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**Gendered Devotions to Work and Family: Implications for Work/Family Conflict among
Ghanaian Professionals**

Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu

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Sociology

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Abstract

This thesis contends that the gendered nature of Ghanaian institutions of work and family, together with the traditional gender division of labour, gender ideologies and gender accountability in Ghana produces gendered devotions to work and family. These gendered devotions shape the work/family conflict experiences of Ghanaian mothers and fathers. Similar to women in the West, Ghanaian women have been drawn in large numbers into the labour market. Consequently dual income families have become commonplace, especially among middle-class, professionals living in urban areas. This situation has a longer history in the West and has been called work/family conflict or work/life balance. However, explorations of work/family conflict in non-Western countries like Ghana are in short supply.

To investigate work/family conflict in Ghana, this thesis analyses Ghanaian teachers' and bankers' struggles with combining work and family roles. Using a qualitative approach, I interviewed 15 married men and 15 married women from intact families who were employed full-time at the time of the interview. Participants were aged 31 to 52 years, who had children ranging from six-months to 25 years. In making sense of their narratives, I relied on work and family as gendered institutions and how these gendered institutions get reproduced by social forces of gender ideologies and gender accountability.

The findings indicate that men and women have their respective primary devotions to work and family. As a result, men experience work/family conflict in the form of demands for family money and therefore, work hard in meeting such demands. By so doing men intensify their relationship to paid work, although some men are gradually getting involved with domestic and caring activities, indicating the existence of different types of men – traditional, transitional and modern men. Again, it was found in this study that men as husbands/fathers are often able to exercise greater power to determine outcomes about negotiations with their wives around domestic and caring work because as breadwinners they have more financial resources. The women in this study do the double shift of paid work and unpaid work and so experience work/family conflict to a greater extent than the men, but their primary devotion to the family makes them respond to family demands whenever such demands come into conflict with their paid work. I therefore propose that equal sharing of domestic work between men and women will ensure Ghanaian men and women have equal devotions and commitments to work and family roles. Such equal commitments and devotions will create an equal platform for women in competing with their male counterparts at

work and reduce gender inequality existing in the Ghanaian families. This will further ensure more egalitarian family life and make men have the same commitments to domestic tasks as women do in developing countries.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

During this study, people have asked why I decided to study work/family conflict from a gendered perspective. I explain to them my reasoning using an experience I had in my marriage not long after my daughter was born.

One night, my little baby was crying uncontrollably throughout the night. My wife could not do anything nor sleep, and so she was awake throughout the night. I was still enjoying my sleep while she was trying to get our daughter to sleep. Deep into the night she just took the little baby and left her beside me, angrily saying that she is the child of the two of us. My wife quickly went and locked herself in the sitting room. It was really hard for me to manage and control this little baby. That night I came to two realisations: first, most women in Ghana struggle repeatedly with babies who cry through the night while their husbands sleep; and second, mothers deserve respect and special recognition for their caring role with children. Such is the situation most women go through in caring for their babies in Ghana.

Although gender differences in care work and other gender based inequalities remain prominent on global basis, gender-based inequalities are especially resilient in Ghana. This is in spite of the Ghanaian constitutional legislation (Article 17) against discrimination of any sort, especially among men and women, boys and girls. For example, education and work are some of the areas where gender differences in Ghana remain marked. According to Ghana Statistical Service (2014), as shown in Table 1 below on educational attainment figures, the percentage of women who have not been to school is almost twice that of men. Although the basic levels of education have begun to show significant evidence of women closing the gap with men, it begins to widen

again when looking at the proportion of women receiving secondary education and higher education.

Table 1: Educational Attainment of Ghana’s Population above 15 Years

Level of educational attainment	Estimates in Million					
	Both Sexes %	Female %	Male %	Both Sexes	Female	Male
Never been to school	19.7	24.3	14.6	4.4	2.8	1.6
Less than MSLC/BECE	44.6	44.7	44.5	10.0	5.2	4.7
MSLC/BECE/Vocational	20.9	19.3	22.8	4.7	2.3	2.4
Secondary/SSS/SHS and Higher	14.7	11.7	18.0	3.3	1.4	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	22.3	11.7	10.6

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2014, p.12)

Key

MSLC – Middle School Leaving Certificate (equivalent to elementary school).

BECE – Basic Education Certificate Examination (examination written after Junior High School).

SSS – Senior Secondary School.

SHS – Senior High School (the current way secondary schools are termed in Ghana).

Higher – Tertiary Education

The disparities in educational attainment as presented in Table 1 show little hope for radical change in the future. The differences between men and women in secondary education and higher education are especially significant because this level of education is necessary for top level managerial positions.

Another area in which significant gender differences exist in Ghana is paid employment, in both formal and informal sectors. The latest report from the 2010 Population and Housing Census by Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2013) on paid employment shows that males are more likely to

be employees than females. About a quarter (25.3%) of economically active men are classified as employees (i.e., they are members of Ghana's formal economy), more than twice as high as that of females (11.4%), a difference that can be attributed in part to women's lower level of education in Ghana and therefore their greater likelihood of being in the informal economy. There are a few other significant features of male-female differences in paid employment worth noting from the data from the Ghana's 2010 Population and Housing Census Report. The first notable feature of the data is the predominance of women in the service and sales category. Almost a third of women (31.6%) are engaged as service and sales workers; this is more than three times that of men (10.1%). The second important feature of the data is the much lower proportions of women in occupations requiring technical or science-based vocational or professional training. Thus the proportion of male plant/machine operators and assemblers is over sixteen times that of females, whilst males in technical and associated professional categories exceeded that of females by more than three times (2.9% as against 0.9%). In the top two categories of professionals and managers, gender differences still exist although not by big margins. The proportion of males in the professional and managerial category is 9.2% compared to 6.5% for females. Taking cognisance of the barriers to high educational attainment, which women have encountered over the years, the ratio of about two to three for the females represents a remarkable achievement.

Not only are Ghanaian institutions gendered but also the various policies that guide these institutions are also gendered and this continues to make gendered patterns more prominent. According to the Labour Act 2003 (Act 651), women employees are entitled to 12 weeks of maternity leave with full pay. This maternity leave can be extended for another two weeks in case of caesarean delivery, and abnormal delivery or twin (or more) births. Women on maternity leave are entitled to full salary and the salary is supposed to be paid by the employer, together with other benefits she is otherwise entitled to. Mothers are entitled to these benefits in order for them to have time to nurture their new born babies, bond well with them and to recover fully from their labour. Thus, this policy sets out to assist women in combining work and family roles. The Labour Act has no provision for paternity leave, meaning fathers are not entitled to take leave following the birth of their child. As a result, fathers are left out of such important moments in the life of the new-born (Annor, 2014). Failure to make such provision for fathers

has implications for gender patterns of care and work by making it more difficult for fathers to develop parenting skills as well as to combine care and work (Tanaka & Waldfogel, 2007).

Notwithstanding these institutional and policy differences in gender, there exist gender differences in the daily lives of fathers and mothers in Ghana. For example, the kind of mothers that featured in my study from Ghana deal with interrupted sleep and also wake up to a demanding schedule of tasks before they leave for work - sweeping, preparing breakfast, feeding young ones and attend to their personal needs. Similar demands await them when they return back from work in the evening. Mothers have to cook dinner, feed the children, wash dishes, supervise their children's school work, and put them to sleep before they can have time for themselves. Apart from these family related demands, workers in general have to negotiate the heavy rush hour traffic in Kumasi (as discussed later in this chapter) each morning to drop children at school and again to pick them after school.

Women in Ghana do this every day because they bear many of the demands of domestic and caring activities in the family. One study in Ghana confirms that women do more at home than men (Ghana Statistical Service, GSS, 2012). In that study, women reported spending more time doing unpaid work per day (2 hours 35 minutes) than men (40 minutes)¹. Yet most mothers in Ghana are engaged in income generating activities - it has become the 'norm' in almost every major city in Ghana (GSS, 2013) - resulting in them bearing the 'double burden' of paid work and unpaid work (Hochschild, 1989).

The need for both members of a couple to work in Ghana is influenced by two main forces. First, Ghana is shaped by global forces including globalisation and neo-liberalisation (Oberhauser & Hanson, 2007) through its various policies. One such policy is the Structural Adjustment Programme which aims at liberalizing the markets and creating an environment for global transfer of goods, services, capital and labour, to meet the needs of global capitalism as discussed in Chapter Two. As argued by Mkandawire (2005), neoliberal globalisation is very much a policy driven process in Africa that has had an ongoing effect on family and work as discussed in

¹ Among the tasks that were included in this tally are cleaning the house, preparing meals, caring for children, laundry, shopping, care of the sick and feeding.

Chapter Two. According to the Ghana Statistical Service, this policy driven process has resulted in changes in work patterns, which have seen mothers and wives become active members of the labour market in large numbers (GSS, 2013). This is because the neoliberal policies have seen rising cost of living through increases in price of goods, higher taxes and higher cost of social services like education and health. Accordingly, a single source of family income cannot possibly meet the financial needs of the family.

The other related factor stems from the fact that Ghana's political economy is considered as a low middle income economy with a high cost of living. As a low middle income economy, a large proportion of the working population earn below the minimum wage and so are not able to sustain themselves and their families (GSS, 2013). This suggests that a single income will not be able to support a whole family's daily financial needs, and therefore warrants the need for both husband and wife to engage themselves in income generating activities, thereby eroding the traditional concept of the stay-at-home' wife in Ghana. There are, of course, some Ghanaian women who have personal ambition to be in the workforce and are committed to their careers irrespective of the nature of family demands on them,

Irrespective of the need for both husband and wife to engage in income generating activities during the day, women continue to assume the primary responsibility for housework and child care. The situation in Ghana confirms a study in North America by McGill (2014) that despite the considerable changes in women's work patterns across the world and the gradual increase in men's participation in the home over the past few decades, women and men still assume primary responsibility for their traditional roles as homemakers and breadwinners respectively. This, and other similar findings (e.g. Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Kan, Sullivan, & Gershuny, 2011) are suggestive of the universal nature of a gender division of labour, even though the gendered ideology surrounding the gender division of labour has changed more in the West than in Ghana. It is as a result of the latter that my thesis makes consistent reference to the West as a setting where various advances have been made. Some of the areas the West has made some advances towards gender equality are economic participation and educational attainment (Casey, Skibnes & Pringle, 2011). These developments are worth noting as these are yet to be made in Ghana, as my thesis will show.

Notwithstanding the additional responsibility of paid work by Ghanaian women, labour laws and policies that are supposed to help employees, especially women, in balancing family and work

are widely flouted in Ghana. The Labour Act 2003 (Act 651) stipulates a number of entitlements for employees in Ghana. Among these are annual leave, sick leave and maternity leave. Central to ensuring that regulatory compliance is effective for the welfare of workers, it is crucial that steps are taken to ensure that organisations comply with these policies that govern them (Gomez, 2007). Empirical evidence from Ghana on implementation of these policies indicated extensive flouting. For example, in an attempt to find out whether enjoyment of statutory employees' rights are a myth or a reality among employees in Ghana, Amankwaah and Anku-Tsede (2013) concluded that there appears to be partial organisational compliance with provisions of the Labour Act of Ghana. According to the study, only 34 percent of the sampled organisations furnished their employees with their employment contracts. Otoo, Osei-Boateng and Asafu-Adjaye (2009), in a research paper into the Labour Market in Ghana, found that benefits have become a very important component of the total compensation or reward for work; however only a tiny proportion of the total workforce has access to benefits such as free or subsidised medical care, paid sick leave, paid maternity leave, paid annual leave and social security.

One other important policy that is supposed to help pregnant women and nursing mothers balancing work and family is maternity leave. Section 57 of the Ghana Labour Act (Act 651, 2003) outlines maternity leave entitlement for women workers and stipulates that a pregnant woman, on production of evidence from a medical practitioner or a midwife indicating the expected date of confinement, is entitled to at least twelve weeks of leave. This twelve weeks leave is in addition to any period of annual leave she is entitled to after her period of confinement and that two additional weeks may be granted in the event of complications or where there are twins involved. However, these policies are not always adhered to. Otoo (2011) conducted a study on the wages and working conditions of private security workers in Ghana and found that about 26% of female respondents indicated they have access to paid maternity leave. The findings of the survey suggest that many women risk losing their jobs when they go on maternity leave; a situation which puts women's career development in jeopardy. Similar findings were reported by Baah and Congres (2003) who, after interviewing the employees of Woolworths, a company in Ghana, concluded that the workers could not provide any accurate information on paid maternity leave policy in the company.

One other aspect of life in Ghana that add to women's difficulties in combining work and family roles is urbanisation along with weaker links to extended family that used to provide child care support to mothers. The care of children is manifested in the way a child is fed, nurtured, taught and guided (Engel, Menon & Haddad, 1997) and this was often taken up by extended family members. As families become urbanised and nuclearized, extended family child care is slowly being replaced by commercial care (Armar-Klemesu, Ruel, et al., 2000) as alternative child care from extended family members becomes less available in urban areas (Levin et al., 1999). Apart from the costs that are associated with commercialised care of children, mothers have no access to the form of support and assistance they used to get from extended family members when they return from work. This means mothers have to endure the burden of taking care of their children after their strenuous working day.

The situation described above suggests that Ghanaian women have to adopt various strategies in responding and negotiating to the challenges of combining demands of work and family. For example, some women have depended on other women as caretakers to help with childcare and domestic responsibilities while they work. Some have been able to get their husbands to help manage the family and outside employment; some have given up family roles so they could focus on their professional careers; while others temporarily withdraw themselves from the labour market (Maxwell et al., 2000). Further, other women use their weekends to cook their meals in bulk so that during the week, time not spent at work can be spent with their children rather than performing domestic chores (Waterhouse, 2013). These coping strategies reflect the situation in Ghana where women are primarily responsible for domestic and caring activities causing them to struggle, on a daily basis, to meet the present day demands of work and family.

