the psychosocial consequences of employment (job satisfaction, role conflict, self-concept and child-rearing practices) between professionally employed working mothers of the various ethnic groups in the country. Results of the study showed that clear differences in the psychosocial consequences of employment did indeed exist amongst Black, Coloured and White (English- and Afrikaans-speaking) professionally employed

mothers. For example, two differences which Heald found were:

- White English-speaking professionally employed working mothers experienced higher levels of job satisfaction than either their Coloured or Black counterparts;
- Coloured professionally employed mothers reported higher levels of spouse involvement in childrearing activities, in comparison with their White English-speaking and Black counterparts.

For this reason, the present study attempted to explore in greater detail the subjective well-being of only one ethnic group - that of White, married, employed mothers.

In their research on the relationship between gender and the work-family balancing act, Milkie and Peltola (1999) found that even though women generally felt fairly successful at balancing their two roles in paid work and family life, they still felt overburdened; this was found to have a negative effect on their overall feeling of well-being. These researchers felt that the reasons for this may be an important area for further research.

1.3 Objectives of the research

The primary aim of the research undertaken in this study was to explore and describe the subjective well-being of White, employed, married mothers. More

specifically, this entailed explaining how the female participants experienced their combined life roles of employee and mother, and the effect that this was having on their lives. This included their perception of both the benefits and disadvantages of combining the two roles, and their experience of specific factors which they felt made combining the two roles easier or more difficult.

1.4 Outline of the study

Chapter 1 introduces the present study and provides the necessary contextual background against which the research was conducted. The need and the rationale for the research are motivated, and the objectives of the study are also discussed. The chapter concludes with an outline of the study.

In Chapter 2, the focus is on the topic of subjective well-being. Definitions of subjective well-being are provided, as is a literature review relating to the general topic of subjective well-being, the subjective well-being of working women as well as the subjective well-being of South African working women. The chapter concludes with variables which may influence individuals' subjective well-being.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of working mothers and their roles. The chapter looks at various aspects of working mothers' roles, such as role conflict, the influence of role commitment, the context of roles, the influence of time spent in roles and factors which

add to the subjective stress of women in dual roles of mother and employee. Strategies applied by women to achieve a balance when performing their multiple roles are also discussed.

Chapter 4 provides the necessary contextual background against which the research was conducted. Two hypotheses are discussed - the expansion hypothesis and the scarcity hypothesis. Criticism of both hypotheses is also provided. The chapter concludes with a short discussion on a third hypothesis which was first mentioned in literature in November 2001, that of the expansionist theory.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the research process which includes the problem statement, the research design, the pilot study, participants and sampling, measures used in the collection of data, the procedure for data collection, and the data analysis process.

Chapter 6 presents the results obtained from the study, as well as a discussion of these results.

Finally, Chapter 7 provides conclusions to the present study and examines the limitations of the study. Recommendations for future research studies in the field are also provided.

1.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, a brief theoretical overview has been given of the fields under investigation, namely that of the subjective well-being and experience of roles of working mothers. A brief outline of the chapters was provided. The following chapter will focus on the concept of subjective well-being.

Chapter 2

Subjective well-being

2.1 Introduction

In 1967, Wilson produced a broad review of subjective well-being research entitled "Correlates of Avowed Happiness." In the more than three decades since this publication, the literature on subjective well-being has increased substantially. A number of different terms have been used to describe well-being, including life satisfaction, subjective well-being, quality of life and happiness (Strack, Argyle, & Swarz, 1991). More recent research has focused their interest on understanding the processes that underlie happiness, instead of merely describing the demographic characteristics that correlate with people's subjective well-being.

2.2 Definition of subjective well-being

Subjective well-being has been defined by various authors in different ways. Leafgren (1986) said that "emotional wellness includes the degree to which one feels positive and enthusiastic about oneself and life. It includes the capacity to manage one's feelings and related behaviours including the realistic assessment of one's limitations, development of autonomy and ability to cope effectively with stress. The emotionally well

person maintains satisfying relationships with others." (p. 4). According to Argyle and Martin (1991) and Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985), subjective well-being consisted of three dimensions: life satisfaction, which was a person's cognitive interpretation of his/her quality of life; happiness, which was a positive emotion; and the absence of unhappiness, which was a negatively based affect. Diener and Biswas-Diener (2000) argued that subjective well-being represented people's evaluations of their lives and included happiness, pleasant emotions, life satisfaction and a relative absence of unpleasant moods and emotions. These researchers held that we thus gauged a person's evaluation of his or her life by his or her cognitive and emotional reactions. They found that subjective well-being was increasingly important in a democratic world in which people should be allowed to live fulfilling lives as evaluated by themselves, not simply as judged by policy makers, autocrats or experts. They further maintained that, in western nations such as the U.S.A., high levels of positive emotions appeared to be related to many good outcomes, for instance, better health, less divorce, less job turnover, greater work productivity and more responsible behaviour at work.

Diener, Suh, Lucas and Smith (1999) stated that subjective well-being was a broad category of phenomena that included people's emotional responses, domain satisfactions and global judgments of life satisfactions. They argued for the inclusion of both affective reactions to and cognitive evaluations of the individual's life.

The following table represents the components of subjective well-being, as argued for by Diener et al. (1999).

Table 2

Components of Subjective Well-Being (Subjective well-being: Three decades of Progress, 1999)

Pleasant affect	Unpleasant affect	Life satisfaction	Domain satisfaction
Joy	Guilt and shame	Desire to change life	Work
Elation	Sadness	Satisfaction with current life	Family
Contentment	Anxiety and worry	Satisfaction with past	Leisure
Pride	Anger	Satisfaction with future	Health
Affection	Stress	Significant others' views of one's life	Finances
Happiness	Depression		Self
Ecstasy	Envy		One's group

2.3 Theoretical overview of subjective well-being

In the earliest studies in the field of subjective well-being, researchers obtained simple happiness and satisfaction measures from various groups of respondents and then described the average levels of subjective well-being of these groups, according to Diener and Biswas-Diener (2000). This work was descriptive and did not shed light on the psychological processes that controlled subjective well-being. The happiness level of various groups was simply described as an average score on a simple one-item measure and sometimes hypotheses were proposed after the study of why groups scored as they did.

In 1967, Wilson wrote the first broad review of the area of subjective well-being and summarized the descriptive research up to that point. He wrote that the happy person was a "young, healthy, well-educated, well-paid, extroverted, optimistic, worry-free, religious, married person with high self-esteem, job morale, modest aspirations, of either sex and of a wide range of intelligence." (p. 294). In addition, initial research was based on simple satisfaction and happiness measures with unknown validity and reliability. For this reason, Wilson referred to his conclusions in terms of avowed happiness rather than actual subjective well-being.

Research done in 1999 by Diener et al. discussed modern theories of subjective well-being that stressed dispositional influences, adaptation, goals and coping strategies.

These researchers argued that, although some of Wilson's (1967) conclusions referred to earlier, had stood the test of time, others had since been overturned by more recent research. For example, they mentioned that youth and modest aspirations were no longer seen as prerequisites of subjective well-being. They argued that in just over three decades since Wilson's review, investigations into subjective well-being had evolved. Although researchers now know significantly more about the correlates of subjective well-being, they are less interested in simply describing the demographic characteristics that correlate with it. Instead, the focus has changed to understanding the processes that underlie happiness. This trend represents a greater recognition of the important role which people's goals, coping efforts and dispositions play in their subjective well-being.

Diener et al. (1999) stated that the growth in the field of subjective well-being reflected larger societal trends. These incorporated the value of the individual, the importance of subjective views in evaluating life and the recognition that well-being included positive elements that transcended economic prosperity. The latter-mentioned researchers argued that the development of the scientific study of subjective well-being was partly as a reaction to the overwhelming emphasis in psychology on negative states. In addition, researchers in subjective well-being believe that social indicators alone, as described by Wilson in 1967, do not define quality of life (Diener & Suh, 1997). Different people react differently to the same circumstances, and their evaluation of the conditions in their lives is based on their unique expectations, values and previous experiences.

2.4 Review of literature on women's subjective well-being

Even though much research has focused on topics related to balancing work and family and subsequent role conflicts, not many researchers have attempted to investigate women's subjective feelings about managing work and family (Greif, DeMaris, & Hood, 1993; Simon, 1992).

The results of studies on working mothers' subjective well-being have been contradictory. Some studies (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987; Warr & Parry, 1982) reported that married mothers experienced stress and depression, which impacted negatively upon their subjective well-being, when compared to mothers who were not employed outside of the home. Crouter, Bumpus, Maguire and McHale (1999) found that mothers who described greater pressure at work also reported greater role overload and a feeling of being overwhelmed by multiple commitments; this led to a decreased sense of overall well-being. Various researchers (Gerstel & Gallagher, 1993; Guelzow, Bird, & Koball, 1991; Paden & Buehler, 1995) all found that those participants in their study who reported more conflict and overload due to the combination of work and family roles, tended to also describe more emotional distress.

Other studies (Barnett, 1994; Barnett & Rivers, 1996; Wethington & Kessler, 1989) found many positive effects of employment on mothers' subjective well-being. In 1988, Pietromonaco, Manis and Frohardt-Lane reported that carrying multiple roles could

enhance employed mothers' psychological well-being. Piechowski (1992) stated that those working mothers who experienced their additional work role as positive, often found the greater degree of control and decision latitude which came with being employed, to be the overriding factor in their perception of the positive impact that work had on their lives.

Marks and MacDermid (1996), in their theory of role balance, argued that people who had well-balanced role systems had higher levels of well-being. They defined a well-balanced role system as full engagement in and enjoyment of all roles. They further maintained that these women who had well-balanced role systems were not necessarily those who worked fewer hours, but had higher levels of self-esteem and lower depression levels.

Crosby and Jaskar (1993) stated that women tended to compare their own success in achieving balance between their different roles with other women in the same position. These researchers held that women possibly used this comparison as a coping strategy. They further argued that women compared their own situation to those of their mothers in the previous generation. Realising that their own husbands contributed more to household duties than had their mothers' husbands, and that they themselves performed fewer household duties than had their mothers, could be additional factors which helped them cope better in their current domestic situation.

2.5 The subjective well-being of South African women

In 1992, Klugman and Weiner stated that there was a lack of research into women's mental health in South Africa. They argued that there were a number of factors which undermined South African women's mental health, the most important being the subordinate position of women. This implied that South African women were not in full control of their lives. These researchers claimed that the social characterisation of women as mothers pressurised all women into defining themselves in terms of this limited role, a situation which often resulted in unhappiness as women often found themselves unwilling to conform to social stereotypes. Their research findings reflected that South African women tended to see themselves in terms of male definitions of women; this undermined their confidence and capacity to engage effectively in the broader society. In terms of South African working mothers' dual roles of mother and employee, these researchers found that many women who were employed were also responsible for the greater part of child-care in the home and that the stress of this was often substantial for women. They cited the contribution of often inadequate child-care to this increased stress level. Other factors which they mentioned as additional stressors for working mothers in South Africa were lack of status at work, lack of adequate remuneration, lack of opportunities for training and promotion and their subjection to sexual harassment with little or no legal protection. These factors all contributed to the detrimental effect on the mental health of South African women who combined the two roles of mother and employee (Klugman & Weiner, 1992).

Budlender (1995) also mentioned various factors which contributed to the stress of

employed South African mothers. She said that in South Africa, women's everyday experiences were marked by their role as care-givers, the burden of unpaid labour (housework), together with having second-class status in waged labour, the threat of sexual violence and lack of autonomy and control.

2.6 Subjective well-being and influential variables

Research has shown that subjective well-being can be influenced by various variables (Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995; Diener et al., 1999). A number of these will be briefly discussed hereunder.

2.6.1 Personality

Diener et al. (1999) argued that personality was one of the strongest and most consistent predictors of subjective well-being. They said that some people seemed to have a genetic predisposition to be happy or unhappy, which was presumably caused by inborn individual differences in the nervous system. They maintained that the strongest evidence for a temperamental predisposition to experience certain levels of subjective well-being came from behaviour-genetic studies of heritability. For example, Braungart, Plomin, DeFries and Fulker (1992) used both adoption and twin methodologies and found substantial heritability for positive affect in 12-month old babies.

Diener et al. (1999) mentioned two personality traits which influenced subjective

well-being. These were extraversion, which influenced positive affect, and neuroticism, which influenced negative affect (Costa & McCrae, 1980). Research done by Fujita in 1991 found that an extraversion latent trait correlated .71 with a positive affect latent trait. He also found that neuroticism and negative affect formed a single, indistinguishable factor.

A third personality trait which Diener et al. (1999) mentioned could influence subjective well-being, was that of optimism. Research done in 1998 by Lachman and Weaver, found that the negative effects of low income on well-being were moderated by control beliefs. They stated that a tendency to think in positive terms could help to negate the potential harmful effect of low income on an individual's well-being.

2.6.2 Health

According to Wilson (1967), health was strongly correlated with subjective well-being. However, various researchers (George & Landerman, 1984; Okun, Stock, Haring, & Witter, 1984) found that this assumption held only for self-reported health measures. The correlation between health and subjective well-being weakened considerably when objective health ratings by physicians were examined (Watten, Vassend, Myhrer, & Syversen, 1997). In reviewing their research, Diener et al. (1999) argued that self-rated health measures reflected not only one's actual physical condition but also one's level of emotional adjustment (Hooker & Siegler, 1992). A longitudinal study by Brief, Butcher, George and Link (1993) also failed to find a direct effect of objective health (as measured,

for example, by doctor visits and hospitalisation) on global life satisfaction. Diener et al. (1999) thus concluded that people's perceptions of health appeared to be more important than objective health in their effects on subjective well-being.

2.6.3 Income

According to Diener et al. (1999), researchers who investigated the relation between income and subjective well-being, had followed four major lines of research: (a) within-country correlations between income and subjective well-being, (b) changes in subjective well-being among individuals who experienced decreases or increases in income, (c) trends in subjective well-being during periods of national economic growth, and (d) between-country correlations of average subjective well-being and national wealth.

With regards to within-country correlations, some researchers (Veenhoven, 1994) found small but significant correlations within countries, while others (Clark & Oswald, 1994) did not find a statistically significant effect of income in a representative sample from Britain. Diener, Horwitz and Emmons (1985) stated that, even when extremely wealthy individuals were examined, the effects of income on subjective well-being were small.

As far as income change is concerned, research done in 1978 by Brickman, Coates and Janoff-Bulman showed that increases in income were not necessarily associated with increases in well-being. Reporting on the link between income change at

the national level and subjective well-being, Dooley, Catalano and Wilson (1994) could find no evidence of a link between these two variables.

Lastly, investigating the link between national wealth and subjective well-being, Diener, Diener and Diener (1995) concluded that the relation between wealth of a nation and average subjective well-being was positive and strong. However, they mentioned that this result should be interpreted with caution, as the relation between national wealth and subjective well-being could be due, at least partly, to the indirect effects of other benefits received by individuals in wealthier countries rather than to the direct effect of wealth itself.

In conclusion, Diener et al. (1999) argued that the data did not support a strong causal path from income to subjective well-being, and suggested that more complex models were required to explain all of the results.

2.6.4 Religion

In their review of literature on the link between religion and subjective well-being, Gartner, Larson and Allen (1991) stated that most of the evidence suggested that religion was associated with mental health benefits. They argued that this was especially true when religiosity was measured by actual religious behaviour (for example church attendance) rather than by attitude scales. Diener et al. (1999) maintained that religion might provide both psychological and social benefits. They mentioned research which had shown that

religious experiences could provide a sense of meaning in daily life (Pollner, 1989, in Diener et al., 1999), as well as during major life crises (McIntosh, Silver, & Wortman, 1993, in Diener et al., 1999).

2.6.5 Marital Status

Diener et al. (1999) held that the positive relation between marriage and subjective well-being had been consistently replicated in national and regional surveys conducted in the United States of America. International studies (Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000) also confirmed this relation between marriage and subjective well-being. Various studies (Gove & Shin, 1989; Mastekaasa, 1995; White, 1992) found that married people reported greater happiness than those who were never married or were divorced, separated or widowed. Glenn and Weaver (1979) and Gove, Hughes and Style (1983) also concluded that marriage and well-being correlated significantly even when variables such as age and income were controlled.

2.6.6 Age

In 1967, Wilson stated that youth was a consistent predictor of happiness. However, more recent research has challenged this statement. Shmotkin (1990) argued that, although a small decline in life satisfaction with age was occasionally found, the relationship was eliminated when other variables such as income were controlled. Other

researchers (Horley & Lavery, 1995; Stock, Okun, Haring, & Witter, 1983) maintained that life satisfaction often increased, or at least did not drop, with age. Bass (1985) concluded that the discrepancy of current findings from those reviewed by Wilson might be due to the fact that older people were currently healthier and stayed involved in more life domains than did previous generations.

2.6.7 Gender Differences

Most studies done on the link between gender and subjective well-being have found that men and women are approximately equal in global happiness. Although this seems contradictory to research which has shown that women are more prone to depression (Eaton & Kessler, 1981), Diener et al. (1999) held that this could be explained by the fact that women's more intense positive emotions (Lee, Seccombe, & Shehan, 1991) seemed to balance their higher negative affect, resulting in levels of global subjective well-being similar to those of men. Supporting this finding, Fujita, Diener and Sandvik (1991) found that gender accounted for less than 1% of the variance in happiness but over 13% of the variance in the intensity of emotional experiences. Because women on average are more open to intense emotional experiences, Fujita et al. (1991) hypothesized that this could possibly make them more vulnerable to depression if they encountered many bad or uncontrollable events. If their lives were good, however, women were more likely to experience intense levels of happiness.

2.6.8 Job Morale

Various studies have shown a definite link between job morale and an individual's subjective well-being. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) stated that work might be related to subjective well-being because it provided an optimal level of stimulation that people found pleasurable. This researcher also mentioned the additional factors of positive social relationships and a sense of identity and meaning which an individual might gain from being employed. Diener et al. (1999) suggested that having a job might perhaps be more important to a person's subjective well-being than his or her satisfaction with their job. They quoted research (Oswald, 1997, in Diener et al., 1999) which found that unemployed persons had higher distress, lower life satisfaction and higher rates of suicide than employed individuals.

2.6.9 Education

Small but significant correlations between education and subjective well-being have been reported (Diener, Sandvik, Seidlitz, & Diener, 1993). These researchers found that education was more highly related to well-being for individuals with lower incomes, and also in poor countries (Veenhoven, 1994). Diener et al. (1999) argued that education might contribute to subjective well-being by allowing individuals to make progress toward their goals or to adapt to changes in the world around them. On the other hand, education could raise an individual's expectations, which could have a negative

impact on his/her subjective well-being if these expectations were not met. Clark and Oswald (1994) found that the highly educated were more distressed than less educated persons when these groups were unemployed. Being out of work could thus be more aversive to the former group because of their higher expectations.

2.6.10 Other factors influencing subjective well-being

Various researchers (Endler & Parker, 1990; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; McCrae & Costa, 1986) found that individual coping behaviours played an important role in people's responses to stress. Riger (1993) held that a great deal of research in psychology rested on the assumption that the healthy individual was one who was self-contained, independent and self-reliant, capable of asserting himself and capable of influencing his environment. The individual's personal coping abilities and inner strength thus played an important part in his/her overall well-being.

Another factor which Diener et al. (1999) suggested could have an influence on a person's subjective well-being, relates to the concept of social comparison. This pertains to the discrepancy between one's aspirations and actual standing, the individual's goals and how well he is succeeding at it and how well a person adjusts to external conditions. These researchers confirmed Wilson's findings in 1967 relating to the greater happiness of the married, religious, extraverted, optimistic person; this theory had stood the test of time and also seemed to have some degree of cross-cultural generality.

2.7 Conclusion

Chapter 2 addressed the topic of subjective well-being as a broad category of phenomena, together with its related concepts and research studies. The following chapter will look at the different roles of working mothers, and the influence of these on their lives and well-being.

Chapter 3

Working Mothers and their Roles

3.1 Introduction

With an increasing number of women entering the workforce, more women find themselves faced with the dual roles of employee and mother. Bullock (1994) stated firstly, that many women now exercised their freedom to work, although this had been denied to previous generations. Secondly, many women worked for financial reasons, as many families could no longer cope financially on one income. This researcher argued that the rise in employment figures for women could be said to be the result of these two, sometimes overlapping, factors.

The following table highlights the economically active population in South Africa in 2000, divided by race and gender, as supplied by the Department of Labour of the South African Government.

Table 3

Economically Active Population in South Africa according to Race and Gender (2000)

Population Group	Employed	Unemployed	Total
African	5 682 476	4 205 992	9 888 468
Coloured	1 129 515	299 231	1 428 746
Asian	363 486	50 379	413 865
White	1 856 452	89 066	1 945 518
Other	81 917	26 980	108 897
Male	5 481 903	2 039 917	7 521 820
Female	3 631 944	2 631 730	6 263 674

As is evident from the table above, 58% of all women in South Africa were employed during 2000. In addition, women made up 39.9% of the total workforce in the country.

White and Rogers (2000) argued that wives' greater labour force attachment and the growing share of family income that wives contribute, were two of the strongest economic trends of this decade. These authors said that the effects of these trends on marital dissolution were mixed. Hoffman and Duncan (1995) found that women's higher

earnings stabilized marriages, while Greenstein (1995) and Sayer and Bianchi (1998) held that this positive effect could be counteracted by traditional gender-role ideology. Thus, while women's higher level of income may have the positive effect of easing the financial responsibility which their husbands carry as well as other personal benefits such as higher self-esteem, it can also create problems in the marital relationship if the husband does not feel comfortable with this. If, for example, a husband believes that he should be responsible for providing for his family financially, and his wife should earn more than he does, his self-esteem may be affected by this; this in turn could have a detrimental effect on their marital relationship. Heidermann, Suhomlinova and O'Rand (1998) reported that women's wages and employment were associated with a greater chance of divorce. Heckert, Nowak and Snyder (1998), and Ono (1998) maintained that this was especially true when the husband's earnings or total family income was low. Although research on this possible implication of women's employment on marital stability has yielded mixed results, McCloskey (1996) found that problems generally tended to arise when wives' employment status and earnings were substantially higher than those of their husbands. This possibility of marital disruption is an additional stressor for working women in these situations.

Other research has pointed out that there is a correlation between the rise in jobs for women and the increase in the divorce rate (Belshaw & Strutt, 1996). According to these authors, this could be the result of the greater confidence which working women experienced, which enabled them to take action against an unhappy marriage. Perry-Jenkins and Crouter (1990) argued that husbands who held conventional attitudes about

the division of labour, or whose wives held highly paid jobs (Voydanoff, 1988) reported lower levels of marital satisfaction when their wives were employed. Mason and Lu (1988) stated that changing gender norms regarding married women's employment were likely to contribute to these changing attitudes of dual-career couples.

Repetti and Crouter (2000) reflected that the domain of "work and family" emerged as a distinct area of research in the 1960's and 1970's. These authors found that the literature on multiple roles, which was a product of both social psychological and sociological theorizing about social roles, focused on how individuals managed the roles of parent, spouse and worker, and the consequences of this balance for health and family relationships.

Some researchers (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Simon, 1992; Thoits, 1992), found that most studies of working women had focused on the role strains or conflict that women experienced because of their being torn between work and home responsibilities. To date, more research into the negative consequences of combining the two life roles of mother and employee has been undertaken, compared to the amount of research into the positive consequences of this combination.

Burke (1996) argued that work and family were the major life roles for most employed adults. Various researchers (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987) found that the perceived quality of women's social roles

had been found to be more important than the number of roles per se. Dunahoo, Geller and Hobfoll (in Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996) argued that it was thus essential to look at how women assessed the quality of their roles, as this could give clues as to the special support needs of employed women.

Budlender (1995) held that many South African women had three roles: (a) child - bearing and rearing, which they called reproductive work, (b) supplementing the household income, which they called productive work, and (c) providing and maintaining resources and facilities that were necessary for everyday life, which they called community-management work. She argued that these various roles impacted upon each other, leaving women with little time and energy.

3.2 Role conflict

Various researchers (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1994, in Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996; Lewis & Cooper, 1989) found that working mothers experienced conflict between their work and family lives; this lead to difficulties in many areas of their lives. Lewis and Cooper (1989) found that role conflict diminished job satisfaction, life satisfaction and mental health. Hughes, Galinsky and Morris (1992) found that chronic job stressors influenced families when they caused feelings of overload or conflict between the roles of worker and family member. Crouter et al. (1999) found that mothers who described more pressure at work also reported greater role overload and a feeling of being

overwhelmed by multiple commitments.

Bullock (1994) referred specifically to the fact that working women were still responsible for the majority of household tasks and childrearing activities, compared to their partners. This finding was confirmed by Niven and Carroll (1992) who found that mothers still usually assumed prime responsibility for most aspects of childcare and other domestic functions, irrespective of whether or not they were employed. This had resulted in many working mothers experiencing conflicting demands on their available time, which had in turn resulted in added stress being experienced by these women (Shimmin, McNally, & Liff, 1981). These researchers also found that the additional work role might result in considerable mental and physical stress for mothers. Various researchers (Gerstel & Gallagher, 1993; Guelzow et al., 1991; Paden & Buehler, 1995) all found that those participants in their studies who reported more conflict and overload due to the combination of work and family roles, also tended to describe more emotional distress.

Burke and Greenglass (1987) found that work-family conflict had a negative effect on well-being in both work and family situations. Repetti and Crouter (2000) found that changes over time in an employed mother's emotional and psychological functioning, particularly feelings of distress, role overload and work-family conflict, resulted in interactions with family members that were less sensitive and responsive, and more negative and conflictual. Burke (1996) argued that work-family conflict was experienced when pressures from work and family roles were incompatible, such that

participation in one role made it more difficult to participate in the other.

The growing social science literature which focuses on the interaction between work and family, and the relationship between involvement in multiple roles and psychological distress, bears evidence of the huge demands which are placed on women who combine these two roles. Various researchers (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Simon, 1992; Thoits, 1992) found that most studies of working women tended to focus on role strains or conflict that women experienced when being torn between work and home. Lewis and Cooper (1989) argued that although conflict between the demands of professional and parental schedules occurred for both sexes, it was usually greater for women.

Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1994, in Schbracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996) proposed two dominant forms of work-family conflict: time-based conflict and strain-based conflict. Time-based conflict is experienced when time spent on one role makes it difficult to fill the demands of the other role. Strain-based conflict is experienced when the strain produced in one role spills over or intrudes into the other role. Lewis and Cooper (1989) argued that spillover occurred in three different forms: spillover of work into family time, spillover of work attitudes into family interactions and spillover of job dissatisfaction or stress into life outside work. Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1994, in Schbracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996) maintained that work interference with family functioning might have different antecedents and consequences to family interference with work.

Taking this further, Beutell and Greenhaus (1986) and Gutek, Repetti and Silver (1988) identified three different types of conflict that related to the work-family role dilemma; these are listed below.

- (a) Time-based conflict, which involves the distribution of time, energy and opportunities between the occupational and family roles. In this conflict, scheduling is difficult and time is restricted as the demands of each role and the behaviours required to fulfil them are incompatible. This often results in women experiencing fatigue as the two or more roles compete for personal resources.
- (b) Strain-based conflict, which refers to the spillover of strain, or a negative emotional state that is generated in one role, into the performance of another role.
- (c) Behaviour-based conflict, which refers to the incompatible sets of behaviours which an individual has for work and for family. Because of these separate sets of behaviours, women frequently find it difficult to change gears from one role to another.

It is thus evident that variables which have an impact on time, strain or behaviour can heighten work-family conflict. The three-faceted model, according to Beutell and Greenhaus (1986) and Gutek, Repetti and Silver (1988), proposes that any role characteristic that affects a person's time involvement, strain or behaviour within a role, can produce conflict between that role and another role.

Dunahoo, Geller and Hobfoll (1996) found that the majority of women coped with

their conflict at the work-family interface by over-adhering to gender-role stereotypes at home. They argued that, due to women's communal orientation, many women did not view their jobs as justification for attending less to their families and household work. Thus they felt personal pressure which caused them to experience guilt and anxiety when they could not fulfill all of their responsibilities adequately.

3.3 The influence of role commitment

Various researchers have investigated the influence of the level of commitment which an individual feels towards their respective roles, on their overall well-being. Greenberger and O'Neil (1993) found that high commitment to roles was not uniformly associated with greater well-being.

Dunahoo, Geller and Hobfoll (1996) stated that for some women, their career commitment had resulted in changed priorities, in which equal priority for home and work roles replaced the traditional preference for the home role. However, Gutek, Repetti and Silver (1988) and Powell (1988) held that an increasing number of women were choosing to deal with this work-family conflict by not having a family at all.

3.4 The context of roles

One way to understand the impact of multiple roles on psychological distress is to

look at the context in which they occur. One example is that of role content, the circumstances and contingencies associated with roles and the combination in which these roles occur (Messias et al., 1997; Moen, Dempster-McClain, & Williams, 1989; Wheaton, 1990). Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999) stated that this approach moved beyond asking whether involvement in multiple roles was related to psychological distress; it assessed the conditions under which relationships occurred and in what form. In 1999, Voydanoff and Donnelly did research on the extent to which objective and subjective aspects of the roles of paid worker, spouse and parent affected the relationships between the role of parent and psychological distress for mothers and fathers of children between the ages of 10 and 17. These authors distinguished between two contexts: subjective psychological conditions (a person's subjective reaction to roles) and objective structural conditions (time spent in role activities).

3.4.1 Subjective psychological conditions

According to Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999), subjective psychological conditions referred to subjective perceptions and experiences of roles. These subjective perceptions and experiences could be either positive (degree of satisfaction) or negative (perceived strain associated with a role), (Umberson, 1996). This therefore referred to the rewards and costs associated with a specific role (Stephens, Franks, & Townsend, 1994). Various researchers (Barnett, Brennan, & Marshall, 1994; Barnett, Brennan, Raudenbush, & Marshall, 1994; Barnett, Marshall, Raudenbush, & Brennan, 1993; Voydanoff & Donnelly,

1988) all found a negative relationship between satisfaction in the roles of paid worker, spouse and parent, and psychological distress. Looking at this from a different angle, other researchers (Aneshensel, 1986; Windle & Dumenci, 1997; Wu & DeMaris, 1996) reported a positive relationship between psychological distress and role strains.

Research (Barnett et al., 1994; Barnett et al., 1993; Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1999; Windle & Dumenci, 1997) has shown that when an individual perceives his/her role(s) in a positive manner, he/she is less likely to experience psychological distress while attempting to fulfil all roles. However, when the individual subjectively perceives that he/she is not able to fulfil all roles effectively, psychological distress is more likely.

3.4.2 Objective structural conditions

Objective structural conditions look at the concrete demands and resources associated with roles. Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999) argued that the time an individual spent in any role was an objective structural condition. These researchers held that, when the combined effects of having two or more roles were considered, three outcomes were possible: additive relationships, in which the effects of one role on well-being were independent of the other; positive spillover, in which aspects of one role buffered or enhanced the effects of another role on the individual's well-being; and negative spillover, in which aspects of one role exacerbated the effects of another role.

3.4.2.1 Time spent in roles

Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999) proposed that the time spent in a specific role would have an influence on the enhancement or detracting from a person's subjective well-being. They argued that the more hours an individual spent in a role, the stronger the likelihood of the occurrence of depression in that individual. More specifically, they found that spending moderate amounts of time in roles with their associated rewards could buffer the effects of the demands of another role on psychological distress. Furthermore, the demands of large amounts of time could exacerbate the effects of the demands of another role on distress. Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999) found that wives who spent more than 46 hours per week in paid work were more likely to experience depression. Emmons, Biernat, Tiedje, Lang and Wortman (1990) argued that, because spending time either on work or family might indicate commitment to it, women could find it difficult to delegate responsibilities to others. Simon (1995) found that time in one role may be perceived as neglect of another role, as a woman could experience her roles of wife, mother and worker to be in psychic competition with each other.