In the West, like Ghana, women do more of housework and care work than men at home in addition to their paid work (Anxo et al., 2011; Galvez-Munoz et al., 2011; Miranda, 2011; Sevilla-Sanz et al., 2010; Craig, 2007; Nagai, 2006; Hochschild, 1989). For example, even in advanced countries like France, Italy, Sweden and United States, an important study by Anxo et al. (2011) indicated that men from all the four countries usually spend less time on housework and care activities than their female counterparts. This is consistent with earlier work in the United States of America (U.S.) where Nagai (2006) found that working mothers do more at

home than working fathers. From this study, women spend five hours and thirty-two minutes on housework and childcare per day whereas fathers spend three hours and fifteen minutes per day. The implication is that women have two work shifts versus one shift worked by men, a situation referred to as the second shift (Hochschild, 1989); that is, the second shift of housework and childcare when the woman gets home from a full day of work (Hochschild & Machung, 2003; Hochschild, 1989). This is consistent with what Sayer et al. (2009) found in their study of gender differences in paid, unpaid and total work time in Australia and the United States. The study found that, on average, women in the United States work 5-7 hours more than men, while in Australia the time was smaller (3 hours more than men). This is consistent with the general literature (Anxo et al., 2011; Galvez-Munoz et al., 2011; Miranda, 2011; Sevilla-Sanz et al., 2010; Craig, 2007; Nagai, 2006; Hochschild, 1989) that women spend more hours in work related activities (paid and unpaid work) than men.

The double shift done by women means that women have to integrate work and family roles in their lives because their entrance into paid work has not taken away their homemaker role in the family. Such integration often becomes the basis of work/family conflict for Ghanaian women and women across the globe because the conditions of paid work presume someone else takes care of social reproduction of housework and care work (Acker, 1992; 1990). For example, the assumption that is built into the way in which work is organised and structured in capitalist economies is that work roles and family roles are mutually incompatible and so each is constantly interfering with one another (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Therefore, women's additional responsibility of paid work, together with housework and care work, will cause them to experience more tension between the domains of work and family (Miranda, 2011; Lewis & Campbell, 2007; Hochschild, 1989). This is what makes scholars argue that women carry the double burden of paid work and domestic unpaid work (Hochschild, 1989).

Even though this was the claim by earlier scholars in the field of work and family studies, recent studies have demonstrated that men are gradually getting involved with caring work in the family (Brandth & Kvande, 2016, 2013; Kaufman, 2013; O'Brien, Brandth & Kvande, 2007; Doucet & Merla, 2007). The change has come about partly as a response to women's demands for assistance with domestic work and child care. This gradual increase in men's involvement with

childcare is changing the meaning of fatherhood from the traditional concept of provider/breadwinner to both income earner and carer. More importantly, this has persuaded scholars to consider how men's involvement in caring work is impacting on their paid work, a situation that has made researchers argue that work/family concerns are not only an issue for mothers but for fathers as well (The US Council of Economic Advisers, 2014; Kaufman, 2013; Galinsky, Aumann & Bond, 2011; Lockwood, 2003). It is therefore logical to argue that, as men are becoming more involved by taking on more caring and other domestic roles, they too will have conflicting devotions (Blair-Loy, 2003) and so are likely to experience more tension between work and family roles as do women.

1.2 Work/Family Conflict: Linking Culture and Gender

The conflicting devotions that individuals face in combining the dual roles of work and family have been conceptualised by family and work researchers as work/family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). It is generally seen as work roles and family roles interfering with one another. Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) defined it as “a form of friction in which role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respects” (p. 77), suggesting that work roles affect family roles and family roles affect work roles in negative ways. This form of tension between work and family roles is unavoidable, because the conditions of work presume someone else assumes the responsibility for house work and care work as has been argued earlier. Similarly, family responsibilities (housework and care work) take a lot of time and energy to accomplish just as it does for paid work.

Although work/family conflict may be inevitable, there are various social forces that work to reproduce the construct. Among these social forces are men's and women's ideology on gender division of labour, gender accountability, political economy and workplace policies. These social forces work together with cultural norms about gender division of labour to create different possibilities for how work and family are experienced and negotiated by men and women on a daily basis. Therefore there is a need to expand knowledge in this area to Ghana, as this thesis seeks to do. The need to explore the construct from a more diverse cultural context has been advocated by Poelmans et al. (2003) who proposed that work/family interface should be studied within a specific cultural context. This claim is supported by Greenhaus and Allen (2011) who

argue that conflict between work and family roles should be understood from an individual's perspective. The authors further argue that experiences in these two domains are influenced by the devotions individuals have about work and family roles. Would an analysis of the voices of men and women, as gender individuals, narrating their experiences, responses and negotiations about the tension between work and family roles in their lives bear out their claims?

In addition, the gendered nature of the institutions of work and family in Ghana will form part of the explanation of how men and women will experience these two institutions differently. A common gendered division of labour in Ghana positions men as economic providers and women as homemakers. This becomes part of the reason why men and women have different devotions to these institutions as discussed in Chapter Three. This produces gendered experiences of work/family conflict, gendered responses to these experiences and gendered negotiations of work/family conflict. What is most important about these gendered institutions is the gender ideology on division of labour that assigns the homemaker role to women and breadwinner role to men who are supposed to provide income for the family (Greenstein, 1996). The nature of this gender division of labour deepens men's commitment to paid work and women's commitment to the family and so becomes a structural feature of heterosexual family life of which Ghanaian men and women are socialised into and becomes the foundation upon which individual gender ideologies are formed.

Another important aspect of this cultural ideology on gender division of labour is how it shapes men's and women's respective primary devotions to work and family. According to Blair-Loy (2001, 2003), work devotion demands one's commitment to paid work whilst family devotion demands one's commitments to housework and child care. Traditionally, in the US (and in Ghana as I claim above), men are assigned work devotion whilst family devotion is assigned to women. According to Blair-Loy (2001), there is a contradiction between being devoted to work and at the same time being devoted to the family. This is because the responsibility for being a worker makes it difficult for the one with family responsibilities (mostly women) to meet such demands. This contradiction makes women, who largely become devoted to the two domains because of the double shifts they do, experience a form of conflict in honouring responsibilities associated with shifts (paid work and unpaid work). This claim suggests that men and women

who are only devoted to their traditionally assigned roles will not experience any form of conflict. It is only those who become devoted to both work and family who will experience tension between the two domains.

1.3 Introducing the Current Study

The discussions above suggest how important gender is in our understanding of how men and women experience, respond and negotiate the tension between work and family roles in Ghana. The focus of my thesis is on gaining a more detailed understanding of how the gendered institutions of work and family (with gendered divisions within and between them), together with the social forces of gender ideologies on gender division of labour and gender accountability, work to reproduce these gendered institutions. These gendered institutions, in conjunction with the social forces, are important for this study because they are part of the explanation of the gendered experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family conflict in Ghana. First, I argue that the experience of work/family conflict comes in different forms for men and women in this study. Women's entrance into paid work, together with the common gendered requirement in Ghana that positions them as homemakers, will make women experience work/family conflict to a greater extent than the men in this study who only do one shift of paid work because of their traditionally assumed economic provider role. In addition, the nature of the gender division of labour in the family will result in men and women having different devotions to paid work and unpaid work and so will cause them to experience these two institutions differently on daily basis.

Second, the gendered institutions of work and family produced different responses to work/family conflict for men and women in this study. In the first instance, the different workplace structures caused men and women in my study to respond differently to the experiences of work/family conflict. For example, the teaching sector offered women the needed flexibility in responding to sick calls for their children while at work compared to their female counterparts working in the banking sector, mostly as tellers who lacked such flexibility. The male teachers also enjoyed similar flexibility during the day although most of them took advantage of that to do extra classes for money. The male bankers, largely employed in marketing type positions were often away from the office and so could be able to take advantage

of that and respond to calls regarding their children during the day. Again, the gendered responses to work/family conflict were shaped by cultural norms about the gender division of labour; men are not held accountable for family responsibilities in the same way Ghanaian women are and so they are not obliged to respond to family duties while at work in the same way and manner women in the study did.

Third, the gendered negotiations over work/family conflict for men and women in my study emerged as a result of their respective devotions to work and family. Although the women in this study do the double shifts of paid work and unpaid work, they largely negotiate the tension from these two domains to reflect their devotion to family responsibilities, although they occasionally strategize to reflect their secondary devotion to paid work. In the same way, most of the men in my study also negotiated work and family roles to reflect their devotion to paid work. The gendered negotiations between men and women in this study also reflected marital power relations within Ghanaian families. For example, the men as husbands/fathers are able to exercise greater power to determine outcomes of work/family conflict because of the economic provider role accorded them through the existing gender division of labour in the Ghanaian society.

I therefore argue that the gendered institutions of work and family in Ghana, together with the various social forces, work to reproduce the gendered institutions and cause men and women to differ in their experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family conflict. It is as a result of this that my thesis makes gender a central part in an attempt to understand how the domains of work and family are experienced and negotiated by men and women (Minnotte et al., 2010; Pleck, 1977). Pleck (1977) argued that men may adhere to the socially defined role of a 'provider' and therefore may be more likely to experience work-to-family conflict. That is, men's economic provider role in the family makes them more devoted to paid work and such devotion interferes with their involvement in housework and care work. In a similar way, women are more likely to juggle the primary home and family responsibilities along with work responsibilities and are more likely to experience family-to-work conflict. That is, women's devotion to family responsibilities makes such responsibilities conflict with their paid work. Despite the recognition of the importance of gender in this field by Pleck (1977), this aspect of

the construct has not been given much attention in the literature. In light of this gap, this thesis makes a significant contribution to non-Western experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family conflict that cannot be understood outside of gender.

It is therefore against this backdrop that the overall aim of my thesis was to explore how the gendered institutions of work and family in Ghana produce the gendered experiences and negotiations over work/family conflict. In achieving this overall objective, I sought to explore three main specific objectives in my thesis. First, to explore how gender division of labour makes men and women more devoted to work and family. Second, to examine how the gender division of labour produces gendered experiences of work/family conflict. Third, to examine how the gender division of labour produces gendered negotiations over work/family conflict.

In light of these key research aims, the study was guided by these research questions.

1. What influence does a traditional division of labour have on men's and women's devotion to paid work and unpaid domestic and care work?
2. How do men's and women's respective devotions to work and family roles shape how they experience work/family conflict?
3. How do men's and women's respective devotions to work and family roles shape how they negotiate work/family conflict?

My study is about career women and men in an urban centre, living a comparable lifestyle to career men and women in the West. These men and women in my study belong to the middle class group in Ghana who were all working in the formal economy at the time of the interview earning a reasonable income, and have had higher education. Between May and July 2015, I carried out 30 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with mothers and fathers who were fully employed and were working in the banking and teaching sectors in Kumasi, the second largest and busiest city in Ghana. With the cultural diversity and number of economic activities in the city, together with the renowned traffic jams, means many of the common challenges of African cities are represented. Another important reason why this study is necessary at this time is that the current situation in the city, especially what a worker goes through commuting from home and to work and back, adds to the already stressful demands at home and in the work place.

At the interview session with my participants, I asked about their ideas and actions on domestic and caring activities in the home. This was followed by a series of questions that solicited information about how they experience and negotiate the demands of work and family roles in their daily lives. The details of these discussions are addressed in Chapter Five. This is a qualitative study and so does not statistically generalise the overall experiences of men and women in Ghana. People living in other parts of the country may have different ideas and experiences of the phenomenon. In addition, I interviewed participants who were employed full-time and were living together with a spouse or partner who was also employed full-time. This ensured that all participants were from dual-income families and employed full-time, and their youngest child was 12 years old or younger. The rationale for this criterion was that in Ghana, the average age for children to enter junior high school is 12 years; and at that age the children are able to live largely independent lives, lessening the parents' burden of caring for them.

1.4 Overview of Thesis Chapters

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Subsequent to this introductory chapter, Chapter Two discusses the background of gendered work in Ghana, demonstrating how work has been divided along gender lines over three time periods: the pre-colonial period, colonial period and post-colonial period, together with how the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) affected gender and work in Ghana. This provides an understanding of how historical structures and the political economic programmes have impacted on gendered division of work in Ghana, and although gender division of labour has undergone various changes over time, it still persists in Ghanaian society, with women being more vulnerable to changes in the political economy of Ghana - hence their increased participation in paid work.

In Chapter Three, I used theories of family and work as gendered institutions to demonstrate how the institutions of work and family in Ghana are not gender neutral and, as such, these gendered institutions form part of the explanation for the differences in how men and women in Ghana experience work and family domains. I further argued that these gendered institutions, together with social forces of gender ideologies, gender accountability and gender division of labour, become part of the explanation for the gendered experiences, responses and negotiations over

work/family conflict. In addition, I demonstrate how the existing power structure in the family makes it easy for men to negotiate around unpaid work in the family in order to devote more time and energy to paid work and for women to frequently defer to their husbands.

To complement these multiple theories, Chapter Four provides a comprehensive review of the literature pertaining to the general overview of work/family conflict, the double shift of career women, work/family conflict as an emerging issue for men and cultural influences on work/family conflict. This chapter provides empirical evidence from past studies, largely from Western scholarship, and identifies the gap in the literature regarding the construct being studied. Chapter Five details the methodological basis, as well as the specific methods, adopted in this research. The chapter commences with a justification of the qualitative research design employed in this study, followed by a discussion of the overall research process of this thesis.

Chapter Six is the first of the three results chapters. This chapter focuses on how men and women in this study do gender in their families and how this is gradually changing as some men get involved with domestic unpaid work. The importance of this chapter to my research based narrative of work/family conflict is how the nature of gender division of labour, particularly in the family, together with other social forces of gender ideology and gender accountability, makes men more devoted to work roles and women to family roles. The gendered experiences and negotiations over work/family conflict come about because the women in my study have added work responsibility to their primary devotion of unpaid work and so experience more tension in combining paid work to their unpaid work than the men who mostly do one shift of paid work. Women experience more conflict in combining paid work and unpaid work because the notion of paid work presumes someone else takes care of unpaid work: women's attempt to combine these roles make their added role (paid work) conflict with their housework and care work.

Chapter Seven discusses my findings on the experience of work/family conflict where women in this study experience more conflict between work and family roles than men do. Finally, Chapter Eight follows the discussion on how men and women experience work/family differently and argues that these gendered experiences of the two domains cause men and women to adopt different negotiating strategies. Added to this is how responses to the experience of work/family

conflict are actively worked out in relations to different workplace structures and norms among my participants. Finally, Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by summarising and discussing the key findings together with a discussion of the contributions the study makes to the area of knowledge. In addition, the chapter discusses the limitations of the study and outlines suggestions for future research in this area, after which concluding remarks are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND OF GENDERED WORK IN GHANA

2.1 Introduction

Ghana has been subjected to a range of social forces like colonisation and economic restructuring over the years, which have had on-going implications for the organisation and gendering of paid and unpaid work, and families in Ghana. Moving from an agricultural economy to an industrial and service-based economy as a country, it is important that we study how some of these forces have impacted on the gender regime of the family and work in Ghana. This chapter discusses how work, although traditionally gendered, has changed from the pre-colonial period to colonial period through to the post-colonial period. Specifically, the discussion will centre on traditional roles of men and women over three time periods: pre-colonial agricultural Ghana (up to early 1900s); gender and work during colonisation (from early 1900s to 1957); and gender and work after independence (1957 onwards). The study will further examine gender as a critical issue for understanding the changes that happened during the introduction of the political economy by way of the Structural Adjustment Programme in Ghana. This discussion is important to the overall aim of this thesis as it helps to understand the contemporary cultural and structural context in which the demands of work and family operates for men and women in this study.

2.2 Gender and Work in Pre-Colonial Period in Ghana

Ghana, formally called Gold Coast until independence from Britain in 1957, was and continues to be a predominantly agricultural society. Historically, work in Ghana, like all other societies, has strong gendered dimensions both at home and on the farm (Guyer, 1980; Falola & Amponsah, 2012). For example, on the farm, men cleared the farmlands while women planted the crops. In the same way, on the domestic front, the kitchen with its related works was considered as the place for women (Brown, 1994). Several proverbs that were commonplace in Ghana attest to this gender division of labour, which were used frequently to demonstrate how gendered norms were reinforced through women and men (Ampofo, 2001). For example: “If the gun lets out bullets, it is the man who receives them on his chest”, “even if a woman makes a drum it leans against a man's hut” and “the hen also knows that it is dawn but it allows the cock to announce it”. These proverbs stress the different roles accorded to men and women in Ghanaian society: what a man is supposed to do and what a woman is supposed to do. They

reinforced gender positions and ensured that girls and boys grow to know and internalise their appropriate gender roles (Ampofo, 2001). Although the saying in Akan² language in Ghana that ‘the kitchen is not the office for the man to give orders’ might not directly be about who does what, it is clear that the man has no business in the kitchen let alone to give orders, buttressing the fact that domestic chores predominantly were in the hands of women.

Apart from these proverbs and wise sayings that were constantly used as tools to reinforce the gender roles in Ghanaian society, the domestically gendered roles were clearly seen in the traditional family setting through the way boys and girls conducted themselves. For example, the girls were mostly seen playing with empty containers in an attempt to learn how to cook. They were commonly seen carrying objects such as toys on their backs as a traditional way of caring for babies. On the other hand, boys were normally seen playing as hunters and warriors. Typical of this was that the boys will divide themselves into two groups. One group will go into hiding while the other group will be searching for them to kill holding wooden sticks as a symbol of guns and machetes.

The manifestations of these socialised gendered roles in children were based on how men and women carried out different roles on the farm. Generally, men and women farmed together on the same plots of land, producing solely for home consumption (Falola & Amponsah, 2012). Specific agricultural tasks were confined to certain age and gender groups. The major role men played was the heavy work of clearing the land for cultivation, with its associated activity of felling trees (Guyer, 1980). In addition, men were usually responsible for making cloth from the bark of trees, hunting, fishing and defending the group during warfare. Farming tasks such as planting, weeding, harvesting and storing foodstuffs were the responsibilities of women.

According to Boateng (1993), although these gender roles separated men and women on the farm, work was not used as a mechanism that placed higher values on males. Anquandah (1982) argues that the division of labour along gender lines that existed in pre-colonial time was mainly based on complementarity between male and female contributions to the development of the

²The Akans occupy the greater part of the southern sector of Ghana and constitute about 70% of Ghana’s total population.

society and maintenance of the family. It is difficult to substantiate this complementary role argued by scholars given the nature of gendered labour as reflected in the various tasks and responsibilities that were assigned to women and men. These complementary and interdependent roles are reemphasised by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) who claim that general economic activity in traditional Ghanaian society was characterised in almost all spheres by a strict division, which did not necessarily connote a superior-inferior paradigm. The general principle was to ensure complementarity taking cognisance of other responsibilities such as the pivotal reproductive, child caring and domestic roles of the women (GSS, 2013). Although this claim reflects the strand of structural functionalism, in reality, the nature of the social division between men and women in pre-colonial times might not be the case. For example, the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2013) make the point that when one sees a woman carrying heavy produce home from the farm with a man following empty handed, it is easy to overlook the fact that the man is carrying a machete ready to defend the woman in case of an unexpected attack by a wild animal. Therefore, it was important for the man not to carry anything so as to be free to play this equally important protective role.

In an attempt to contribute to this debate by considering the interdependence of men's and women's work in the sexual division of labour, Whitehead (1981) points out that it is important to distinguish farming operations in which men's input occurs in different crop spheres, so that the sexual division of labour is 'sex segregated' from those where men and women work in sequence on the same crops (a sex sequential division of labour). The question left unanswered is, do we need a society constructed with all these gender divisions? This may reflect how hidden power is exercised in marital relations through gender division of labour in our society (Komter, 1989).

Although this is the general position of scholars, a critical look at the nature of the social division between men and women in pre-colonial Ghana, as has been argued earlier, does not reflect the claim but rather a hidden gender inequality that was existing in pre-colonial times. It can be inferred from this brief overview that the complementary roles played by both males and females meant that women did not have the same social status as that of men during the pre-colonial era. For example, if men carried only a machete for the security of the woman, what about occasions

when the man returned from the farm alone still not carrying anything? Or women who were always carrying a full load anytime they were coming from the farm irrespective of whether they were being accompanied by the man or walking alone. Men in pre-colonial times avoided carrying produce home from the farm by engaging themselves in activities that conflicted with carrying farm produce, a situation referred to as dodging by Ashcraft (2000) as discussed in Chapter Three.

The gender inequality in pre-colonial Ghana is further reflected in the ownership and access to resources; and is one of the historical structures that have created dependency patterns. For example, the farms, whether worked jointly (Falola & Amponsah, 2012) or by the woman alone, were considered the property of the man. Guyer (1980) opines that as the “man [husband] grew in seniority his work input into farming declined, but his managerial control over the produce increased” (p. 362). The woman (wife) was to assist the man in his farming activities. This is one of the reasons why, in the traditional Akan society of Ghana, the man had the right to marry more than one woman because the women were seen as a source of labour together with the children for the man. So important was the obligation to work her husband’s fields that a woman who failed in this respect was considered lazy and could be divorced. Interestingly, women cannot divorce the husbands on similar grounds, further reflecting how men have been privileged in Ghanaian society. It was her duty to go to the farm every day for the purpose of collecting foodstuffs and firewood for daily consumption. This reflects how men at that time exercised various forms of power over women and exercised agency in ways that women could not.

In addition, this gender inequality in the Ghanaian traditional society is further emphasised by the number of hours women spent on the farm in relation to the number of hours men did. Guyer (1980) argues that women worked longer hours on the farm than their male counterparts. According to the author, “although there are no records of work time by sex, all sources [oral and written sources] are unanimous in stating that the women worked longer hours on the farm than the men” (Guyer, 1980, p. 362). This further supports the argument that Ghanaian women, since pre-colonial times, have been spending more hours on work related activities, although they come in different forms in different times.

Added to these longer hours working on the farm, women were responsible for most domestic tasks, including cooking, fetching of water, collecting firewood (Guyer, 1980) and caring for children and elderly with a some assistance from children, depending on their age. Women's domestic responsibilities included processing food items for immediate and prolonged use. The men virtually did nothing after returning from the farm, to the extent that it was even the responsibility of the woman to fetch water in a bucket, and place it in the bathhouse for the husband to bath. This is non-reciprocal service work that challenges ideas about gender complementarity as gender equality in pre-colonial Ghana. The main domestic task performed by men was maintenance work, mostly house maintenance.

Caring for the children and the elderly in the family was the responsibility of the women with the assistance of members of the extended family; this was especially so with the care of the children by mothers and was enshrined in proverbs such as '*akoko baatan na onim dea ne mma bedi*' - "the good mother knows what her children will eat". A deeper sense of this portrays that a good mother does not only feed her children food alone, but provides affection and care for them within the family. Mothers at this period had two options of caring for their children when going to the farm. Mothers could either carry their babies to the farm or leave them behind under the care of an extended family member, mostly in the hands of elderly women. The second option depended on the availability of such dependable elderly person in the family. In the absence of this second option, mothers were constantly with their children carrying infants on their back when going to the farm, and while working unless there was an older sibling to take care of the infant.

From the ensuing discussions, it can be concluded that the pre-colonial subsistence farming communities were not gender neutral with gendered assigned roles although men and women at that time cooperated with each other in their farming communities. Women did more than men with farm work, domestic work and caring activities largely because of their relative position within the family as homemakers, which intensified their relationship to the family. Although some scholars (Whitehead, 1994) argue that the respective roles of men and women in pre-colonial time were complementary or interdependent, the privileges men enjoyed and the apparent subordination of women, appear to challenge this claim. Men's role can only be

considered critical because of the risky and challenging (GSS, 2013) nature of what they did, that is, clearing the land and felling the trees, hunting and warfare. Even this claim can be contested by examining critically what women did in the family and on the farms; that is, carrying heavy loads from the farm, walking alone and giving birth could be seen as more critical and riskier than what men did. One can infer from this discussion that women in pre-colonial time carried the burden of working on the farm, caring for their children and maintaining the house on a daily basis.

2.3 Gender and Work in Ghana's Colonial Period

From the previous section, it was established that the nature of how the gender order was operating in pre-colonial farming communities in Ghana appeared to be playing a complementary role. A critical examination challenged this idea because it advantaged men to the disadvantage of their female counterparts. This section establishes how the gender order of Ghana in the form of gender division of work changed in the wake of colonisation. That is, how colonial administrative policies reshaped gender, family and work over time with their ensuing consequences. These included the introduction of agricultural policies in the form of large scale farming and cash crops, Christianity and Victorian morality, and finally Western education.

During the colonial period, Britain had emerged as the 'workshop of the world' with its lead in industrialisation. A significant demand was thus created to feed its new industries with raw materials. Ghana became one of the raw material-based countries for production of cash crops such as cocoa, palm oil and cotton. The capitalistic interests of the British were developed and maintained as Ghanaian male farmers who lived in the rural areas were literally forced to stop producing food crops and compelled to produce cash crops for the foreign cheap market (Sarfoh, 1987) and so the men were not available to do the heavy work of clearing the land anymore. This caused a radical transformation in the political economy from subsistence economy to a capitalist cash crop economy. This occurred by hiring men as workers to work on the commercial farms, thereby resulting in the emergence of a new gender pattern of production, in which men were given the sole prerogative to cultivate cash crops (Hutchful, 1987).

The result of this new gender pattern of production was the marginalisation of women into producing food crops and helping the men to care for the young cocoa trees and to harvest and transport the harvest, receiving no monetary reward. The notion at that time was that women should not be associated with wealth and should be financially dependent on men (Gordon & Nair, 2000; Trennert, 1988). In addition, women could not be associated with power in the form of access to the farm lands as those could only belong to men; although even Ghanaian males did not have absolute control over the farm lands at that time (Duncan, 2004; Hutchful, 1987; Sarfo, 1987). A similar account of the economic changes that shaped men's relative positions in the economy as a result of the introduction of cash-crop in the early colonial period was produced by Boahen (1966). It is on this basis that scholars like Bortei-Doku (1991) argue that colonialism had a negative impact on gender relations and affected the status of Ghanaian women, and consequently their ability to contribute to society.