3.4.3 Overall impact of objective and subjective aspects of roles on emotional well-being

The results of the research of Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999) reflected that both objective and subjective aspects of the role of paid worker and spouse showed consistent relationships with psychological distress for parents of both sexes, a finding which supports the role-enhancement approach. These researchers found that satisfaction with the roles of paid worker, spouse and parent buffered the effects that hours spent in a specific role had on distress. However, when an individual perceived that he/she was unable to fulfil all roles effectively, psychological distress resulted. More specifically, they found that buffering and exacerbating effects were limited to the roles of paid worker and spouse, but that the role of parent was generally unrelated to psychological distress in the context of these other roles (which they admitted might be due to the ages of the couples' children involved in the study).

3.5 Factors adding to the subjective stress of women in dual roles of mother and employee

Some studies (Barnett & Baruch, 1987) suggested that the role of mother might be the main source of stress for women. Other studies (Romito, 1993; Stevens & Meleis, 1991) confirmed the finding that motherhood was experienced as highly stressful by many women. Various factors, discussed below, were found to contribute to the stress which women, who combined the roles of mother and employee, experienced.

3.5.1 Household and childcare duties

Shelton (1992) stated that even though women might enjoy their roles as mothers and employees and be very committed to them, they could still feel strain when combining the two roles; the reason for this was that their responsibilities to home were likely to be greater and they might sacrifice more (e.g. personal free time) in order to fulfil both roles effectively. Glenn, Chang and Forcey (1994) and Hays (1996) found that although most women felt stronger commitment and obligations to the parental role than men, few structural supports were in place for working mothers; this could contribute to their feelings of being over-burdened. Milkie and Peltola (1999) found that having children, especially young children, might negatively affect women's feelings of success in balancing work and family. More specifically, they found the number of pre-school and school-aged children in the household tended to impact negatively upon women's feelings of success in balancing work and family. They ascribed this to the fact that employed mothers were likely to spend more time in childcare activities when children were young.

3.5.2 Contribution of husband to household and childcare duties

Another factor that seems to influence women's perception of the success of their balancing dual roles, is the contribution of their partner to household and childcare duties. Frone, Russell and Cooper (1992) found that spouse support influenced one's experience of role strain.

Thompson (1991) found that when a woman experienced a sense of fairness in sharing duties with her partner, it contributed to the overall quality of their relationship and her overall well-being. However, Thompson and Walker (1989) found that this did not necessarily mean that household duties were split 50/50, but that it was more important for the woman to believe that the division of household labour was fair. Confirming this finding, various researchers (Glass & Fujimoto, 1994; Greenstein, 1996; Robinson, & Spitze, 1992) found that when a woman perceived unfairness in the relationship, this could be associated with negative consequences such as depression, thoughts of divorce and actual breakups. This meant that it was equally important that the woman perceived the division of household and childcare duties to be fair, and perceived treatment by her partner to be loving and fair. Biernat and Wortman (1991) also found that wives did not necessarily expect an egalitarian pattern where husbands did half of the housework; this could possibly be due to social and cultural conditioning.

Various researchers (Brines, 1994; Gerson, 1985; Hertz, 1986; Hochschild, 1989, in Becker & Moen, 1999) focused their research on women's second shift at home at the end of their work day, as they found that women still retained the primary responsibility for household and childcare duties. Dunahoo et al. (in Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996) found that married women spent more than twice as much time on housework and childcare than married men. They found that although husbands of employed wives were increasing the proportion of total family labour, the increase was due to wives' decreased participation, rather than to husbands' greater time commitment. Also,

although men were increasing their number of child contact hours, women still performed the vast majority of childcare and household tasks. Spain and Bianchi (1996) argued that this unfair division of labour was perhaps be the most central challenge in women's lives in our modern society.

Becker and Moen (1999) and Hochschild (1989) argued that most employed women put in a second shift at home after working hours, and that this balancing act between work and family was one that employed women negotiated throughout their lives. Goldscheider and Waite (1991) and Hochschild (1989) talked about the "double day" that many employed married mothers faced, in combining both paid and unpaid work. Wilkie, Ferree and Ratcliff (1998) found that, on average, employed wives worked fewer hours for pay than their husbands and earned less, while their husbands still did less than a third of the domestic labour. However, Ferree (1991) and Hochschild (1989) found that these averages concealed considerable variation in how paid and unpaid work were divided. Milkie and Peltola (1999) argued that the smooth functioning of the home was part of women's felt obligations. Mirowsky and Ross (1995) and Pearlin (1989) further held that women's place in the social structure granted them less power and control in both work and family spheres; this was likely to contribute to a greater overall workload, more sacrifices and subsequent difficulties in balancing work and family. In addition, Dunahoo et al. (in Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996) found that women were more likely to be expected to take time off work to care for an ill child or parent (even her spouse's parent) than men were, and were more likely to be expected to take time away

from their careers for child rearing. Shelton (1992) maintained that women were more likely than men to feel strain in combining these two roles as their responsibilities were likely to be greater and because they might sacrifice more in order to fulfil both roles.

Robinson and Godbey (1997) held that, when compared with employed fathers, employed mothers spent nearly twice the number of hours on family care, which included basic housework, shopping and caring for children. They reported that even though the fathers in their sample typically worked longer hours than the mothers, the combined time spent in work and family was about one month per year more for employed mothers than for employed fathers. Karambayya and Reilly (1991, in Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996) argued that women took on the larger share of family responsibilities. Where husbands were found to help their wives in balancing their dual roles, these changes were daily changes to routine rather than radical changes such as leaving the workforce or working part-time. Doyal (1995) also reported that women still continued to be allocated responsibility for domestic work - the daily tasks of cooking, cleaning and caring for children and other dependants, despite cultural variation between communities. She said that even when women took on paid work, most women still retained responsibility for domestic labour which could lead to an excessive workload, especially during their childbearing years.

Lewis and Cooper (1989) reported that although many husbands contributed to household duties by performing certain household tasks, the responsibility to ensure the

smooth functioning of the household still largely remained with the wives. They argued that the deep-seated belief that household chores were really women's work, tended to be very resistant to change. These authors quoted research done by the Family Policies Study Centre; this research found that 73% of women in the United Kingdom did nearly all the housework and that men in dual earner households had an average of six hours more spare time at weekends than did their wives. Milkie and Peltola (1999) found that women estimated that they were responsible for between half and most of the household work, while they felt that their spouses did less than half of the housework. About half of the women in their study felt that the division of housework in their household was unfair.

Shelton and John (1996) reported that men generally did not adjust their time spent at home in response to their wives' employment. Greenstein (2000) held that although an increasing number of wives were becoming the primary breadwinners in their households, most married women still did the majority of housework. This author found that the division of household tasks still remained relatively traditional. This finding was confirmed by the research of Brayfield (1992), who reported that women still did the majority of household tasks, even in households where the husband was not employed. Humphreys (1996) said that traditionally, particular roles were assigned to the mother and father of the family. He argued that the provision of resources and the maintenance of the family system were the domain of the male parent, while the provision of nurturance and support and the creation of opportunities for the development of life skills were seen as the realm of the female parent. Although Humphreys (1996) argued that such stereotyping had caused and still

caused many problems within families, he said that there had been a slow but definite shift towards a more equal sharing of family responsibilities. Potuchek (1992) argued that perceived equity in the gender division of family labour was most problematic for two-earner couples.

Research by Dunahoo et al. (in Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996) concluded that receiving help from their partners did not necessarily reduce working women's stress levels. In this study, many women reported that if they had to consistently remind their partners to complete household chores, or if they did them inadequately, frustration could develop and the woman often needed to redo the task. Additionally, women often had difficulty accepting household assistance from their partners due to their communal orientation. Receiving a lot of help was often seen by working women to mean that they were failing at their "real" role as wife and mother. Feelings of guilt and failure could contribute to the experience of greater strain. This correlated with the research of Spitze (1988), in which he found that, even though women with paid jobs had an average total workday that was longer than the workday of their husbands or of full-time housewives, only about one quarter of employed married women reported finding the status quo unfair.

3.5.2.1 Approaches to understanding the division of housework

Various approaches have been advanced to analyse the division of housework

amongst husbands and wives. Three of these, the Gender Ideology Approach, Gender Theory, and the Resource Bargaining Approach, will be discussed hereunder.

3.5.2.1.1 Gender Ideology Approach

According to Ferree (1991), gender continued to specify tasks to a great extent. Greenstein (2000) defined gender ideology as the way in which one identified oneself with regard to marital and family roles which are traditionally linked to gender. Ferree (1991) maintained that the more mundane and repetitive tasks like cooking, caring for children, shopping and cleaning had largely remained the responsibility of women. In comparison, men's contribution to tasks at home was found to be more challenging and creative (Berk, 1985). Various researchers (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Brayfield, 1992; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Mederer, 1993) found that women primarily still did the tasks which have traditionally been seen as "women's work" (e.g. cooking, laundry, housecleaning), while men mainly did more traditionally "male" tasks, like car maintenance and garden work. Studies by various researchers (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Presser, 1994; Sanchez, 1994) have confirmed the gender ideology approach. These authors all found that those husbands who held more egalitarian gender ideologies, tended to perform more hours of housework and a bigger proportion of household tasks. However, other researchers (Blair & Johnson, 1992; Coltrane & Ishii-Kunz, 1992), found this effect only under particular circumstances, while still other researchers (Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston, & McHale, 1987) failed to find such an effect. Research into the effects of gender ideology on the

division of housework between dual-earner couples has thus yielded mixed results.

Other effects of the result of the interaction between gender ideology and employed wives have also been found in different studies. Hochschild (1989) argued that gender norms were most contested amongst two-earner couples. Potuchek (1992) held that the norm of male breadwinning was directly challenged by wives' employment; employed wives were more likely than full-time housewives to expect their husbands to share domestic work.

3.5.2.1.2 Gender Theory

An analysis of the division of housework by dual-career couples can also be made by making use of gender theory. This theory states that the division of paid and domestic work in the family is not a rational reflection of resources and time demands, but a set of socially constructed boundaries delineating gender (Ferree, 1990; Thompson & Walker, 1989). These gender boundaries are kept in place by assigning different behaviours to men and women (e.g. seeing men as the family's primary breadwinner and women as the primary parents and house workers). Gender boundaries are also maintained by attaching different meanings to similar behaviours (e.g. paid work is breadwinning for men and supplemental employment for women). In 1998, Wilkie, Ferree and Ratcliff reported that husbands' personal preferences had more impact than wives' personal preferences in determining the actual division of labour. This result seems to

provide evidence, consistent with gender theory, that men enjoy more influence in the marital relationship than women do.

3.5.2.1.3 Resource Bargaining Approach

A third approach to understanding the division of housework in dual-earner couples is the resource bargaining approach. According to Greenstein (2000), the resource bargaining approach (or relative resources approach) argues that the division of labour in the household is seen to be the result of implicit negotiation between spouses over inputs (e.g. earnings) and outcomes (e.g. who does the housework) in the household. Studies by various researchers (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Ferree, 1991; Kamo, 1988) have confirmed this argument. Brines (1994, in Becker & Moen, 1999) argued that, as women's economic dependence decreased, the amount of housework they performed (measured in hours per week) also decreased. Greenstein (2000) maintained that the resource bargaining approach might account for the fact that housework remained largely the woman's responsibility; the argument was that wives generally tended to bring in fewer resources into the negotiation process, and as a result, they were less able to bargain for a more fair division of household tasks.

Di Leonardo (1992) and Dressel and Clark (1990) mentioned additional responsibilities which could contribute to women's workload at home; this included maintaining contact with extended family, which was often not counted as work, but which took up time and could add to women's feelings of being overloaded. Dressel and Clark

(1990) argued that women spent a lot of time and energy anticipating the needs of other family members. Doyal (1995) stated that millions of women around the world spend much of their time doing what could be called "emotional housework". This entailed activities such as managing social relationships, ensuring harmony between household members and promoting the emotional health of others. Doyal (1995) held that these activities were often the least visible of women's labours but might well be a major burden.

3.5.3 Additional responsibilities at work

Hays (1996) argued that demands that took a woman away from her children, especially when they were young, could result in emotional distress for the mother. According to Milkie and Peltola (1999), employed mothers felt greater emotional distress when away from their young children, given the cultural expectations of motherhood.

Stoner, Hartman and Arora (1990) found that managerial women with high levels of family role salience and long work hours experienced the highest levels of work-family conflict. However, women managers with high levels of job satisfaction and family satisfaction experienced the lowest levels of work-family conflict. Hall and Richter (1988) maintained that women tended to have more time-rigid home boundaries than men, and it appeared that women who worked outside of the home and also had families, had psychological boundaries that were more permeable than men's in both directions. As women with children were generally less willing to stay longer at work, they were likely to

return to work issues later at home, which could be seen as a compensatory act. This situation was indicative of women's tendencies to be concerned simultaneously with different segments of their lives, and tended to lead to higher workload and potential conflict.

Milkie and Peltola (1999) found that longer working hours had a negative impact on women's perception regarding how effective they were balancing their dual roles. They also argued that when a woman needed to make sacrifices in the family due to work responsibilities, this decreased her feeling of success in balancing her two roles.

3.5.4 Other factors which contribute to working mothers' subjective stress

Milkie and Peltola (1999) further found that the quality of the marital relationship also contributed to working mothers' feelings of success in balancing their dual role of mother and employee and their own sense of well-being. Wortman, Biernat and Lang (1991) concluded from their research, that those individuals who were committed and happy in their family roles, could find work-family conflicts more distressing.

Frone, Russell and Cooper (1992) and O'Neil and Greenberger (1994) argued that role commitment and involvement, and occupational prestige were other factors that could influence one's experience of role strain.

3.6 Strategies used by women to achieve a balance when performing multiple roles

Burke (1996) maintained that individuals generally tried to reduce role conflict since it was a negative experience. The gender perspective argues that meeting perceived family needs is important to women's sense of well-being, while being a good provider is of more importance to men. This highlights some of the accommodations that women are prepared to make in their own work for their family. Although Karambayya and Reilly (1991, in Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996) reported that both men and women in a dual-earner couple changed work habits and schedules to meet family responsibilities, Brett and Yogev (1988) found that women restructured their lives to meet demands from dual roles far more than men did. Schnittger and Bird (1990) and Skinner and McCubbin (1991) identified a wide range of coping strategies and repertoires which women employed to cope with their dual roles of mother and employee. Three of these strategies, i.e. scaling back, the way in which women define their roles and the use of social support, are discussed hereunder.

3.6.1 Scaling back

Oropesa (1993) mentioned various strategies which women in multiple roles employed to cope with their dual roles. This included reducing their household tasks or finding substitutes for their work, such as making use of cleaning services or buying ready-made meals. Spain and Bianchi (1996) reported that women often worked closer to home

to reduce commuting time in order to be more available for children; they also often used their vacation or sick time to cater for children's sicknesses or to handle everyday problems.

Becker and Moen (1999) maintained that both employed men and women used various scaling back strategies such as tradeoffs, placing limits and choosing between a job and a career, in order to buffer their family lives from the ever-increasing demands of work. These researchers found that women, when faced with increasing demands, often made tradeoffs like reducing or eliminating their paid labour. The research of Sanchez and Thomson (1997) confirmed this finding. Milkie and Peltola (1999) argued that tradeoffs made within the family had a more significant impact upon women's perception of achieving balance between their roles, than tradeoffs made at work for the sake of the family. This is consistent with the gender perspective mentioned earlier, which suggests that meeting perceived family needs is more important to women's sense of well-being, while the provider role is more important for men.

Becker and Moen (1999) reported that in one-third of the couples in their study, trading off was part of a larger ideal of egalitarian sharing; it involved specific tradeoffs like choosing who had the job and who had the career, and placing limits on work hours to spend more time at home.

A second scaling back strategy mentioned by Becker and Moen (1999) was that

of placing limits. Their research revealed that just over one-third of the participants in their study placed limits on the number of hours they work, and were willing to reduce long-term expectations for career advancement in order to spend more time with their families. This applied to both husbands and wives, although Becker and Moen (1999) argued that wives were more likely to use this strategy than husbands. Other participants, especially those with younger children, refused a new job or promotion if it involved too much travel or relocation as that would disrupt their children's lives or their spouse's career. Still other participants reported reducing their working hours due to family demands, e.g. refusing to work over weekends. Lewis and Cooper (1989) found a variety of limit-placing strategies used by both men and women; these included being assertive and being able to say "no" to demands which could cause overload, reaching a compromise between the two partners during temporary particularly stressful situations, and organising work to use the time available more effectively. They also reported that some women in their study were prepared to take more drastic action, like making a career change, to help them cope with the demands of their dual roles of employer and mother. Becker and Moen (1999) found that two-thirds of those participants in their study who reported the use of placing limits, were women.

A third scaling back strategy employed by the participants in Becker and Moen's study (1999), was that of choosing between a job and a career. They reported that many women who, prior to the birth of their children, had seen themselves as having a career, now viewed their work as merely a job, instead of a career. Often this change in attitude

(as their work function did not change) involved the intention to return to a career when their children were older. These researchers stated that the decision to scale back appeared to be reflexive and conscious. They reported that people employed different scaling back strategies at various life stages, and that men and women did so differently.

The following table by Becker and Moen (1999) highlights the three main scaling back strategies employed by both couples and individuals in order to cope with their dual roles as employee and parent.

Table 4

Scaling back: Three work-family strategies

Strategy	Behavioral Correlates	Status Correlates
Placing Limits	Limiting work encroachments on home time Limiting number of hours worked Refusing to put in "face time" or overtime Turning down jobs with more travel Turning down promotions requiring relocation	Both couple strategy and individual spouse's strategy (typically wives). For women, occurs in all life stages but especially associated with birth of first child; for men, triggered by parenting experiences and career establishment.
Job vs. Career	One primary breadwinner (career), one job Person with job: Is primary caregiver or primarily responsible for home; Often moves to follow spouse's career opportunities; Can reduce time worked or while children are small Often a traditionally gendered strategy (male career, female job), but there are exceptions	Individual strategy (66% wives) - but see trading off below. Life stage: launching and shifting gears. For men, career-to-job switch triggered by chance events.
Trading off	Job versus career Placing limits on who has the job and who has the career changes over time, due to career opportunities or life-course-related events; accompanied by a shift in childrearing and home responsibilities	Couple strategy Life stage: throughout the life course, couples trade off job and career statuses.

3.6.2 Role definition

The way a woman defines her various life roles also has an impact on the way she copes with them. Lewis and Cooper (1989) identified three types of role definitions and accompanying coping strategies. Firstly, structural role definition involves changing other people's expectations; this includes re-negotiating expectations that the wife is responsible for all housework, negotiating what is expected of a particular job, delegating tasks and refusing to do extra work. The second role definition that these researchers identified is that of personal role definition, which involves changes in the individual's own self-expectations and behaviours. This may often entail limiting activities in one or more roles. The third type of role definition is that of reactive role behaviour or role expansion, which involves attempts to meet all demands by, for example, working harder, denying the stressfulness of a situation and more effective planning. Lewis and Cooper (1989) argued that the first two active coping approaches were the most likely to be successful.

3.6.3 Social support

Burke (1996) held that social support entailed being part of a social network of relationships and resources which were provided from ongoing interpersonal relationships. He mentioned that research had found that social support enabled both women and men to reduce or manage the stress of balancing the demands of work and family.

Other researchers, for example Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1994, in Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 1996), argued that social support could enhance well-being in at least three ways. The first was that of a health sustaining function, which reflected the direct effect of social support on well-being. The second way was that of a stress prevention function, which reflected the direct effect of social support on stressors by reducing them. The third way in which social support could enhance well-being was by serving as a buffering function. This involved the moderating effect of social support on the stress and well-being relationships. Social support protected (or buffered) individuals from the severe consequences of stress, apparently through enhanced cognitive or behavioural coping abilities. Burke (1996) maintained that there was considerable support for the health enhancing and stress preventing functions, but mixed support for the buffering function.

3.6.4 Other coping mechanisms

Greenglass (1993) argued that there were other important strategies which women could employ to help them cope with their dual roles. Some of these are briefly discussed hereunder.

3.6.4.1 Interpersonal skills and the use of social support networks

Greenglass (1993) maintained that many women made use of coping techniques involving interpersonal skills and the use of social support networks. This researcher made a persuasive case that coping, for women, could not be separated from interpersonal relationships. Kirchmeyer (1992) argued that women and men making greater use of a dominant coping factor (i.e. applying good personal organisation and developing an appropriate attitude), reported more positive nonwork-to-work spillover and less negative nonwork-to-work spillover.

Dunkel-Schetter and Skokan (1990) argued that assertive coping could attract support. These researchers maintained that individuals who coped more actively and were less passive, received greater support in response to their efforts. They suggested that assertive women who were willing to ask for support would be best able to access workplace support.

3.6.4.2 Negotiating more flexible working hours

Hall (1990) found that a common approach employed by working mothers was to negotiate flexibility at an informal level. Burke and Greenglass (1987) stated that rigid work schedules and work overload interfered with women's satisfaction and family life. Lewis and Cooper (1989) also argued that incompatibility of work and home schedules, especially when younger children were involved, could be a source of considerable conflict for parents. They found that long or inconvenient hours of work were much less

stressful if there were degrees of flexibility and control. The ability to be flexible, by taking time off during the day and catching up on work during the evening, gave women greater freedom and control over their lives. Nelson, Quick and Hitt (1990) concluded that organisational resources (e.g. flexible working hours, a mentor or role model) were associated with fewer symptoms of strain and greater job satisfaction in a sample of 195 female personnel professionals. However, these researchers pointed out that even informal flexibility could have limits if there was no support from formal work policies and their consistent application by enlightened and considerate managers.

3.6.4.3 Emotional support from partners

Bedeian, Mossholder and Touliatos (1986) did research into whether and to what extent emotional support provided by their partners aided in working women's ability to cope and experience satisfaction with their dual roles. The results of their study showed that dual-career spouses who provided emotional supportiveness, experienced less personal discontentment in both work and nonwork interactions. This applied to both women and men in their study. Looking at emotional support from a different angle, Spitz (1988) and Hoschschild (1989) suggested that husbands' contributions to housework could be interpreted by their wives as understanding. They argued that such empathy was possibly more important for marital satisfaction and overall well-being than sharing, in any formally egalitarian sense. According to their findings, the principle of need rather than that of equality or equity, might guide spouses to see help with housework or paid work as a

display of love, even if the division of labour remained segregated on gender lines.

In terms of partnership roles, marital satisfaction positively affected the impact of multiple roles on women's mental health (Green & Russo, 1993). The presence of spousal support has also been identified as a critical factor in coping successfully with multiple roles (Scarr, Phillips, & McCartney, 1989).

3.7 Conclusion

Chapter 3 addressed the issue of women's multiple roles and many related aspects thereof. These included role conflict, role commitment, the context of roles, factors which added to the subjective stress of women in dual roles, and strategies employed by women to cope with their dual roles. The following chapter will look at the necessary contextual background against which the current research was conducted.

Chapter 4

Theoretical Perspectives: The Expansion Hypothesis and the Scarcity Hypothesis

4.1 Introduction

Researchers interested in the impact of multiple roles on women's well-being initially assumed that paid work brought new stresses into women's lives and consequently would be linked to negative health outcomes (Sears & Galambos, 1993). Many of the research findings that have been accumulated, however, tell a very different story. At present, a number of studies indicate that multiple roles confer benefits to women's physical and mental health (Barnett, 1993; Green & Russo, 1993; Sears & Galambos, 1993).

This chapter focuses on the two theoretical perspectives on which this study was grounded. Most research done on the relationship between involvement in multiple roles and psychological distress have focused on two competing approaches (Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1990). These are the scarcity hypothesis (role-strain approach) and the expansion hypothesis (role-enhancement approach).

4.2 Scarcity Hypothesis (Role-Strain Approach)

According to Burr, Leigh, Day and Constantine (1979), the role-strain approach proposed that the greater the role accumulation, the greater the demands and role incompatibility, and subsequently the greater the role strain and conflict. These researchers found role strain and conflict to be positively related to psychological distress. Wharton and Erickson (1995) argued that the scarcity hypothesis treated work and family as institutions that competed for individuals' time and commitments. They stated that the scarcity hypothesis assumed that individuals had a fixed amount of energy to spend per day. When this energy is used up by the end of the day, we fall asleep and start the next day with a new fixed supply of energy. In other words, because women's supply of energy is fixed, more emotional energy expended on the job means less emotional engagement at home. In reviewing the scarcity hypothesis, Stephens and Franks (1999) stated that this hypothesis proposed that an individual with multiple roles could perceive his/her total role obligations to be overly demanding, resulting in role conflict. These researchers argued that these competing demands resulted in negative spillover, as demands on time and energy in one role negatively influenced the quality of experiences in other roles; this inevitably resulted in psychological interference between the roles. Dautzenberg (2000) said that the scarcity hypothesis, also described as the role conflict hypothesis or the competing demand hypothesis (Barling, MacEwan, Kelloway, & Higginbottom, 1994; Mui 1992), rested on the assumption that the total role system of individuals tended to be overdemanding and hence, induced role strain. The individual's main challenge was how to manage the total role set and keep role strain within acceptable limits.

The scarcity hypothesis emphasises energy limitations and role strain (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987; Bielby & Bielby, 1989). According to this hypothesis, each additional role increases the demands on a person's time and energy. This increase is especially true of major roles, namely that of spouse, mother and employee. Each of these roles demands substantial time, effort and resources every day. The individual cannot easily satisfy the demands of all three roles, according to the theory, and the result is inter-role conflict (Voydanoff, 1988). The assumption is thus that "one can only build strong commitment to work by relinquishing strong commitment to family, and vice-versa" (Bielby & Bielby, 1989, p. 777).

The scarcity hypothesis states that employment, especially full-time employment, should lead to negative psychosocial outcomes for women and that this effect is mediated by factors such as fatigue and role overload. Negative outcomes are especially likely when the demands associated with work and family roles are particularly high, for example, when the mother works full-time or more than full-time (Rogers, 1996). Crosby and Jaskar (1993) described the situation of the working wife and mother as role expansion in the absence of role redefinition (Hochschild, 1989). They characterized her as a juggler "feeling constantly short on time" (1989, p. 152). The result was inevitably increased stress and psychological distress. Barnett and Marshall (1992) even argued that strains from one role could exacerbate relationships between a second role and distress. Rincover (2001), arguing for the scarcity hypothesis, held that a woman's well-being was seriously

jeopardized by trying to combine work and family.

The results of studies by Barnett (1997), Shelton (1992) and Thoits (1987) showed that although more roles often protected mental health, certain combinations could also contribute to strain. In 1997, Hochschild, in a study to investigate people's subjective sense of achieving balance, found that both men and women felt stretched to the limit in trying to find sufficient time for both work and family life. He stated that only 9% of employees/workers with children in day-care felt "very successful" in balancing work and family (p. 200).

Repetti and Wood (1997a) held that employed spouses and parents tended to withdraw from family interaction following high stress days at work. Other studies using intensive, repeated measures designs showed that an increase in job stressors, distressing social interactions and work overload, were associated with a short-term deterioration in mood and overall physical well-being, and increases in physiological arousal (Jamner, Shapiro, Goldstein, & Hug, 1991; Repetti, 1993). O'Neil and Greenberger (1994) also argued that the demands of multiple roles had the potential to increase stress levels and undermine well-being. Repetti (1993) maintained that having multiple roles often compromised physical health. All the above lend support to the scarcity hypothesis.

4.3 Expansion Hypothesis (Role-Enhancement Approach)

Marks (1977) and Sieber (1974) stated that the expansion hypothesis suggested that the performance of multiple roles provided the individual with rewards and privileges that assisted in managing multiple roles; this was believed to outweigh the negative effects of role accumulation. According to this view, performing multiple roles was negatively associated with psychological distress. Spurred on by the theoretical work of Sieber (1974) and Marks (1977), researchers began exploring the benefits of having many roles in one's repertoire. For example, Kirchmeyer (1992, 1993) found positive spillover effects on work from parenting, recreation and community involvement. Barnett, Marshall and Sayer (1992) added theoretical and methodological subtlety to this perspective. Their focus was on how the quality of a given role might be pivotal in determining whether the said role would have an enhancing impact on other roles with which it is combined. They found that wives' paid work mitigates stresses that arise from parenting, but only when the work was perceived as challenging.

Wharton and Erickson (1995) stated that the expansion hypothesis proposed that participation in one area could facilitate participation in other settings. Stephens and Franks (1999) argued that the expansion hypothesis emphasized the energy gains rather than the energy expenditures (as emphasized by the scarcity hypothesis) accrued by individuals with multiple roles. These authors held that the energy-expansion perspective predicted that roles would have positive consequences due to the enhancement of such personal resources as mastery, self-esteem, identity, and social and material gains. According to Stephens and Franks (1999), these positive consequences often spilled over into the

individual's other roles and had a positive influence on the quality of the experiences in those other roles.

The expansion hypothesis thus suggests that social activities are energy-producing and trigger an expansion of energy based on interest and commitment. It assumes that energy is created rather than diminished through social interaction. Therefore family emotional input is expected to increase women's well-being on the job, and those performing emotional labour on the job should engage in greater emotional work at home (Wharton & Erickson, 1995).

Dautzenberg (2000) argued that the role accumulation hypothesis (expansion hypothesis) assumed that the beneficial impact of occupying multiple roles usually outweighed the stressful aspects, since multiple roles provided access to multiple sources of status enhancement, status security, role privileges and sources for ego gratification. In other words, multiple roles increased and improved the individual's well-being. The role expansion hypothesis also assumed that individuals could expand role sets without concomitant increases in role strain and distress; however, this depended on the extent to which the individual felt committed to each of these roles. Individuals were more likely to become stressed and tired when they had to perform an additional role to which they felt uncommitted, whereas their energy and time could be abundant when they were strongly committed to that role (Dautzenberger, 2000).

Barnett (1995) maintained that maintaining multiple roles brought rewards such as an increased income, enhanced self-esteem, the power to delegate onerous role obligations, opportunities for social relationships and individual challenges. Barnett (1999) argued that these rewards had an energizing effect on the individual. From this perspective, role quality and the combination of certain roles enhanced well-being (Barnett, 1994; Barnett, Marshall, & Pleck, 1992).

The enhancement hypothesis argued that a person's self-esteem and happiness were increased by having more than one role (Rincover, 2001). This researcher argued that this far outweighed the cost of the increased demands. The notion here is that people feel better about themselves if they are successful at work. This researcher argued that the working mother felt more independent, more self-sufficient and had more positives in her life derived from her many activities both on the job and at home. He quoted further advantages, like getting away from the stresses at home when the person went to work - it becomes a distraction which helps to take one's mind off domestic problems, and one could feel refreshed and invigorated on returning home.

Another benefit of combining the two major life roles of mother and employee is the wider source of social support; the working mother has more opportunities to make friends, discuss her problems and feel connected to other people. According to Rincover (2001), the working mother also experienced a greater sense of accomplishment, a greater sense of contribution to the family and greater financial freedom. Ross (1995)

argued that a person's various roles were accompanied by several potential resources and could have potential rewards such as a higher level of self-esteem, economic well-being, social attachment and support. Sieber (1974, in Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1999) also argued that the rewards from one role could counterbalance or mitigate the demands and negative effects of other roles. Kane (1995) maintained that active multiple roles had been found to improve the overall health of working women over time. She argued that this could be because of the fact that working women had gained from increased acceptance and career opportunities, from greater help (mechanical or from the family) with housework, and from more support from their husbands. Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999) argued that spending moderate amounts of time in roles with their associated rewards could buffer the effects of the demands of another role on psychological distress. More generally, Linville (1985, 1987) argued that considering oneself in terms of a greater number of differentiated self-aspects buffered one from the effects of stressful life events. It has also been argued that employed women benefitted from additional opportunities to build a sense of competence and from the additional social support available at work (Aneshensel, 1986). Employed women experienced more power within the family because of their earnings, and this enhanced power led to decreased psychological symptoms such as depression (Rosenfield, 1989). Furthermore, the woman's economic contribution reduced financial strain for the family, thus improving marital quality (Barnett & Rivers, 1996). Barnett and Hyde (2001) mentioned the added benefit of having a dual income among couples who both worked. They found that as wives' earnings increased, the levels of depression among couples decreased. However, the reverse was true for women who

reduced their hours of paid work; study participants reported an increase in symptoms of depression.

The expansion hypothesis focuses on gratification derived from accumulating diverse roles. According to this hypothesis, multiple roles enhance psychological functioning. Individuals tend to have the resources available to fulfill the demands of three major roles. Multiple roles provide people with additional resources that help them cope with the demands and reduce stress (Wethington & Kessler, 1989). Epstein (1987) argued that there were three positive consequences of multiple roles: variety, buffering and amplification. Variety refers to the fact that multiple roles expose the person to diverse viewpoints that are useful in maintaining a broad perspective. Buffering refers to the idea that stress, failures or dissatisfactions in one role can be balanced by success and satisfaction in another. Finally, interaction with different groups provides the person with the opportunity to relive successes and recount satisfactions in other areas of their lives, even amplifying these successes.

Arkin (2000) stated that the effects on women of combining paid employment and family roles clearly depended on the characteristics of the individual, her family, and her job situation. In general, however, occupying more than one role appeared to buffer women from the stress within each role (Crosby, 1991). For example, Arkin (2000) quoted longitudinal data from one study which found that declines in job quality were associated with increased psychological distress for single women and women without children;

however, changes in job quality were unrelated to psychological distress for partnered women and women with children (Barnett, Marshall, & Singer, 1992). Findings such as this suggest that women who encounter problems in their jobs are more likely to feel depressed and anxious if they are single than if they are married or are parents.

In an earlier report, Barnett and Marshall (1991) described cross-sectional results indicating that both family roles and paid employment protected women from psychological distress associated with the other role. Women who occupied family roles were found to be less susceptible to job-related psychological distress; similarly, employed women with challenging jobs were protected from distress associated with their relationships with their children. Women who felt stimulated and rewarded by their job accomplishments, were then less likely to be distressed by conflicts with their children than women who did not derive the same benefits from employment.

Research also showed that working mothers often found the "escape" of work to be a positive factor in their overall subjective well-being as it allowed them to enjoy a variety of benefits, such as higher self-esteem, additional income and the resultant flexibility this afforded them in their lives (Blumsberg & Schwartz, 1983). Hochschild (1989) argued that both employed women and men experienced home as a place of stress and unending demands, while they identified work to be a pleasant place of friendship and support. Weissman and Paykel (1974) also maintained that being employed offered women an escape from the ever-present demands of home and family.

Doyal (1995) mentioned various benefits for mothers who were employed. This researcher stated that the first and probably most important benefit for women was the financial rewards which employment brought. She quoted research by Glendinning and Millar (1987) in which employed women quoted the additional income as the prime benefit for them in being employed outside the home. Doyal's (1995) research showed that income from work outside the home could also enhance women's autonomy and hence their mental well-being through reducing their economic and social dependence on a male partner. Finally, Warr and Parry (1982) maintained that employment outside the home could be a source of companionship and provide a network of relationships to alleviate the isolation and feelings of worthlessness often expressed by women at home.

Wynn Parry (1980) stated the following reasons for the higher level of subjective well-being amongst employed mothers in his research:

- 1) work imposed a definite time structure on a person's day;
- 2) work demanded social contact;
- 3) being employed required the person to work cooperatively with these contacts in order to achieve collective work-related goals;
- 4) work provided an individual with an identity and social status; and
- 5) work required a person to be active.

Another possible explanation for working mothers' higher level of emotional well-being which has been cited in various research, is the fact that working mothers have often been found to have higher self-esteem as a result of their employment. Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) argued that the economic independence which paid employment brought, could enhance a woman's self-esteem. Locker (1985) cited the additional factor of occupational achievement as contributing to working mothers' subjective well-being.

Barnett and Hyde (2001) maintained that both men and women benefit from multiple roles. They stated that both sexes gained a sense of success and well-being from balancing work and family. According to their research findings, whatever stresses arose could be eased by the buffering effect of multiple roles; failure in one role could be balanced by success in another role.

4.4 Criticism of the Scarcity and Expansion Hypotheses

Research of the effects on a person's well-being when the two roles are combined has yielded mixed results; this is evident when looking at it from the scarcity and the expansion hypotheses' points of view. Rincover (2001) stated that the authors of both hypotheses presented convincing data and pointed out that there were in fact both positive and negative effects of being a working mother. According to Froberg et al. (1987), empirical evidence was more supportive of the expansion hypothesis (i.e. women who occupied several roles were believed to be healthier than those with few). Stephens and

Franks (1999) argued that growing literature on women's health showed that occupying multiple roles was associated with better overall well-being. A study done by Wethington and Kesler (1989) also found no support for the scarcity hypothesis when the outcome variable was psychological stress. They found that women who increased their labour-force participation reported lower, not higher levels of distress, consistent with the enhancement hypothesis.

However, not all research reported support for the enhancement hypothesis. Rogers (1996) tested the scarcity and enhancement hypothesis by using data from 1,530 mothers from the National Longitudinal Study of Youth. Using indices of marital happiness and marital conflict as outcomes, she found that marital happiness was lower for mothers who worked full-time; however, marital conflict was not associated with work hours or number of children.

Other researchers criticised both the enhancement and the scarcity hypotheses. Marks and MacDermid (1996) argued that the literature relating to multiple roles had lost sight of the theoretical underpinnings of role theory, which held that one should examine a total role system rather than treat individual roles as distinct entities separable from the whole. An assumption often found in some role theories is that role systems are inherently hierarchical, which means that juggling roles requires the favouring of one role over another (Thoits, 1992). Arguing against this assumption, Marks and MacDermid (1996) proposed that, even though this was how roles might be organised for some people,

"role balance", where roles were given relatively equal attention and weight, might be the desired state for many.

Repetti and Crouter (2000) argued that a serious limitation of studies which addressed multiple roles, from both the expansion or scarcity hypothesis, was the lack of attention given to the connection between role enactment (e.g. the behaviours linked to a role) and role responsibility (e.g. taking on psychological responsibility for a role). A gender perspective challenged researchers to examine how individuals constructed and gave meaning to their roles, as it was ultimately this meaning which a person attached to role behaviour that held consequences for the individual's and the family's functioning (Ferree, 1990). Various researchers, in their work on the meaning of the provider role for women and men (Hood, 1983; Perry-Jenkins & Crouter, 1990; Perry-Jenkins, Seery, & Crouter, 1992; Potuchek, 1992), found that employment status alone revealed little about the meaning and value of that role for the individual.

Hyde, DeLamater and Durik (2001) stated that both the scarcity and enhancement perspectives took little account of individual differences, specifically individual differences in identities. Identity theory (Stryker & Serpe, 1994; Stryker & Statham, 1985), in contrast, introduced the related constructs of commitment and identity salience. An individual may have multiple role identities, for example, that of wife, mother and employee. The construct of identity salience rests on the notion that the individual's various identities fall into a hierarchy from most to least salient, based on the individual's readiness to enact a role

identity. Stryker and Serpe (1994) held that the salience of a role identity was a function of commitment to that role; commitment reflected the social and personal costs that would result if the person no longer fulfilled the role. Insofar as salience indicates the individual's readiness to enact a role, high family salience (compared with work salience) should be associated with more positive relationship outcomes. Inter-role conflicts would be strong only for salient identities; thus for people who are high in both work salience and family salience, the conflict should be strong and should be reflected in negative outcomes for family relationships. Statistically, this leads to a prediction of an interaction between work salience and family salience in predicting family relationships' outcomes.

Stephens and Franks (1999) argued that, although the scarcity and expansion perspectives made different predictions about the effects of multiple roles, both were limited in that they focused on role occupancy alone (quantity) rather than on the quality of experiences that transpired within roles. Given this emphasis on quantity, both perspectives predicted either a net gain or a net loss of resources, regardless of role experiences. In contrast, perspectives that focused on the quality of role experiences asserted that two similar roles could involve different cost/benefit ratios within and across these roles. Such perspectives thus suggested that problems and rewards in roles should both be considered, so that the quality of role experiences could be determined (Barnett & Baruch, 1985).

Recent research and theory framed by the enhancement hypothesis, no longer focused simply on the number of roles but also on the quality of roles (Barnett et al., 1993).

According to this view, a woman's psychological distress was influenced not by whether she was employed or not but rather by the quality of that work role. Empirical research supported this view (Barnett et al., 1993; Greenberger & O'Neil, 1993). Greenberger and O'Neil (1993), in a study of men and women in dual-earner marriages and parenting a pre-school child, found that lack of satisfaction in the parental, marital and work roles was a particularly potent predictor of distress (depression and anxiety) for women. Similarly, Barnett et al. (1993) maintained that job-role quality and marital-role quality were significantly negatively associated with psychological distress for women in a sample of dual-career couples.

A study done by Hyde, DeLamater and Hewitt (1998) to assess the relationship between multiple roles and sexual functioning, found no support for the scarcity hypothesis, and specifically for the assertion that multiple roles for women created stress and negative psychosocial outcomes. They argued that the scarcity hypothesis was not likely to be based on a realistic view of the stresses and fatigue involved in being a full-time homemaker, nor did it adequately recognize the ways in which employed mothers coped, for example, by doing less housework or by hiring someone to do some of the household work. However, the enhancement hypothesis did not fare well either. Employed women did not show enhanced sexual outcomes compared with homemakers. Their conclusion was that, in their simple forms, the scarcity hypothesis took inadequate account of the benefits of employment, and the enhancement hypothesis was based on an assumption that all work was rewarding.

4.5 The Expansionist Theory

Barnett and Hyde (2001) proposed a new theory for understanding contemporary American women and men. The expansionist theory is based on the notion that multiple roles, in general, are beneficial to both men and women; this is also consistent with other current research. These researchers acknowledge that theories are culture- and time-bound. However, they believe that the new expansionist theory will be far more useful in guiding future research and clinical practice than the current expansion hypothesis.

The expansionist theory was first proposed by Barnett and Hyde in 2001, and to date, not much information is as yet available about it.

4.6 Conclusion

Chapter 4 provided the contextual background against which the research was conducted. Two hypotheses were discussed - the expansion hypothesis and the scarcity hypothesis. Criticism of both hypotheses was also provided. The chapter was concluded with a short discussion on a third hypothesis which was first mentioned in the literature in November 2001, that of the expansionist theory. Chapter 5 will look at the research process which includes the problem statement, the research design, the pilot study, participants and sampling, measures used in the collection of data, the procedure for data

collection, and the data analysis process.

Chapter 5

Research Design and Methodology

5.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter looks at the problem statement of this research study, the research design, participants, sample selection, measures used, the procedure of data collection and the analysis of the data.

5.2 Problem Statement

An increasing number of women are choosing to combine careers and traditional roles as mothers. This has opened up a new field of research, and much has been written about the benefits and disadvantages of combining these two major life roles (Niven & Carroll, 1992; Spain & Bianchi, 1996).

In South Africa, a cross-ethnic study was done in 1985 by Heald on the subjective experiences of employed mothers, and their relationship to maternal child-rearing practices.

The results of this study showed that significant differences existed between the various ethnic groups with regards to job satisfaction. Moderate differences were found between the various ethnic groups's self-concept and child-rearing practices, experience of role

conflict, relationship between their level of job satisfaction and experience of role conflict, and the relationship between job satisfaction and self-concept. In addition, no significant relationship was found between job satisfaction and child-rearing practices, and with regard to the relationship between role conflict and self-concept within the various ethnic groups.

The current study will look at the impact of employment on working mothers' subjective well-being, and will focus specifically on one group, i.e. White employed mothers. Only one ethnic group was decided upon in order to eliminate possible cultural influences on women's perceptions of their dual life roles.

The study is thought to be worthwhile as it will undoubtedly contribute to understanding White working mothers' subjective experiences in balancing the two life roles of mother and employee. This understanding could in turn contribute to finding solutions to ease these women's workload and enhance their mental health both in the workplace and at home. This is likely to have a positive snowballing effect on both women's home and work lives, and on their family system as a whole.

5.3 Research Design

This study can be described as a multiple case study. Dyer (1995) argued that in psychology, the aim of putting together a case study was to explore some aspects of the behaviour and subjective experiences of an individual. According to Mitchell (1983), a

case study is a detailed examination of an event, or series of events, which the analyst believes exhibits the operation of some identified general theoretical principle. Bromley (1986) defined a case study as "any systematic account of a person in a situation provided that account is based on empirical evidence and rational methods of inference" (p. 352). Yin (1989) defined a case study as an empirical inquiry that (a) investigated a contemporary phenomenon within its real life contexts when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context were not clearly evident and in which (c) multiple sources of evidence were used.

Various advantages and disadvantages of the case study have been quoted in literature. Dyer (1995) held that the main benefit of the case study approach was the amount of in-depth detail that could be obtained. Simons (1996) stated that one of the advantages of the case study was its uniqueness, its capacity for understanding complexity in particular contexts. Yin (1989) argued that the case study was a valuable research tool, and that its major strength was that it measured and recorded behaviour. This researcher also stated that a further strength of the case study method was that data could be collected from a variety of sources, both qualitative and quantitative, including documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artifacts. Any findings or conclusions in a case study are thus supported by a chain of multiple evidence from different sources, and are therefore more convincing and accurate than a finding or conclusion from, for example, a survey. The fact that multiple sources of evidence are used, thus help to prevent subjective bias (Yin, 1989).

On the other hand, Dyer (1995) maintained that one of the main disadvantages of the case study approach was that information obtained from one or more individuals, might not be applicable to the wider population. Simons (1996) also cited this as a disadvantage, arguing that it was difficult to generalise the results of a case study. House (1992, in Yin, 2000) held that one of the major drawbacks of the case study was its subjectivity - the fact that the interpretation of data often relied heavily on the interpretation of the researcher, if qualitative data collection methods were used.

The case study method was thought to be best suited to meet the aims of the present study, as the participants' behaviour and/or feelings were explored. Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) recommended that, when the data that is used is primarily in the form of verbal responses, it is more reliable to use qualitative methodologies, as "such approaches are capable of providing greater sensitivity to many.....subtle and fine-grained complexities" (p. 634). However, as discussed in the following paragraph, quantitative measures were added to the data collection method to ensure greater validity, thus resulting in a triangulation research design.

Both quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (semi-structured interviews) methods were used in this research. Qualitative methods have been found to be particularly useful to gain insight into the psychological processes which form part of the individual's perception of his/her own subjective well-being. It allows the researcher to describe mind and behaviour in terms of the consensually validated thought patterns and modes of

experience of a particular individual. The quantitative measures were then added to add to the credibility of the results, thus resulting in a triangulation research study.

The benefit of triangulation research (using both quantitative and qualitative methods) is that, should results of both the qualitative and quantitative measures confirm each other, the validity of the results is said to be strengthened. Groenewald (1995) argued that the validity and reliability of results were greater when it could be confirmed by a variety of techniques and procedures, rather than when the results were based on one single technique or procedure. Rosnow and Rosenthal (1996), who defined triangulation as "the process of using multiple methods to zero in on the effect of interest" (p. 416), held that triangulation lends credence to the results of a study.

A pilot study (see section 5.6) was conducted on two participants to test a number of open-ended questions. On the basis of these results, a final set of semi-structured questions were formulated for the main study.

5.4 Participants and Sampling

5.4.1 Description of sample

The number of participants was decided upon at the point at which data saturation was reached. Saturation point was reached after interviews with eight participants. All

participants were married, full-time employed mothers between the ages of 30 and 50; each participant had at least one child still of school-going age or younger, who lived at home. All subjects were from the White ethnic group and were clerical staff at the University of Port Elizabeth. The University of Port Elizabeth was chosen for its convenient location; in selecting the clerical staff as subjects, the sample of participants was kept as homogeneous as possible.

Although a total of eight participants took part in the study, results of only seven of these were used, as one participant's husband was found to be at home full-time; this factor was considered to be an important variable which could affect the results of the study. As expected, the information obtained during the interview with this particular participant was also vastly different from that obtained from the other seven participants. It was thus decided to not use her results in the study.

Out of the seven participants whose results were used, six were Afrikaans-speaking and one was English-speaking. Selection of the participants' home language was not done in a purposeful way, but was merely an incidental result of the snowballing technique used when obtaining the sample.

5.4.2 Sampling

A convenience sample located via the snowballing technique was obtained for this

study. Groenewald (1995) stated that snowball samples "form around the first case which provides information about similar cases, which are then traced, and which in turn provide information about further cases" (p. 19). Breakwell, Hammond and Fife-Schaw (1995) maintained that one of the disadvantages of the snowballing technique was the possibility of built-in biases, as one would only get to contact people who were in the social network that one tapped into. The main advantages of the snowballing technique are its convenience and greater accessibility of potential subjects.

Initially, one subject was approached and asked to nominate other possible participants. To further ensure sample homogeneity, subjects were all derived from the University of Port Elizabeth clerical staff.

5.5 Measures

Both qualitative and quantitative measures were used.

5.5.1 Qualitative measure: the semi-structured interview

The first set of data (qualitative) was collected using formal semi-structured in-depth interviews, which took the form of six broad open-ended questions. Bailey (1987) called this a focused interview, and stated that a semi-structured interview allowed the interviewer to work within the basic structure of certain themes (questions), but that it also

allowed flexibility in the way the questions were asked, in case of a need for clarification. This, said Bailey (1987), would allow the interviewer to investigate deeply into the subjective areas of the participant's mind, to uncover his/her real feelings. Cohen and Manion (1980) viewed the focused interview as being relatively unstructured, yet it was focused around particular topics or guided by some general questions.

The questions were semi-structured in the sense that basic questions were posed to participants. If insufficient or irrelevant information was provided by the participant, or if it was clear that the participant did not understand the question, the researcher was able to probe for further clarification or further explain the question if needed. The questions were designed in such a way as to meet the aims of the study (see Appendix 2).

As stated above, the major advantage of the semi-structured interview is the fact that the interviewer can probe for further clarification on those questions which are answered in an unclear manner. Green, Brannigan, Mazelan and Giles (1994) argued that the interview facilitated deeper probing of issues as opposed to the use of questionnaires. Babbie (1989) maintained that the presence of an interviewer decreased the number of "don't knows" and "no answers", as the interviewer could then explore further.

Rosenthal and Rosnow (1996) outlined the advantages of a face-to-face interview:

- 1) It provides an opportunity to establish rapport with the subjects and to stimulate the trust and cooperation often needed to probe sensitive areas.

- 2) It provides an opportunity to help the subjects in their interpretation of the questions.
- 3) It allows flexibility in determining the wording and sequence of the questions by giving the researcher greater control over the situation.

Several researchers, however, discuss the various disadvantages of the interview method. Bailey (1987) mentioned various disadvantages of the interview method, such as cost, time, interview bias, inconvenience, and less anonymity for interviewees. Van Lingen (1996) stated that some of the disadvantages of the semi-structured interview were the time required for collecting and coding the data, possible sampling error affecting the generalisability of results, and the questionable validity and reliability of the data. Dyer (1995) held that one of the disadvantages of the interview method was that the information obtained would consist of the interviewer's interpretation of the interviewee's words, as the researcher did not only have to interpret what the interviewee said, but also what he/she meant. He suggested that detailed transcriptions of the interview be provided, and further mentioned that the use of triangulation could be effective in overcoming this drawback. In order to increase the reliability and validity of this study, all interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim.

5.5.2 Quantitative measures: questionnaires

In addition to the qualitative measures used in this study, participants were asked to complete two questionnaires (quantitative information). Cozby (1993) mentioned two

potential problems with self-report measures. He maintained that, firstly, participants might tend to respond to all questions from a particular perspective, rather than provide answers that were directly related to the questions; this could affect the usefulness of data obtained. Participants could, for example, give what they perceive to be socially acceptable answers - the way he or she thinks most people would respond or the way that reflected most favorably upon him or her. This is also called "faking good". However, participants could also respond in an opposite way - in a socially undesirable way, or "faking bad". Cozby (1993) held that this happened most often in hospital and mental health settings, where individuals felt they had something to gain by responding in this manner. A second problem which Cozby mentioned, was an individual's tendency to consistently agree or disagree with survey questions.

The following questionnaires were completed by participants:

5.5.2.1 Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS)

This questionnaire (See Appendix 3), which was developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985), is a five - item scale which measures global satisfaction with life as an index of psychological well-being. Pavot and Diener (1993a) stated that the SWLS was designed to assess a person's global judgment of life satisfaction, which was theoretically predicted to depend on a comparison of life circumstances and one's standards.

The initial item selection for the SWLS included 48 items that all had face validity as indicators of one's appraisal of life. Initial factor analysis revealed a three-factor structure with 10 items loading highly (greater than .60) on a factor reflecting cognitive-judgemental evaluative processes. Five of these items were considered redundant in wording or word choice, thus leading to the current five items of the SWLS (The Center for Outcome Measurement in Brain Injury, 2001).

The SWLS has been examined for both reliability and sensitivity. Pavot and Diener (1993a) argued that the SWLS had shown strong internal reliability and moderate temporal stability. Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985) reported a coefficient alpha of .87 for the scale and a 2-month test-retest stability coefficient of .82. Over longer periods, the test-retest stability decreased to a level (.54) that suggested that considerable change in the individual's life satisfaction might occur (Magnus, Diener, Fujita, & Pavot, 1992). Even when correcting for the alpha of the scale, these long-term stability coefficients suggested that only about half of the variance in life satisfaction could be accounted for by life satisfaction several years later. In terms of individual difference dimensions, the SWLS was found to be positively correlated with extraversion and inversely correlated with introversion and neuroticism (Pavot & Diener, 1993b), thus adding to the construct validity of the scale.

Initial and subsequent studies have examined the internal consistency of the SWLS, and alpha coefficients have repeatedly exceeded .80 (Pavot & Diener, 1993b). For

instance, Diener and his colleagues' original study found an alpha coefficient equalling .87 for 176 undergraduates at the University of Illinois (Diener et al., 1985). The psychometric properties of the SWLS were also proven to be adequate in several international studies. These were in the United States (Pavot & Diener, 1993b; Pavot, Diener, Calvin, & Sandvik, 1991), the People's Republic of China (Shao, 1993), Korea (Suh, 1994) and Russia (Balatsky & Diener, 1993). No similar study has been undertaken in South Africa to date.

Pavot and Diener (1993a) stated that the brief format of the SWLS meant that it could be incorporated into an assessment battery with minimum cost in time. Furthermore, work on the Extended Satisfaction With Life Scale by Alfonso and Allison (1992) indicated that the SWLS was at the reading level of the 6th to 10th grades (depending on the scoring system used) and was thus usable with most adults.

However, the SWLS also has limitations. Like any self-report instrument, respondents can consciously distort their responses if they are motivated to do so. Pavot and Diener (1993a) suggested that, for this reason, it was advisable to supplement the self-reported SWLS with assessments from external sources, whenever possible. One way to do this is by means of interviewer ratings, where an interviewer who has interviewed the respondent (for example in a clinical setting) gives his opinion with regard to the respondent's replies; this can then be used as a check on the respondent's replies. They further argued that several of the strengths of the SWLS, in terms of allowing respondents

freedom, could also be seen as liabilities in terms of an unambiguous interpretation of the test score. As an example, these researchers mentioned the fact that a respondent was allowed to use whatever standard she or he deemed to be appropriate, but this meant that it was unclear what standard the person had compared the conditions of her or his life to. The possibility of weighting any life domains (e.g. health, marriage, hobbies) in composing an answer, was thus left out, which meant that a person could overweigh domains that happened to be salient at the time of testing.

Scores on the SWLS can be interpreted in terms of absolute as well as relative satisfaction. Pavot and Diener (1993a) stated that absolute scores could be divided into several categories as shown in Table 5 overleaf.

Table 5

Interpretation of scores on the Satisfaction With Life Scale

Score	Interpretation
26 - 30	Satisfied
21 - 25	Slightly Satisfied
20	Neutral (equally satisfied and dissatisfied)
15 - 19	Slightly dissatisfied
10 - 14	Dissatisfied
5 - 9	Extremely dissatisfied

Pavot and Diener (1993a) stated that most people fell in the range of 23 - 28, or the ranges of "slightly satisfied" to "satisfied". They argued that this mean appeared to reflect the widely replicated finding that non-clinical samples were above the neutral point in subjective well-being.

5.5.2.2 Beck Depression Inventory (BDI)

This is a 21-item, self-report rating scale (see Appendix 4) which measures supposed manifestations of depression (Stinton, 2002). It was first introduced by Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Mock and Erbaugh in 1961 (Stinton, 2002), and revised in 1971 and made copyright in 1978 (Groth-Marnat, 1990). Each item contains four or five statements

which represent gradations of severity of between 0 and 3 of a given symptom. The respondent has to choose the statement that most closely resembles his or her current state.

The Beck Depression Inventory was chosen to assess the level of depression in participants; this will be used as one of the measures of their subjective well-being.

As a result of its durable use and availability, the BDI has become widely accepted for both clinical screening and research applications. It is frequently used in non-psychiatric medical and other patients (Williams, 1992). According to Nierenberg (1996, in Williams, 1992), the Beck Depression Inventory was one of the most common self-rating scales used today, and was readily available. Winter, Steer, Jones-Hicks and Beck (1999) found the BDI to be a useful instrument for screening for clinical depression in adolescents during routine medical examinations. Steer, Cavalieri, Leonard and Beck (1999) stated that the BDI was an effective instrument for screening primary care patients with major depression disorders. Smith and Erford (1998) stated that the BDI provided a fast, efficient way to assess depression in either a clinical or non-clinical environment.

However, Smith and Erford (1998) also mentioned some concerns about the BDI. The first was that the standardization sample was not demographically representative of the U.S. population, and secondly, the fact that little evidence had been provided regarding the gender and culture fairness of the items and total score. These researchers argued that predominantly White females from the east coast were used in the sample. They further

held that the standardization sample was somewhat small, containing only 500 individuals, and that the socioeconomic status of the participants was not reported.

Various studies have shown that the BDI is indeed a reliable and valid instrument. Internal consistency for the BDI ranges from .73 to .92 with a mean of .86 (Beck, Steer, & Garbin, 1988). The BDI demonstrates high internal consistency, with alpha coefficients of .86 and .81 for psychiatric and non-psychiatric populations respectively (Beck et al., 1988). Stinton (2002) reported that the BDI has a split-half reliability co-efficient of .93.

It is of special interest to know that test-retest reliabilities reported for a variety of subject groups ranged from .74 to .93 (Kaszniak & Allender, 1985, in Lezak, 1995). Although Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Mock and Erbaugh (1961) did not recommend conventional test re-test reliability for the original measures for the BDI (1961), as scores could be spuriously inflated due to memory factors if the BDI was re-administered within a short interval, Groth-Marnat (1990) reported that test re-test reliability of the BDI ranged from .48 to .86, depending on the interval between re-testing and type of population.

As far as concurrent validity is concerned, Lezak (1995) reported that, when compared with other self-report measures, coefficients for this scale ranged from .81 for psychiatric patients (the Zung Self-Rating Depression Scale) to .57 for patients in a chemical dependency ward (the Depression scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory - 2). Groth-Marnat (1990) reported moderate correlations between the revised

BDI and other scales measuring depression such as the Hamilton Psychiatric Rating Scale for Depression (.73) and the Zung Self Reported Depression Scale (.76) and the MMPI Depression Scale (.76).

With regards to criterion or predictive validity, the BDI has been able to discriminate the level of adjustment in seventh-graders (Alberts & Beck, 1975, as cited in Groth-Marnat, 1990). Reporting on content validity, Beck et al. (1961) stated that the content of the BDI was obtained by consensus from clinicians regarding symptoms of depressed patients. Groth-Marnat (1990) reported that the revised BDI was consistent with six of the nine DSM-III categories for the diagnosis of depression.

Possible scores range from 0 - 40. Munro (1996) stated that a person's total score could be interpreted as follows:

Table 6

Interpretation of scores on the Beck Depression Inventory

Score	Interpretation
1 - 10	Normal
11 - 16	Mild Depression
17 - 20	Borderline Clinical Depression
21 - 30	Moderate Depression
31 - 40	Severe Depression
Over 40	Extreme Depression

5.6 Procedure

A pilot study was conducted on two participants to test the questions which formed the basis of the semi-structured interview. Both participants experienced some difficulty in understanding the original wording of questions 4 and 5, and the wording of these two questions was subsequently improved upon; it then read as "specific factors which make it easier/more difficult to combine the two roles". The remainder of the questions used in the pilot study succeeded in obtaining the required information; their original wording was retained. As the purpose of the pilot study was merely to test the effectiveness of the questions, the results will not be discussed here. The results of the test conducted on these two participants were not included in the final study.

In line with the snowballing technique, the first subject, who was a referral from a colleague of the researcher at the university, was contacted telephonically; the purpose and value of the research study were explained to her. This person was then asked to nominate other possible participants, who were in turn asked to nominate additional possible participants. All subjects contacted were assured of the confidentiality of their responses. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) emphasised the importance of informing subjects about the purpose of the research project, obtaining their informed consent and protecting their identities. After they had agreed to participate in the study, arrangements were made to deliver the questionnaires to them for completion. Thereafter, an appointment was made with each participant for the interview, at which time the completed questionnaires were collected from them. At the outset of the interview, participants were all requested to sign a consent form which reflected their willingness to participate in the study (see Appendix 1). In order to ensure honest responses, all participants were once again ensured of the anonymity of their responses; the importance of truthful responses for the validity of the study was also explained to them. Individual feedback at a later date, as well as the overall results of the study, were offered to all participants. All participants expressed their interest in receiving this feedback.

The researcher personally conducted all the interviews. With the participants' permission, all interviews were audio-taped and transcribed into typed verbatim records. The transcription process involved repeated listenings to the recordings. The two questionnaires were scored according to the prescribed methods. Hereafter, the data was

analysed and interpreted; this constituted the last step in the procedure. The analysis and interpretation of data are discussed in more detail in the next section.

5.7 Data Analysis

In 1992, Bogdan and Biklen stated that data analysis in a qualitative study involved "working with data, organizing them, breaking them into manageable units, synthesizing them, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (p. 153).

The transcribed interviews were analysed through thematic content analysis. The researcher attempted to identify recurrent themes that emerged as a result of the on-going analysis. The first step in this process involved identifying the key ideas mentioned in each interview (hereafter referred to as coding units). These coding units were taken from the participants' answers to the questions asked during the interviews and reflect the main areas of investigation which were covered in the questions. Thereafter, themes were identified (coding categories), which provided a means of sorting the data. Van Lingen (1996) said that the development of coding categories was typically undertaken after the completion of the field work, and was based on an overview of all the data gathered during the field work stage. This researcher said that coding categories were developed by "searching through the data for regularities and patterns, and writing down words or phrases to represent these topics and patterns, which then are refined into coding categories" (1996, p. 104). Bogdan

and Bilken (1992) argued that particular research questions and concerns, or certain theoretical approaches, could suggest certain coding categories. After these coding categories were developed, the data was sorted into these categories. The coding categories used are explained in the next chapter.