One factor that led to the marginalisation of women was the establishment of large-scale farms by the colonial government that employed only men (Kludze, 1988): the reason being that by employing women would become financially independent, which was against the practice at the time. The favour given by the colonial power to the growth of cash crops was seen in terms of the significant level of attention given to each type of farming in the area of extension services, research and technology (Parpart, 2000). For example, farming improvement efforts were concentrated on the male cash crop sector, while the female food crop sector continued with traditional low-productivity methods (Nabila, 1986). The introduction of new technology tended to widen the gap between men and women both in economic and social terms (Ameyibor, 1993). For example, the livelihood of Nzima³ women in Ghana was threatened by the introduction of mechanized means of producing palm oil, which employed only men, and marginalized women (House-Midamba & Ekechi, 1995), further buttressing the male privileges over that of females during the colonial period. Another contributory factor that led to the marginalisation of women was the migration of men from the rural farming communities to work in areas where these commercial farms were located. Most cash crop farms were located in fertile regions of the country. Because of this, the British took the lands by force for their plantations because the land was fertile and valuable. As such men were compelled to leave their families in their rural areas

³ The Nzima are Akan people who live in southern Ghana and southeast of Cote d'Ivoire.

of origin to work on the farms (Austin, 2007). Other men were employed in lower sectors in the economy in transporting and loading cocoa, in the government offices as messengers, or in homes as houseboys (Fage, 1959). The introduction of a migrant male labour system, together with social norms, as well as the structure of the political economy constrained women because they had to combine the work of the men their own. In addition, they did not have equal access to resources and opportunities within the economy as men did. This forced them to remain in the remote rural areas where they could barely make a living: making a living around this period was important because families could no longer rely on subsistence farming.

The reason for this was that the lands were sold or taken for commercial farming and the men were not available to clear the land for farming. This increased dependency among women on men, destroyed the unity that existed among members of the family during pre-colonial period and left the burden of providing for the family on the women. This caused some women to move to urban areas (Ameyibor, 1993), although women's experiences of moving to the city varied across time. In addition, the unity of the family had been broken by the absence of men because they were now living and working from a distance. However, the few women who migrated around the 1920s were met with severe discrimination in the men's world of the city, where they were confined to limited sectors such as domestic work, which paid low wages (Kaufert, 1976). This situation resulted in further marginalization of women within the productive sector of the economy, privileging men's entry into the monetary economy.

In addition, the imposition of colonial rule with its concept of Victorian morality worsened women's subordination at the time. As succinctly put by Boahen (1966), colonialism introduced the Ghanaian version of foreign concepts of Christianity and Victorian morality and values into the Ghanaian society, and worsened the already comparatively inferior position of Ghanaian women. Independent women during Victorian era were frowned upon and unmarried women were considered a burden to society. The traditional masculine ideal was reserved primarily for the middle class (Gordon & Nair, 2000), which praised the idea of a self-made man who ran his home, his business and educated his children. A good man in society was one who kept his home and family, particularly his wife under control, worked hard at a respectable business, acted gentleman-like, and was established materially (Gordon & Nair, 2000). This makes Smith (1973)

argue that the introduction of Victorian morality was another means of suppressing women in society.

Another important characteristic of the colonial period was the introduction of Western education. This significantly influenced the lives of Ghanaian men and women and strengthened the already existing gender division of work. It was mostly men who received Western education. The assumption that drove this was the colonialist's gender ideologies that found reinforcement in Ghanaian gender ideologies. Little attention was paid to women's education in Ghana during the colonial era (Anquandah, 1982). For the British government, education was a tool for the introduction of their culture, religion, and for their economic advancement in a foreign land (Agbodeka, 1992). It was also an instrument of policy, which made it possible for the British administration to have Ghanaian clerks, interpreters and others to run the lower echelons of the government (Fage, 1959).

Formally, educated persons, mainly males, took the job opportunities created in the newly established political economy in colonial Ghana. Women were not skilled enough to apply for clerical and administrative jobs, as the few who went to school were mainly trained in home making and were only employed as maids (Mikell, 1989). During the colonial period, therefore, education became an important instrument for upward mobility within colonial society, mostly for men. Manuh (1992) asserts that education produced not only the low-level manpower for the British administration, but also professional elite Ghanaian men who had religious affiliation with the British, and who eventually took over from the British when they left after Ghana gained independence. Education therefore did not only empower the few men who benefited from it, but became a dominant force for these same men over women, and over other men.

An argument by Batezat et al. (1988) on Zimbabwe's experience with similar conditions as Ghana is that

men were forced to work as cheap labour on commercial farms and mines, and later in the emerging manufacturing sector while women were largely confined to the "native reserve ... where their now additional workload in subsistence production provided for a

vast reserved army of cheap labour and its reproduction ... men's status vis-à-vis women was enhanced as they became controllers of cash income with access to new goods and services, while still retaining control over the agricultural surplus ... These new social/gender relations slowly permeated the whole of society, exposing men and not women to new skills and new forms of production; encouraging parents to educate sons rather than daughters and subtly changing notions of responsibility and power away from the collective towards individual men exercising authority over individual women" (p. 155).

Historians like Roberts (1987) believe that the colonial period was, perhaps, the worst period of gendering in African societies. This is exemplified by the experience of Sefwi Wiawso in the Western part of Ghana. According to Falola and Amponsah (2012), between 1925 and 1932, the colonial government passed several amendments to existing customary laws to "properly" structure gender relations in the area. Before the introduction of cocoa as a cash crop, men and women in Sefwi Wiawso in the Gold Coast cooperated in their agricultural production of cocoa. Although each had a separate sphere of influence and control, men were in charge for the clearing of the land while women took charge of farming the land to feed the family (Falola & Amponsah, 2012). The production of cocoa as a cash crop disrupted the balance in the tasks between men and women and slanted it in favour of men when colonial rulers instigated men to take control of cocoa production (Falola & Amponsah, 2012).

According to these authors, the purpose of these amendments was intended to keep women in their marriages, to remain the wards of their husband, and to assist them on their cocoa farms. However, with the fall of the cocoa market in 1920s meant the services of assisting with farming were no more needed. Women at that time then took advantage of the growing mining and transportation business in the Sefwi Wiawso area to market their foodstuffs to the many men and women that came to the region to look for wage employment. For many of these women, participating in trading activities not only gave them control over their incomes and physical labour, but it also granted them the opportunity to decide whether to remain in their marriage or

to seek a divorce (Roberts, 1987). Colonial authorities, however, viewed women's increased autonomy and social mobility with disdain. They associated these women with prostitution, venereal diseases, adultery and divorce and in many instances, increased the amount of legislation intended to confine women to their "proper" place in society (Falola & Amponsah, 2012).

The ripple effect of colonisation meant that many Ghanaian women were left alone to bear the burden of farming after the men had moved from the villages to work in the towns. The women who remained in the farming communities absorbed the work previously performed by men. Other women responded by either migrating with their husbands to urban centres or adopting strategies to meet the labour demands imposed on them as a result of the absence of their male relatives. Many rural women shifted their focus from farming activities to petty trading in their locality.

Some of the women who moved to the towns and cities sought trading opportunities as most had little or no educational backgrounds to enter into skilled wage labour. Therefore, job opportunities for unskilled labour were limited for women. This became the genesis of over-concentration of more women in the informal trading sector. Wage employment was almost exclusively limited to men, particularly in government agencies and industries. In places where European plantations existed, women were seasonally employed to help in the harvesting and processing of crops, that is, women became the 'reserved army of labour' (Rosenberg, 1977). However, only women living within the immediate environs could take advantage of these few opportunities.

Mothers who either migrated to the towns to take advantage of the booming economic opportunities or became involved in petty trading had to leave their children in the care of other extended family members or older siblings. Although the migrated women resorted to this strategy, they never lost ties with the family as confirmed by Chant and Radcliffe (1992). They found that women migrants tend to be more committed to sustaining ties with home areas than men because of the importance women attach to the family. This experience of women in colonial Ghana confirms the finding of Chant's (1991) study on Mexican women where it was

found that, as women went out to work, a renegotiation of childcare and domestic work among different age groups of women occurred at the level of the household. One of these renegotiations of childcare by women is getting elder daughters to take over childcare. Moser (1989a) in her study in Ecuador found that elder girls took over the work of childcare as their mothers became involved in income-generating activities.

It can therefore be concluded that under colonial rule, gendered work and the care of young children and household work remained exclusively a woman's domain. These roles made it even more difficult for women to transcend from their domestic roles to specific kinds of public roles through which the hidden inequality between men and women in the family during the pre-colonial period was further strengthened. In addition, women during this period carried the burden of taking care of the family and working the farm as they did during the pre-colonial period. Some of the women started engaging themselves in income-generating activities. Whatever women's position was during this period, men's work in paid labour were assigned greater value, a situation leading to women's work in the family being undervalued and 'unaccounted'.

2.4 Gender and Work in the Post-Colonial Period in Ghana

In 1957, Ghana became the first Sub-Saharan African country to gain independence from the British. Recognising the important role that was played by Ghanaian women in the fight for independence, the first Prime Minister appointed some women into his administration. In addition to these appointments, the Prime Minister established a National Women's Council with the aim of establishing day nurseries, vocational centres and education programs for women to mitigate against the historical structures that have affected women. Instead of these initiatives helping to bridge the gender divides, they rather continued to draw from the existing patriarchal structures in ways that resulted in the deepening of social and gender divides (Prah, 2003). Prah (2003) attributed this to the fact that these initiatives were not organised around women's specific problems and gender issues "expressed in terms of power, economics and status within the context of social and economic relations which defines the positions of men and women" (p. 3) but rather to organise women in support of the political party of the Prime Minister at that time. That is, in spite of the early acknowledgement of unfair social and gender exclusions,

development programming efforts lacked the necessary impetus and good will for reversing the situation. The trend continued into the 1980s when Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were introduced to reverse the economic decline, but worsened the gender divides especially in terms of widening the gap between paid and unpaid work as will be demonstrated in the next section.

The division of labour in post-independent Ghana is highly gender-segregated in both the traditional and modern wage sectors. While women's overall labour force participation rate is high, women only participate in a restricted range of income earning activities, predominantly agriculture, and informal sector trading and manufacturing. That is, the participation of women remains minimal in a number of areas, such as mining, utilities construction and transport (Kabeer, 2013). By contrast, the labour force is strongly feminised in some other sectors, notably trade and manufacturing (mostly agricultural processing) (Duncan, 2004).

Comparative data from the 1984 census in Ghana showed how distribution of women in the labour market changed between 1984 and 2000s. For example, data on the occupational distribution of working women from the 1984 census shows that 56 per cent of economically active women were found in agriculture, 24 per cent in sales, 14 per cent in production, 3 per cent in the professions, 0.05 per cent in administration and management and 3 per cent in clerical and services positions (NORRIP, 1991). Of the 79 occupational categories recorded in the 1984 census, women dominated in only 18, of which 16 were semi-skilled or unskilled occupations in the informal sector. This means that, although there had been an increase in the number of women in professional and managerial positions since the 1960s, women were still greatly under-represented in this area in the 1980s.

According to an important report by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2013), women have traditionally operated within the agricultural sector either on their own or as unpaid family workers. A good index therefore for assessing progress in the economic empowerment of women and their participation in the paid gendered work is wage employment in the non-agricultural sector as a proportion of total employment. Such employment indicates a certain level of independence from men and confidence in being independent; and even more importantly, offered the women an opportunity to earn their own income. This is one of the reasons why it is

used as an indicator in the U.N. Millennium Development Goal 3 (MDG) for the empowerment of women. The same report shows an increase in women's participation in paid labour (GSS, 2013), which means that more women are entering paid employment. Although this is important, in a culture in which virtually all household chores are considered the sole responsibility of a woman irrespective of their employment and economic status in life, this is likely to put additional pressure on them in trying to cope with the demands of paid work and family.

Irrespective of these, the basic division of labour in the home still persists, with the wife or female seen as having the responsibility for household chores, cooking and child-caring, while the man or husband, as head of the household, provides for the basic needs such as payment of house rent, fees, bills and other major domestic expenses (GSS, 2013). Despite this strong position on traditional gendered roles in relation to domestic and caring activities in Ghana, the growing need for money has resulted in an increasing proportion of wife-supported families. Men now demand more financial contributions from women (GSS, 2013) and so specifically target working women as a potential partner for the added income they would bring to the households.

One major effect of the entrance of women into paid work was that, in families where both parents are working, children's previous unlimited access to their mothers has declined, which has been seen as the cause of moral decadence among the youth in Ghana. The limited access of children to their mothers has also been the trend of discussions in the media whenever the media discuss about the fallen standards in moral issues. Another important effect is that women now have to juggle work demands with those of the family since they are no longer working for themselves as they did on the farms previously.

The next section examines gender as a critical issue for understanding the changes that happened during the introduction of the political economy by way of Structural Adjustments Programmes in Ghana.

2.5 The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Ghana's Political Economy of Gender, Work and Family

There have been two major Economic Recovery Programmes (ERP) in Ghana since 1983, which were introduced and supported by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF): ERP I from 1984-1986; and ERP II from 1987 onwards. ERP I was mainly focused on restoring macroeconomic balance, that is, it was concerned primarily with the forecasting of national income. ERP II was more focused on restoring growth and sectorial reforms (Sowa, 1993; Pearce, 1992) like employment, gross national product, balance of payment positions, prices, economic growth and investments. In this section, an attempt is made to examine how the neoliberal policy of SAPs have affected men's and women's work and their family.

The focus of the programmes at the macro level has been towards liberalizing the markets and creating an environment for global transfer of goods, services, capital and labour, to meet the needs of global capitalism. At the micro level, the net effect of adjustment has led to the closure of several public sector units, with various effects like loss of employment; increasing prices; declines in food security; introduction of user fees in hospitals; and increasing costs of services due to a decline in government subsidies and provisioning of the social sector. The 'opening up of markets' as these processes are often referred to, have severe class, community, household and gender specific impacts and have further contributed to the pre-existing divisions and inequalities between men and women in Ghana.

The impacts of these IMF programmes have been studied specifically in relation to Ghana by various scholars with the general finding that IMF programmes reduce women's employment (Brown & Kerr, 1997; Clark & Manuh, 1991). This is because the public sector is one of the main employers of women in developing countries like Ghana, where women enjoy more security and better working hours than in the private sector. However, many IMF programmes, like the Structural Adjustment Programme, require a reduction in state budgets, often achieved through decreasing employment in the state sector. Within the public sector, women are concentrated in clerical and lower administrative positions, and these lower-skilled jobs are among the first to be removed when the state must reduce the payroll (Murphy, 2003).