Data obtained from the two questionnaires was analysed and interpreted in terms of the categories of possible scores. Each participant was given a total score, with a corresponding meaning, e.g. if a participant's score was 35 on the Beck Depression Inventory, the interpretation was that he/she fell in the "Severe Depression" category. The researcher then explored and described the relationship between the results of the two tests and the information obtained from the interviews. For example, if the participant mentioned above concluded in the interview that his/her being employed harmed his/her emotional well-being, the results of the two questionnaires were then compared with this comment to see if it matched or correlated with his/her subjective interpretation of her emotional well-being. In all cases, the results of the two questionnaires confirmed the participants' verbal reports of their emotional well-being. It is important to note that this correlation between the qualitative and quantitative data was not used to achieve one of the objectives of the study, but merely to aid in the description of the participants' subjective well-being.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the research process, including the problem statement, the research design, the pilot study, participants, sampling method and measures used in the

collection of data. Finally, the procedure for data collection and the data analysis process were discussed.

Chapter 6

Results and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The results of the study are presented in this chapter. The chapter starts with a description of the settings where the interviews took place. Thereafter, general information about the participants and their home environment is given, as well as certain comments about the interaction between the interviewer and the participants. After an explanation of the presentation of the results, which includes the coding categories used for the tabling of the interview data, the information obtained from each of the interviews is then described and discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary of the data obtained from all participants, presented in table format.

Wolcott (1990) suggested that the results of a qualitative study should be written in the first person, if possible, as the researcher's perceptions form an integral part of the results. As the researcher conducted all the interviews herself, the descriptions in the rest of this chapter are done in the first person. Wolcott (1990) also suggested that the writing up of qualitative research should not be directed at scientists and academics, but rather at the average reader. The rest of this chapter is thus presented with this suggestion in mind.

6.2 Description of setting and interaction between participants and researcher/interviewer

I initially contacted all participants telephonically to explain the purpose of the study and to request their participation. Interviews were conducted at the convenience of the participants. Most participants preferred to have the interview conducted at work; only one interview was conducted at a participant's home at her request. All interviews were conducted with only the interviewer and participant present in order to ensure the participants' open and honest responses.

Before every interview, I again reassured participants of the confidentiality of their responses and they all signed a consent form, which reflected their willingness to participate in the study. I also requested their permission to audio-tape the interview and all participants agreed to this. I conducted the interviews in a relatively informal and non-threatening manner.

During the interviews, I systematically reviewed information given by the participants, clarified issues and probed as to whether the participants had anything more to add before moving on to the next question. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), qualitative researchers are concerned with capturing a participant's perspective accurately; this can only be achieved by checking information verbally with participants.

Although a total of eight participants were interviewed, I decided to use the results of only seven of the participants, due to the fact that the eighth participant's husband was at home full-time, having been boarded from his work the previous year. He thus performed many household- and childcare duties which other participants in the study were responsible for; this meant that this participant's after-hour duties were far less than that of the other participants. As this factor had the potential to skew the results of this study, I decided not to use her results in the study.

6.3 Presentation of results

The participants and their interview transcripts are named A, B, C, D, E, F & G respectively. Participants were given letters for confidentiality reasons. The interview transcripts are attached in Appendix 5. In certain interviews, factual information was removed and indicated as, for example (*health problem*) and (*name of town*) to further protect the identities of the interviewees. The summaries of interview data coded into key ideas are included in Table 14. A summary of the data obtained through the two questionnaires is included in Table 15.

The information obtained from the interviews is discussed separately for each participant. These individual sections all start with a short description of each participant, as well as the nature of the interaction between the participant and the interviewer. A summary of the interview data for each participant is presented in table format, after which

a discussion of the data follows. In the summary table, reference is made to the codes allocated to the key ideas.

The categories used to table the information obtained through the interviews were developed after a thorough review of all the interview data. The table headings are as follows:

1. *Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee*, which includes participants' descriptions of their subjective experience.
2. *Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual roles*, which includes both internal and external coping methods and techniques/approaches. This also includes external factors which helped them cope with their dual roles.
3. *Benefits in combining the two roles*, which includes that of the participant herself and her family.
4. *Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles*, which includes both internal and practical problems/difficulties.
5. *Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult*, which includes both external and internal factors.
6. *Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being*, categorized as either a positive or negative effect.

6.3.1 Participant A

6.3.1.1 Description of participant and interaction

Participant A is the mother of a six-year old boy who attends pre-primary school in the morning and aftercare in the afternoon. Her husband works full-time. On a personal level, she came across as a calm, contented and well cared-for woman.

The interview was conducted at her home during the evening.

Interaction with this participant was comfortable. She initially answered my questions in a somewhat restrained and cautious manner, and I often had to probe for clarification or further comments in the early stages of the interview. However, this soon changed and she became more open and candid with her responses.

6.3.1.2 Interview data

The information obtained through the interview with Participant A is categorized in Table 7 and discussed below.

Table 7: Summary of Interview Data: Participant A

Category	Coding Unit	Frequency
1. Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee		
1.1 Physically exhausting	A1	1
1.2 Hard work		0
1.3 Two full-time jobs		0
1.4 Very busy		0
1.5 Difficult		0
1.6 Very demanding		0
1.7 Feelings of being torn in two		0
2. Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual roles		
2.1 Being organized	A2	1
2.2 Good childcare	A27	1
2.3 Domestic help	A28	1
2.4 Electrical household appliances, e.g. dishwasher	A29	1
2.5 Flexible boss	A30	1
2.6 Supportive family/friends	A31	1
2.7 Help from husband	A32, A36	2
2.8 Making time for herself		0
2.9 Help from children		0

2.10 Being a practical/strong/positive person		0
2.11 Understanding husband		0
2.12 Personal faith/religious convictions		0
2.13 'Easy' and adaptable child/ren		0
3. Benefits in combining the two roles		
3.1 Personal enjoyment of work role	A3, A12, A13	3
3.2 Stimulated by work role	A4, A10, A11, A15	4
3.3 Child/ren stimulated by social interaction with other children/more independent	A5, A17, A18	3
3.4 Financial benefits for whole family	A14, A16	2
3.5 More intellectual stimulation for child/ren	A19, A20	2
4. Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles		
4.1 Little personal/free time	A6, A21	2
4.2 Guilt/conflict feelings	A7, A8, A9, A25, A35	5
4.3 Not sufficient time to fulfil household and/or childcare duties	A22, A24	2
4.4 Physical exhaustion/irritability/impatience	A23, A26	2
4.5 Little time to spend with child/ren/family		0
4.6 Difficulty in maintaining marital relationship		0
5. Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult		
5.1 When child/ren is/are sick	A33	1
5.2 Having to work late	A34	1
5.3 Husband who does not do his share		0
5.4 Feeling of being responsible for home and/or children	A37	1
5.5 Long work hours/hours away from home due to work		0
5.6 Child's academic problem		0
5.7 Own health problems		0

6. Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being		
6.1 Positive	A38	1
6.2 Negative		0

6.3.1.3 Discussion of interview date

6.3.1.3.1 Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee

Participant A described the overall experience of her dual role as demanding, and really tapping of her resources. She immediately mentioned the necessity of being organized. This participant said that although her life would probably be easier if she did not work, she did, however, enjoy her work.

6.3.1.3.2 Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual roles

Participant A started off by stating that being organized is essential for her to help her cope with both roles. Regarding her child, Participant A initially mentioned the organization of a good childcare set-up, which gave her peace of mind. She also said that her parents, who live close by, were always available to help in cases of emergency. With regards to her household, she mentioned the help she received from her domestic servant,

and the convenience of household appliances like a washing machine and dishwasher, which eased her workload. As far as her formal employment was concerned, she said that her immediate superior was flexible and understood when she came in an hour or two late in case of a crisis at home. Participant A mentioned that her husband was supportive and helped whenever she needed him to, for example to take their child to the dentist when she was unable to do so. As far as the division of household tasks was concerned, she said that the overall responsibility lay with her, but that her husband was prepared to help if she asked him. The only fixed tasks she mentioned her husband was solely responsible for, were making their bed in the morning, preparing and packing sandwiches, removing garbage, and the maintenance of the garden. He also took their child to pre-primary school in the morning. In addition, he sporadically helped with various routine tasks, like preparing breakfast, although she said that this did not happen on a regular basis. Apart from her husband taking their child to school, all other aspects of childcare remained exclusively her responsibility.

6.3.1.3.3 Benefits in combining the two roles

Participant A mentioned benefits of combining the two roles for herself, her child and her family. On a personal level, she said that she felt enriched by her work, and enjoyed the stimulation that she received from it. She felt that her work made her happy, which in turn spilled over into her family life. Benefits for her child included the fact that it had made him more adaptable and had taught him to socialise with other children (he was

an only child). She was also happy about the stimulation and exposure he received at pre-primary school and aftercare. Benefits for her family included the additional income which allowed them greater financial freedom, for example being able to go away on holidays, and the fact that her own happiness from being employed spilled over into her family life.

6.3.1.3.4 Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles

The disadvantages which Participant A mentioned centred mostly around lack of time. She stated that she had very little time for herself, to relax or do things like reading, which she enjoyed; she only had time for reading when she got into bed at night. By that stage, she was so tired from the day's activities and demands that she barely read half a page before falling asleep. She furthermore mentioned the fact that she did not always have the energy to prepare wholesome meals for her family, which she often felt guilty about. She spoke about always feeling pressurized when she was at home, as so many things needed to be done. Participant A also talked about guilt feelings towards her child, as she was often irritable and impatient in her dealings with him due to her fatigue. Participant A furthermore wondered whether her being employed was harming her child in any way, and these thoughts compounded her guilt feelings.

6.3.1.3.5 Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult

Participant A said that when her child was sick, she experienced considerable pressure and guilt feelings. The same applied to the occasional instance when she was

required to work late. She also mentioned that even though her husband was prepared to help her, the overall responsibility for the household and her child still rested with her.

6.3.1.3.6 Participants' perception of overall effect of combining two roles on their emotional well-being

Participant A felt strongly that the result of her combining the two roles was more positive than negative, both on her emotional well-being as well as on other aspects of her functioning.

6.3.2 Participant B

6.3.2.1 Description of participant and interaction

Participant B is the mother of two children, aged five and eight years old. The older child attends primary school in the morning, and aftercare in the afternoon. The younger child attends full-time day care. Her husband works full-time. The interview was conducted in her office at work.

Interaction with this participant was relaxed and the conversation was free-flowing. I found her to be particularly honest, open and willing to share. On a personal level, she came across as a somewhat introverted person who was at ease with herself and her

world.

6.3.2.2 Interview data

The information obtained through the interview with Participant B is categorized in Table 8 and discussed below.

Table 8 : Summary of Interview Data - Participant B

Category	Coding Unit	Frequency
1. Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee		
1.1 Physically exhausting	B1	1
1.2 Hard work	B2	1
1.3 Two full-time jobs		0
1.4 Very busy		0
1.5 Difficult		0
1.6 Very demanding		0
1.7 Feelings of being torn in two		0
2. Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role		

2.1 Being organized		0
2.2 Good childcare		0
2.3 Domestic help	B27	1
2.4 Electrical household appliances, e.g. dishwasher		0
2.5 Flexible boss		0
2.6 Supportive family/friends	B25	1
2.7 Help from husband	B26	1
2.8 Making time for herself	B21	1
2.9 Help from children	B22, B24	2
2.10 Being a practical/strong/positive person	B30	1
2.11 Understanding husband		0
2.12 Personal faith/religious convictions		0
2.13 'Easy' and adaptable child/ren		0
3. Benefits in combining the two roles		
3.1 Personal enjoyment of work role	B9, B11	2
3.2 Stimulated by work role	B10	1
3.3 Child/ren stimulated by social interaction with other children/more independent	B16	1
	B6, B7, B8, B12, B13, B14	
3.4 Financial benefits for whole family	B15	6
3.5 More intellectual stimulation for child/ren		1
4. Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles		
4.1 Little personal/free time	B3, B4	2
4.2 Guilt/conflict feelings	B5, B20	2
4.3 Not sufficient time to fulfil household and/or childcare duties		0
4.4 Physical exhaustion/irritability/impatience	B19	1

4.5 Little time to spend with child/ren/family	B18	1
4.6 Difficulty maintaining marital relationship		0
5. Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult		
5.1 When child/ren is/are sick		0
5.2 Having to work late		0
5.3 Husband who does not do his share	B17	1
5.4 Feeling responsible for home and/or children	B28	1
5.5 Long work hours/hours away from home due to work		0
5.6 Child's academic problem		0
5.7 Own health problems	B23	1
6. Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being		
6.1 Positive	B29, B31	2
6.2 Negative		0

6.3.2.3 Discussion of interview data

6.3.2.3.1 Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee

Participant B described her overall experience as "hard work". She mentioned the difficulty with regard to arriving home after a day's work at the office, and then having to start with her work at home. She also talked about how she simply functioned without thinking in order to cope. However, Participant B said that, at times, it did feel like

everything was too much for her.

6.3.2.3.2 Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual roles

Participant B said that one of the biggest things which helped her cope with her dual role was the fact that she always made sure she had time for herself. On a regular basis over weekends, her husband took the children out for two hours, which gave her some free time to spend on whatever she preferred. She also said that when she got home from work, she often took half an hour to "get myself (herself) together"; she may sit outside having a cup of tea, or talking to her children about their day, before she started her household tasks like cooking and cleaning. Furthermore, the fact that everyone in the house was assigned specific tasks which he or she was responsible for, also took some of the pressure off her. For example, she mentioned that her children each made his or her own bed, and often made sandwiches for themselves if she was too busy with other tasks. She had also taught them to clean up after themselves, which saved her time. As far as her husband was concerned, he was responsible for vacuuming the house on a regular basis, and looking after the maintenance of the garden. She also said that he sometimes helped with doing the dishes after dinner, although not on a regular basis. Her husband also helped her if the children were sick and had to be taken to the doctor, as his work location was closer to their school and aftercare than hers was. Participant B mentioned that her parents-in-law also sometimes assisted her with the children when needed. In addition, she

stated that she employed a domestic servant once a week, but apart from that, she was responsible for the rest of the household- and childcare tasks, other than the family's input mentioned above. Finally, she said that she is basically a positive person, which helped her cope with her dual roles.

6.3.2.3.3 Benefits in combining the two roles

Like Participant A, Participant B also mentioned the benefits of combining the two roles for herself, her children and her family. For herself, she said that her work gave her satisfaction, and that it provided her with a challenge. She said that she enjoyed her job very much and that she became engrossed in her work. As far as her children were concerned, Participant B felt that they really appreciated the time that she did have available to spend with them, as she was not with them all day. She also felt that her younger child benefited substantially from going to full-time daycare, as he was a very sociable child who enjoyed the company of other children. Furthermore, she felt that her children had learned to be more adaptable as a result of her being employed. The additional income was an added benefit both for her family and specifically for her children. They could afford more things as a family and she could afford to provide more things for her children.

6.3.2.3.4 Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles

The first difficulties which Participant B mentioned was the lack of personal free time, which resulted in her feeling constantly tired and lacking the energy to fulfil her household- and childcare tasks in the manner that she felt she should. She said that she often felt irritable by the time she got home. Participant B also felt guilty about not spending enough time with her children. Lastly, she said that she always felt that she did not have enough time in a day to do everything required of her, or that she would like to do.

6.3.2.3.5 Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult

The first factor which Participant B mentioned was the fact that she often suffered from migraine headaches, which resulted in her having to withdraw from her family and any activities for up to an hour at a time. This obviously further impacted upon the time available to spend on necessary household - and childcare tasks. Furthermore, she said that her husband used to work shifts, which meant that he was not available to help with the children and/or household tasks at one stage; however, he was working normal hours again which took some pressure off her.

6.3.2.3.6 Participants' perception of overall result of combining two roles on their emotional well-being

Participant B felt that combining the two roles of mother and employer had a positive effect on her life. She said that she wanted to demonstrate and teach her children

that even if you found certain things in your life hard to cope with, that you could still do so in a positive way.

6.3.3 Participant C

6.3.3.1 Description of participant and interaction

Participant C is the mother of one child, a baby of seven months. The baby is looked after at a crèche on a full day basis. Her husband works full-time. The interview was conducted in her office at work.

Interaction with this participant was comfortable and she offered information freely. I seldom had to prompt her for clarification or further information. Personally, I perceived her to be an easy-going and extroverted person.

6.3.3.2 Interview data

The information obtained through the interview with Participant C is categorized in Table 9 and discussed below.

Table 9 : Summary of Interview Data - Participant C

Category	Coding Unit	Frequency
1. Participants' description of experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee		
1.1 Physically exhausting		0
1.2 Hard work	C1, C4	2
1.3 Two full-time jobs	C6	1
1.4 Very busy	C2	1
1.5 Difficult		0
1.6 Very demanding		0
1.7 Feelings of being torn in two		0
2. Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role		
2.1 Being organized	C20	1
2.2 Good childcare		0
2.3 Domestic help	C23	1
2.4 Electrical household appliances, e.g. dishwasher		0
2.5 Flexible boss		0
2.6 Supportive family/friends	C25	1
2.7 Help from husband	C24	1
2.8 Making time for herself		0
2.9 Help from children		0
2.10 Being a practical/strong/positive person		0
2.11 Understanding husband		0

2.12 Personal faith/religious convictions		0
2.13 'Easy' and adaptable child/ren		0
3. Benefits in combining the two roles		
3.1 Personal enjoyment of work role	C10, C15	2
3.2 Stimulated by work role	C11, C12, C16	3
3.3 Child/ren stimulated by social interaction with other children/more independent	C17	1
3.4 Financial benefits for the whole family	C13, C14	2
3.5 More intellectual stimulation for child/ren	C7	1
4. Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles		
4.1 Little personal/free time	C3, C5, C22	3
4.2 Guilt/conflict feelings	C8	1
4.3 Not sufficient time to fulfil household and/or childcare duties	C21	1
4.4 Physical exhaustion/irritability/impatience	C19	1
4.5 Little time to spend with child/ren/family	C9, C18	2
4.6 Difficulty maintaining marital relationship		0
5. Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult		
5.1 When child/ren is/are sick		0
5.2 Having to work late		0
5.3 Husband who does not do his share	C26	1
5.4 Feeling responsible for home and/or children	C27	0
5.5 Long work hours/hours away from home due to work		0
5.6 Child's academic problem		0
5.7 Own health problems		0
6. Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being		

6.1 Positive	C28	1
6.2 Negative		0

6.3.3.2 Discussion of interview data

6.3.3.2.1 Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee

Participant C described her overall experience as "hard work" and "busy". A number of times, she mentioned the difficulty she experienced in trying to fulfil all her duties as employee and mother, in the available time of each day. She said that she experienced both her formal employment and her role as mother as "full-time jobs", and that she often wondered where she got the strength from to cope with both.

6.3.3.2.2 Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role

Participant C identified four factors which made it easier for her to fulfil her dual role as mother and employee. Firstly, she said that she has adopted a routine, which helps her cope with all the work she needs to do. Secondly, the fact that she had a domestic servant three days per week, took a lot of household duties off her shoulders. Thirdly, her husband regularly cooked dinner, as he arrived home before she did, which enabled her to spend some time with her baby during that time. Her husband was also prepared to help

her with the baby when she was tired and needed a break, but he preferred her to handle most of the childcare tasks; Participant C thought that this might be because their baby was still very small. Lastly, she said that, in an emergency, she could rely on her mother's assistance, although she preferred not to do so unless it was absolutely necessary.

6.3.3.2.3 Benefits in combining the two roles

Participant C said that she enjoyed being amongst people, communicating with her colleagues and having people around to talk to. As far as her work was concerned, she found her work to be a challenge, and that it was healthy to "use her brain". She enjoyed the fact that her work stimulated her. Like all other participants, Participant C also mentioned the financial benefit for the whole family, and the fact that she was able to do more financially for her child. She also said that she did not think it was a good idea for a mother and child to be with one another 24 hours per day, and that this often created more stress between parent and child. In addition, she felt that her son received more stimulation at the crèche which he attended than he would have had, had he stayed at home with her all day. Furthermore, Participant C said that she believed that her child also benefited from the interaction with other children, as it would teach him social skills from a young age.

6.3.3.2.4 Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles

The main disadvantage which Participant C mentioned was the fact that she constantly felt short of time. She felt that she did not spend enough time with her child and often felt guilty about this. Participant C said that she did not always have enough time to complete all the household tasks the way she would like to and that she had very little time for herself, resulting in extreme tiredness.

6.3.3.2.5 Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult

Participant C could not identify any specific factors which made it more difficult for her to combine her two roles of employee and mother. Although upon probing, she stated that she was responsible for most household and all childcare tasks. Participant C admitted that her life would be easier if her husband contributed more to these tasks.

6.3.3.2.6 Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being

Participant C felt that combining the two roles of mother and employer added to her overall emotional well-being. She said that she felt that she was an emotionally healthier person because of the fact that she was employed.

6.3.4 Participant D

6.3.4.1 Description of participant and interaction

Participant D is the mother of two children, aged six and four. Both children go to a play school in the morning and to a day mother in the afternoon. Her husband works full-time. This participant travels a distance of about 50 km to and from work every day, which means that she spends a considerable amount of time travelling. In addition, she also has a physical disability which impacts upon any physical activity she is required to perform. The interview was conducted in her office at work.

Although this participant initially appeared rather reluctant to share her thoughts and feelings with me, she spoke very freely and offered a lot of information once she got over her initial hesitation. In retrospect, I have interpreted this initial hesitation as uncertainty on her part as to how much she should disclose about her obvious frustration with her husband's lack of contribution to household- and childcare tasks. On a personal level, I experienced her as an extroverted and optimistic person, with underlying frustration and agitation evident.

6.3.4.2 Interview data

The information obtained through the interview with Participant D is categorized in

Table 10, and discussed below.

Table 10 : Summary of Interview Data - Participant D

Category	Coding Unit	Frequency
1. Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee 1.1 Physically exhausting 1.2 Hard work 1.3 Two full-time jobs 1.4 Very busy 1.5 Difficult 1.6 Very demanding 1.7 Feelings of being torn in two	D1	0 0 0 0 1 0 0
2. Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role 2.1 Being organized 2.2 Good childcare 2.3 Domestic help 2.4 Electrical household appliances, e.g. dishwasher 2.5 Flexible boss 2.6 Supportive family/friends 2.7 Help from husband 2.8 Making time for herself 2.9 Help from children 2.10 Being a practical/strong/positive person	D24 D25 D27 D23 D22	1 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 1 1

2.11 Understanding husband		0
2.12 Personal faith/religious convictions		0
2.13 'Easy' and adaptable children		0
3. Benefits in combining the two roles		
3.1 Personal enjoyment of work role	D13, D31	2
3.2 Stimulated by work role	D9, D10	2
3.3 Child/ren stimulated by social interaction with other children/more independent	D15	1
3.4 Financial benefit for the whole family	D8, D12	2
3.5 More intellectual stimulation for child/ren		0
4. Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles		
4.1 Little personal/free time		0
4.2 Guilt/conflict feelings	D6, D7, D11, D14	4
4.3 Not sufficient time to fulfil household and/or childcare duties	D2, D3, D21	3
4.4 Physical exhaustion/irritability/impatience		0
4.5 Little time to spend with child/ren/family	D2, D4, D18	3
4.6 Difficulty maintaining marital relationship		0
5. Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult		
5.1 When child/ren is/are sick	D28	1
5.2 Having to work late		0
5.3 Husband who does not do his share	D5, D19, D20, D26	4
5.4 Feeling responsible for home and/or children	D29	1
5.5 Long work hours/hours away from home due to work	D16, D17	2
5.6 Child's academic problem		0
5.7 Own health problems		0
6. Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on		

their emotional well-being		
6.1 Positive	D30, D32	2
6.2 Negative		0

6.3.4.3 Discussion of interview data

6.3.4.3.1 Participants' overall experience of fulfilling the dual roles of mother and full-time employee

Participant D described her overall experience as "difficult". She said that, possibly because she was a new working mother (she had only returned to work eight months prior to our interview), she did not yet feel as if she had it all "under control". She also said that she often felt she was not coping too well. Furthermore, even though there were no overt signs that her children were suffering in any way, this participant often felt as if she was failing them. She often mentioned her guilt feelings towards her children, and said that she knew they would prefer it if she did not work at all.

6.3.4.3.2 Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role

The first factor which Participant D mentioned was the fact that she was a practical person who tried to make life as easy as possible for herself; she was trying to teach her

children to be like that as well. Secondly, she said that she expects her children to help with certain tasks, which also made her life as a full-time employee easier. She said that she tried to make life as easy as possible for herself by being organised. This participant mentioned that she did not have any family or friends whom she could call on to assist with the children in case of emergencies. Thus, if her husband was not prepared to or could not stand in for her, she often had to take the day off work to deal with any unexpected child-related events. Although her husband was prepared to help with some tasks (like cooking once a week), she felt that he should contribute more. She also employed the services of a domestic servant twice a week, which took some household tasks like ironing and cleaning the house off her shoulders.

6.3.4.3.3 Benefits in combining the two roles

Participant D said that she found it very stimulating to work, as she had felt very blunted and isolated at home alone with her children before she had resumed her work earlier this year. She had often felt frustrated at home alone with the children, and this had often resulted in her yelling at them. Participant D said that she derived a great deal of satisfaction from her work, which had resulted in her feeling better overall. She also said that she had felt more fulfilled and happier since she had returned to full-time employment eight months ago. The second positive result she mentioned was the financial benefit for herself and her family, as they could not cope financially on one salary. Thirdly, Participant D said that she thought her children also benefited from her being employed, as they had more contact with other children, which helped in the development of their social skills.

Furthermore, they were also exposed to other activities and pets which they would not have been exposed to if they stayed at home with her.

6.3.4.3.4 Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles

The main disadvantage which Participant D mentioned was the fact that she often felt that she could not cope with the demands of being employed on a full-time basis, and having to still be responsible for all the household and childcare tasks. As her husband did not assist at all with these tasks (apart from cooking once a week), she often felt overburdened and frustrated. This was especially difficult for her as travelling to and from work took up more of her time. She said that she often left home in the morning before her children were awake and that she thus saw very little of them; this resulted in her great guilt feelings. In addition, the fact that she had to leave home so early meant that her husband had to see to their children getting dressed and giving them their medication when necessary. Being as uninvolved as he was, the children tended to dress themselves, and she often felt that the children were not dressed appropriately (for example according to the weather); she would become aware of this when she saw them late afternoon or early evening for the first time that day. He also often neglected to give them their medication, which resulted in further frustration for her.

6.3.4.3.5 Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult

The main issue which Participant D mentioned that made fulfilling her dual role as employer and mother more difficult, was the fact that her husband was still "of the old school" of husbands, who believed that a woman was responsible for all or most of the household and childcare tasks. She said that in their household, there was no division of tasks - she was simply responsible for everything. Participant D felt especially frustrated about this as her husband had promised to do his share when they decided that she needed to find employment as they could not cope financially on one salary. At the time of the interview, she had managed to convince him to cook one meal per week. This participant also mentioned the fact that travelling to and from work took up a considerable amount of her time, as she lived about 50 kilometres away from her place of work; this impacted negatively on her available time to spend on household and/or childcare duties.

6.3.4.3.6 Participants' perception of overall result of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being

At first, Participant D felt that combining the two roles of mother and employer had both a positive and negative effect on her overall emotional well-being. However, she felt that when she weighed up the negatives against the positives, her employment definitely had a more positive than negative effect on her overall emotional well-being.

6.3.5 Participant E

6.3.5.1 Description of participant and interaction

Participant E is the mother of two children, aged ten and eight. Both children go to primary school in the morning and aftercare in the afternoon. Her husband works full-time. Her one child has an academic problem, for which he gets extra lessons. The interview was conducted in her office at work.

Of all the participants in my sample, she was the only English-speaking participant. Initially, she appeared to be somewhat guarded, but soon relaxed and spoke more freely. Her answers to my questions were mostly brief and to the point; she gave information in a precise and uncluttered manner. On a personal level, I experienced her as a somewhat reserved person who did not open up easily. However, she was always willing to respond to any question from me.

6.3.5.2 Interview data

The information obtained through the interview with Participant E is categorized in Table 11 and discussed below.

Table 11 : Summary of Interview Data - Participant E

Category	Coding Unit	Frequency
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1. Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee 1.1 Physically exhausting 1.2 Hard work 1.3 Two full-time jobs 1.4 Very busy 1.5 Difficult 1.6 Very demanding 1.7 Feelings of being torn in two	E1	0 0 0 0 1 0 0
2. Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role 2.1 Being organized 2.2 Good childcare 2.3 Domestic help 2.4 Electrical household appliances, e.g. dishwasher 2.5 Flexible boss 2.6 Supportive family/friends 2.7 Help from husband 2.8 Making time for herself 2.9 Help from children 2.10 Being a practical/strong/positive person 2.11 Understanding husband 2.12 Personal faith/religious convictions 2.13 'Easy' and adaptable child/ren	E17 E19, E20 E16, E18, E23, E26 E24	0 1 0 0 0 2 4 0 1 0 0 0 0
3. Benefits in combining the two roles 3.1 Personal enjoyment of work role	E7, E8	2

3.2 Stimulated by work role		0
3.3 Child/ren stimulated by social interaction with other children/ more independent	E5	0 1
3.4 Financial benefits for the whole family	E6, E10	2
3.5 More intellectual stimulation for child/ren	E4	1
4. Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles		
4.1 Little personal/free time		0
4.2 Guilt/conflict feelings	E15	1
4.3 Not sufficient time to fulfil household and/or childcare duties		0
4.4 Physical exhaustion/irritability/impatience	E3, E11, E12	3
4.5 Little time to spend with child/ren/family	E13, E22	2
4.6 Difficulty in maintaining marital relationship		0
5. Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult		
5.1 When child/ren is/are sick	E14	1
5.2 Having to work late		0
5.3 Husband who does not do his share		0
5.4 Feeling responsible for home and/or children	E25, E27, E28	3
5.5 Long work hours/hours away from home due to work	E9	1
5.6 Child's academic problem	E2, E21	2
5.7 Own health problems		0
6. Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being		
6.1 Positive		0
6.2 Negative	E29, E30	2

6.3.5.3 Discussion of interview data

6.3.5.3.1 Overall experience of fulfilling the dual roles of mother and full-time employee

Participant E described her overall experience as "difficult". She talked about how she felt when she could not be there for her children when they, for example, achieved on the sports field. She said that, even though she knew that she was able to do more for them being a working mother, she still had constant guilt feelings.

6.3.5.3.2 Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role

Participant E mentioned four main factors which made it easier for her to fulfil her dual role as mother and employee. Firstly, Participant E said that her children stayed with a good day mother in the afternoons. She felt that they were safe and well cared for by her, which meant that as a working mother, she never had to worry about them while being at work.

Secondly, Participant E said that she had an "extremely supportive husband", who

had no qualms about taking over the housework if she could not be there or when she needed help. As a rule, he cooked at least 50% of the time, and was also responsible for doing their laundry. If a sick child had to be fetched from school and taken to the doctor, her husband would be the one to take care of it, as she was part of a lift club and very seldom had her car at work.

Thirdly, she mentioned that she had a friend who could help her with the children if it was not possible for her husband to do so. She also said that she had a couple of friends who were basically in the same situation as she was, and they often had "moan sessions" which she found very supportive and comforting.

Lastly, Participant E said that both children also contributed to household tasks. For example, her daughter made her own bed, and her son was responsible for the maintenance of the garden. Furthermore, both children could also prepare basic meals for themselves if need be.