The adverse effects of IMF programmes on female employment extend beyond the public sector. The reduction of state budgets through the elimination or reduction of social services meant women were expected to absorb the increased responsibility of care giving and education formerly provided by the state. The added time constraints limited their access to the job market and school (affecting future employability). For example, evidence from Peru, a developing country with similar economic characteristics as Ghana, suggests that, during Peru's 1990 SAP, poverty growth rates for female-headed households were higher than male-headed ones. This was in spite of the fact that female heads were working on average 58 more hours per month than male heads, suggesting that women are unable to find employment at parity wages in most situations (Tanski, 1994).

Generally speaking, there have been two major approaches to analysing gender issues in adjustments. The first approach is categorised into those that see women as a vulnerable group in relation to the programmes. According to this view, women generally suffer disproportionately to men from the impact of adjustment. This view emphasises women's productive roles as a result of their entrance into paid work, in addition to their reproductive roles; and those which focus mainly on gender based constraints to the sectorial reallocation of women's labour from contracting (non-tradable) to expanding (tradable) sectors (Bridge, 1993a).

The second view is that the programme may broaden women's economic opportunities. The view taken of this approach is that the liberalization of the market creates the necessary platform for women's paid work. Although this is quite inconsistent with the general effects of the programme, evidence from Latin America shows an increase in women's participation in waged employment (Selby et al., 1990; Stewart, 1992). Encouraging exports is a goal of IMF programmes, and many export-oriented manufacturers prefer female employees, who are cheaper and considered more docile and industrious than men (Lantican et al., 1996). Some empirical work supports this theory of higher female employment during IMF programmes in Egypt. Comparing the Egyptian situation to that in Ghana is important for this analysis because Ghana shares Egypt's level of economic and social development. The gender gap in Egypt's labour market decreased between 1988 and 1998, when Egypt was under IMF agreements for all but one year (El-Kogali, 2002). Similar analysis can be done with the findings of Tanski (1994) who

found that, in some Latin American countries, women's rates of employment increased during the 1980s crisis while that of men declined.

Those who see women as a vulnerable group argue that the measures of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s to reduce government expenditure and to cut public service employment are believed to have affected women more than men because they were applied in greater proportions to low skilled and low paid jobs, many of which were held by women (GSS, 2002a; Brown & Kerr, 1997). Ongoing economic crises and the difference between job creation and the growth in the number of job seekers have worsened the employment situation for women and men alike (GSS, 2002c). But women face greater vulnerabilities in the labour market because of their relative lack of education and training (Ghorayshi & Belanger, 1996), a situation that makes women tend to dominate the informal sector in Ghana, mainly in petty trading (GSS, 2002c).

There is also some evidence of constraining women's ability to benefit from adjustment induced incentives. Clark and Manuh's (1991) study of female traders in Accra and Kumasi under adjustment found that their perceptions of the impact of adjustment on their businesses and incomes were largely negative. Participants in the study had three main comments on impact of adjustment: they were suffering from falling overall demand due to price rises/fall in real income; they were suffering from a capital squeeze partly due to losses sustained earlier, and partly due to lack of access to formal sector credit and increased demands on the informal credit system; and they were suffering from the crowding of the sector with new entrants, including men, some working in traditionally female areas.

Apart from gender, another area the structural adjustment programme impacted in the Ghanaian economy is on workers in the public and private sectors and the informal sectors. These workers saw major cutbacks in their work; falling living standards; price increases; higher taxes; and higher costs of social services in education and health. These become the form of life in the new political economy of SAP. A number of Ghanaian workers lost their jobs following the imposition of SAP, especially public service workers, as the programme was mainly intended to cut public spending. Within this public sector, those who were mostly affected were from the lower levels of the sector. Examples of the grades that largely lost their jobs in the various units

included cleaners, clerical officers, labourers, stores officers and porters. The situation for these workers became worse when the private sector, which was supposed to absorb them, had to resort to retrenchments in order to be able to maintain their margin of profit because of SAPs.

In addition to the reduction of workers in the economy, the political economy of SAP brought about low wages for workers. This was in line with the reform programme since it assisted the government at that time to cut expenditure. The Government tried to keep wages down so that, in real terms, they were able to meet the expectations of the policy influencers like IMF and the World Bank. This idea of cutting down on wages had a great impact on workers in general as most of them earned below the minimum wage and so were not able to sustain themselves and their families as a result of rising cost of living brought about by high inflation and high cost of living. Therefore, the wages and salaries paid to workers were not adequate to meet their basic needs in life. This was compounded by the rising cost of education, health and general goods, which had a great impact on the family in Ghana especially among women and on the members of the extended family.

The rising cost of health together with cuts in government expenditure within the health sector meant that women spent more time caring for sick members of their family at home because of their responsibility for family health, which was seen as an extension of their reproductive roles. For example, in a study conducted in Zambia by Evans and Young (1988), the authors pointed out that women in the study were spending more time caring for sick members of the household, especially children, at home as compared to time spent at work. Again, with the rising cost of health facilities, coupled with low income among most workers as discussed earlier, payment of health services became one more competing demand on the resources of low income families. Not only did it become a competing demand on families, but also added to the already existing caring roles of women as most of the families could not afford to send their sick members to the hospital.

Apart from the nuclear family, the larger family members were also strongly impacted by SAP in Ghana. Members of the extended family depended largely on the salary of the few members of the family who were engaged in income generating activities. This was because households were

generally extended by dependent members or by earners who did not pool their income nor make large enough contributions to the household budget to substantially raise living standards. Another area the impact of SAP was felt by the family was education. The cost of education continued to rise over the period of adjustments in Ghana and put a lot of pressure on the family's income. The educational reform programme carried out during SAP raised the cost of education in Ghana. This was worsened by the rising cost of food, which already took most of the family's income. These rising costs of living at that time caused many women to engage in more income generating activities in Ghana; a strategy designed to help those affected families earn enough money to cope with the rising cost of living. There is evidence showing that women were engaged in a greater number of activities intended to generate an income in order to contain falls in household income (Chant, 1991; Tibaijuka, 1991). These women were either employed (Tibaijuka, 1991) or were involved in marketing their farm produce (Funk, 1991). Women did this to supplement the family income.

2.6 Conclusion

The discussions show that work has been gendered throughout Ghana's history from the pre-colonial period through the colonial period to the present with various changes having taking place. Despite this, the 21st century has brought significant changes to women and their work responsibilities. Women have moved beyond the domestic realm into the public arena, have combined their domestic responsibilities with their public roles and have been competitive, even if it is not head-to-head with their male counterparts in all spheres of the job market. More than ever before in Ghana, women have attained higher education and can be found working in previously labelled male jobs as physicians, university professors, lawyers, engineers, police officers and political actors and leaders.

Perhaps, the most substantial change in women's employment in contemporary Ghana is the large-scale progression of women into clerical work, which has led to the feminisation of the occupation in Ghana in recent years. In the colonial years, leading up to early postcolonial periods, secretarial work was fundamentally the work of men who had middle-level educational backgrounds. However, in recent years, women have filled the secretarial jobs. A number of women have entered the military services and have been fighting side-by-side with their male

colleagues. The new roles women have taken on have shaped their family relationships and arrangements and so have questioned the ideal traditional breadwinning role of men in Ghanaian families.

The next chapter discusses the various theoretical frameworks that are used as analytical tools for making sense of the data from Ghana. Informed by the gendered nature of work in Ghana discussed under this chapter, the multiple theories adopted for this study will be identified, outlined and justified.

CHAPTER THREE

THINKING THEORETICALLY

3.1 Introduction

Today the majority of families in Ghana, especially in the cities and towns, have become dual income families (Annor, 2016b). The combination of paid and unpaid work has made the lives of men and women more complex and so requires ongoing negotiations between work and family roles at an individual level and at family level (Hochschild, 1997, 1989; Jacobs & Gerson 2004; Kaufman, 2013). Gender and family scholars suggest that what lies at the heart of the tension between work and family is first an individual struggle over their commitment and involvement in paid work and unpaid work (Hochschild, 1989; Ferree 1990; Blair-Loy, 2003, 2001).

Secondly, at the interactional level, it is where men and women as couples negotiate work and family roles as gendered individuals. Work/family conflict is not simply the outcome of juggling too many demands but is also culturally informed and institutionally structured (Blair-Loy, 2003). Despite vast changes in work and family domains in North America, Bianchi et al. (2006) contend that "the cultural landscape of family and work today is one that continues to be strongly shaped by gendered beliefs" (p. 125). Among the gendered beliefs that shape the two domains are gender ideologies, gender division of labour and gender accountability. These work together to reproduce men's and women's devotions to the domains of work and family and become the basis for gendered experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family conflict.

The principal focus of this chapter is to set out the theoretical tools to make sense of what my participants say about their involvement and commitment to work and family roles. The first section uses the theoretical framework of 'gendered organisations' by Acker (1992, 1990) to demonstrate that the institutions of work and family in Ghana are neither gender neutral nor gender equal. This framework provides a conceptual tool for analysing how these gendered institutions produce gendered experiences of work and family, and lays the foundations for gendered experiences of work/family conflict. To deepen this, the concept unequal power relations, rooted in gender division of labour is used to demonstrate how power in marital relation works to give men more agency (Risman & Davis, 2013) to make choices around the two domains.

Subsequently, within this Chapter, I explore the dominant Ghanaian gender ideology and analyse how it works to influence the ideas men and women hold about work and family domains. This is important for my research because gender ideology, when taken up at an individual level, informs “what sphere the person wants to identify with [home or work]” (Hochschild, 1989, p. 15). This is so because Ghanaian gender ideologies are embedded in the institutions of work and family, such that they stress the value of distinctive roles for women and men. For example, in the Ghanaian family, men are to fulfil the breadwinning role and women are to fulfil the homemaker role and nurturing roles. More importantly, the dominant cultural ideology weaves into an individually held gender ideology that shapes how men and women form their respective devotions to work and family (Blair-Loy, 2001). This makes cultural and individual gender ideologies (Hochschild, 1989) and devotion to work and family (Blair-Loy, 2003, 2001) an important analytical tool for looking at why most men with traditional gender ideology in the study still assume their main responsibility to be the traditional breadwinning role. In the same way, I argue that this is likely to make these traditional men only experience family demands in the form of a demand for money to meet family needs and so such demands intensify their relationship to paid work. Consequently, they tend to experience less tension between work and family roles.

In comparison to the men, women this study are doing the double shift of paid and unpaid work because their entrance into paid work has not taken away their homemaker role. The more women in my study are held accountable for housework and care work in the family, the less they become devoted to paid work. In other words, women in my study show their primary devotion to family roles because of the common gendered practice across Ghana that expects them to be homemakers and nurturers. This causes the women participants to have primary devotion to the family and secondary devotion to work. Even though women are not equally committed to paid work in the same way as they are to family roles, the double shifts they do on a daily basis means they experience more tensions between the two domains in their attempts to honour the two shifts.

The last section of this chapter discusses how women’s and men’s interaction within these two institutions of study signals my conceptual interest in analysing how they *do* gender (West &

Zimmerman, 1987) to reflect their respective devotions to work and family. Berk (1985) argues that doing housework and care work is an integral part of ‘doing gender’ for women because housework and caring activities are an avenue for women to display their commitment to their families. The men maintain their provider role in the family because it gives them greater power and status for the reason of being economic providers. In this case, doing gender division of labour in the family persists because it is about identity and status for women and men. West and Zimmerman’s concept of ‘doing gender’ also enabled me to recognise that men and women as gendered individuals do gender to conform to the generally held traditional gender ideology in Ghana.

3.2 Work and Family as Gendered Institutions

As part of the overall theme of this thesis, this study is interested in exploring the struggles that men and women from Ghana have with combining the demands of work and family. The gendered nature of the institutions of work and family inevitably become part of the explanation for the differences in how men and women experience, response and negotiate work and family roles. It is therefore important to discuss in detail the gendered nature of these institutions and how such gendering maintains male privileges in Ghanaian society.

3.2.1 Work as a Site of Gendered Divisions

One theory that helps us to analyse how gender plays out at work is the theory of Joan Acker. Acker (1992; 1990) is renowned for introducing the idea of ‘gendered organisations’, a notion that is usually taken up to refer to workplace rather than family. However, I argue that such an idea can be applied to the family as discussed in the next section. Acker (1992; 1990) argued that organisations are inherently gendered in fundamental ways. By this she means that “... advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine” (Acker, 1990, p. 146). In an attempt to expand on this, she discussed various processes that interact with each other to produce gendered institutions.

One process which is of special importance to my thesis is the production of a gender division within organisations. By this she meant that “ordinary organizational practices produce gender

patterning of jobs, wages, and hierarchies, power and subordination” (Acker, 1992, p. 252). Building on her earlier definition of this process, Acker (1992) explained that attention needs to be given to everyday structural divisions - for instance, women’s position within the reproductive sphere (Cortina & San Roman, 2006) - that maintains the division between men and women in various organisations. Work in the capitalist market is seen as production and those who are committed to it are “naturally more suited to responsibility and authority; those who must divide their commitments are in the lower ranks” (Acker, 1990, p. 149-150). Acker argues that the category of the worker is inherently gendered as masculine because the responsibilities placed on workers by their employers - demands that are difficult for women to meet because of their prior responsibility for reproductive labour. According to Acker (1990), this is the reason why women are often excluded and marginalised in various organisations as they cannot “achieve the qualities of a real worker because to do so is to become like a man” (Acker, 1990, p. 150).