6.3.5.3.3 Benefits in combining the two roles

The benefits which Participant E mentioned could also, like some of the other participants, be divided into benefits for her children, her family (and specifically her husband) and for herself personally. Firstly, she said that the additional salary which she brought in enabled them to expose their children to more positive surroundings, the main

being the fact that both children were enrolled at an expensive private Christian academy, where they benefited from greater individual attention as the classes were smaller than those in most public schools. Participant E felt that her children would ‘get lost’ in a class of 40, as was currently the case in most public schools; she thus felt that she was prepared to make sacrifices in order to give them the best she could. Being away from her all day taught her children greater independence.

Secondly, she mentioned that she enjoyed working with people, and that being at home for two years was not the ideal situation for her. She said that she felt happier since she had returned to work, although she would prefer working shorter- or flexi-hours, or even working from home.

Lastly, she said that the additional income from her employment gave her husband peace of mind, as his job situation was very unstable. The fact that they had another income if anything should happen to his job, took some pressure off him as well. Her additional income also enabled them to build up some savings for the day that they might need it, should he be retrenched.

6.3.5.3.4 Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles

Participant E mentioned three main negative issues which she experienced when trying to fulfil both roles of mother and employee. Firstly, she felt constantly tired, which

resulted in her not having patience with her children, or being irritable with them because of her fatigue. She said that she knew her children were also tired at night after being at school and aftercare all day, and she frequently felt guilty that she could not be at home full-time. Participant E also felt guilty about the fact that she was often too tired to spend quality time with them, or even have the patience which she felt they needed and deserved. Guilt feelings were thus the second negative aspect she mentioned, and she dwelt on this issue a great deal. She also spoke with regret about the fact that there were inevitably things she missed out on, like her children's sports events; this added to her guilt feelings. This aspect, that of not having enough time to spend with them, was the third and final aspect which she mentioned.

6.3.5.3.5 Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult

The main factor which Participant E mentioned which made fulfilling her dual role as mother and employer more difficult, was the fact that her son had an (academic problem), which caused considerable frustration, both for himself and also for his sister. As her daughter did not need as much attention as her son did with regards to homework, she often tended to neglect her daughter. Participant E said that she found this a very difficult balance to maintain, especially as her daughter was rather emotional and often upset about the fact that she received less attention from her parents than her brother did.

Secondly, she experienced the long hours away from home due to work, to be difficult, and stated that she would prefer to work shorter hours, or even flexi-hours, if this were possible. Thirdly, Participant E said that when her children were sick and she had to find a babysitter to look after them while she had to go to work, she experienced additional stress and guilt feelings. Lastly, Participant E said that the fact that she felt completely responsible for the children and household duties, added to her stress levels. Apart from the household tasks mentioned under 6.3.5.3.2, the majority of the housework was her responsibility, as she did not employ the services of a domestic servant. She was also responsible for organising transport arrangements for any extra-curricular activities which her children were involved in, for example boy scouts.

6.3.5.3.6 Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being

Participant E felt that combining the two roles of mother and employer had a negative effect on her overall emotional well-being. She said that she felt less happy because she had to work, and would be happier if she could spend more time with her family.

6.3.6 Participant F

6.3.6.1 Description of participant and interaction

Participant F is the mother of two children, aged eleven and four. The oldest child goes to primary school in the morning and to aftercare in the afternoon. The younger child attends creche full day. Her husband works full-time, and also puts in many additional hours after the normal working day, and also over weekends. The interview was conducted in her office at work.

Interaction with this participant was comfortable and open. She often elaborated on her initial answer to my question without any prompting from me. On a personal level, I experienced her as an open, friendly and spontaneous person who was in touch with her feelings and needs.

6.3.6.2 Interview data

The information obtained through the interview with Participant F is categorized in Table 11 and discussed below.

Table 12 : Summary of Interview Data - Participant F

Category	Coding Unit	Frequency
1. Participants' experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time		

employee 1.1 Physically exhausting 1.2 Hard work 1.3 Two full-time jobs 1.4 Very busy 1.5 Difficult 1.6 Very demanding 1.7 Feelings of being torn in two	F2 F1, F3	0 1 0 0 2 0
2. Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role 2.1 Being organized 2.2 Good childcare 2.3 Domestic help 2.4 Electrical household appliances, e.g. dishwasher 2.5 Flexible boss 2.6 Supportive family/friends 2.7 Help from husband 2.8 Making time for herself 2.9 Help from children 2.10 Being a practical/strong/positive person 2.11 Understanding husband 2.12 Personal faith/religious convictions 2.13 'Easy' and adaptable child/ren	F36, F37 F28 F25 F21, F34 F22 F33	2 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 2 1 1 0
3. Benefits in combining the two roles 3.1 Personal enjoyment of work role 3.2 Stimulated by work role	F7	1 0

3.3 Child/ren stimulated by social interaction with other children/ more independent		0
3.4 Financial benefit for the whole family	F5, F6	2
3.5 More intellectual stimulation for child/ren		0
4. Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles		
4.1 Little personal/free time	F19, F20	2
4.2 Guilt/conflict feelings	F8, F12, F13, F27	4
4.3 Not sufficient time to fulfil household and/or childcare duties	F4, F10	2
4.4 Physical exhaustion/irritability/impatience	F15, F32, F38	3
4.5 Little time to spend with child/ren/family	F9, F14, F18	3
4.6 Difficulty maintaining marital relationship	F16, F17	2
5. Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult		
5.1 When child/ren is/are sick	F30	1
5.2 Having to work late		0
5.3 Husband who does not do his share	F11, F29, F31	3
5.4 Feeling responsible for home and/or children	F35, F39	2
5.5 Long work hours/hours away from home due to work		0
5.6 Child's academic problem		0
5.7 Own health problems		0
6. Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being		
6.1 Positive		0
6.2 Negative	F40, F41, F42	3

6.3.6.3 Discussion of interview data

6.3.6.3.1 Overall experience of fulfilling the dual roles of mother and full-time employee

Participant F described her overall experience as "very demanding". She said that she felt she had two full-time jobs; when she left her day-time job in the afternoon, she walked into her second job, that of housewife and mother. Throughout the interview, she stressed numerous times that she would prefer not to work, but rather be a full-time mother at home with her children. This had always been her goal, to be able to be more involved with her children and their activities; however, they were financially not in a position for her not to work. Participant F felt that a woman could not give 100% to a career/job and her family, and that one of the two would inevitably be neglected.

6.3.6.3.2 Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role

Participant F mentioned several factors which made it easier for her to fulfil her dual role as mother and employee. Firstly, she said that the fact that she was a positive and "strong" person, helped her to carry on even when she felt she could no longer cope. In this regard, her religious beliefs were of great help to her. It also helped her to remind herself

that there were many other mothers in a similar and sometimes worse position than she was.

Secondly, the fact that her husband understood how difficult the situation was for her, and that he did not put any pressure on her as far as unrealistic expectations regarding the household were concerned, was of great help to her. Even though he was not able to contribute much to household and childcare tasks, she understood that it was simply not possible for him to do more as he spent very little time at home due to his working hours. However, she was nevertheless grateful for his understanding and limited help.

Thirdly, Participant F said that she was a very organised and disciplined person, which helped her to be able to do everything she had to in the time that she had available. For example, she had certain tasks for certain evenings of the week, and often started preparing dinner before she left home in the morning.

Fourthly, Participant F said that her mother was of great help to her. If she had a crisis, her mother was always there to help her, although she tried to use her mother as a last resort.

6.3.6.3.3 Benefits in combining the two roles

At first, the only benefit which Participant F could think of was the financial benefit

of having an additional income. When I prompted her about personal benefits, she initially said that there were not any benefits for her as a person, as she had always wanted to be at home with her family. However, she then said that she did enjoy the social aspect of working with people (which was what her job entailed).

6.3.6.3.4 Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles

The first factor which Participant F mentioned, was the fact that she felt she did not have sufficient time to spend with her children, and to perform her household duties in the way she would like to. Secondly, she talked extensively about the guilt feelings she experienced due to the fact that she could not be there for her children all the time. She felt that she did not have the time to give them the quality and quantity of time which she would have preferred to, as she had to see to household tasks when she got home in the afternoon. Participant F said she often felt guilty about the fact that her oldest child had to go to aftercare after school, while most of his classmates were fetched by their mothers. During the early evening, her husband was inevitably the parent who helped the children with their homework, while she prepared their dinner or was busy with other household tasks. After dinner, however, he usually left again for work, which meant that she had to see to the rest of their needs. She often felt that she neglected her older child, as the younger one, due to his age, demanded more attention.

Thirdly, Participant F also said that due to the nature of her work, she often felt

stressed by the time she got home, and as a result, was often irritable and abrupt towards her children. She furthermore said that both her children, as well as her husband, would prefer her not to work, which added to her guilt feelings. She felt that her being employed put a lot of additional time-pressure on her husband; he often had to step in when one of the children was sick, as the participant was part of a lift club and did not have her car at work most of the time. She furthermore mentioned the fact that she was constantly tired. She said that she simply did not have the energy that she used to have years ago, and that she found it increasingly difficult to cope with all the demands of her dual role.

The fourth factor which Participant F mentioned was the fact that she felt her marital relationship was also negatively affected by her being employed. She felt that there was a lack of communication between her husband and herself due to time restraints, as her husband often worked during the evenings and over weekends. She said that most of their communication took place telephonically, and that they seldom had the time to sit down and talk. This participant felt that they were living "past one another", especially as her husband also worked every Sunday, which further reduced the time which they could possibly spend together.

Lastly, Participant F mentioned that she had "absolutely no time" for herself. When they only had the one child, she was still able to go to gym on a regular basis, but this was not possible any more after the birth of their second child.

6.3.6.3.5 Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult

The main factor which Participant F mentioned here was the fact that her husband not only worked full-time, but also four evenings per week and on weekends (every Saturday morning and a full day on Sundays). She regretted the fact that he could not be home more often to help with household and childcare tasks, as she often got irritable due to fatigue; this then resulted in her being impatient with their children. Also, this often made her feel dsheartened and sometimes resentful. Due to his working hours, she was responsible for the majority of household and childcare tasks, as well as the maintenance of the garden. Her husband was responsible for making their bed in the morning (although she frequently had to remind him of it), and for doing some shopping if she was unable to get to the shops. Other than that, she carried the overall responsibility for most household and childcare tasks.

The second factor which Participant F identified was the fact that her youngest child (a girl of 4 years old) had been “a difficult child” since her birth. She mentioned that this child only recently started sleeping through the night, which meant that until such time, she never enjoyed a full night's unbroken sleep. This child also suffered from many allergies and had a temperamental nature, with the result that she had always demanded a lot of time and attention.

6.3.6.3.6 Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on

their emotional well-being

Participant F felt convinced that the overall result of the fact that she fulfilled both roles of mother and employee had a more negative than positive effect on her life. She felt that she would be happier if she could be a full-time mother at home with her children, to spend more time with them and be more involved in their lives. She said that she was not at all a "career woman". Participant F did admit, however, that she did not think that her children were necessarily unhappy about going to aftercare and crèche, but that it was more a personal issue for her.

6.3.7 Participant G

6.3.7.1 Description of participant and interaction

Participant G is the mother of one child, aged six. Her child attends pre-primary school in the morning, and goes to aftercare in the afternoon. Her husband works full-time.

Interaction with this participant was pleasant and relaxed. She offered information freely and I seldom had to probe for clarification or more information. On a personal level, I experienced her as an extroverted and self-confident woman.

6.3.7.2 Interview data

The information obtained through the interview with Participant G is categorized in Table 13 and discussed below.

Table 13 : Summary of Interview Data - Participant G

Category	Coding Unit	Frequency
1. Participants' experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee		
1.1 Physically exhausting		0
1.2 Hard work		0
1.3 Two full-time jobs		0
1.4 Very busy		0
1.5 Difficult	G1	1
1.6 Very demanding	G5	1
1.7 Feelings of being torn in two	G2, G3	2
2. Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with their dual roles		
2.1 Being organized		0
2.2 Good childcare		0
2.3 Domestic help	G18, G23	2
2.4 Electrical household appliances, e.g. dishwasher		0
2.5 Flexible boss		0
2.6 Supportive family/friends	G26	1
2.7 Help from husband	G22, G24	2

2.8 Making time for herself		0
2.9 Help from children		0
2.10 Being a practical/strong/positive person		0
2.11 Understanding husband		0
2.12 Personal faith/religious convictions		0
2.13 'Easy' and adaptable child/ren	G25	1
3. Benefits in combining the two roles		
3.1 Personal enjoyment of work role	G4, G11, G12, G14	4
3.2 Stimulated by work role	G13	1
3.3 Child/ren stimulated by social interaction with other children/ more independent	G16, G17, G19	3
3.4 Financial benefit for the whole family	G7, G8, G9, G10	4
3.5 More intellectual stimulation for children		0
4. Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles		
4.1 Little personal/free time	G21	1
4.2 Guilt/conflict feelings	G28	1
4.3 Not sufficient time to fulfil household and/or childcare duties	G20	1
4.4 Physical exhaustion/irritability/impatience		0
4.5 Little time to spend with child/ren/family		0
4.6 Difficulty maintaining marital relationship		0
5. Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult		
5.1 When child/ren is/are sick	G27	1
5.2 Having to work late		0
5.3 Husband who does not do his share		0
5.4 Feeling responsible for home and/or children	G29	1
5.5 Long work hours/hours away from home due to work		0

5.6 Child's academic problem		0
5.7 Own health problems		0
6. Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being		
6.1 Positive	G6, G30, G31	3
6.2 Negative		0

6.3.7.3 Discussion of interview data

6.3.7.3.1 Overall experience of fulfilling the dual roles of mother and full-time employee

Participant G described her overall experience as "difficult". She said that she often felt like she was being torn in two- when she was at work she often thought about her child or things that needed to be done at home, and vice versa. However, she stressed numerous times during the interview that she would never be happy being a full-time mother and housewife, and that she enjoyed her job very much. Participant G experienced her work as enormously satisfying and stimulating, and said that she could not envisage her life without her job. She mentioned that she was at home with her child for the first year after his birth, but that during this time she had felt highly frustrated and unhappy. During this period at home, she missed adult company, the challenge of her work and social contact with people in general very much.

6.3.7.3.2 Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them
cope with their dual role

The first factor which Participant G mentioned was the fact that she had a full-time domestic servant, who took care of most household tasks with the exception of the cooking. This enabled her to spend more time with her son and husband, and also take some time for herself. Participant G felt that she would not be able to cope at all without her domestic servant. Even though her domestic servant did not always clean the house in the way she would have liked it, she had learned to turn a blind eye and not let this upset her as much as it used to in the past.

Secondly, she said that her husband was very supportive, and did his share of household tasks when their domestic servant was off duty over weekends. Furthermore, he helped on a daily basis with childcare tasks, without her having to remind him of it. For example, he would make sandwiches for their child to take to school if she was running late in the morning, without her having to ask for his help. As he enjoyed cooking, he also voluntarily did his share of cooking. If their child was sick, however, she was mostly the one who would take time off work to take him to the doctor. She said that she was mostly responsible for the household shopping, but that she enjoyed it and that it was not an "issue" for her. Her husband was responsible for the maintenance of the garden, which he enjoyed.

Thirdly, she mentioned that she had on only one occasion made use of the help of

friends, to assist her with her conflicting demands.

Lastly, Participant G said the fact that her child was such a sociable and very adaptable child, also meant that she never had to feel guilty that he went to aftercare after pre-primary school in the morning. She said that during school holidays he often asked when school began again, as he was missing his friends.

6.3.7.3.3 Benefits in combining the two roles

Participant G said that she thought there were many positive results in combining the two roles of mother and employee. Firstly, she mentioned the financial benefit for the whole family, and said that they could not manage financially on her husband's salary alone. The additional income from her job also took a lot of pressure off her husband, as he was not solely responsible for providing their household income. In addition, she said that the extra income enabled them to do many extra things for their child, and buy things for their home which they would not otherwise be able to afford. On a personal level, Participant G said that she enjoyed her work enormously, and derived a lot of personal satisfaction from it. Even though she was usually tired when she got home in the afternoon, she felt that she had accomplished something and was able to meet the challenges of housework and childcare. Her work also added to her self-confidence, and made her feel positive and worthwhile about herself. She mentioned that she could not imagine her life without her work. This participant felt that she was a career woman "through and

through", although she also would not want to be a career woman without a family. Both were important to her. As far as her child was concerned, she said that he was a very sociable person who enjoyed going to pre-primary school and aftercare, because of the social interaction which this provided him. Participant G also felt that, as her son was an only child, mixing with other children on a daily basis taught him about sharing with others.

6.3.7.3.4 Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles

Participant G said that she did not feel there were many negative results in her life due to her having a dual role as mother and employee. As she had a full-time domestic servant, she did not feel that her house was neglected. The only household tasks which she was responsible for, was that of cooking, but as her husband enjoyed cooking, they shared this task. This allowed her to spend time with her family and also take some time for herself, although she still generally had little personal free time.

Secondly, she mentioned that she often felt irritable due to fatigue by the time she fetched her child from aftercare in the afternoon, and that this sometimes resulted in her being impatient with him, which caused her to feel guilty.

6.3.7.3.5 Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult

Participant G said that she felt "particularly stressed" when her child was sick,

as she felt torn between her responsibilities at work and her need to be at home with him. However, she stated that, if her child was in hospital, as had been the case several times to date, she simply took time off work because she felt it was more important for her to be there with him than being at work. However, if the child, for example, had a bad cold or flu and had to stay at home with the domestic servant, she would inevitably go to work but still felt guilty about it. It might have been easier if the grandparents lived close by, as they could have cared for her son when necessary. However, as both sets of grandparents lived far away, this was not an option.

Secondly, she said that even though her husband was very helpful, she was the one who was overall responsible for the smooth functioning of the household.

6.3.7.3.6 Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being

Participant G felt strongly that the fact that she fulfilled both roles of employee and mother was more positive than negative in her life. She said that she could not imagine her life without her work, and felt that she would be a miserable and unhappy full-time mother and housewife. She also felt that this would probably impact negatively upon her marriage.

6.4 Results of Questionnaires

6.4.1 Results of Satisfaction With Life Scale

Participant A's score of 19 placed her in the category of "slightly dissatisfied".

Participant B's score of 29 placed her in the category of "satisfied".

Participant C's score of 22 placed her in the category of "slightly satisfied".

Participant D's score of 10 placed her in the category of "dissatisfied".

Participant E's score of 20 placed her in the category of "neutral", which means that she was neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with her life.

Participant F's score of 14 placed her in the category of "dissatisfied".

Participant G's score of 23 placed her in the category of "slightly satisfied".

6.4.2 Results of Beck Depression Inventory

Participant A's score of 8 placed her in the "normal" category, indicating no signs of depression.

Participant B's score of 13 placed her in the "mild depression" category, which means that only mild signs of depression are present.

Participant C's score of 10 placed her in the "normal" category, which

means that she does not exhibit any signs of depression.

Participant D's score of 4 placed her in the "normal" category, which means that she does not exhibit any signs of depression.

Participant E's score of 16 placed her in the "mild depression" category, which means that only mild signs of depression are present.

Participant F's score of 18 placed her in the "borderline clinical depression" category, which means that her depression borders on being classified as clinical depression.

Participant G's score of 3 placed her in the "normal" category, which means that no indication of depression was evident.

6.5 Discussion of integrated results

As described under point 5.7, the transcribed interviews were analysed through thematic content analysis. Firstly, key ideas or coding units were identified, after which themes or coding categories were identified.

A summary of the results from the interviews with all participants is provided below in table format, and discussed thereafter.

Table 14: Summary of interview data from all participants

CODING UNIT	CODING CATEGORY	IDENTIFYING PARTICIPANT	FRE- QUENCY	NUMBER OF PAR- TICI- PANTS
Overall experience of fulfilling dual roles of mother and full-time employee	Physically exhausting Hard work Two full-time jobs Very busy Difficult Very demanding Feelings of being torn in two	A1 B1, C1, C4 B2, C6, F2 C2, E1 D1, G1 F1, F3, G5 G2, G3	1 3 3 2 2 3 2	1 2 3 2 2 2 1
Techniques/Methods/ Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with dual role	Being organized Good childcare Domestic help Electrical household appliances, e.g. dishwasher Flexible boss Supportive family/friends Help from husband Making time for herself Help from children Being a practical/strong/positive person Understanding husband Personal faith/religious convictions 'Easy' and adaptable child/ren	A2, C20, D24, F36, F37 A27, E17 A28, B27, C23, D25, G18, G23 A29 A30 A31, B25, C25, E19, E20, F28, G26 A32, A36, B26, C24, D27, E16, E18, E23, E26, F25, G22, G24 B21 B22, B24, D23, E24 B30, D22, F21, F34 F22 F33 G25	5 2 6 1 1 7 12 1 4 4 1 1 1	4 2 5 1 1 6 7 1 3 3 1 1 1
Benefits in combining the two roles	Personal enjoyment of work role Stimulated by work role Children stimulated by social interaction with other children/more independent Benefits for other family members, e.g. financial More intellectual stimulation for child/ren	A3, A12, A13, B9, B11, C10, C15, D13, D31, E7, E8, F7, G4, G11, G12, G14 A4, A10, A11, A15, B10, C11, C12, C16, D9, D10, G13 A5, A17, A18, B16, C17, D15, E5, G16, G17, G19 A14, A16, B6, B7, B8, B12, B14, C13, C14, D8, D12, E6, E10, F5, F6, G7, G8, G9, G10 A19, A20, B15, C7, E4	16 11 12 19 5	7 5 6 7 4
Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles	Little personal/free time Guilt-conflict feelings Not sufficient time to fulfil household and/or childcare duties Physical exhaustion/irritability/impatience Little time to spend with child/ren/family Difficulty in maintaining marital relationship	A6, A21, B3, B4, C3, C5, C22, F19, F20, G21 A7, A8, A9, A25, A35, B5, B20, C8, D6, D7, D11, D14, E15, F8, F12, F13, F27, G28 A22, A24, C21, D2, D3, D21, F4, F10, G20 A23, A26, B19, C19, E3, E11, E12, F15, F32, F38 B18, C9, C18, D2, D4, D18, E13, E22, F9, F14, F18 F16, F17	10 18 9 10 11 2	5 7 5 5 5 1
Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult	When child/ren is/are sick Having to work late Husband who does not do his share Feeling responsible for home and/or children Long work hours / hours away from home due to work Child's academic problems Own health problems	A33, D28, E14, F30, G27 A34 B17, C26, D5, D19, D20, D26, F11, F29, F31 A37, B28, C27, D29, E25, E27, E28, F35, F39, G29 D16, D17, E9 E2, E21 B23	5 1 9 10 3 2 1	5 1 4 7 2 1 1
Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on	Positive Negative	A38, B29, B31, C28, D30, D32, G6, G30, G31 E29, E30, F40, F41, F42	9 5	5 2

their emotional well-being				
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Table 15: Summary of questionnaire data from all participants

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRES		
Satisfaction With Life Scale		
Category	Frequency	Identifying Participant
Satisfied	1	B
Slightly satisfied	2	C,G
Neutral (equally satisfied and dissatisfied)	1	E
Slightly dissatisfied	1	A
Dissatisfied	2	D,F
Extremely dissatisfied	0	-
Beck Depression Inventory		
Category	Frequency	Identifying Participant
Normal	4	A,C,D,G
Mild Depression	2	B,E
Borderline Clinical Depression	1	F
Moderate Depression	0	-
Severe Depression	0	-
Extreme Depression	0	-

6.5.1 Discussion of results of all interviews

Taking the aims of the study into consideration, the first part of this discussion will review how White, married working mothers described their experience of their dual role of mother and employee. This will be followed by a discussion of the techniques, methods or approaches the participants made use of to help them cope with their dual role; thereafter a discussion of the benefits which they believe arise from combining the two roles, will follow. The discussion will then focus on the problems or difficulties which they experienced in combining the two roles, followed by the identification of specific factors which they felt made combining the two roles more difficult. Lastly, a short summary of whether participants felt their having to combine the two roles has a positive or negative effect on their emotional well-being, is provided.

6.5.1.1 Overall description of participants' experience of fulfilling the dual roles of mother and full-time employee

As is evident from the discussion of the results and the summary table, two words or phrases that were used most frequently by participants to describe their experience of combining the roles of mother and employee, were “demanding” and “hard work”. In addition, three women also said that, to fulfil both roles, was like having “two full-time jobs”.

6.5.1.2 Techniques/Methods/Approaches participants made use of to help them cope with

their dual roles

A wide variety of techniques/methods/approaches were mentioned by the seven participants. The only variable which was mentioned by all seven participants, was the fact that their husbands helped them with certain aspects of household - and/or childcare duties. Six out of the seven participants stated that they occasionally made use of help from family or friends, and five mentioned that they employed the services of a domestic servant to help them with household duties. Four participants mentioned the necessity of being organized, to ensure that all household and/or childcare tasks are completed in the available time. Three participants said that they required of their children to assist with certain household tasks. Furthermore, three participants also mentioned that the fact that they were positive and strong people, helped them to cope with their dual roles. Two participants mentioned that high quality childcare assisted them considerably, while various participants respectively mentioned the use of electrical household appliances, having a flexible boss, making time for herself, having an understanding husband, personal faith or religious convictions, and having an “easy” and adaptable child.

6.5.1.3 Benefits in combining the two roles

Two benefits were mentioned by all seven participants. The first one was the fact that they all experienced their work as satisfying and enjoyable. All seven participants said that they enjoyed the interaction with other adults. Secondly, all seven participants also mentioned the financial benefit of having a second income for the whole family. Six out of

the seven participants mentioned that being in daycare was good for their child/ren's social development and/or enhanced their social skills. Five out of the seven participants mentioned that being employed provided them with self-enrichment and intellectual stimulation. Four participants also felt that their children received more stimulation and exposure at daycare or aftercare than they personally would have provided at home.

6.5.1.4 Problems/difficulties experienced in combining the two roles

The one factor which all participants mentioned, was the guilt feelings or the feelings of conflict between the two roles. These guilt feelings centred mostly around not always being available for their children or not spending more time with them. The latter was also the one factor which was most frequently mentioned by all seven participants under any particular area of investigation. Furthermore, four additional problems/difficulties were mentioned by five of the participants. The first of these was the fact that they had very little free time to spend on themselves. Secondly, five participants also mentioned the physical exhaustion, and resultant irritability and impatience which they experienced when having to fulfill both roles of mother and full-time employee. Thirdly, five participants mentioned that they felt they had too little time to spend with their children and/or husband, which they experienced as stressful and guilt-inflicting. Lastly, five participants mentioned that they felt they did not have sufficient time to fulfill both roles effectively. Only one participant felt that having to fulfill both roles put a strain on her relationship with her husband.

6.5.1.5 Specific factors which made combining the two roles more difficult

The one factor which all participants mentioned, and which was also the issue which was most frequently mentioned, was the fact that the participants felt that, even though their husbands were usually prepared to help them with household and/or childcare duties, the overall responsibility of the household and children still remained with them. Secondly, five participants mentioned that they experienced particular pressure when their children were sick. Even though all participants said that their husbands assisted them with household and/or childcare duties, four participants felt that their husbands could contribute more. Two participants mentioned the fact that the hours which they spent away from home due to work were too long, and that their life would be easier if this could be reduced. Lastly, there were three factors which were each mentioned by individual participants. One participant stated that it was especially difficult for her when she had to work late, even though this did not happen very often. Another participant experienced additional pressure from having a child with academic problems, and one participant said that her own health problems made fulfilling both roles more difficult for her.

6.5.1.6 Participants' perception of overall effect of combining the two roles on their emotional well-being

Five out of the seven participants felt that their being employed enhanced their overall emotional well-being, while only two felt that their being employed negatively

affected their overall emotional well-being. An interesting observation was the fact that both women who felt that their being employed diminished their overall emotional well-being, had or previously had children with special needs. Both these women also felt that they did not want to work full-time, compared to the five women who experienced their dual role as enhancing their emotional well-being; the latter all said that they enjoyed working and would prefer not to be a full-time mother and housewife.

6.5.2 Discussion of results of questionnaires

6.5.2.1 Satisfaction With Life Scale

Out of the seven participants, three participants' scores were in the satisfied/slightly satisfied range, three were in the dissatisfied/slightly dissatisfied range and one was neutral.

6.5.2.2 Beck Depression Inventory

Out of the seven participants, four participants' scores were in the "normal" category, two were in the "mild depression" category, and one fell in the "borderline clinical depression" category.

Chapter 7

Conclusions, Limitations and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

Having presented and discussed the results of the study, it is necessary to draw certain conclusions based on these findings. This chapter provides a summary of the main findings as well as a discussion of the limitations of the study. Finally, recommendations for further research are discussed.

7.2 Conclusions based on the present study

The data reported in this study provides support for the role-enhancement theory. While it was evident that all seven women who participated in the study experienced their dual role as stressful, five out of the seven participants also felt that combining motherhood with a career/job enhanced their overall emotional well-being; they would prefer not to have it any other way. These women all reported that their employment had a positive effect on their lives in general, and more specifically on their own emotional well-being. Although none of the five women who reported that their work had a positive effect on their emotional well-being, said that it was easy to balance the two roles, they all reported more

advantages than disadvantages in fulfilling their dual roles of mothers and employees.

An interesting observation is the fact that both women who reported that their employment had a detrimental effect on their emotional well-being, also reported that they would prefer not to work and rather be full-time mothers at home with their children. It is thus possible that a positive orientation to employment helped these women to balance both roles, and cope with the demands of both work and home.

Results of the two questionnaires yielded interesting information. With regards to the Satisfaction With Life Scale, three participants' scores were in the "satisfied/slightly satisfied" range, three were in the "dissatisfied/slightly dissatisfied" range and one fell in the "neutral" range. However, contrary to what could be expected, only one of the two participants who reported during the semi-structured interview that their employment had a negative effect on their emotional well-being, had a score in the "slightly dissatisfied/dissatisfied" range. The other participant who reported that her employment had a negative effect on her emotional well-being, had a score which fell within the "neutral" range, which can be interpreted as meaning that even though she would prefer not to work, her being a full-time employee does not necessarily have a detrimental effect on her feeling of satisfaction with her life.

With regards to the Beck Depression Inventory, four participants' scores were in the "normal" category, two fell in the "mild depression" category, and one fell in the "borderline

clinical depression" category.

The results of the semi-structured interviews and the two questionnaires can thus be summarized as follows:

- with regards to the semi-structured interviews, five out of the seven participants reported that their employment had a positive impact on their overall emotional well-being;
- with regards to the Satisfaction With Life Scale, three participants' scores fell in the "satisfied/slightly satisfied" range, one fell in the "neutral" range and three fell in the "slightly dissatisfied/dissatisfied" range;
- with regards to the Beck Depression Inventory, only one out of the seven participants had a score which fell in the "borderline clinical depression" range. The other scores were all in the ranges which reflected an absence of depressive symptoms.

Considering the results of the two participants who reported that their employment had a negative impact on the overall emotional well-being, the following can be noted:

Only one of these two participants had a score on the Beck Depression

Inventory which fell in the "borderline clinical depression" range, the category that precedes the range entitled "moderate depression". This was also the participant whose score on the Satisfaction With Life Scale fell within the "dissatisfied" range. The other participant who reported that her employment had a negative effect on her overall emotional well-being, had a score which fell in the "mild depression range" on the Beck Depression Inventory; her score on the Satisfaction With Life Scale fell within the "neutral" range. The subjective experience that her employment was in fact harming her emotional well-being, was thus not confirmed in the results of the questionnaires.