Another aspect of Acker’s framework that is important for making sense of my data from Ghana is her discussions on gendered patterns of jobs and hierarchies in various organisations, as it is reflected in the banking and teaching professions I studied. In the bureaucratic hierarchies that dominate the Ghanaian economy, higher ranking jobs go to workers who are fully committed to the work of production. Acker (1990) observed that employers assume that such a worker is likely to be a man whose life is arranged around his job. Less desirable positions, in contrast are filled with workers, presumably women, who divide their loyalties between domestic responsibilities and organisational duties. While women’s overall labour force participation rate is increasing in Ghana, women are mostly found to be at the lower echelons of their respective professions (Manuh, 1994). For example, the teaching profession is one of the sectors in the Ghanaian economy where women are over-represented at the lower levels. According to UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2017), Ghana has 82.65 percent of female teachers in pre-primary education, with the figure going down to 39.9 percent in primary education in 2015. The data continue to show that female teaching staff representation at the secondary and tertiary levels of education is comparatively smaller than at the primary level. For instance, 24.4 percent of female teachers were teaching at the secondary schools in 2015 with the figure reducing to 20.58 percent in tertiary level. The higher percentages of females teachers at the pre-primary and primary levels in Ghana tend to confirm the cultural assumptions that women are ‘naturally’

nurturers and so teaching at those levels becomes an extension of their nurturing role in the Ghanaian society.

The banking sector is no different from the data from the teaching sector. In the banking sector, most of the women gravitate to customer service positions like tellers and cashiers because women appear to be less threatening and friendlier. Although these appears to be the basis for positioning women at the lower echelons, in reality, women continue to occupy various lower positions in organisations because of the idea that women cannot be relied because they may need to take some time off to attend to those biological characteristics like pregnancy and childcare. Such positions women occupy in these organisations continue to perpetuate the gendered pattern of jobs in Ghana. This will make female workers find themselves with unequal access to positions of power and decision making in these organisations (Kelleher et al., 2011). More importantly for this study, such gendered patterns of hierarchies and positions in the teaching and banking sectors helped me to make sense of how the gendered responses to work/family conflict by my participants are actively worked out in relation to different possibilities afforded by the teaching and banking industries and different positions within these industrial sectors.

My analysis recognises how men and women are positioned along gender lines in various organisations through Acker's process of production of gender divisions. I capture this further by using the framework to understand how this distinction helps us to explain the gendered nature of work/family conflict. This is useful in locating conflicts between work and family roles as the expectations of carrying productive roles in the public sphere seems to run contrary to the reproductive role in the private sphere. For instance, paid work assumes an unencumbered worker whose time and commitments must only be devoted to work roles. Any attempts by such worker to add the reproductive role, be it a man or a woman, will result in role conflicts for the individual as the assumption of an unencumbered worker does not make any provision for any additional responsibilities apart from paid work. Such a contradiction forms the basis for the tension women, and some men, in this study encounter as they are now confronted with these dual role in everyday life.

3.2.2 Family as a Site of Gender Divisions and Power Relations

This thesis not only discusses the workplace as a gendered institution but also discusses the family as a gendered institution (Berk, 2012). According to Berk (2012, 1985), the family as a gendered institution operates by assigning domestic and childbearing activities to women and the provider role to men, a process of gendering that allows for the creation and display of gendered differences through the performance of these roles. As has already been discussed, this gender division of labour continues to persist in the family because through that women and men gain their identity and status, especially for men who gain their power for being economic providers of the family. As a result of this, studies investigating the division of paid work and unpaid work suggest that the entrance of women in paid work has not caused a significant shift in the practices of men at home (Milkie, Raley & Bianchi, 2009; Craig, 2007; Hochschild, 1989). Women still largely retain the primary responsibility as homemakers even if they spend many hours in paid work (Craig, 2007; McGraw & Walker, 2004), affirming how gender continues to shape the division of labour in the family.

The gender division of labour in the family reinforces the division of labour in the workforce, especially as men take advantage of their provider role to gain economic power, which enables them to control the financial decisions of the family. This makes power intrinsic to the gender division of labour (Connell, 2002; Sprey, 1990; Berk, 1985). Men's powerful position in the family has been conceptualised by scholars as a manifestation of hegemonic masculinity, which is often seen as "the most honoured or desired" form of masculinity (Connell 2000, p. 10), one that usually aligns itself with traditional masculine qualities of "being strong, successful, capable, reliable, in control. That is, the hegemonic definition of manhood is a man in power, a man with power, and a man of power" (Kimmel, 1994, p. 125).

While Connell has suggested that hegemonic masculinity is confirmed in fatherhood, the practice of being involved dad actually seems to undermine it. Nurturing and care-giving behaviours central to the raising of children are simply not manly. The relative lack of involvement of fathers in children's lives means that, in turn, children tend to have more abstract and impersonal relations with their fathers (Hochschild, 1989). This is because men are mostly in the public

sphere when children are young and only come in to establish connection and intimacy with the children when they are older (Messner, 1987).

A recent US study by Kaufman (2013) shows changing alignments between dominant notions of masculinity and fatherhood. Kaufman (2013) used the concept of masculinity to explore men's involvement in childcare. According to the author, men's uptake of different notions about masculinity has a lot of influence on their fathering. For instance, those men who hold a traditional orientation towards masculinity tend to ascribe to the breadwinner/provider role in the family and so often create internal conflict as they take on multiple roles. For those fathers, "this may take the form of work/family conflict as the traditional provider role and ideal worker norm clash with newer ideas of father as nurturer" (p. 18). In contrast, those men who adhere to modern orientation on masculinity will be more nurturing. The implication of this is that men's attitudes are changing from traditional masculine orientation to more nurturing and involving fathers. This changing nature of masculinity made Kaufman (2013) conclude in her study that, although attitudes on gender roles have changed, "there is still nostalgia for traditional roles, ones based on old ideas about what men and women should do at work and home" and that "the image of the good provider still pervades in American society" (Kaufman, 2013, p. 104).

Men in Ghana rely on the good provider image in the family and the patriarchal privileges it produces to choose whether or not to undertake domestic and caring activities. Power in the family, both at the collective and individual levels, is mostly in the hands of men as a consequence of being the primary economic providers, who arrange things in order to make it difficult for women to get access to the male power structures (Connell, 1987). Men exercise this power in the family by using various behaviours to avoid (Ashcraft, 2000) domestic responsibilities and so shift the burden of household labour on to women (Cohn, 2017). While Connell recognises that the privileges associated with men's dominant positions make them protect their powerful positions, Acker (1990) maintains that such authority stems from their commitment to paid work because most men do not divide their commitment between work and family. Even though Acker's argument has been valuable to scholarship, the role of gender ideology (as discussed in a later section) cannot be 'discounted' in such arguments as often those commitments men make to paid work are influenced by their provider role ideology.

A significant number of scholars have demonstrated how power relations in the family are intrinsic of gender division of labour in the family (for example, Randles, 2016; Bulanda, 2011; Connell, 2009, 2006, 2002; Ashcraft, 2000; Dempsey, 2000; Tichenor, 1999; Sprey, 1990; Komter, 1989). The argument among these scholars in general is that men exercise greater power in marital relationships than women and this in part can be attributed to a gender division of labour (Bulanda, 2011; Connell, 1995; Komter, 1989). The existing gender division of labour in the family where men assume the economic provider role grants men greater power and status in marital relation. In so doing, men express “domination by hinging on their collective privilege to avoid routine responsibility for home making and parenting while reserving economic independence through paid work employment as a male right” (Sanchez, 1997, p. 392). Although there have been a lot of changes in the family across the globe since Sanchez made this argument, I argue in this thesis that men in Ghana still have the power in choosing whether or not to take an active role in unpaid work because of the power accorded them as ‘providers’. In order to develop an approach that helped me to make sense of how men as husbands and fathers are often able to exercise greater power in the family to determine outcomes of work/family conflict, I used concepts from Komter (1989) and Ascraft (2000).

According to Komter (1989), at the core of gendered power in marriage is the way men and women construct the division of domestic work in the family. Komter (1989) defined power “as an ability to affect consciously or unconsciously the emotions, attitudes, cognitions, or behaviour of someone else” (p. 192). Her definition includes the likelihood of one changing the other and the possibility of the other resisting change. Her work developed a model of assessing gendered power in marriages and came out with three processes and mechanisms of power arrangements after examining household work among Dutch couples. According to her, it is important to investigate power processes and mechanisms in marriage because they form part of the explanation for the slow change towards gender equality in marriage. Power processes are where couples desires for change are either successful or unsuccessful over time and are always influenced by the reasons and motivations of change.

She argues that there is an existing hidden form of power in marriage that justifies inequalities embedded in traditional division of labour in the family. It “refers to the implicit values, behaviours, or preconceptions ... [that] confirm and justify power inequality ideologically, unintentionally, and often unconsciously” (Komter, 1989, p. 207). The hidden power by Komter is supplemented by Ascraft’s (2000) notion of exercise of power where she argues that the hidden power in the family manifests in everyday practices of men through performance and non-performance of certain activities in the family. This gives men more numerous alternatives to domestic responsibility than it does women and leaves women with less choice for family responsibilities. Although men and women in the domains of work and family may exercise their power as gendered individuals, they are often done within the existing structures within these institutions.

Komter (1989) recognises that the interactional mechanisms of power maintain a gendered division of labour despite women’s attempts to initiate change. According to Komter (1989), there are three mechanisms of power that emanate from how gender is negotiated around domestic division of labour in the family. These are manifest power, latent power and invisible power. Manifest power is an obvious form of power, often visible outcomes of conflicts in the form of verbal exchanges on who should do what in the family. Latent form of power is less obvious and is often exercised when the subordinate person anticipates the needs of the powerful person and resigns him/herself for the sake of keeping and maintaining the relationship. This means the needs and interests of the powerful person, usually the men, are privileged over the needs and interest of the subordinate person.

The third form of power is often hidden during interactions as it operates through cultural norms in the society. One of the ways hidden power is exercised in the family is through gender division of labour where adherence to gender norms makes a person conform to the gender division of labour even though he or she did not actually desire it (Miller & Carlson, 2016; Komter, 1989). The hidden nature of how power operates in gender relations makes Dunbar (2015) opine that “often, the powerful person may not even be aware of his or her power, since power is based in the relationship between two people but is influenced by cultural norms in the society at large” (p. 2). Komter (1989) discussed these forms of power in relation to change

where women in marriage desired more change in the division of labour, something that, despite wanting it, many women could not achieve.

Although gender division of labour may be one of the ways men exercise power over women in marital relationship because of their economic provider role, Connell (1995) maintains that this traditional gender division of labour can no longer be used as the basis for men's control over women. Komter further argues that, although formal gender inequality has now been eradicated, women continue to encounter informal mechanisms that sustain gender power relations in the family. This eradication came about as a result of the challenge posed by various macro and micro level processes like the shift in meaning of family commitments, women's engagement in income generating activities and the "open challenge to men's privileges made by feminism" (Connell, 1995, p. 202). Connell's argument makes sense in Ghana too, especially with female entrance into paid work. However, key to Komter's argument is that a common feature of gender relations in every society is men's social dominance over women, which can be explained in part due to gendered roles in society and this is strengthened by hidden ideological forces. This argument is important for my thesis because Ghanaian men still exercise domination in the family and so have been using their influence to decide what to do in the family and when to do it. More importantly, this concept enabled me to analyse men's resistance to their wives' attempts to get them to take a more active role in unpaid work in the family by looking at the specific forms of power men rely on to resist women.

Although Komter's conceptual work allowed me to explore the various forms of power that operate between heterosexual couples, this needs strengthening to account for various behaviours men exhibit in the gender relations because of their dominant position in the family. Catherine Ashcraft's work on exercise of power by men for being economic providers in the family through performance and non-performance of certain actions gave me an analytical lens to examine men's behaviour in my thesis. Ashcraft (2000) developed four types of domestic power, which are domestic distortion, domestic domination, domestic dodging and domestic neglect. These four types of power produce various forms of relational inequality: her explanation of 'domestic dodging' and 'domestic neglect' were of special interest for this study.

Domestic dodging is one form of tactic for exercising relational power (Ashcraft, 2000). It is where one partner (usually the man) exercise power in the family through behaviours such as “forgetfulness, claiming ineptness, performing household or related duties poorly, flattering the other person’s ability to accomplish household duties, and planning activities that conflict with domestic responsibilities” (Ashcraft, 2000, p. 7). According to Ashcraft, these behaviours are often invisible and inactive in gender relations and so leaves the other partner to assume full responsibility for the task at stake as the dodging partner consistently makes themselves unavailable (Elizabeth et al., 2012; Ashcraft, 2000).

The other form of tactic that is relevant to the analysis of my thesis is domestic neglect. According to Ashcraft (2000), this form of relational power “describes behaviours such as being absent from home or from important functions, workaholic behaviours, excessive socialising ...” (p. 8). These behaviours are usually adopted by partners who do not want to get involved with domestic and caring activities and so try to engage themselves with activities that keep them away from the family domain where such activities are to be carried out. Men more than women get away with this because they are not held accountable for housework and care work as the women in Ghanaian society are. These people are often not present physically, leaving the responsibility to the available partner.