Overall, the results of this study lend support to the role-enhancement theory.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

A number of limitations of this study should be noted. Firstly, the women who participated in the study were all at a particular developmental stage in the course of family life, i.e. they all had children of school-going age or younger at home (the ages of participants' children varied from 7 months to 11 years old). The data elicited in this study has the strength of examining the effects of multiple roles at a time that should be particularly sensitive to detecting such effects because of especially high role overload. However, this strength is also a limitation in that these effects might be different at some other time during the course of family life, for example when their children were older and more self-sufficient.

A second limitation is the size of the sample. Due to the in-depth nature of the investigation, only 7 participants took part in the study. As a result, the findings of this study are not generalisable because of the small sample size used.

A third limitation was the sample used. As all participants in the sample are employed by the University of Port Elizabeth, and are likely to constitute the middle class group in South Africa, the results of the study may not be representative of lower- or upper socio-economic groups.

A fourth limitation was the fact that an all White female sample group was used. The results of this study can thus not be generalised to other racial groups in South Africa.

7.4 Recommendations for further research

As this study was limited to a small sample of White, middle-class working mothers, further research on both White lower- and higher socio-economic groups is recommended. Furthermore, the same could be said of all socio-economic groups within other ethnic groups in South Africa. It would be interesting to conduct similar research on other ethnic groups in South Africa, e.g. the Asian, Black, Coloured and Indian ethnic groups. With changes currently taking place within South Africa and the impact of Affirmative Action on full-time positions in

our country, it would be interesting to understand how our diverse cultural groups would reflect upon this issue.

One of the findings of this study was that the two mothers who expressed their desire to stay at home with their children full-time, experienced their dual roles as harmful to their emotional well-being. It could thus be that their resistance to full-time employment had a negative influence on their perception of the effect that their employment had on their emotional well-being. It may therefore be worthwhile to investigate the role that an individual's attitude plays in his/her well-being.

As certain difficulties in successfully combining the two roles were reported by most participants, research into how these difficulties could be alleviated may be worthwhile. For example, as most participants reported the problems they experienced when their children were sick, research could be conducted into the attitudes of employers towards flexi-time employment. This could make employers aware of the need for flexi-hours for working mothers. Alternatively, crèches for sick children could be established in the workplace to enable working mothers to visit and spend time with ill children by day.

In addition, it may be worthwhile to investigate husbands' attitudes to contributing an equal share towards household- and childcare tasks. Even though most participants reported that their husbands were supportive, most also felt that their husbands could contribute more, and take on a more equal share of household and especially childcare

tasks. It may, however, be possible that these husbands are not aware of the fact that their wives would prefer them to contribute more to household and childcare tasks, and would in fact be willing to do so if it were requested of them.

It may even be interesting to conduct research amongst school-going children to establish their subjective well-being and attitudes towards their full-time working mothers.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Consent Form

**The Subjective Well-being and Experience of Life Roles
Of White Employed Married Mothers**

CONSENT FORM

I acknowledge my voluntary participation in the above-mentioned research project
conducted by the Department of Psychology at the University of Port Elizabeth.

I further allow the Department of Psychology to utilise the results of my assessment for
research purposes on condition that the confidentiality thereof is maintained.

I grant this as a voluntary contribution in the interest of education and knowledge on this
_____ day of _____ 2001.

(Signature)

(Date of Birth)

APPENDIX 2

Questions for semi-structured interview

QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

1. How do you experience your dual role as mother and employee?
2. What, in your experience, do you perceive to be the positive results in your life, in combining the two roles?
3. What, in your experience, do you perceive to be the negative results in your life, in combining the two roles?
4. What specific factors do you feel contribute to your positive experience of combining the two roles?
5. What specific factors do you feel contribute to your negative experience of combining the two roles?
6. Overall, would you say that combining the two roles adds to or harms your emotional well-being?

APPENDIX 3

Satisfaction With Life Scale

SATISFACTION WITH LIFE SCALE

Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

- | | | |
|---|---|----------------------------|
| 7 | - | Strongly agree |
| 6 | - | Agree |
| 5 | - | Slightly agree |
| 4 | - | Neither agree nor disagree |
| 3 | - | Slightly disagree |
| 2 | - | Disagree |
| 1 | - | Strongly disagree |

- | | |
|-------|--|
| _____ | In most ways my life is close to my ideal. |
| _____ | The conditions of my life are excellent. |
| _____ | I am satisfied with my life. |
| _____ | So far I have gotten the important things I want in life. |
| _____ | If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing. |

APPENDIX 4

Beck Depression Inventory

THE BECK INVENTORY

On this questionnaire are groups of statements. Please read each group of statements carefully. Then pick out the one statement in each group which best describes the way you have been feeling the PAST WEEK, INCLUDING TODAY! Circle the number beside the statements in the group which best applies to you. Be sure to read all the statements in each group before making your choice.

1. 0 I do not feel sad.
 1 I feel sad.
 2 I am sad all the time and I can't snap out of it.
 3 I am so sad or unhappy that I can't stand it.

2. 0 I am not particularly discouraged about the future.
 1 I feel discouraged about the future.
 2 I feel I have nothing to look forward to.
 3 I feel that the future is hopeless and that things cannot improve.

3. 0 I do not feel like a failure.
 1 I feel I have failed more than the average person.
 2 As I look back on my life, all I can see is a lot of failures.
 3 I feel I am a complete failure as a person.

4. 0 I get as much satisfaction out of things as I used to.
 1 I don't enjoy things the way I used to.
 2 I don't get real satisfaction out of anything anymore.
 3 I am dissatisfied or bored with everything.

5. 0 I don't feel particularly guilty.
 1 I feel guilty a good part of the time.
 2 I feel quite guilty most of the time.
 3 I feel guilty all of the time.

6. 0 I don't feel I am being punished.
 1 I feel I may be punished.
 2 I expect to be punished.
 3 I feel I am being punished.

7. 0 I don't feel disappointed in myself.

- 1 I am disappointed in myself.
 2 I am disgusted with myself.
 3 I hate myself.
8. 0 I don't feel I am any worse than anybody else.
 1 I am critical of myself for my weaknesses or mistakes.
 2 I blame myself all the time for my faults.
 3 I blame myself for everything bad that happens.
9. 0 I don't have any thoughts of killing myself.
 1 I have thoughts of killing myself, but I would not carry them out.
 2 I would like like to kill myself.
 3 I would kill myself if I had the chance.
10. 0 I don't cry any more than usual.
 1 I cry more than I used to.
 2 I cry all the time now.
 3 I used to be able to cry, but now I can't cry even though I want to.
11. 0 I am no more irritatd now than I have ever been.
 1 I get annoyed or irritated more easily than I used to.
 2 I feel irritated all the time now.
 3 I don't get irritated at all by the things that used to irritate me.
12. 0 I have not lost interest in other people.
 1 I am less interested in other people than I used to be.
 2 I have lost most of my interest in other people.
 3 I have lost all my interest in other people.
13. 0 I make decisions about as well as I ever could.
 1 I put off making decisions more than I used to.
 2 I have greater diffriculty in making decisions than before.
 3 I can't make decisions at all anymore.
14. 0 I don't feel I look any worse than I used to.
 1 I am worried that I am looking old and unattractive.
 2 I feel that there are permanent changes in my appearance that make me look unattractive.
 3 I believe that I look ugly.
15. 0 I can work about as well as before.
 1 It takes an extra effort to get started at doing something.
 2 I have to push myself very hard to do anything.

- 3 I can't do any work at all.
16. 0 I can sleep as well as usual.
 1 I don't sleep as well as I used to.
 2 I wake up 1 - 2 hours earlier than usual and find it hard to get back to sleep.
 3 I wake up several hours earlier than I used to and cannot get back to sleep.
17. 0 I don't get more tired than usual.
 1 I get tired more easily than I used to.
 2 I get tired from doing almost anything.
 3 I am too tired to do anything.
18. 0 My appetite is no worse than usual.
 1 My appetite is not as good as it used to be.
 2 My appetite is much worse now.
 3 I have no appetite at all anymore.
19. 0 I haven't lost much weight, if any, lately.
 1 I have lost more than 5 pounds.
 2 I have lost more than 10 pounds.
 3 I have lost more than 15 pounds.
- I am purposely trying to lose weight by eating less.
 YES.....NO.....
20. 0 I am no more worried about my health than usual.
 1 I am worried about physical problems such as aches and pains or upset stomach, or constipation.
 2 I am very worried about physical problems and it's hard to think of much else.
 3 I am so worried about my physical problems that I cannot think about anything else.
21. 0 I have not noticed any recent change in my interest in sex.
 1 I am less interested in sex than I used to be.
 2 I am much less interested in sex now.
 3 I have lost interest in sex completely.

APPENDIX 5

VERBATIM

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF

INTERVIEWS WITH

PARTICIPANTS

Interview A: Transcript

INT. Hoe ervaar jy jou dubbele rol as Ma en voltydse werknemer?

CL. Dit is veeleisend, vat baie uit jou uit #A1, jou beplanning moet reg wees, jy moet georganiseerd wees #A2.

INT. Kan jy 'n bietjie uitbrei daarop?

CL. Dit sal seker makliker wees as mens nie werk nie. Maar ek geniet ook my werk #A3 - dit gee my stimulasie #A4. Ek probeer soveel moontlik tyd met my kind deurbring. Dis ook goed vir hom om weg te wees van my af, om met ander kinders te meng #A5. Dis ongesond vir 'n kind om heeltyd by sy Ma te wees. Mens doen baie opofferings, jy het min tyd vir jouself #A6.

INT. So jy kry nie eintlik tyd vir jouself nie?

CL. Nee, en mens voel nog skuldig ook as jy wel tyd afknyp vir jouself #A7. Soos byvoorbeeld die ander aand is ek en my man uit, toe het my Ma hom by die skool gaan haal, en hy het die aand by hulle deurgebring. Teen die tyd wat ons hom tien-uur gaan haal het, het hy al geslaap. So mens voel sleg, ons het hom die oggend laas gesien. Hy het seker gewonder waar ons is. Daar's maar altyd konflik - jy het tyd alleen nodig, hy het ook tyd nodig #A8. Hy word ook so vinnig groot, ek wonder baie keer of ek nie meer tyd saam met hom moet deurbring nie #A9. Dis maar 'n 'ongoing thing'.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die positiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en werknemer te wees?

CL. Ek het ook gestudeer, het ook 'n graad, so ek voel ek kan myself verryk deur my werk #A10. My werk stimuleer my #A11, ek geniet my werk #A12, dit maak my gelukkig #A13, en dit gaan weer oor in my huishouding #A14. Ek's nie afgestomp nie #A15. Dan ook die ekstra geld wat mens ekstra dinge mee kan doen - soos weggaan vir 'n naweek, klere koop, dinge doen #A16.

INT. Dink jy daar is enige voordele in vir jou kind in die feit dat jy werk?

CL. Ja, beslis. Dit dwing jou kind om meer aanpasbaar te wees #A17. Hy wou byvoorbeeld eers glad nie crèche toe gaan nie, en nou is hy baie lief daarvoor. Dit het hom geleer sosialiseer #A18, en dit stimuleer hom baie #A19. As ek by die huis was, sou ek seker nie soveel tyd aan hom gespandeer het nie soos hulle by die skool doen nie. Ek meen, mens doen maar die normale dinge, soos leer tel, en kleure, maar die dinge wat hy by die skool aan blootstelling kry, sou hy seker nie alles by my gekry het nie. Soos kompers, byvoorbeeld. Hy kry baie blootstelling aan baie verskillende dinge #A20. En my kind weet ook hy het sy tye saam met ons. Ek's nie regtig 'n huisvrou nie.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die negatiewe resultate in jou lewe omdat jy beide Ma en werknemer is?

CL. Ek het baie min tyd vir myself #A21, soos byvoorbeeld vir lees, waarvoor ek baie lief is. Die enigste tyd wat ek gewoonlik kry vir lees, is wanneer ek in die aand in die bed klim, en dan is ek so moeg, ek lees 'n halwe bladsy en dan raak ek aan die slaap. Daar's ook nie altyd tyd om voedsame maaltye vir jou gesin voor te berei nie #A22. Partykeer, soos hierdie week, dan dink ek, nou gaan ek vir ons gesonde kos kook elke aand, maar teen die tyd dat jy by die huis kom, is jy so moeg #A23 dat dit baie aande maar net weer die

vinnigste maaltyd is. Ek's ook altyd 'rushed' #A24, in die oggende en die aande. In die oggende tussen ses en sewe, en die aande tussen vyf en sewe, moet soveel dinge gebeur. En dan die skuldgevoelens #A25, mens wonder of jy jou kind enige skade aandoen as jy werk. Die feit dat mens so min tyd het om so baie dinge in te doen, en dan's ek dikwels ongeduldig #A26.

INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou positiewe ervaring van die twee rolle te kombineer?

CL. Goeie kindersorg is 'n groot hulp vir my #A27. Ons het by verskeie plekke gaan kyk voor ons uiteindelik besluit het op sy crèche, en nou ook weer op sy skool en nasorg. Ek voel baie gerus daaroor, ek weet hy word goed versorg en gestimuleer. Uhm....my huishulp is ook 'n groot hulp #A28; ek hoef nie in die aand te kom en huis skoon te maak en wasgoed te was nie. Dinge soos 'n wasmasjien en skottelgoedwasser #A29 maak ook my lewe baie makliker. Uhm....my hoof by die werk is ook baie 'flexible' #A30. As ek 'n krisis het en ek bel en sê ek gaan 'n uur laat wees, ek weet sy sal verstaan. My ouers bly ook naby #A31, so as my kind siek is, kan ek op hulle nommer druk om hom te gaan haal. Ek is deel van 'n ryklub, so ek het nie altyd my kar by my nie, of partykeer is jy in die middel van 'n belangrike ding en die skool bel en sê hy's siek, dan kan ek my Ma bel. As daar 'n krisis is, is dit mos maar gewoonlik die Ma wat 'n plan moet maak. My man is wel ondersteunend #A32, as my kind byvoorbeeld moet tandarts toe gaan en dis vooraf gereël en ek kan hom nie vat nie, sal hy dit doen, hy laai hom ook by die skool af in die oggend. Hy besef ek moet werk, so hy is bereid om te help waar hy kan. Maar my kind is meer ma-vas, so dis maar partykeer moeilik. Ek doen maar die meeste dinge vir hom. My man

begin nou wel die afgelope ruk meer tyd met hom deurbring, met hom speel, byvoorbeeld.

My man help ook met roetine takies, soos in die oggend met ontbyt sal hy partykeer die ontbytgoed uitsit.

INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou negatiewe ervaring van die twee rolle te kombineer?

CL. As my kind siek is, ondervind ek die grootste druk **#A33**. Ook as ek moet laat werk **#A34**, dit gebeur nie dikwels nie, of partykeer op 'n Saterdag. Dan voel ek baie skuldig **#A35**. Maar jy weet, my man help my baie **#A36**. Hy maak byvoorbeeld die bed op in die oggend, maak toebroodjies, sit miskien die ontbytgoed reg. Hy sal ook die vullis uitneem, tuin versorg, en trek my kar in in die aand as ek nie lus was om dit te doen as ek stop in die middag nie. Ek is verantwoordelik vir kos maak, my kind se versorging - alles, tot hom in die bed sit, kyk dat sy tande geborsel is, dat hy aangetrek is, ensovoorts. Maar 'overall' is die huis mos maar die vrou se verantwoordelikheid **#A37**.

INT. Oorhoofs, sal jy sê dat die feit dat jy beide Ma en werknemer is dra by of doen afbreuk aan jou emosionele welstand?

CL. O nee, dit doen my definitief meer goed as skade **#A38** Nee, daar's geen twyfel aan nie.

Interview A: Coded Key Ideas

Key Idea	Coding Unit
Dit is veeleisend, vat baie uit jou uit	A1
Jy moet georganiseerd wees	A2
Maar ek geniet ook my werk	A3
Dit gee my stimulasie	A4
Dis ook goed vir hom om weg te wees van my af, om met ander kinders te meng	A5
Mens doen baie opofferings, jy het min tyd vir jouself	A6
mens voel nog skuldig ook as jy wel tyd afknyp vir jouself	A7
Daar's maar altyd konflik - jy het tyd alleen nodig, hy het ook tyd nodig	A8
Hy word ook so vinnig groot, ek wonder baie keer of ek nie meer tyd saam met hom moet deurbring nie	A9
Ek voel ek kan myself verryk deur my werk	A10
My werk stimuleer my	A11
ek geniet my werk	A12
dit maak my gelukkig	A13
en dit gaan weer oor in my huishouding	A14
Ek's nie afgestomp nie	A15
Dan ook die ekstra geld wat mens ekstra dinge mee kan doen - soos weggaan vir 'n naweek, klere koop, dinge doen	A16

Dit dwing jou kind om meer aanpasbaar te wees	A17
Dit het hom geleer sosialieer	A18
en dit stimuleer hom baie	A19
Hy kry baie blootstelling aan baie verskillende dinge	A20
Ek het baie min tyd vir myself	A21
Daar's ook nie altyd tyd om voedsame maaltye vir jou gesin voor te berei nie	A22
Teen die tyd dat jy by die huis kom, is jy so moeg	A23
Ek's ook altyd 'rushed'	A24
En dan die skuldgevoelens	A25
Die feit dat mens so min tyd het om so baie dinge in te doen, en dan's ek dikwels ongeduldig	A26
Goeie kindersorg is 'n groot hulp vir my	A27
my huishulp is ook 'n groot hulp	A28
Dinge soos 'n wasmasjien en skottelgoedwasser maak ook my lewe baie makliker	A29
my hoof by die werk is ook baie 'flexible'	A30
My ouers bly ook naby	A31
My man is wel ondersteunend	A32
As my kind siek is, ondervind ek die grootste druk	A33
Ook as ek moet laat werk	A34
Dan voel ek baie skuldig	A35
my man help my baie	A36

Maar 'overall' is die huis mos maar die vrou se verantwoordelikheid **A37**

O nee, dit doen my definitief meer goed as skade **A38**

Interview B: Transcript

INT. Hoe ervaar jy jou dubbele rol as beide Ma en voltydse werknemer?

CL. Wel, dis baie harde werk **#B1**. Jy moet altyd jou beste gee vir jou kinders en 'n voorbeeld vir hulle wees, en as jy klaar gewerk het moet jy huis toe gaan en weer gaan werk **#B2**. So 'n Ma rus nie regtig nie **#B3**. Jy weet, mens gaan maar net aan en aan. Ek dink 'n Ma is een van die sterkste mense wat ooit geskape is om aan te gaan. Jy het daai sterkte, ek bedoel, jy 'cope' daarmee. Partykeer kry dit mens nogal onder, jy weet. Partykeer kan dit voel jis, ek kan net nie verder nie, ek wil net myself vind. So, ja, ek sal sê so nou en dan het ek nodig om by myself 'n bietjie te wees. My eie dingetjies doen, bietjie tyd aan myself spandeer **#B4**. Maar mens voel maar skuldig daaroor **#B5**.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die positiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en werknemer te wees?

CL. Mens moet maar ook werk vir ekstra inkomste om jou huis te kan betaal **#B6**, en om ekstra vir die kinders te kan gee **#B7**, mens moet dit maar vandag doen. Mens kan nie op een salaris meer uitkom nie, mens het twee salarisse nodig **#B8**. My werk gee my definitief ook baie satisfaksie **#B9**. My werk sien ek definitief as 'n uitdaging **#B10**. Ek hou van my werk, ek hou baie van my werk **#B11**. Ek kan my in my werk inleef, en as ek huis toe gaan vanaand dan kan ek afskakel. Ek bedoel, dis nie asof ek my werk huis toe vat en daaroor tob nie. My werk is....ek hou baie van my werk.

INT. Dink jy daar is enige positiewe resultate vir jou kinders in die feit dat jy voltyds werk?

CL. O, definitief die geluk in my kinders **#B12**. As jy die kleinste dingetjie vir hulle doen, hulle

waardeer dit **#B13**. Net daai bietjie ekstra tyd speel saam met hulle, of net 'n legkaart bou, net daai ekstra intimiteit met hulle, daai satisfaksie wat ek sien is vir my fantasties. Wel, hulle kan ek nou definitief sê, as hulle ietsie wil hê, dan verstaan hulle as ek sê daar is nie nou geld nie, en as hulle by hulle maatjies kom en hulle sien hulle maatjies kon iets kry maar Mamma het gesê daar's nie nou geld nie, verstaan hulle, op 'n latere stadium sal ons 'n plan maak, jy weet, hetsy die einde van die maand of 'whatever', en dan kan hulle verstaan, as ek nie gewerk het nie, sou hulle dit nie kon hê nie **#B14**. So, ek sal sê positief in die opsig, ek probeer my kinders grootmaak deur te sê, jy kan nie altyd alles kry wat jy wil hê nie. As hulle byvoorbeeld iets wil hê, soos byvoorbeeld my seuntjie wil nou 'n radio hê. Ek het vir hom geleer as hy die helfte spaar, sal ek die helfte gee. So hy weet ook as hy 'n werkkie doen, dan betaal ek hom 50c vir 'n sak aartappels wat hy uitgooi of 'whatever', en hy spaar sy geldjies en as hy die helfte het, dan kan ons weer gesels oor dit. So ons werk maar saam daarop, ek leer hom hoe om met geld te werk **#B15**. En vir die kleintjie - dit het definitief met sy sosiale aanpassing gehelp **#B16**, want weet jy, hy hou daarvan om maatjies te hê. As ons nou by die huis is oor 'n naweek of so, kan hy en sy boetie vreeslik gou baklei, want hulle het altwee sterk persoonlikhede. Eintlik, die kleintjie het 'n sterker een. Jy kan sien hulle soek nog maatjies van hulle ouderdom.

INT Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die negatiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en werknemer te wees?

CL. Wel, tot so twee weke terug was dit baie moeilik gewees, want my man het skofte gewerk, dan begin hy vieruur in die middag werk, tot moreoggend toe, so dan is ek Ma, Pa, kosmaak, skoolwerk doen, badmaat, alles, ek moes alles alleen doen, en dit het my baie

ondergekry **#B17**. Dit voel vir my ek kry nie my werk klaar nie, ek kry nie eers net kosgemaak nie, want ek moet huiswerk tussenin doen, en ek moet aandag aan die kleintjie gee, en daar's nie tyd vir speel nie **#B18**. Maar nou gaan dit beter. Hy werk nou weer gewone ure. Ek is ook bietjie geïrriteerd as ek by die huis kom **#B19**. Ek moet eers 'n bietjie sit daar, al sit ek net buite onder die boom en drink 'n koppie tee, voordat ek begin aandete voorberei, met die kinders begin speel, ek sit net daar en gesels. Ek sê kom ons gesels net so 'n rukkie oor die dag, net om so 'n bietjie af te skakel. So ek is nogal geneig om geïrriteerd te wees.

INT. Jy het netnou genoem dat jy partykeer skuldig voel.

CL. Ja. Dit voel partykeer vir my hulle beste tyd gaan verlore wat ek nie sien nie **#B20**. Veral toe hulle in die crèche was, jy weet, iemand anders sien al my kind se ontwikkeling, byvoorbeeld as my kind tande wissel, ek trek nie eers daai tande nie, die crèche doen dit. Ek moet sê ja, dit is nie lekker om daaraan te dink nie.

INT. Het jy enigsins tyd vir jouself?

CL. Weet jy, ek vat tyd vir myself **#B21**. Sondaar vat ons my kind altyd na die Nippers toe, dat hy gaan lewensredding doen, en dan vir twee ure gaan ek nie saam nie, tussen elf en een, is ek by die huis. Al sit ek net en vyl my naels, of so, ek het net tyd nodig, al lê ek net op die bed en lees 'n storie of iets, ek vat vir my tyd.

INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou positiewe ervaring van die twee rolle kombineer?

CL. Daar is definitief dinge wat my help. Elkeen het sy takie in die huis **#B22**, hetsy die kinders elkeen hulle eie bedjies opmaak, my man sal my help met byvoorbeeld die skottelgoed, nie

elke aand nie maar hy sal die skottelgoed vir my afdroog, en dan sal ek dit nou maar later wegpak. Maar ek dink ons werk goed saam, elkeen het maar sy dingetjies. Al is die kleintjie honger vir 'n broodjie en ek is besig, dan gaan maak hy maar sy eie ou broodjie, en hy ruim op, al sit hy dit net in die wasbak. So daar is sekere aspekte wat ons mekaar gun, almal help. My man suig die huis uit, en ek sal die vloere was, en die badkamers skoonmaak, en die beddens sal die kinders opmaak. Op hulle manier, maar ek los hulle, want ek glo dit is reg. En wel, verder, die strykwerk sal ek doen, die waswerk sal ek doen en dan hang ons dit saam op, en dan verkies ek om dit af te haal want ek vou dit netjies op en hy gooi alles in een hoop, dan's dit meer gekreukel. Wat kosmaak betref, dis maar meestal ek, maar nou ja, my man kan nou al 'scrambled' eiers maak, of hierdie 'two-minute noodles'. Ek sal nie sê my man is 'n kok nie, nee! Hy versorg wel die tuin. Hy is mal oor tuinwerk. Hy sny tot ons bure se gras. En jy weet, die kinders, eintlik is hulle op selfsorgbasis. Hulle besluit self wat om aan te trek, tande borsel, eet, sit bakkies in die wasbak, so hulle is baie selfstandig al. En partykeer is dit ook so, ongelukkig is ek 'n migrainelyer **#B23**, so ek gebruik my voorkoming elke aand. En hulle weet, as Mamma by die huis kom en ek sit my masker op, en dis stilte en donker in my kamer, dan gaan hulle uit. Hulle los my uit, hulle los my regtig uit **#B24**. En partykeer is dit sleg. Jy weet, as ek daaraan dink as ma, dan dink ek ja, hier sit ek met twee klein kindertjies, ek moet hulle vir twee ure los dat hulle by hulself aangaan, want ek kan dan niks hanteer nie, dit is ongelooflik. Maar verder moet ek sê, ek kan nie eintlik kla nie.

INT. Maak jy ooit gebruik van familie of vriende vir ondersteuning of hulp?

CL. Nee wat, dis maar net ek en my man. Ons is nou, ek en die twee seuns is nou drie jaar in

PE, en my skoonouers is nou vyf maande hier, so ons het van Bloemfontein as getrek, so dit was net ons. Ons ken net ons. Dit was net ons vier. Ons ken net mekaar en ons is net mekaar. En dit het ons nader aan mekaar gebring. Want jy leer meer van mekaar ken, omdat jy noodgedwonge meer tyd saam met mekaar spandeer. Noudat my skoonouers hier is, nou help hulle my **#B25**. As ons wil gaan fliek of so, dan los ons die kinders vir so twee ure by hulle, maar voorheen was dit net ons vier, ons het net vir mekaar gehad. So as een siek is dan moet die ander een maar instaan. In 'n krisis, as die skool miskien sou bel en sê die kind is siek, sal my man maar die een wees wat sal reageer **#B26**, want my man is nader, en my man is ook meer beskikbaar, omdat hy vieruur in die middag begin werk het, sou hy byvoorbeeld die kind gaan haal, en dan sal hy hom by die huis hou totdat ek dan nou by die huis kom, dan vat ek hom dokter toe.

INT. Maak jy gebruik van 'n huishulp?

CL. Nee, nie eintlik nie. Ek het een wel gekry vyf maande terug, van Mei af werk sy by my. Sy kom net Vrydae in **#B27**, so ek doen maar basies alles. Ek het maar nog altyd alles self gedoen. Almal help nou wel, maar 'n vrou is mos maar uiteindelik verantwoordelik dat alles gedoen word **#B28**. Ek kan met alle eerlikheid sê dat daar niks anders is wat dit vir my makliker maak nie.

INT. Oorhoofs, sou jy sê dat die feit dat jy beide Ma en voltydse werknemer is, dra by tot of doen afbreuk aan jou emosionele welstand?

CL. Dit het definitief 'n positiewe effek op my lewe **#B29**, want ek dink, ek probeer 'n beeld skep van, jy moet kan weet wat om te doen as Mamma of Pappa nie daar is nie. En die feit dat ek miskien werk en ek kom by die huis en hulle sien ek voel nie altyd lekker nie en hulle

gaan aan, probeer ek positief nog steeds wees **#B30** sodat ek nie afjakkerig is nie. So ek sal sê positief in die opsig ek kan 'n beeld uitdra wat vir hulle kan wys maar mens kan aangaan **#B31**. Jy moenie gaan sit op 'n hopie en dink die lewe is verby nie.

Interview B: Coded Key Ideas

Key Idea	Coding Unit
dis baie harde werk	B1
en as jy klaar gewerk het moet jy huis toe gaan en weer gaan werk	B2
So 'n Ma rus nie regtig nie	B3
So nou en dan het ek nodig om by myself 'n bietjie te wees. My eie dingetjies doen, bietjie tyd aan myself spandeer	B4
Maar mens voel maar skuldig daaroor	B5
Mens moet maar ook werk vir ekstra inkomste om jou huis te kan betaal	B6
en om ekstra vir die kinders te kan gee	B7
Mens kan nie op een salaris meer uitkom nie, mens het twee salarisse nodig	B8
My werk gee my definitief ook baie satisfaksie	B9
My werk sien ek definitief as 'n uitdaging	B10
Ek hou van my werk, ek hou baie van my werk	B11
definitief die geluk in my kinders	B12
As jy die kleinste dingetjie vir hulle doen, hulle waardeer dit	B13
hulle verstaan, as ek nie gewerk het nie, sou hulle dit nie kon hê nie	B14
ek leer hom hoe om met geld te werk	B15
En vir die kleintjie - dit het definitief met sy sosiale aanpassing gehelp	B16

tot so twee weke terug ...ek moes alles alleen doen, en dit het my baie ondergekry	B17
en daar's nie tyd vir speel nie	B18
Ek is ook bietjie geïrriteerd as ek by die huis kom	B19
Dit voel partykeer vir my hulle beste tyd gaan verlore wat ek nie sien nie	B20
ek vat tyd vir myself	B21
Elkeen het sy takie in die huis	B22
ongelukkig is ek 'n migrainelyer	B23
...hulle los my uit, hulle los my regtig uit	B24
Noudat my skoonouers hier is, nou help hulle my	B25
as die skool miskien sou bel en sê die kind is siek, sal my man maar die een wees wat sal reageer	B26
Sy kom net Vrydae in	B27
maar 'n vrou is mos maar uiteindelik verantwoordelik dat alles gedoen word	B28
Dit het definitief 'n positiewe effek op my lewe	B29
...probeer ek positief nog steeds wees	B30
So ek sal sê positief in die opsig ek kan 'n beeld uitdra wat vir hulle kan wys maar mens kan aangaan	B31

Interview C: Transcript

INT. Hoe ervaar jy jou dubbele rol as Ma en voltydse werknemer?

CL. Dis baie harde werk #C1, dis baie besig #C2. Jou lewe is, my lewe is, 'okay', ek is nou 'n jong Ma, ek het nou maar pas 'n ma geword, maar my lewe het totaal verander. Dis baie plesier, ek sal dit vir niks verruil nie, maar jou lewe verander totaal en al. Dis harde werk, jy't geen tyd meer vir jousef nie #C3. Miskien as hulle ouer raak, maar as 'n baba...ek weet nie altyd waar ek die krag vandaan kry nie. Ek geniet dit verskriklik om Ma te wees, maar dis harde werk #C4. Jy gaan sit nie. Ek weet nie wanneer laas het ek gaan sit en TV kyk nie, of 'n boek gelees nie #C5, of so, jy weet, dinge wat jy gewoon was om te doen. Dis regtig 'n voltydse werk #C6, want jy moet hulle besig hou en hulle 'entertain' en met hulle speel en so. Hy't nou so pas begin by 'n crèche - so 'n week terug, en dit het...ek kan die verskil in hom sien. Ek dink net hy kry meer stimulasie #C7 want hy was by die bediende, en sy was baie erg oor hom gewees en so aan, maar sy't ook nie die tyd dat sy heeltyd net na hom kan kyk nie, want sy moet ook nog stryk en sulke goed. En in die aande as ek by die huis gekom het, het hy natuurlik aandag gesoek. Nou, hy is uitgeput. Nee, dis baie....ek wil dit vir niks verruil nie....maar dis harde werk. Ek het wel skuldgevoelens omdat ek werk #C8. Dis nie vir my regom...soos in die oggend as ek hom moet aantrek, as ek moet werk toe kom, mens mis baie uit op hulle. En soos nou dat hy by die crèche is, hy gaan slaap sê maar half nege, of agtuur, en ek kom na vyf by die huis, dan't jy maar drie ure. Dan moet jy ander goeters doen, so jy spandeer so min tyd met hom #C9. Hy slaap deur tot die volgende oggend, dwarsdeur die nag, wat baie lekker is,

so ek sien hom min, jy weet, en dis nie lekker nie. Dis al waarom ek skuldgevoelens het. Jy weet, jy sit by die werk, jy't jou kind vir iemand anders gegee om na hom om te sien, en mens vind maar altyd fout, al doen hulle die beste wat hulle kan. Dis maar 'n Ma, my man is net so erg. Die arme tannie beweeg nie, dan.....(*lag*).

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die positiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en werknemer te wees?

CL. Dis lekker om tussen ander mense te wees #C10, en met jou kollegas te kommunikeer, jy weet, om daardie geselskap te hê. En dis lekker uitdagend, die werk #C11, mens gebruik weer jou brein #C12. En definitief finansieël #C13. Dat mens meer vir jou kind ook kan doen, en so #C14. Wel, ek dink baie ma's het nie 'n keuse vandag nie, en in my geval is dit so. En ek geniet dit om by die werk te wees #C15, alhoewel jy baie verlang na jou kind. Maar aan die ander kant is dit lekker ook - jy word ook gestimuleer #C16. Vir my kind, ook die feit dat mens nie heeltemal...jy's nie 24 uur 'n dag by hulle dat jy mekaar moet opstres en doen nie - hy kry ook kontak met ander mense #C17. Ja, ek dink tog so.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die negatiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en werknemer te wees?

CL. Soos ek sê, dat ek maar min tyd met my kind spandeer, jy weet #C18. En vir hom sal dit ook maar seker eendag so wees, sy Ma is by die werk, as hy nou meer kan verstaan. Vir myself is dit uitputtend ook #C19, jy moet vroeg opstaan. Toe ek nou met kraamverlof was, jy kon maar heeldag daar rond wees, maar nou moet jy 'n roetine hê #C20. Dit is nie altyd so maklik nie, dit was nogal 'n aanpassing vir my. Dit is moeilik, en as jy by die huis kom, jy't net 'n sekere aantal ure wat jy alles moet doen voordat jy bed toe kan gaan

- #C21. Dis maar gejaag. Baie min tyd vir jouself #C22.
- INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou positiewe ervaring van die twee rolle te kombineer?
- CL. Ek kry 'n huishulp #C23, sy kom drie keer 'n week vir my in, so sy maak die huis skoon, wat baie help, en sy doen die strykgoed. My man en ek het ooreengekom - toe ek teruggekom het werk toe het ek gekook ook in die aande, maar dan eet ons soos nege-uur, half-tien. Toe het ek net vir hom gesê, ek kan nie dit doen nie, en gelukkig geniet hy die kosmaak, so hy doen dit #C24. Dit help baie. Dis basies dit. En hy sal my ook help met die kleintjie. As ek nou te moeg is, sal hy hom 'n bietjie vat. Maar hy verkies dat Ma dit doen, op hierdie stadium.
- INT. Maak jy ooit gebruik van familie en vriende vir ondersteuning of hulp?
- CL. My Ma #C25. Sy bly naby my, so ek het hom al....toe hy nog by die huishulp was, by Princess, sy was eenkeer siek gewees, toe't ek hom na my Ma toe gevat. Of as ons nou uitgaan of dit, sal ek hom eerder by my Ma los as by ander familie.
- INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou negatiewe ervaring van die twee rolle te kombineer?
- CL. Ek kan nie dink aan iets nie. (*Sit ingedagte vir 'n paar sekondes*). Miskien....as my man meer kan help #C26. Hy maak kos. Maar dis omtrent dit. Verder sal ek, soos oor 'n naweek, ek sal heeltyd met die baba doenig wees, alles wat hy wil hê, ek doen alles vir hom. En ek maak aan die kant. Ek sal nou die wasgoed ook doen, my bediende sal dit byvoorbeeld vir my ophang. Ek doen die huis, ek maak die huis aan die kant. Hy sal kosmaak, en miskien partykeer so 'n bietjie in die tuin werk, maar hy's bietjie lui. Die

kindversorging is uitsluitlik my taak, tensy ek hom nou vra om my te help. Maar hy verkies dat ek dit doen, ek weet nie, omdat hy 'n baba is, of omdat hy 'n man is, hy voel nie gemaklik daarmee nie, hy weet nie regtig wat om te doen nie, en doek omruil. Ag, en ander dinge, soos inkopies doen - ek doen dit maar. Maar ek hoor net gister, blykbaar is dit 'n nuwe diens by Pick 'n Pay, hulle bring jou inkopies tot by jou huis, so jy faks net 'n lysie, so ek sal moet dink om dit te doen. Jy sien, mens moet dit so beplan as jy moet gaan, jy kan nie, ek kan nie met hom gaan nie, die trollie stoot, en waar sit ek hom, hy kan nog nie lekker sit nie, dan is ons altwee net opgewerk as ons daar uitkom. So, ek gaan, maar baiekeer gaan my man ook saam, dan vat ons die kleintjie ook saam. Of ek los hom by my Ma.

INT. By wie sou jy sê berus die oorhoofse verantwoordelikheid vir die huis en jou kind?

CL. Definitief by my **#C27**. Daar's geen twyfel aan nie (*lag*).

INT. Oorhoofs, sou jy se die feit dat jy voltyds werk en Ma is dra by tot of doen afbreuk aan jou emosionele welstand?

CL. Nee, nie afbreuk nie. Dit dra by. Ek voel ek's 'n emosionele gesonder persoon omdat ek werk **C#28**. Ja.

Interview C: Coded Key Ideas

Key Idea	Coding Unit
Dis baie harde werk	C1
dis baie besig	C2
jy't geen tyd meer vir jouself nie	C3
...maar dis harde werk	C4
Ek weet nie wanneer laas het ek sit en TV kyk nie, of 'n boek gelees nie	C5
Dis regtig 'n voltydse werk	C6
Ek dink net hy kry meer stimulasie	C7
Ek het wel skuldgevoelens omdat ek werk	C8
so jy spandeer so min tyd met hom	C9
Dis lekker om tussen ander mense te wees	C10
En dis lekker uitdagend, die werk	C11
mens gebruik weer jou brein	C12
En definitief finansieël	C13
Dat mens meer vir jou kind ook kan doen, en so	C14
En ek geniet dit om by die werk te wees	C15
jy word ook gestimuleer	C16
hy kry ook kontak met ander mense	C17
dat ek maar min tyd met my kind spandeer	C18

Vir myself is dit uitputtend ook	C19
nou moet jy 'n roetine hê	C20
as jy by die huis kom, jy't net 'n sekere aantal ure wat jy alles moet doen voordat jy bed toe kan gaan	C21
Baie min tyd vir jousef	C22
Ek kry 'n huishulp	C23
gelukkig geniet hy die kosmaak, so hy doen dit	C24
<i>(Hulp van familie en vriende)</i> My Ma	C25
Miskien....as my man meer kan help	C26
<i>(Oorhoofse verantwoordelikheid).</i> Definitief by my.	C27
Nee, nie afbreuk nie. Dit dra by. Ek voel ek's 'n emosionele gesonder persoon omdat ek werk.	C28

Interview D: Transcript

INT. Hoe ondervind jy jou dubbele rol as beide Ma en voltydse werknemer?

CL. Ek is 'n nuwe werkende Ma. Ek is 'n ou ma, maar nie 'n oue nie. Ek het nou Februarie eers begin werk. So ek het eers kinders grootgemaak, so dis vir my....ek kan albei kante toe vir jou praat. (*Sit ingedagte vir 'n paar sekondes*). Moeilik **#D1**. Op hierdie stadium, soos ek gesê het, omdat dit nou nog vir my nuut is, het ek nog nie alles onder beheer nie. Baie keer dan kom ek, dan sê ek jinne, ek kan net nie, ek kan nie dink hoe ek voorheen alles gedoen het en, ek bedoel, ek het nie gewerk nie, nou moet ek nog alles doen en ek werk nog. So ek kan daai twee goed nog nie bymekaar kry nie. Dit voel nog vir my, my kinders en my huis skeep ek af **#D2**. Nie dat my werk te veel van my tyd vat nie, maar ek kan nie by my werk genoeg aandag gee...jy weet mos hoe dit is, daar's sekere goed, soos, daar's 'n probleem met die dagmoeder, of die skoene het by die huis gebly, of by die skool gebly, nou moet jy onthou, o, jy moet die dagmoeder skakel, of jy moet 'n briefie tik wat die volgende dag moet skool toe gaan, en by die werk het ek net nie tyd om als te doen nie. So op die oomblik voel ek, ek 'cope' nie eintlik so lekker nie. So tyd is vir my die grootste probleem **#D3**. Ek voel, omdat ek in die oggende so vroeg by die huis weggaan - ek bly op (*naam van dorp*) - en ek moet vroeg-vroeg in die oggende ry, dan slaap my kinders nog. Ek sien hulle nie **#D4**. 'Okay', in die somer raak hulle nou vroeër wakker dan sit hulle by my en gesels, maar, ek kan byvoorbeeld nie...ek het nie beheer oor wat hulle aantrek nie. Hulle het gister met die 'weirdste' klere by die huis aangekom wat hulle Pa hulle toegelaat het om aan te trek, en dis nie ek nie. Ek voel seker nou maar, die

- mense sal nou natuurlik dink, jinne, hierdie Ma, kan sy nie hulle beter aantrek nie. Byvoorbeeld sandale en kouse en sulke goeters, jy weet. Hulle sal sulke klere aantrek. Ek voel sommer so skaam as ek dink wat die ander mense nou dink. O ja, en nog 'n ding, byvoorbeeld as hulle op medikasie is, is ek nie daar om toesig te hou dat hulle hulle medisyne drink nie. Met ander woorde, ek het daai probleem nog, dat ek voel ek gee nie vir hulle dit self nie. 'Obviously', daar's seker mans wat daai rol kan oorvat by hulle vrou, maar my man kan dit nog nie oorvat nie **#D5**. Ek weet nie of hy dit ooit sal kan oorvat nie. So ek voel nog oor my kinders in daai opsig, ek nie vir hulle.....maar dis seker maar hoe ek voel, hulle is heel 'happy', hulle is gesond, niemand het nog gekla nie, die skool het nie gekla nie, die dagmoeders kla nie, dis seker maar net dat ek te veel verwag, en dat ek nou voel dat ek hulle faal **#D6**. So ek voel maar skuldig **#D7**. Ja, regtig. 'Okay', hulle is nou nog te klein om nou te sê hulle sou gekies het....hulle het al 'n paar keer vir my gesê dit was lekker toe Mamma nog by die huis was en toe hulle nog by die huis was, maar..... ek dink die skuldgevoelens kom meer van my kant af. Ek glo nie hulle verwyt my nie. Hulle is natuurlik.....en op hierdie stadium is hulle...as dit 'n groter kind was, sou die groter kind miskien bly gewees het dat Mamma werk, want nou sê Mamma nie meer aanmekaar, ek kan dit nie vir jou koop nie, ons kan dit nie bekostig nie **#D8**. Maar omdat hulle so klein is, dit hinder hulle nie. Jy weet, hulle kom nie nou agter dat daar meer geld in die huis is nie.
- INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die positiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en werknemer te wees?
- CL. Persoonlik vir my is dit baie stimulerend om te werk **#D9**. Ek was heeltemal afgestomp by die huis. En intellektueel het ek gevoel ek kon net nie meer 'cope' nie **#D10**. Ek het gevoel

ek moet werk, want die geselskap en die goeters is net nie meer daar nie, maar vir die kinders se onthalwe sou ek eerder by die huis wou gewees het **#D11**. Maar ek kan nie als bymekaar bring nie. Ons kan nie finansieël oorleef sonder dat ek werk nie **#D12**. Met ander woorde, ek moet werk. So finansieël is die voordeel, maar emosioneel voel ek.....ek voel ook nie ek skeep my kinders emosioneel af nie. Want ek weet toe ek by die huis was, het ek ook gefrustreerd geraak en ek het ook my kinders partykeer verskree, want ek was te lank net in hulle geselskap gewees. So ek kan nie sê dat ek hulle nou meer of swakker tyd of minder tyd gee nie, want toe ek by die huis was, het ek ook maar nie 100% van die tyd gegee nie, want jy raak gefrustreerd as jy heeltyd in die kinders se geselskap is. Ek kry bevrediging uit my werk **#D13**. As mens voel ek beter, dis net daai skuldgevoel **#D14**. Dis seker ook maar omdat ek van die begin af by die kinders was. As ek na ses maande kraamverlof teruggekom het werk toe, sou ek nie daai skuldgevoel gehad het nie, dan sou ek nie geweet het daar's 'n verskil nie. (*Sit vir 'n paar sekondes ingedagte*). En vir die kinders - hulle het nou vir Mamma vir ses jaar by die huis gehad - hulle was maar altyd baie selfstandig gewees. My man het altyd gesê die arme kinders, die eerste keer dat hulle kon loop moes hulle loop, want Ma kon hulle nie dra nie. Ek het 'n (*gesondheids*)probleem, ek kon hulle nooit dra nie, met ander woorde van kleins af het hulle fisies, en, jy weet, hulle het op hulle eie voete gestaan, en onmiddelik na vreemde mense toe gegaan. As ons in 'n restaurant gekom het, het hulle saam met die tannie na die kombuis toe gegaan. Hulle was nie afhanklik van ons nie. Van kleins af was hulle selfstandig gewees. My oudste een, byvoorbeeld, haar juffrou sê sy's heeltemal koelkop. Jy kan vir haar enigiets vra, sy let allerhande goedjies op en sy, uhm.....ek dink net sy's selfstandig *per se*, ek dink nie dit het

iets te doen dat met die feit dat ek werk nie, dit is hulle geaardheid. Dit is hulle geaardheid.

'Okay', die kleintjie is nou bietjie meer... sy 'follow', sy 'copy' haar sussie op hierdie stadium, wat ek sê is baie selfstandig. Finansiëel, ja, is dit vir hulle dat hulle... hulle is voldag...hulle is in die oggend by die speelskool en in die middag is hulle by die dagmoeder, met ander woorde hulle het kontak met die ander maatjies en ander mense, hulle sien ander mense **#D15**, troeteldiere, en jy weet, daai tipe van goeters, so dit is vir hulle ook in daai opsig is dit beter. Ek sê nie ek sou graag by die huis wou gebly het voldag nie, maar ek sou daarvan gehou het om nie heeldag te werk nie **#D16**. Om nie van half sewe in die oggend tot half ses in die aand van die huis af weg te wees nie. Ek is net te veel en te lank van die huis weg **#D17**. Ek meen, half sewe in die oggend is ek al by die huis weg. En in die winter dan slaap hulle nog, en as ek in die aand by die huis kom jy weet, dan's dit al donker, en dan moet ek onmiddellik begin koskook. Ek is 'n...daar's ek miskien ook nou selfsugtig. Ek wil klaarkry en ek wil gaan sit en ontspan. Dan wil ek aandag aan my kinders gee, en hulle wil mos eerste aandag hê. So daar 'clash' ons ook nog so 'n bietjie. Ek kan nie by die huis kom en vir hulle sê, kom vertel gou vir Mamma wat het vandag gebeur nie, want Mamma wil klaarmaak **#D18**. So dis ook miskien nog 'n probleem wat ek self moet uitsorteer. Hulle is so selfstandig in daai opsig, hulle hou hulself maar besig en hulle doen hulle eie ding.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die negatiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en werknemer te wees?

CL. Ek het so lank gewag om kinders te hê. Ek kan nie rêrigwaar sê.....ek was 35 toe ek vir die eerste keer swanger geraak het en ek het...vir soveel jare het ek my eie ding gedoen.

En toe besluit ek, nou wil ek kinders hê, dit was 'n besluit gewees, nou wil ek kinders hê, dit was nie...ek...'n natuurlike verloop van omstandighede, jy trou en jy het kinders nie. Ek het spesifiek besluit dis nou tyd om te trou en kinders te hê. So, dit was my keuse gewees, dit was my besluit gewees. Die kinders.....ag jinne, daar's seker maar klein goedjies wat mens hinder, en daai tipe van dinge, mens sê baie keer jy moes nooit kinders gehad het nie, jy moes nooit getrou het nie, maar dit is nie... dis nie ernstig nie. Dis maar gewoonlik wanneer die stres jou vang, en vir my persoonlik, as my man my nie help nie **#D19**. Dis waar die groot probleem maar inkom, ek voel dat hy bring nie sy kant nie **#D20**. Dan voel 'n mens jy kan nie altwee...jy kan nie werk en 'n familie hanteer nie **#D21**. Maar dis nie altyd so nie. Dis maar die kere wat ek voel hy bring nie sy kant nie. Ag, en die kinders raak ook.. ek dink hulle toets 'n ou. Hulle kan baie klein wees dan toets hulle jou al.

INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou positiewe ervaring van die twee rolle te kombineer?

CL. Jy bedoel dinge wat dit vir my makliker maak?

INT. Ja.

CL. Ek het nie buite invloede wat dit vir my makliker maak nie. Ek dink my...ek moet self...omdat ek.....ek is 'n praktiese persoon in die eerste plek **#D22**. Ek is 'n perfeksionis, met ander woorde ek leer...ek het my kinders van kleins af geleer, as hulle byvoorbeeld 'n handdoek gebruik het, dan hang hulle dit op na die tyd **#D23**. Maar ek verduidelik vir hulle as jy hom op die...sê maar nadat jy aangetrek het het jy die handdoek op die grond neergegooi, dan moet Mamma nou vir jou gaan se gaan tel op jou handdoek, en gaan hang hom op. Dan moet jy optel en weer gaan ophang. Waar as jy hom in die eerste plek

opgehang het op sy regte plek, dan hoef jy nie twee keer, jy weet, dan hoef jy nie weer te buk om hom op te tel nie. Maar ek het van kleins af vir my kinders geleer om die lewe makliker te maak, en ek probeer hulle grootmaak soos wat ek is, omdat dit die lewe vir my makliker maak en vir hulle makliker maak. Want ek glo as hulle groot is, sal hulle dan dieselfde...daai dinge hê. So ek self, dink ek, is daarop aangewese om die lewe vir myself makliker te maak, deur geïorganiseer ook te wees **#D24**, want ek kan nie verwag van ander mense om die lewe vir my makliker te maak nie.

INT. Maak jy ooit gebruik van familie en vriende vir ondersteuning of hulp?

CL. Nee, nooit. Want ek is nie getroud in 'n familie wat byvoorbeeld die ouma en die oupa en die niggie en die tannies en die ooms en die broers vir my help byvoorbeeld. nie. Daar's nie iemand wat 'babysit' nie, daar's nie iemand wat my kinders...ek het byvoorbeeld nou 'n omstandigheid, laas week Vrydag moes die oudste een skool toe gegaan het vir die dag, groot skool toe, want hulle wys mos nou vir die kinders hulle klaskamers, en die saal, en al daai goed. En ek kon nie, en hier sit ek by UPE. Ek kan nie vir iemand vra in Uitenhage om dit vir my te doen nie, ek het nie daai ondersteunende...daai 'support' wat ander mense het nie. My man moes fisies van die werk af, die oggend afgevat het om dit te doen, want andersins kon ons nie die kind skool toe gevat het nie. My familie is nie naby nie, my familie is glad nie in die Baai nie. Sy Ma is maar net so 'n tipe persoon, en dit is basies die naaste persoon, is die Ouma en....jy weet, sy sug byvoorbeeld as ek....ek onthou toe ek nog nie gewerk het nie, as ek die kinders vir 'n uur of wat by haar moes gelos het as ek byvoorbeeld moes gaan besigheid doen het, het sy onmiddellik gesug. En jy weet, dan vra ek net nie meer nie. Ek vra nie eers meer nie. Ek stel dit nie eers meer voor nie. Daar's

nou nog 'n voorbeeld. Die Kersfunksie is in die aand, en ek weet daar's niemand wat na my kinders....ek kan nie iemand...hulle na toe vat om te 'babysit' nie. En ek bedoel, ek het nie daai ondersteunende, daar is net nie daai 'support system' wat ek het nie. Ek moet maar alles self doen. Ons het miskien...omdat ons onafhanklik grootgeword het, het ek nog nooit op ander mense probeer staatmaak nie, ek het maar altyd my eie ding gedoen. Ek vra nie vir iemand anders om my te help nie, want hulle doen dit miskien nie so goed as wat ek dit sou gedoen het nie. Miskien is dit maar my eie skuld. (*Sit ingedagte vir 'n paar sekondes*). En ja, ek het darem 'n huishulp, sy kom twee maal per week in **#D25**. So dis iemand wat die strykwerk doen, en die huis skoonmaak.

INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou negatiewe ervaring van die twee rolle te kombineer?

CL. My man glo daaraan...hy's nog van die ou soort, hy's 'n Afrikaner blanke man. Hy glo daaraan dat die vrou se rol, jy weet, kinders kry en grootmaak is die vrou se rol **#D26**. Ek bedoel, hy't so grootgeword, en hy kan nou nie juis verander nie. Toe ek wel werk gesoek het, het ek vir hom gesê, jy weet, dit is 'n voorvereiste dat hy my sal moet help as ek begin werk. En hy het natuurlik vir my gesê hy sal my help, maar dit het nooit gebeur nie. Ek het hom nou al darem sover gekry dat hy, een aand in 'n week kook hy nou **#D27**. Verder doen ek alles. As hy by die huis kom, dan sit hy voor die TV en 'that's it'. Soos ek sê, ek het hom noual so ver gekry, hy kook nou een aand 'n week, en hy was nogal die skottelgoed, maar 'that's it'. Ook net daai aand as hy nou kook sal hy die skottelgoed ook was. En as hy nou klaar gewas het, moet ek dit maar weer oorwas. Dis nog steeds vuil, want hy was met 'n borsel, en hy kan nie voel as daar nog kos aan die goed vassit nie. Die

kinders - dis darem nou nie so erg nie. Hy moet hulle skool toe vat 'obviously', of hy het hulle eers skool toe gevat, maar die skoolhoof kom haal hulle nou. Hy moet hulle in die aande by die dagmoeder gaan haal. Hy moet in die oggend sorg dat hulle aangetrek kom, ek sê nie hoe nie. Hy moet hulle hare kam, ek sê nie hoe nie, hy is daarvoor verantwoordelik, want ek is nie daar nie. Soos ek sê, hulle slaap nog as ek in die oggend uitgaan. 'Obviously', as daar nou 'n geval in die dag is, as een van die kinders moet dokter toe gaan, sal hy dit moet doen. Dit het nog nie gebeur nie, dankie tog daarvoor. Wat ek nou wel gedoen het, my oudste dogtertjie moes 'grommets' gekry het, nou, vir dit het ek nou maar by die werk afgevat, want ek kon nou nie verwag dat hy dit moes doen nie. Haar na die spesialis toe gevat, saam hospitaal toe, daai tipe van dinge doen ek nou maar, dan vat ek maar af by die werk. Maar ek probeer om so min as moontlik af te vat by die werk. In die eerste plek, ek moet die hele dag afvat, ek kan nie net...in (*naam van dorp*), dit is 'n bietjie moeilik, ek kan nie net sê, 'okay', ek kom 'n uur of wat laat in werk toe nie, want dit is 'n afstandsprobleem, so ek moet die hele dag afvat. So dit is nie dikwels dat ek dit kan doen nie, maar as dit 'n groot ding is, dan sal ek maar die dag afvat. Maar daar help hy my. Dan, hy is veronderstel om na die medisyne en die goed om te sien maar hy doen dit nie, en dis waar baie 'fights' natuurlik oor gaan, dat hy nie sorg dat hy hulle medisyne in die oggend drink nie, dat die medisyne saamgaan skool toe nie, en daai tipe van dinge #D28. So ek moet fisies al die briefies en goeters, en moet al daai goed organiseer. So 'overall' is ek maar verantwoordelik vir alles in die huis #D29. Wat ek voorheen gedoen het toe ek 'n huisvrou was, ek doen nog presies dieselfde. Al wat nou bygekom het, ek werk nou ook van 8 - 5. Jy weet, selfs die tuin - hy kry 'n 'boy'. Hy doen dit...hy reël dit

een maal per week.

INT. Oorhoofs, sou jy sê dat die feit dat jy beide Ma en voltydse werknemer is, dra by tot of doen afbreuk aan jou emosionele welstand?

CL. Seker maar altwee. (*Sit ingedagte vir 'n paar sekondes*). Dis definitief vir my...ek voel meer vervuld vandat ek werk **#D30**. Ek is definitief gelukkiger as 'n mens vandat ek werk **#D31**. Die nadele wat ek nou het met my huis is....persentasie gewys is minder, jy weet, die nadele is minder, maar ek dink die voordele is baie meer **#D32**.

Interview D: Coded Key Ideas

Key Idea	Coding Unit
Moeilik	D1
Dit voel nog vir my, my kinders en my huis skeep ek af	D2
So tyd is vir my die grootste probleem	D3
en ek moet vroeg-vroeg in die oggende ry, dan slaap my kinders nog. Ek sien hulle nie	D4
daar's seker mans wat daai rol kan oorvat by hulle vrou, maar my man kan dit nog nie oorvat nie	D5
dat ek nou voel dat ek hulle faal	D6
So ek voel maar skuldig	D7
nou sê Mamma nie meer aanmekaar, ek kan dit nie vir jou koop nie, ons kan dit nie bekostig nie	D8
Persoonlik vir my is dit baie stimulerend om te werk	D9
En intellektueel het ek gevoel ek kon net nie meer 'cope' nie	D10
vir die kinders se onthalwe sou ek eerder by die huis wou gewees het	D11
Ons kan nie finansieël oorleef sonder dat ek werk nie	D12
Ek kry bevrediging uit my werk	D13
dis net daai skuldgevoel	D14
hulle het kontak met die ander maatjies en ander mense, hulle sien ander mense	D15

ek sou daarvan gehou het om nie heeldag te werk nie	D16
Ek is net te veel en te lank van die huis weg	D17
Ek kan nie by die huis kom en vir hulle sê, kom vertel gou vir Mamma wat het vandag gebeur nie, want Mamma wil klaarmaak	D18
Dis maar gewoonlik wanneer die stres jou vang, en vir my persoonlik, as my man my nie help nie	D19
Dis waar die groot probleem maar inkom, ek voel dat hy bring nie sy kant nie	D20
Dan voel 'n mens jy kan nie altwee...jy kan nie werk en 'n familie hanteer nie	D21
...ek is 'n praktiese persoon in die eerste plek	D22
ek het my kinders van kleins af geleer, as hulle byvoorbeeld 'n handdoek gebruik het, dan hang hulle dit op na die tyd	D23
So ek self, dink ek, is daarop aangewese om die lewe vir myself makliker te maak, deur georganiseer ook te wees	D24
Ek het darem 'n huishulp, sy kom twee maal per week in	D25
Hy glo daaraan dat die vrou se rol, jy weet, kinders kry en grootmaak is die vrou se rol	D26
Ek het hom nou al darem sover gekry dat hy, een aand in 'n week kook hy nou	D27
en dis waar baie 'fights' natuurlik oor gaan, dat hy nie sorg dat hy hulle medisyne in die oggend drink nie, dat die medisyne saamgaan skool toe nie, en daai tipe van dinge	D28
So 'overall' is ek maar verantwoordelik vir alles in die huis	D29
ek voel meer vervuld vandat ek werk	D30
Ek is definitief gelukkiger as 'n mens vandat ek werk	D31
die nadele is minder, maar ek dink die voordele is baie meer	D32

Interview E: Transcript

INT. Hoe ervaar jy jou dubbele rol as beide Ma en voltydse werknemer?

CL. Dis baie moeilik #E1. Jy weet as hulle presteer met atletiek of so iets, en jy is nie daar nie, en hulle sê, 'Mommy, you should have seen it', jy weet, daar's baie skuldgevoelens daaraan verbonde. Maar ek weet ook dat ek vir hulle beter doen op die oomblik deur te werk as om by die huis te wees.

INT. Verkies jy om Engels te praat?

CL. Ja, as dit reg is met jou.

INT. Natuurlik. Jammer, ek het gedink jy is Afrikaans.

CL. Uhm, my son has got a (*name of condition*) disability #E2, he's with a woman in the afternoon that is doing absolute wonders with him. He responds to her very well. When I work with him, it's more...you know, he doesn't see the role between us changing as to child-teacher, he sees it as this is my Mommy, and he battles to get from me what he gets from her. And, she's very patient, a lot more patient than what I am, but I think that also goes with working all day and getting home, you're tired #E3. Yes, I think in that aspect, yes, it's good for him #E4. And it teaches the children a lot of independence #E5.

INT. What, in your experience, do you perceive to be the positive results in your life, in combining the two roles? You have already started on some benefits, maybe if you could just elaborate a bit?

CL. The good things- uhm, I can expose my children to very positive surroundings #E6, which does cost a lot. They're at a Christian academy, and it's more expensive than the normal

school, and if I wasn't working I wouldn't be able to do that. My kids, personally I feel, would get lost in a class of 40 children, so yes, there are sacrifices to be made. The other positive thing is that I enjoy working with people #E7. And sitting at home, I did that for two years, sitting at home on my own is maybe not the ideal situation, for me. I think I actually got quite housebound at that stage. I'm happier working #E8, but I think I'd prefer to work shorter hours #E9. Or even flexi hours would be wonderful for me. And I think for my husband there's peace of mind knowing that there's an extra income #E10. He works for Telkom, and things are very unstable at the moment. So for him there's peace of mind knowing that there is an income, and building up a saving for the day that he might have to go. It takes some pressures off him as well.

INT. Then on the other hand, what, in your experience, do you perceive to be the negative results in your life, in combining the two roles?

CL. Being tired at night #E11....and not having patience with the kids #E12. They're tired from concentrating for such a long period. And then, there are inevitably things I miss out on #E13. Uhm.....having to scrounge around for a babysitter when they're sick #E14. And big guilt feelings #E15. Big.

INT. What specific factors do you feel contribute to your positive experience of combining the two roles?

CL. I have an extremely supportive husband #E16. He's got no qualms about taking over the housework if I can't. Uhm.....also...a good daymother in the afternoon that cares for the kids #E17. I know they're safe.

INT. Do you ever make use of family and friends for support or help?

CL. Well, to help with the kids, no. If someone needs to, for example, fetch a sick child from school, it would be my husband #E18, because I'm in a lift club, or alternatively there's another friend that I can ask that sometimes helps out #E19. Emotionally, for myself, I've got a couple of friends, we sit and bitch and moan about it, we're very supportive of each other #E20. You know, it's nice to know that you're not the only one in that situation.

INT. Anything else you can think of that helps you?

CL. No...not really.

INT. And then the other side of the coin - what specific factors do you feel contribute to your negative experience of combining the two roles?