Komter’s (1989) and Ashcraft’s (2000) conceptual frameworks complement each other in this study as they enabled me to analyse the hidden powers that maintain various in/actions and behaviours that were adopted by men in my study to minimise their involvement in domestic and caring activities. The nature of the gender division of labour together with the dominant cultural ideology in Ghana reinforces the various forms of men’s power in the family. Individuals’ gender ideologies are formed base on the existing dominant cultural ideology and that works to influence the various behaviours men demonstrate around gender division of labour to maintain their power over women. Although some of the behaviours are difficult to identify because of their hidden nature, they still influence decisions on performing certain household tasks by men in the family (Ashcraft, 2000). For example, by gathering the narratives of my male participants on their involvement in unpaid work in Ghana, I was able to use the concept of gender power relations in marital relationship to investigate how men exercise greater power to determine

greater outcomes of work/family conflict and to resist further demands (Komter, 1989) to engage in domestic labour. According to Komter (1989), men have an unwilling attitude to change their involvement in domestic labour and child care because they do it less. In addition, this framework allowed me to further explore how power relations in the family are intrinsic to gender division of labour in the family (Sprey, 1990) because of the accorded privileges given to men's role in the family.

3.3 From Gender Ideology to Work and Family Devotions

According to Rajadhyaksha (2017), gender ideology is an important gender related factor in work-family research because it influences men's and women's attitudes towards the domains of work and family. As stated in the introduction of this chapter, gender ideology (both cultural and individual) together with work and family devotions provided my research with opportunities to examine why most men and women maintain their respective devotions to work and family, even though women are combining paid and unpaid work. The literature demonstrates considerable changes both in the Western and non-Western world in women's work patterns (Annor, 2016b; McGill, 2014; Sullivan, 2006) and also a gradual increase in men's participation in the home over the past few decades in the West (Brandth & Kvande, 2016, 2013; Kaufman, 2013; O'Brien, Brandth & Kvande, 2007). Despite these changes, women and men still mainly assume responsibilities for their traditional roles as homemakers and breadwinners respectively (Kan, Sullivan, & Gershuny, 2011; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). This can be explained in relation to the dominant cultural ideology in the family that are associated with how ideas about paid work and unpaid work are formed by men and women. I argue that the dominant cultural ideology on gender division of labour in Ghana shapes individual gender ideology and devotion to work and family, even though not all my participants adhered to this ideology.

Gender ideology in regards to the heterosexual family can be explained according to two dimensions. Culturally, gender ideology is where there are differentiated family roles for men and women that reflect a clear division of labour (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). This confines gender ideology to gender division of labour. Men are to play the provider role in the family whilst women are to be homemakers, which include care work. These roles are socially constructed by the society and men and women are socialised to conform (Fuwa, 2004). Writing in the context

of North America, Rajadhyaksha (2017) argues that gender ideology “is represented by a modern, egalitarian ideology at one end and a traditional ideology on the other” (p. 394). Traditional ideology reinforces or conforms to expected differences in roles for women and for men, whereas non-traditional gender ideology does not support the segregation of roles by sex and hold female and male roles to be equal at home and at work. Although most cultures have a mix of gender ideologies, there are some cultures with strong adherence to traditional ideology and others with liberal ideology. For example, for those cultures with traditional gender ideology, men’s breadwinning role is seen as ‘natural’ and normalized; whereas women’s involvement in paid work is frowned upon (Davis & Greenstein 2009; Deutsch & Saxon, 1998). The relevance of this is that traditional gender ideology is not just about differentiation but also about power and status (Komter, 1989) and that makes ideology and structure mutually reinforcing.

Although the dominant cultural ideology affects individual’s involvement with division of household work (Rajadhyaksha, 2017; Rajadhyaksha, et al, 2015; Barnett & Hyde, 2001), what is important for my thesis is individual gender ideology as this influences individuals during interactions. According to Davis and Greenstein (2009), an individual’s gender ideology generally refers to how a person identifies herself or himself with regard to gendered roles in society. It represents what individuals view and believe as appropriate roles for men and women, which in turn affects their own behaviour (Cunningham, 2005; McHale & Huston, 1984). Although individuals are not passive recipients of socialisation and remain responsive and reflective throughout their lifetimes, such ideology results from early and intensive socialization by parents, teachers and society about appropriate ‘male’ and ‘female’ behaviour (Rajadhyaksha, 2017; Eckert, 1997). In the context of my thesis, individual gender ideology refers to the underlying concepts and beliefs men and women from Ghana hold on paid work and family responsibilities.

There is evidence in the literature suggesting that an individual’s gender ideology is associated with perceptions about the appropriate division of household labour and, in turn, their experience of work/family conflict (Rajadhyaksha, 2017; Rajadhyaksha, et al, 2015; Kroska, 2004; Hochschild, 1989). As Kroska (2004) noted in a summary of many different studies on gender

division of labour in the family, a husband's gender ideology may be a stronger determinant of housework divisions than a wife's gender ideology because men generally have more power than women in the family. There is further evidence to show that gender ideology is related to women's and men's experience of work/family conflict. Men who hold non-traditional gender ideologies view the paid labour force participation of both men and women as being worthwhile (Kaufman, 2013; Voydanoff, 2007). But what was most important for this study is what men with non-traditional gender ideologies think about housework and care work and whether they actually do them.

In addition, men who hold non-traditional gender ideologies are less negatively impacted by their wives' work/family conflict than men holding more traditional gender ideologies. For instance, a study by Carlson and Lynch (2013) found that husbands with egalitarian gender ideologies were more accepting and accommodating of their wives' paid work commitments than men with traditional gender ideologies. This is confirmed in an earlier study of Spanish couples indicating that women who are married to egalitarian men reported experiencing less tension between work and family roles than women married to traditional men as these women themselves tend to be less traditional (Moya et al., 2000). Further, various findings show that women who hold an egalitarian gender ideology are more likely to experience a sense of unfairness, with the feeling that they are doing more than their husbands in the family (Rajadhyaksha, 2017; Frisco & Williams, 2003). Although there appears to be a changing trend among Western men, Maume (2008) argues that the behaviours of most Western men in their respective families reflect continued emphasis on breadwinning and a corresponding lack of attention to housework and childcare.

In this thesis, I explore how gender ideologies are changing and how such changes influence men's and women's performance and involvement in housework and care work, and paid work. The predominant cultural ideology in Ghana, to a large extent, is traditional in nature. On one hand, this traditional gender ideology has defined the 'natural' place of women as in the family where women are to provide a stable and supportive environment for the family, particularly for the male head of household. On the other hand, men are considered to be operating in the public sphere as the main breadwinners for the family. Although this appears to be the case, the findings

by Komter (1989) show most Western women now feel entitled to more help with domestic and care work and desired more change in this regard. The findings from Komter also reflect the situation in Ghana where women's combined role of paid and unpaid work makes them desire change in men's attitude and involvement in domestic activity and caring activity. The desired change in men most women from Ghana want reflects the new form of ideology for men in the West as more involving fathers (Kaufman, 2013) who are more nurturing than providing. That is, the traditional ideology conflicts with the practices of everyday life in the 21st century to the extent that women take on paid work and continue to resist the idea that they should be involved in care and domestic labour.

One important concept that helped me to understand how gender ideology operates at the individual level is the work of Blair-Loy (2001; 2003). At the core of individual gender ideology is how an individual identifies herself or himself with work and family roles. This is what Blair-Loy (2003) refers to as 'schemas of devotion'. According to Blair-Loy (2003), these are "moral and emotional maps [that] evoke intense moral and emotional commitments" (p. 5) and help define institutions of work and family in gendered terms (Blair-Loy, 2010). The schemas of devotion constitute people's sense of identity such that they become invested in a particular set of activities or roles. These are schemas that organise expectations of workers and of parents (mothers and fathers) as well as shaping the actions of workers and parents. Blair-Loy (2003) argued that there are two deeply rooted cultural schemas, the schema of family devotion and the schema of work devotion. The schema of family devotion has been feminised and so views motherhood as a woman's main vocation, and men as "unable to provide the selflessness and patience that constant care of children requires" (p. 2). It assigns primary responsibility for home and family to women, promising them fulfilment and meaning in life. In contrast, work devotion has been masculinised. It provides men with a moral identity premised on their involvement with paid work (Blair-Loy, 2003; see also Acker, 1990; 1992). Although Kaufman's 'superdads' shows that some men are deciding to de-prioritise paid work, men typically become committed to only work schema because it demands that one gives an immense amount of time, commitment and emotional loyalty to one's career (Acker, 1992, 1990).

In the traditional family structure, women on one hand follow the family devotion schema and so are expected to act as the primary homemakers. Men, on the other hand, pursue the work devotion schema and so express this by staying at work in order to be a good provider, which is further seen as an integral part of being a good father. These schemas apply to Ghana even though they were developed by a North American because men and women are largely devoted to work roles and family roles respectively. More importantly, as has been stated before, a person can equally be devoted to work and family roles and this is where tension is likely to emanate at least for career women whenever they are faced with conflicting roles, although some men also fall into this category. According to Blair-Loy (2001), devotions to work and family put a challenge on the path of career women by setting the parameters for the work and family lives. That is, devotion to both work and family requires time, energy and passion and these make work and family competing forces. The outcome of this is always the conflict for those, especially women, who become devoted to work and family. Women often encounter such conflicts between these two competing roles because intensive motherhood does not easily accommodate highly demanding jobs (Blair-Loy, 2001). Blair-Loy (2001) argues that “the family devotion schema had to be modified [by delaying childbirth or remaining single] before most respondents could build demanding careers while raising children” (p. 706), and so could balance work and family roles.

The concept of schemas of devotion has been used by various scholars in order to understand how workers negotiate work and family demands (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2014; Whiting, 2008; Wharton & Blair-Loy, 2006). For example, Whiting (2008) conducted a study in New Zealand about the strategies used by women who were devoted to work and family and who sought to combine work and family roles as professional accountants. The author found that delaying childbirth was a strategy participants used in order to remain work-focused and to reach higher levels in their career. This is because the participants were aware that achieving partnership in the accounting sector would be difficult for them as devotion to work would be weakened by a competing devotion to family once they have children. According to Blair-Loy (2003), work devotion for women becomes weaker following child birth because “family devotion schemas assigns primary responsibility for housework and child rearing to women and demands that their primary commitments remain with home, family, and children (p. 688). These participants in

Blair-Loy's study believe the presence of children in their lives will alter their work devotion and so will be hard for them to be able to compete equally with their male counterparts in the labour market. The women in Blair-Loy's study had this belief because the idea of 'unencumbered worker' is always used in the world of work as a yardstick for measuring who becomes a partner in the industry.

Adherence to a particular devotion is reproduced by individuals' respective gender ideology on work and family. Blair-Loy believes that the "ideology of intensive motherhood ... where women's devotion to the family trumps all other commitments (Blair-Loy, 2001, p. 690) and makes women find greater fulfilment in family roles than work roles. In my thesis, I make sense of how devotions to work and family are gendered among my participants from Ghana with gender ideologies (both cultural and individual) that work to reproduce these gendered devotions and so make these participants choose one role over the other when the roles come into conflict. The seminal work on schemas of devotions only studied career women (Blair-Loy, 2003) because father devotion has traditionally been defined as devotion to work and that limits their devotion to unpaid work. But some recent studies, for example Kaufman (2013), shows the schema of father involvement is also important to examine as men are gradually becoming more committed to family. It is therefore important to expand research on this to include men as fathers as both men and women adhere to their individual ideologies, whenever one domain conflicts with another domain. This is why these frameworks helped me to analyse individuals' experiences of work/family conflict. To help deepen our understanding of individual gender ideology and their devotions to family and work, the next section discusses how women and men do gender in domestic unpaid work.

3.4 Doing Gender as a Reflection of Gender Ideology and Devotions to Work and Family

It has been discussed in the previous section that men and women form their devotions to work and family based on their individual gender ideologies, although such ideologies are generally shaped by the dominant cultural ideology in relation to gender division of labour. In this thesis, I have built on Berk's works and argue that, in the process of enacting their devotion to work and family, men and women simultaneously 'do gender' in Ghana. West and Zimmerman (1987) influential work on 'doing gender' conceptualises gender as something men and women do

during interaction. According to the authors, “a person’s gender is not simply an aspect of what one is, but, more fundamentally, it is something that one does, and does recurrently, in interaction with others” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 140). This definition demonstrates that men and women perform their respective gender during interaction. Individuals manage their conduct with an eye on how their performance might be ‘characterised’ as appropriate or inappropriate.

An important social force that influences the way men and women do gender around housework and care work as gendered individuals is gender ideologies around gender division of labour. It is therefore not surprising that Risman and Davis (2013) argue that men and women do gender differently across time as men and women continue to have different gender ideologies as they meet to do gender. That is, there are multiple ways men and women do gender. According to Berk (2012; 1985), one of the ways men and women do gender is through gender division of labour, where “household members do gender, as they do housework and child care” (Berk, 1985, p. 201).

At the core of West and Zimmerman’s (2009, 1987) articulation of ‘doing gender’ is their emphasis on ‘gender accountability’. For West and Zimmerman (1987), failure to do gender appropriately makes people around us question our behaviour. This is so because, as gendered individuals, there are acceptable gendered norms in various cultures to which individuals are expected to conform. This is the reason why West and Zimmerman (2009, 1987) locate accountability at the cultural and institutional levels. According to them, our performance of gender is orientated to the possibility of being held to account for that performance. This makes doing gender not a matter of free choice but rather the institution of gender calls for particular practices about which people are practically aware, in which they are practically skilled (Schatzki, 2001), and of which individuals are held accountable. The acceptable norms “dictate acceptable behaviours for men and women, and often establish penalties for those who ignore such regulations. Individuals are rewarded when gendered behaviour is consistent with culturally defined norms. Likewise, when individuals violate gendered norms, they are punished” (Sallee & Harris III, 2011, p. 414). This makes accountability a powerful mechanism for ensuring compliance with socially prescribed gendered roles for men and women (Sallee & Harris III,

2011) and often makes men and women enact their respective provider/homemaker roles for fear of being sanctioned.