CL. The (*academic problem*) that my child has got, does cause a lot of frustration #E21. Not only for him, but also for my daughter. Because she is a little bit brighter than he is, *ja*, she doesn't need as much attention to get to where they need to be with their schoolwork. So yes, maybe, I do neglect her #E22 in the sense that her brother gets more attention. And it's extremely difficult to keep that balance. She's a very emotional person, she picks up on things like that. And, it's basically personalities that differ hugely.

INT. Do you have domestic help?

CL. No, I don't. We had one, or we've had a couple, and we had terrible experiences with theft and...gross negligence with the kids. But we manage. My husband does the washing, and he makes food, at least 50% of the time #E23. And I allow my kids to make quick meals for themselves if they want to #E24, but that doesn't happen more than once in two weeks. My son does the gardening, he loves it. My daughter is a little bit of a lazy one. She'll make her bed. I do the ironing, the cooking, grocery shopping, thank goodness for

Pick 'n Pay's home shopping, it's going to make my life a lot easier, it's wonderful. Any extra-curricular activities, like, my son goes to scouts, anything connected to that, is my baby. My husband doesn't want to know about it. The children are more my responsibility #E25. My husband is very supportive #E26, and before we had a daymother, he used to be the one to sit with my son. He's got more patience. But I think after about three years of it, he decided he's going to slack down on it, and he's going to take some time out for himself, which I feel is only fair. (*Sits pensively for a couple of seconds*). But generally, we make a good team, it's more 50/50. No, actually, more 60/40. I generally tend to take more of the responsibility #E27. If the gym clothes are left at home, it's Mommy's fault.

INT. So overall, are you saying that the house and the children are more your responsibility than your husbands?

CL. Yes. Yes, definitely #E28.

INT. And then lastly, overall, would you say that combining the two roles add to or harms your emotionall well-being?

CL. I think, knowing what I know now, I think it makes me unhappier to work #E29. I realise that I could have, perhaps, gone another route, which would have left me more time with my family. So I feel I would have been happier if I didn't work #E30.

Interview E: Coded Key Ideas

Key Idea	Coding Unit
Dis baie moeilik	E1
my son has got a (<i>academic problem</i>)	E2
but I think that also goes with working all day and getting home, you're tired	E3
I think in that aspect, yes, it's good for him	E4
And it teaches the children a lot of independence	E5
I can expose my children to very positive surroundings	E6
I enjoy working with people	E7
I'm happier working	E8
but I think I'd prefer to work shorter hours	E9
And I think for my husband there's peace of mind knowing that there's an extra income	E10
Being tired at night	E11
and not having patience with the kids	E12
there are inevitably things I miss out on	E13
having to scrounge around for a babysitter when they're sick	E14
And big guilt feelings	E15
I have an extremely supportive husband	E16
a good daymother in the afternoon that cares for the kids	E17

- If someone needs to, for example, fetch a sick child from school, it would be my husband **E18**
- Alternatively there's another friend that I can ask that sometimes helps out **E19**
- I've got a couple of friends, we sit and bitch and moan about it, we're very supportive of each other **E20**
- The (*academic problem*) that my child has got, does cause a lot of frustration **E21**
- So yes, maybe, I do neglect her **E22**
- My husband does the washing, and he makes food, at least 50% of the time **E23**
- And I allow my kids to make quick meals for themselves if they want to **E24**
- The children are more my responsibility **E25**
- My husband is very supportive **E26**
- I generally tend to take more of the responsibility **E27**
- (*Overall responsibility*) Yes. Yes, definitely. **E28**
- I think it makes me unhappier to work **E29**
- So I feel I would have been happier if I didn't work **E30**

Interview F: Transcript

INT. Hoe ervaar jy jou dubbele rol as Ma en voltydse werknemer?

CL. Sjoë. (*Lag*). My man werk voltyds, en na werk ook natuurlik. Hy's 'n apteker, so hy 'locum' baie. Uhm, baie veeleisend #F1, natuurlik. Kyk, hierso moet jy, soos ek altyd sê, as jy hier klaar is en jy stap hier uit, begin jou tweede werk #F2. Dis baie veeleisend #F3. As ek kon kies, sou enige Ma seker maar wou by die kinders wees. Ek dink jou kind kry beter opvoeding as jy as Ma by die huis kan wees. Jy kan nie eintlik, ek voel, jy kan nie 100% hier gee en 100% by die huis nie. Iewerste skeep jy af #F4. Ek sal definitief eerder by die huis wou wees, dit is my mikpunt nog al die tyd. Ek het altyd gesê ek mik vir die oudste een, as sy skool toe gaan, dan wou ek ophou werk. Sy's nou al elf, en in graad 5. Nou mik ek vir die jongste een, as hy skool toe gaan.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die positiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en voltydse werknemer te wees?

CL. Ek kan nou maar net sê finansieël basies #F5. Ag, en jy kan nou seker vir die kinders meer gee #F6. As ek nou...basies nou by die huis was, dan sou ek nou nie finansieël die beste vir hulle kan gee wat jy kan gee nie. Ek kan net dit insien, ek kan nie iets anders insien nie.

INT. Dink jy daar is enige positiewe resultate vir jouself?

CL. As 'n persoon, nee, ek weet nie. Ek is nou maar een wat nog altyd by die huis wou wees, en 'n ma wees, so ek kan nie sê....my mikpunt is nog altyd om by die huis te wees.

INT. So jy voel nie dat jou werk vir jou stimulasie is nie?

CL. Nee. Miskien net...ek is...ek werk met 'n groot, breë spektrum van studente. Ek geniet

dit wel, ek is lief vir mense, dit is al wat nou positief daaruit is, is dat ek geniet dit om tussen mense te wees #F7, maar ek sal nie sê dit...ek het nog nooit ervaar om 'n Ma by die huis te wees nie, so ek kan nie eintlik sê is dit beter om te werk, of is dit beter om by die huis te wees nie.

INT. Maar jy sê jy wil graag eerder by die huis wees?

CL. Dis my grootste begeerte om as ouer by die huis te kan wees, meer betrokke te raak by die kinders se aktiwiteite en sulke goeters. Ag, en jy weet, ek voel so skuldig om hier by die werk te wees #F8. Baie, baie. Ag, ek dink nie ek gee vir hulle die volle aandag wat ek vir hulle kan gee nie #F9. Jy kom by die huis, kwart oor vyf, jy's in 'n 'lift-club', ek het nie 'n bediende nie, ek moet huis skoonmaak, ek moet kosmaak #F10. My oudste een is besig...jy weet, hulle kry al hoe meer huiswerk, jy moet maar help want Pa werk #F11. Jy weet, hy kom by die huis, hy gaan dan weer 'locum'. Die kleintjie verg baie aandag, so die oudste een word in 'n mate afgeskeep, want jy moet sê, jy weet mos nou al hoe om die dingetjies te doen, Mamma wil nou eerder....ja, ek het 'n groot skuldgevoel, want ek voel my kinders kry swaar #F12.

INT. Dink jy daar is enige voordele in vir jou kinders dat jy werk?

CL. Jy weet, mense sê 'n mens se kinders is meer onafhanklik as jy werk. Dit kan wees, ja, maar ek...my kinders is baie Ma-vas, so ek probeer nog altyd hulle dra so veel as wat ek kan. Ek weet nie. Hulle sal eerder wil hê ek moet by die huis wees. Soos my jongste een...huil nog elke oggend Mamma moet by die huis bly.

Nee, ek dink my kinders sou verkies dat ek by die huis moes bly. My man sal ook graag

wil...ons albei mik daarvoor dat ek by die huis moet bly. Dit sal sy lewe baie vergemaklik. Kyk, ek is ver van die huis af, so as die kinders siek is, moet hy nou afvat van die werk, jaag om daar te kom, gou by die dokter te kry. As Ma by die huis is, dan het hy nie daai las op hom om te jaag om hulle by die nasorg te gaan kry, 'n sekere tyd hier te kry, want dis vir hom makliker. Ek is in 'n ryklub, so ek het nie altyd die motor hier nie, en daar kan meer dinge op my skouers rus, jy weet, soos hierdie tipe besigheid, daai tipe dingetjies en hy kan maar sy dinge doen.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die negatiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en werknemer te wees? Ek weet jy het nou al 'n paar genoem, maar wil jy nog uitbrei?

CL. Soos ek gesê het, skuldgevoelens teenoor my kinders #F13. Ek dink mens kan nie ten volle die moeder wees wat jy graag wil wees nie #F14. Jy's onder druk by die werk, ek werk met geld, so jy kan maar self dink, dis heeldag...die ry staan hier, met mense se nonsens, jy luister na dié ou se probleem en daai ou se probleem, so jy't 'n hele dag van stres. Kom by die huis, dan is die kinders ook ongemaklik, dan haal jy daai moegheid en opgewerktheid eintlik op jou familie uit #F15. En selfs jou verhouding met jou man #F16 - want jy weet maar, 'n vrou is maar so, jy's moeg vanaand, jy sien nie kans vir dit nie, dit is maar so, dit het definitief 'n impak. Ek en hy...hallo, ek werk vanaand, sien jou later. Ons kommunikeer die meeste oor die foon. Mens leef verby mekaar #F17, en my man werk Sondag ook, van 8-uur in die oggend tot 9-uur in die aand. So...ag maar,

wat kan mens doen, die lewe het so verander. Dit is nie vir my 'n keuse nie. 'Okay', in 'n

mate kan ek dit gekies het, maar ons het nou so baie projekte, hy wil sy eie besigheid begin. Ek sal eerder 'n bietjie aanhang en dán daai waagkans vat, as wat ek nou net wil ophou werk en dat ek skuldig voel oor my omstandighede, en dan op die ou einde verloor jy alles. En vandag se dae in dié land kan jy nie dit bekostig nie **#F18**. So, nee, jou hele familie ly daaronder **#F19**.

INT. Wat van tyd vir jouself?

CL. Niks, zero **#F20**. Ek staan vyf-uur in die oggend op en al tyd wat ek vir myself maak is om 'n stukkie uit die Bybel uit te lees, dit is maar al. Jy weet, wat jy net besluit, as ek nie vanoggend 'n bietjie lees nie...en dan baiekeer dan lees jy en jy dink, o, ek moet nog dit en dit gaan doen. Ek was op 'n stadium by die 'gym', maar dit het net.....toe ek my tweede een gekry het, toe sien ek net dis onmoontlik. Toe koop my man nou vir my 'n oefenfiets, nou probeer ek maar dan kom die kleintjie en dan wil sy ook saamtrap. Jy weet, daar is net nie tyd vir Ma nie **#F21**.

INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou positiewe ondervinding van beide Ma en voltydse werknemer te wees?

CL. Ek is 'n sterk en positiewe mens **#F22**. My man is net nie daar om te help nie, foeitog, ek kan hom ook nie blameer nie. Ek dink net, die tipe verhouding wat ons miskien het, ons verstaan mekaar, hy probeer nie druk op my plaas nie **#F23**. Maar ek is ook 'n tipe mens wat myself tot die uiterste toe sal druk **#F24**. Ek is net daai tipe Ma. Jy weet, ek sal twaalfuur vanaand gaan slaap, maar my kinders moet hulle bord kos kry, en al kos dit nou net wat dat jy nie daarby kan uitkom nie, ek is nou maar net so.

INT. Is jy perfeksionisties?

- CL. In 'n mate, ja, veral as dit by my huisgesin en my huisomstandighede kom **#F25**.
- INT. Is daar enigiets anders wat jou help om jou dubbele rol te vervul?
- CL. Ag weet jy, my man sal help met byvoorbeeld inkopies doen **#F26**. Nee, daar moet ek darem nou sê, ek bel hom net, ons het....daar's 'n gemengde taak. Hy kom sommer...hy kom vroeër af van die werk, dan kry hy vir my 'n paar goedjies. Of as hy dit nou nie kan maak nie, dan sal ek maar sê, ek sal dit doen. Nee, dit moet ek sê, hy help my baie daarmee **#F27**. En ek moet ook nou darem sê, my man vat die kinders skool toe, en in die middag hang dit maar af van wat sy skofte is.
- INT. Maak jy ooit gebruik van familie en vriende vir ondersteuning of hulp?
- CL. Ek voel skuldig **#F28**! As ek krisisse het, ja, my Ma **#F29**. My Ma is my toevlug. My Pa is so drie jaar gelede oorlede, so, ons is 'n baie vaste, 'close' familie. As ek nie anders kan nie, dan vra ek haar. Maar in 'n mate voel jy, sy't haar eie lewe, jy wil ook nie te veel op haar staatmaak nie.
- INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou negatiewe ondervinding van beide Ma en voltydse werknemer te wees?
- CL. My man wat meer as voltyds werk **#F30**. En dan die jongste kleintjie **#F31** wat maar 'n moeilike.....sy was maar 'n moeilike babatjie, baie allergiese kind, slaap net nou eers onlangs...sy word nou vier, sy't ses maande gelede eers begin deurslaap. Vyf keer 'n nag wakker, ses keer, en dan raak sy wakker en sy gooi 'tantrums'. Sy was vyf maande toe ek begin werk het. Sy's 'n groot kind, sy was so swaar. Ek het baie kere pyn op my bors gehad, jy weet, sy's eintlik 'n baba maar sy's so 'n groot kind. Nou moet jy haar dra, ons het 'n dubbelverdieping huis. Dis al wat my ondergekry het. Maar nou's

dit 'orraait'. Sy's oor daai krisisse, maar ek kan nie sê daar's nou veel....behalwe die feit dat my man nie meer by die huis kan wees en my kan help nie #F32. Want ek raak ongeduldig, en dan voel ek ek verskree die kinders onnodig #F33. Hy's vier keer 'n week uit in die aand, en dan Sondag. Ook Saterdagoggende werk hy by Livingstone Hospitaal. Hy't nooit sy eie tyd nie. Hy het sy tyd vir 'gym', dit gun ek hom. Maar dit maak my tog moedeloos, dan dink ek, ek moet my 'gym' opoffer....mens moet nie so voel nie, maar 'n man is mos anderste. Nee, ek dink, was dit ook nie vir my geloof nie #F34, ek wil nie sê geloof nie, mens wil nie 'n dweper wees nie, maar ek maak myself positief #F35, ek sê vir myself dit gáán beter word. Soos met my kleintjie, ek het altyd vir myself gesê, dit moet...een of ander tyd móét sy deurslaap. So my positiewe geaardheid en my geloof help my baie. En ek sê ook altyd, daar's baie Ma's wat maar deur dieselfde dinge gaan, ek troos myself daaraan ek is nie al werkende Ma nie. Daar's mense wat slegter af is.

INT. So jy is maar verantwoordelik vir die meeste take in die huis?

CL. Ja-nee, ek doen dit eerder self #F36, want jy weet, dit voel of dit vinniger gaan as wat ek nou sê, (*name of child*), dis nou my oudste een, "jy moet nou vir Mamma help, en jy moet nou dit doen". Jy's geneig om hulle te bederf, jy voel hulle het huiswerk, jy dink, ag wat laat die kind maar gou haar huiswerk doen, jy sal dit maar eerder gou doen. Ek doen alles self. My man maak net die bed op, maar na so 'n week of twee moet ek weer eers 'n 'tantrum' gooi voordat hy dit weer doen. Ek doen absoluut alles. Ag, maar daar's baie wat dit doen. Kyk, ek het my tye....ek werk dinge goed uit #F37. Vanaand doen ek dit, môre aand doen ek dat. So ek's baie georganiseerd #F38, ek moet.

Soos jy weet, 'n week is eintlik maar kort. En ek gaan slaap laat en staan vroeg op. Baiekeer in die oggende begin ek al my aartappels te skil, my groente op te sit, en vanaand dan draai ek net alles op 'high', jy ken mos daai dinge. (*Sug*) Maar jong, dit maak mens moeg #F39. Hoe ouer jy word, jy voel jy kan nie meer altyd....ek voel, vyf jaar gelede kon ek baie meer doen, nou raak ek baie gou moeg.

INT. En die oorhoofse verantwoordelikheid vir die huishouding?

CL. Definitief ek #F40. Finansiële aspekte is dit hy natuurlik, maar met die huis dinge, nee, dis definitief ek.

INT. En die laaste vraag - sou jy sê die feit dat jy werk dra by tot of doen afbreuk aan jou emosionele welstand?

CL. Dis nou 'n moeilike een. Nee, dis meer negatief #F41. Ek sal gelukkiger wees as ek 'n voltydse Ma kan wees #F42. O, definitief. Ek weet nie of ek dit nou inge'print' het...ek het altyd die begeerte gehad as ek eendag 'n Ma word, wil ek saam met my kind....jy moet soos 'n vriendin vir haar wees, 'n vriend, of wat. Saam betrokke raak by die skool. Wat my die hartseerste maak is my oudste een is nou in graad 5, by (*name of school*), en van kleintyd af, was sy die enigste kind in haar klas wat by die nasorg was. Jy weet, dan dink jy, dan sê jy, speel met jou maatjies, dan sê sy, al die maatjies se Ma's het hulle kom haal. Dan dink jy...jy weet, dis vreeslik. Sy is nou by 'n speelgroepie in die middag. Ek is gelukkig, maar soos 'n Ma voel maar altyd, sy kan beter doen. Jy kry dinge wat jou hartseer maak. My oudste een is nou meer ge'settle'. Toe sy jonger was, was ek maar.....maar ek is 'happy', sy's gelukkig, so..... En die jongste een, wat my pla is dat hy nie genoeg stimulasie kry nie. Definitief. Ek voel ek sou beter

kon doen by die huis, ek dink so ja. Nee, definitief vir my...daar is Ma's wat meer beroepsgeïntereerd is, maar ek, definitief meer van 'n Ma #F43.

Interview F: Coded Key Ideas

Key Idea	Coding Unit
<hr/>	
baie veeleisend	F1
as jy hier klaar is en jy stap hier uit, begin jou tweede werk	F2
baie veeleisend	F3
Iewerste skeep jy af	F4
Ek kan nou maar net sê finansieel basies	F5
Ag, en jy kan nou seker vir die kinders meer gee	F6
ek geniet dit om tussen mense te wees	F7
Ag, en jy weet, ek voel so skuldig om hier by die werk te wees	F8
ek dink nie ek gee vir hulle die volle aandag wat ek vir hulle kan gee nie	F9
ek het nie 'n bediende nie, ek moet huis skoonmaak, ek moet kosmaak	F10
jy weet hulle kry al hoe meer huiswerk, jy moet maar help want Pa werk	F11
Ja, ek het 'n groot skuldgevoel, want ek voel my kinders kry swaar	F12
skuldgevoelens teenoor my kinders	F13
Ek dink mens kan nie ten volle die moeder wees wat jy graag wil wees nie	F14
dan haal jy daai moegheid en opgewerktheid eintlik op jou familie uit	F15
En selfs jou verhouding met jou man	F16
Mens leef by mekaar verby	F17

En vandag se dae in dié land kan jy nie dit bekostig nie	F18
jou hele familie ly daaronder	F19
(Tyd vir haarself) Niks, zero	F20
Jy weet, daar is net nie tyd vir Ma nie	F21
Ek is 'n sterk en positiewe mens	F22
die tipe verhouding wat ons miskien het, ons verstaan mekaar, hy probeer nie druk op my plaas nie	F23
Maar ek is ook 'n tipe mens wat myself tot die uiterste toe sal druk	F24
(<i>perfektionisties</i>) In 'n mate, ja, veral as dit by my huisgesin en my huisomstandighede kom	F25
Ag weet jy, my man sal help met byvoorbeeld inkopies doen	F26
Hy help my baie daarmee	F27
(<i>Hulp van familie en vriende</i>) Ek voel skuldig	F28
As ek krisisse het, ja, my Ma	F29
My man wat meer as voltyds werk	F30
En dan die jongste kleintjie wat maar 'n moeilike.....sy was maar 'n moeilike babatjie	F31
die feit dat my man nie meer by die huis kan wees en my kan help nie	F32
Want ek raak ongeduldig, en dan voel ek ek verskree die kinders onnodig	F33
Nee, ek dink, was dit ook nie vir my geloof nie	F34
ek maak myself positief	F35
Ja-nee, ek doen dit eerder self	F36
ek werk dinge goed uit	F37

So ek's baie georganiseerd	F38
dit maak mens moeg	F39
<i>(Oorhoofse verantwoordelikheid)</i> Definitief ek	F40
Nee, dis meer negatief	F41
Ek sal gelukkiger wees as ek 'n voltydse Ma kan wees	F42
daar is Ma's wat meer beroepsgeïntereerd is, maar ek, definitief meer van 'n Ma	F43

Interview G: Transcript

INT. Hoe ervaar jy jou dubbele rol as Ma en werknemer?

CL. Dis maar moeilik #G1. Jy voel heeltyd of jy in twee stukke geskeur word #G2. As jy by die werk is, dan dink jy baiekeer aan dinge wat jy by die huis moet doen, of aan jou kind, en andersom #G3. Maar ek geniet my werk #G4. Ek kan myself regtig nie as 'n voltydse Ma en huisvrou sien nie. Maar dit verg baie van 'n mens #G5. Maar ek voel tog dat dit my as 'n persoon ongelooflik goed doen om te werk #G6 - ek kan my nie my lewe sonder my werk voorstel nie. Ek het wel ervaar hoe dit is om voltyds Ma te wees, uhm...die eerste jaar na my kind se geboorte, was ek by die huis. En ek was ontsettend gefrustreerd en ongelukkig - ek het die geselskap van ander grootmense, die mensekontak, en die uitdaging van my werk baie, baie gemis.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die positiewe resultate in jou lewe, deur beide Ma en voltydse werknemer te wees?

CL. Ek dink daar is baie voordele. Natuurlik finansieel #G7 - ons sou nie kon klaarkom sonder my salaris nie #G8. Dit vat ook baie druk van my man af, omdat hy nie alleen verantwoordelik is vir die inkomste in die huis nie #G9. En omdat ek ook werk, kan mens natuurlik dan baie ekstra dinge vir jou kind doen #G10, en goed vir jou huis koop, en so aan. En vir myself - ek geniet regtig my werk ongelooflik baie #G11. Dit gee my baie bevrediging #G12. Ek gaan dikwels baie moeg in die middag huis toe, maar met 'n gevoel van ek het iets bereik vandag #G13. Ek kon die 'challenges' aanvat en oorwin. My werk gee my baie selfvertroue #G14 - dit laat my 'worthwhile' voel en goed oor myself #G15, jy

weet. Ek kan my nie my lewe sonder my werk voorstel nie. Ek is uit en uit 'n beroepsmens, alhoewel...ek sou nou ook nie 'n beroepsvrou sonder 'n familie wou wees nie - albei is vir my baie belangrik. Uhm...(sit vir 'n paar oomblikke ingedagte) en dan ook, my kind is 'n geweldige sosiale mens, so hy geniet dit vreeslik baie om skool en nasorg toe te gaan #G16. Dit was nooit vir hom 'n 'issue' nie - hy het nooit gehuil as ek hom moet gaan aflaai nie, en hy gaan al van een jaar oud af na 'n crèche toe. En dan...omdat hy 'n enkelkind is, leer hy natuurlik ook meer oor mededeelsaamheid wat hy nie sou geleer het as hy alleen by my by die huis was nie #G17.

INT. Wat, in jou ondervinding, dink jy is die negatiewe resultate in jou lewe deur beide Ma en voltydse werknemer te wees?

CL. Daar's nie vir my baie nadele nie. Ek kan nie juis sê ek skeep my huis af nie, want ek het 'n voltydse bediende #G18. So ek doen nie eintlik huiswerk nie, behalwe net oor naweke en die regtig min kere wat my bediende siek is. Ek kan ook nie sê my kind ly daaronder nie, want soos ek gesê het, hy is baie lief vir die skool en die nasorg. Ek dink dis meer oor die speelmaatjies as enigiets anders, maar dit doen hom regtig goed #G19. Miskien net die feit dat, teen die tyd dat ek hom gaan haal by nasorg, is ek moeg gewerk, en dan is ek partykeer geïrriteerd en ongeduldig #G20. Wat anders? (sit vir 'n paar oomblikke ingedagte). Mens het natuurlik nie veel tyd vir jouself nie #G21. Jy weet, om dinge te doen waarvan jy hou, soos lees, waarvoor ek baie lief is. Of 'gym' toe gaan. Vandat ek by die huis kom tot my kind gaan slaap, spandeer ek en my man maar die meeste van ons tyd met ons kind, want dis al tyd, tussen vyf en agt in die aand, wat ons regtig saam met hom het. En dan as hy agt-uur gaan slaap, sal ek en my man miskien 'n bietjie gesels, en teen

daai tyd is ek baie keer so moeg dat ek nie kans sien vir veel meer as net gaan slaap nie.

Ek sou graag wou 'gym' toe gaan, maar dan doen dit ook nou weer inbreuk op die tyd wat ek met my kind het, so ek gaan nou maar nie meer nie.

INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou positiewe ervaring van beide Ma en voltydse werknemer te wees?

CL. Wel, ek moet sê, my man is baie hulpvaardig #G22. Hy help byvoorbeeld baie oggende met toebroodjies maak vir my seun. Selfs oor naweke as ons nou nie werk nie, maak hy dikwels kos, want hy geniet dit baie. Hy sal ook help met bed opmaak, en sulke dinge. En dan baie beslis, die feit dat ek 'n voltydse bediende het wat absoluut alles doen #G23. Sy was, stryk, maak huis skoon, kook kos, maak die skottelgoed skoon - daar is niks wat ek moet doen as ek in die aand by die huis kom nie. Sonder haar weet ek nie hoe dit sou gegaan het nie. Die huis is nou nie altyd so skoon soos ek hom sou wou hê nie - ek sien baie keer plekkies wat sy gemis het met die skoonmaakslag, maar mens leer maar daaroor kyk - dis nou nie eintlik die einde van die wêreld nie. So...die enigste dinge wat ek wel doen is maar in die oggend, ontbyt maak, toebroodjies maak, kyk dat my seun opstaan (hy's baie lui vir opstaan), aangetrek kom, maak seker sy tande is geborsel, ensovoorts. Andersins doen my man dinge soos tuin versorg - maar ek moet sê, hy geniet dit ook. Meer tuinmaak as die algemene take soos gras sny. Hy't baie groen vingers en geniet dit om dinge te skep. En dan dinge soos vullis uitsit, maar deur die week doen die bediende die vullis ook. Maar die dinge wat ons wel self doen, moet ek sê dra hy sy deel wel by #G24. Inkopies doen ek, maar ek geniet dit, dis nie vir my 'n 'issue' nie. Wat nog? (*Sit ingedagte vir 'n paar sekondes*). En natuurlik, die feit dat my kind so aanpasbaar en

maklik is #G25. Hy het nooit gehuil as ek hom moet gaan aflaai in die oggend nie, anders sou ek seker met groot skuldgevoelens gesit het, wat ek nie het nie.

INT. Maak jy ooit gebruik van familie en vriende vir hulp of ondersteuning?

CL. Nee wat, ek het dit nog nooit eintlik nodig gehad nie. Ons kom reg so op ons eie. In elk geval, albei my en my man se ouers bly ver weg. En vriende...ek kan net aan een geleentheid dink #G26 sedert my kind se geboorte dat ek hom by vriende moes los ter wille van my werk, toe ek 'n krisis gehad het en my man was ook nie beskikbaar nie.

INT. Watter spesifieke faktore voel jy dra by tot jou negatiewe ervaring van beide Ma en voltydse werknemer te wees?

CL. *(Sit ingedagte vir 'n paar sekondes)*. Ek kan nie regtig aan iets dink nie. Wat vir my die moeilikste is, is wanneer my kind siek is #G27. Dan voel mens so in twee geskeur. Jy voel verantwoordelik teenoor jou werk, maar jou hart voel jy moet by jou kind wees. My kind was nou al 'n paar keer in die hospitaal, maar dan...dis nie eers vir my 'n kwessie nie, dan vat ek net eenvoudig af. Maar as hy byvoorbeeld griep het, dan los ek hom by die huis by die bediende, maar ek voel nog steeds skuldig daaroor #G28. Dit sou seker makliker gewees het as 'n mens se ouers naby jou bly, sodat jy dan net jou kind by hulle kan gaan aflaai. Dit sal jou net meer gerus laat voel.

INT. So, oorhoofs, wie sou jy sê is verantwoordelik vir die instandhouding van die huishouding?

CL. Oorhoofs is dit definitief ek #G29. Jy weet hoe mans is - my man verwag byvoorbeeld net dat sy klere skoon en gestryk moet wees in die kas elke dag, en sal nooit dink aan dinge soos sorg dat daar genoeg waspoeier is sodat dit gedoen kan word nie. Kommunikasie met die skool doen ek. Om vir die bediende te sê wat om te kook - dit hang maar af wie

eerste by die huis is.

INT. Oor die algemeen, sou jy sê dat die feit dat jy beide Ma en voltydse werknemer is, doen afbreuk aan en dra by tot jou emosionele welstand?

CL. Ag nee wat, dit het definitief 'n oorweldigende positiewe invloed op my **#G30**....en my lewe in die geheel. Dit doen my baie, baie goed **#G31**. Nee, soos ek gesê het, ek kan my nie 'n lewe voorstel sonder my werk nie. Ek sal 'n misrabele voltydse Ma wees en ek is seker my huwelik sal ook daaronder lei omdat ek so gefrustreerd sal wees.

Interview G: Coded Key Ideas

Key Idea	Coding Unit
<hr/>	
Dis maar moeilik	G1
Jy voel heeltyd of jy in twee stukke geskeur word	G2
As jy by die werk is, dan dink jy baiekeer aan dinge wat jy by die huis moet doen, of aan jou kind, en andersom	G3
Maar ek geniet my werk	G4
Maar dit verg baie van 'n mens	G5
Maar ek voel tog dat dit my as 'n persoon ongelooflik goed doen om te werk	G6
Natuurlik finansieël	G7
ons sou nie kon klaarkom sonder my salaris nie	G8
Dit vat ook baie druk van my man af, omdat hy nie alleen verantwoordelik is vir die inkomste in die huis nie	G9
En omdat ek ook werk, kan mens natuurlik dan baie ekstra dinge vir jou kind doen	G10
ek geniet my werk ongelooflik baie	G11
Dit gee my baie bevrediging	G12
Ek gaan dikwels baie moeg in die middag huis toe, maar met 'n gevoel van ek het iets bereik vandag	G13
My werk gee my baie selfvertroue	G14

dit laat my 'worthwhile' voel en goed oor myself	G15
my kind is 'n geweldige sosiale mens, so hy geniet dit vreeslik baie om skool en nasorg toe te gaan	G16
...leer hy natuurlik ook meer oor mededeelsaamheid wat hy nie sou geleer het as hy alleen by my by die huis was nie	G17
ek het 'n voltydse bediende	G18
maar dit doen hom regtig goed	G19
...moeg gewerk, en dan is ek partykeer geïrriteerd en ongeduldig	G20
Mens het natuurlik nie veel tyd vir jouself nie	G21
My man is baie hulpvaardig	G22
die feit dat ek 'n voltydse bediende het wat absoluut alles doen	G23
...moet ek sê dra hy sy deel wel by	G24
die feit dat my kind so aanpasbaar en maklik is	G25
En vriende...ek kan net aan een geleentheid dink	G26
Wat vir my die moeilikste is, is wanneer my kind siek is	G27
as hy byvoorbeeld griep het, dan los ek hom by die huis by die bediende, maar ek voel nog steeds skuldig daaroor	G28
Oorhoofs is dit definitief ek	G29
Ag nee wat, dit het definitief 'n oorweldigende positiewe invloed op my	G30
Dit doen my baie, baie goed	G31