Behavioural norms around gender are changing as more men gradually get involve in caring and other domestic activities in the family and women continue to increase their participation in paid work, although both men and women continue to adopt particular gender displays that society expects of them (Sallee & Harris III, 2011). One would have expected that such changes would have brought changes to men's and women's respective devotions to these institutions. This is not so because men and women are still primarily held accountable for their breadwinner and homemakers roles and so behave in accordance with those social expectations (Sallee & Harris III, 2011). This makes gender accountability work to maintain men's and women's respective 'traditional' devotions to work and family. This is why the conceptual frameworks of individual gender ideology, work and family devotions, doing gender and gender accountability are important for my thesis. Within my research, I argue that, although individuals' gender ideologies are changing, devotions to work and family remain the same. By using these concepts, I was able to make sense of how, irrespective of these changes in gender ideologies and its corresponding different ways of doing gender, men and women are still held accountable by their Ghanaian society as gendered individuals. This makes gender accountability part of the explanation for the gendered devotions to work and family among Ghanaian men and women. This is important because these devotions produce the gendered experiences, responses and negotiations in relation to work/family conflict in my study.

3.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter made it clear that gendered institutions of work and family produce gendered experiences of work and family, and lay the foundations for gendered experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family/conflict. As gendered institutions, there are various divisions within and between them and the nature of such divisions situates men and women differently in these institutions. This becomes the basis for the gendered devotions to work and family, where women become devoted to the family for their homemaker role and men to work for their economic provider role. Such gendered devotions are reproduced through the various social forces of gender accountability at the interactional level, gender ideologies at the cultural

and individual levels, and gender division of labour and lay the foundation for the gendered experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family conflict in my thesis.

First, as has been discussed in this chapter, the nature of gender division of labour produces gendered experiences of work/family conflict. This is because the men experience family demand in the form of demand for money and this makes the men largely fulfil their traditional primary devotion to paid work. Second, the gender division of labour produces gendered responses to work/family conflict. This is actively worked out in relation to workplace structures. These structures afford men and women different possibilities through different industries sectors and different positions within those sectors. It is also shaped by existing cultural norms around gendered work in the family. Third, gender division of labour produces gendered negotiation between husbands and wives over work/family conflict. The men are often able to exercise greater power to determine outcomes because they have more economic resources as a result of their position as ‘provider’ than the women do. Before presenting these in my substantive chapters (Chapters Six to Eight), it is important to review various research that has been conducted in the area of this study as the next chapter seeks to achieve.

CHAPTER FOUR

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE ON WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT

4.1 Introduction

Changes in family structure, work context and the composition of the workforce mean a host of new challenges for both men and women around the globe as they struggle to cope with the often competing pressures of work demands and personal responsibilities. In her work, *Gender and the Work-Family Experience: An Intersection of the Two Domains*, Maura Mills (2015) writes, “...and most especially for David, my beautiful son – my biggest work/family challenge to date”. In a similar way Mike Tana, president of the Public Service Association (PSA) in New Zealand, in the introductory part of the PSA Journal (March 2015), commented on how he took the opportunity during the summer of that year to spend extra time with his family. He writes

...longer, warmer days meant more time playing with the kids after work and sitting outside after dinner with my partner. It reminded me just how important work/life balance is. It’s no surprise that when I hit that sweet spot with my time I am happier at my work and better at being a dad, partner and a friend. But getting the balance right is difficult. Sometimes a project at work requires extra hours outside work or one of my children gets sick and my wife and I need to negotiate time away from the office. In other words, my real life sometimes gets in the way of my ideal life. (p. 5)

As stated in the introduction, this thesis explores the struggles that non-Western women and men from the Ghanaian city of Kumasi have combining work and family. The theoretical framework for this study assumes that the institutions of work and family are gendered in Ghana and that men and women are positioned differently in these institutions. There have been a plethora of studies on the work/family conflict from regions within North America and Europe (Brough et al., 2014), limiting our understanding of the construct of work/family conflict from the global South. The scarcity of studies on the work/family interface in the global South limits our insights on how individuals pursue their work and non-work lives. This neglect is becoming critical as

dual income families become increasingly commonplace in developing countries like Ghana (Annor, 2016b). This review is gender focused because work and family continue to be gendered and that becomes part of the explanation of the different experiences of the two institutions by men and women. It explores what the domains of work and family means to men and women as gendered individuals.

More specifically, the structure of this review is fourfold. The first section discusses the two main approaches to thinking about the work family interface, that is, work/family balance and work/family conflict. The second section discusses the double shift of working women. Here, my focus is on the literature that explores the challenges women face in combining work and family roles. This is followed by a review of the literature on the emerging challenges fathers face in combining work and family roles. This section considers how the ideology of the involved father puts pressure on men to take an active role in caring and other domestic activities and how men have been coping with such tensions in their lives as they struggle to take on the new role of involved fathers. The last section discusses cultural influences on work/family conflict by focusing on variations in work/family issues from different cultures and factors that account for these variations.

4.2 General Overview of Work/Family Interface

Research interest on work and family came into prominence in the 1970s because of the sudden changes that occurred in the roles of men and women, especially women in the workforce of industrialized societies. It reflected, in part, the economic and political context during that period. The dominant cultural belief before the 1970s positioned women as better suited for the home and men as better suited for the workplace (Mintz, 2000; Albee & Perry, 1998; Coltrane, 1996). In addition, women's low level of education at that time allowed employers to refuse to hire women (Kessler-Harris, 2001). Added to this was the belief that men's inherent nature was not suited to the domestic world and so kept men out of the home (Chodorow, 1974).

In the 1970s, external pressures stemming from the political economy in addition to higher levels of education of women coupled with the second wave of feminism pushed and pulled more women into the workplace. This also contested the myth of the uniquely nurturing mothering

role in the family (Barnett, 2004) in most industrialized countries. The economic changes at that time put increased pressure on families for both partners to work because of the rise in the cost of living and increased consumption demands. The socio-cultural changes reflected in part the pressure mounted by feminists for the greater recognition of value of female labour especially in paid work. This prompted changes for men and women in combining responsibilities of work and family, especially among dual-earner couples; although arguably, men have changed less than women in response to these changes (Hochschild, 1989). Therefore the social context within which the idea of work/family conflict emerged in the 1980s, was the sharp increase in women's participation in the workforce. The initial focus by researchers tended to focus on mothers (Lewis, Gambles & Rapoport, 2007). Accordingly, in an attempt to study the historical root of work/family conflict, two main related factors come to play. The first was the entry of women into the paid labour force (Wilson, 1996; Philips & Philips, 1993; Mackie, 1991). Its related factor was the emerging dominance of the dual-earner family over the 'traditional' family (Alvi, 1994; Mackie, 1991; Conway, 1990; Eichler, 1988)

The initial research interest on the relationship between work and family focused on conflict perspective because it was assumed that work and family roles were incompatible (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985), even though there are different approaches in examining the relationship in recent times. The different ways of conceptualising the relationship between paid work and family, and personal life makes it difficult among scholars interested in the field to agree on one definite approach to work and family relationships (Kalliath & Brough, 2008). Some of these are closely related and sometimes overlap whilst others differ. Prominent among these conceptual frames are: 'work/life integration', 'work/life interaction', 'work-life balance', 'work-family conflict' and 'work/family enrichment' (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Clark, 2000). Among these conceptual frames, the two dominant ways of constructing the relationship between work and family are work/life balance and work/family conflict, although "the terminology used to refer to these issues continues to evolve" (Lewis, et al., 2007, p. 360) over time.

Work/life balance is assuming prominence in the literature (Maertz & Boyar, 2011; Berrington et al., 2008). According to Lewis, et al. (2007), the current research in relation to work and family reflects social, economic and workplace developments and concerns that have led to profound

changes in the nature of work and family and these are shifting the focus from conflict perspective to balance perspective. According to the authors, this shifts in focus in research is important because it reflects “a broader and more inclusive way of framing the debate to engage men and women with or without children or other caring commitments and was partly a response to backlash against work-family policies by those without obvious family obligations” (p. 360).

The various definitions associated with work/life balance were made manifest by the recent work by Greenhaus and Allen (2011). According to them, the construct of work/family balance connotes the sense of fulfilment a person gets across different roles, the absence of work/family conflict or high involvement in different roles in a person’s life. They suggested that balancing the two domains does not mean equal allocation of time or effort in each role so such definition does not adequately account for different work/family roles definitions and priorities. It is hard to accept this definition as being definitive because it does not seem to really get to the heart of the matter. Work/life balance refers to the ability of individuals to pursue their work and non-work lives, without undue pressures from one undermining the satisfactory experience of the other.

Greenhaus and Allen (2011) further posit that the balance between work and family roles should be seen from an individual’s perspective where one’s involvement in these two roles can have different consequences for different people based on their personal priorities and values in life. This made Greenhaus and Allen (2011) define the concept of work/life balance as “an overall appraisal of the extent to which individuals’ effectiveness and satisfaction in work and family roles are consistent with their life values at a given point in time” (p. 17). This definition signifies a subjective view of work/family balance, which entails understanding the values a person has in relation to work and family domains and the importance s/he may attach to each of them.

This subjective approach to the understanding of work and family in the life of individuals suggest that, in order to understand people’s negotiation of work/family balance, scholars need to enter the life worlds of individual persons since the meanings individuals give to the domains of work and family differ from persons to persons. This is the main reason why qualitative research is important in gaining insight into how individuals construct their own meanings around work

and family roles, something we cannot know through quantitative studies. On their part, Grzywacz and Carlson (2007) define the balance between work and family roles as the ‘accomplishment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his or her role-related partners in the work and family domains’ (p. 458). Although this definition may sound convincing, it plays down the role of other social forces that influence how an individual may achieve a balance between these two domains.

Generally, the essence of work/life balance is the freedom from conflict, which entail near-equality of work and family roles and the experience of positive outcomes in the domains of work and non-work (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). This can be interpreted as saying that lower levels of tension between work and family roles are a sign of work/life balance (Frone, 2003) where an individual is able to integrate work and family roles effectively. More importantly, there has been a change in terminology from work/family balance to work/life balance (Kalliath & Brough, 2008; Grzywacz & Carlson 2007), thus acknowledging the importance of other spheres of life besides family where people occupy a variety of roles and pursue different goals in life, which might not include that of building a family.

Whatever terminology one adopts in describing the two domains in the lives of individuals, the possibility of achieving a balance in these two domains has been questioned by scholars. One such scholars is Williams (2010) who doubts the possibility of achieving a balance in the United States after 90 per cent of mothers and 95 per cent of fathers said they wish they had more time with their children. This finding is supported by Polkowska (2016) who compared work-life balance among six European countries. The study investigated impacts of policies like flexible working hours to support work/life balance in Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Finland, United Kingdom and Poland in understanding work-life balance in these countries. It was found that, among these countries, Poland had the most difficulty reconciling work and family life because of all these countries, Poland presents lower levels of flexibility of working hours than the others.

Again, in a study by Almalki, FitzGerald and Clark (2012) that focused on quality of life among primary health care nurses in Saudi Arabia, it was found that respondents in the study were

dissatisfied with their work-life balance as a result of unsuitable hours, lack of facilities and supervisory practices. These findings from Polkowska (2016) and Almalki, et al. (2012) appear to support the argument by Williams (2010) that the policy in America “makes Americans’ daily efforts at balancing unworkable” (p. 8). Although this concept is relevant, the absence of balance between the domains of work and family in the life of individuals as they combine work and family roles makes individuals experience conflict between these demanding roles; hence work/family conflict (Demerouti, Peeters & van der Heijden, 2012). Individuals aspire to achieve work/life balance and this has become a felt need as efforts are made by individuals to prevent paid work from invading too much into their lives (Lewis, et al., 2007). It is therefore not surprising why the historical root of the study of the interface of work and family has been from the conflict perspective. This is the reason why, in the publications on work-life balance, conflict perspective emerged first in the literature and has been the most dominant perspective in the field of research.

To find a definitive definition of the concept of work/family conflict has been problematic. This is because interest and research in this field have been published in a variety of fields, including Management, Psychology, Sociology, and Family Studies, with the scholarship in each field based on a variety of definitional approaches (Morris & Madsen, 2007). This means that there are underlying theoretical differences between those who research on work/family conflict. Experts like Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) defined it as “a form of friction in which role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respects” (p. 77). This definition is no different from the seminal work by Kahn et al. (1964) who defined ‘inter-role’ conflict as a “simultaneous occurrence of two (or more) sets of pressures such that compliance with one would make more difficult compliance with the other” (p. 19).

The concept of work/family conflict implies that work can interfere with family (work-to-family conflict) and family can interfere with work (family-to-work conflict) when individuals seek to combine work and family roles. Researchers have refined the notion of work/family conflict in terms of its source in either work or family, hence these two constructs. On one hand, work-to-family conflict is defined as a form of conflict occurring because of general demands and strain created by the work interfering with one’s ability to perform household-related tasks (Netemeyer

et al., 1996). On the other hand, family-to-work conflict is a role conflict resulting from general demands and strain from the family interfering with an employee's ability to perform work-related activities (Netemeyer et al., 1996). The combination of these two definitions forms a comprehensive work/family conflict construct. In this thesis, work/family conflict is used to refer to both work-to-family and family-to-work conflict and thus the struggle experienced by men and women as spouses and workers attempting to perform the dual roles of paid work and domestic and caring activities at the same time.

The combination of work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict recognises the possibility of bi-directionality of work/family conflict (Tuten & August, 2006) although the construct was construed traditionally as unidirectional. The unidirectionality of the construct is defined in terms of how work interferes with family responsibilities (Duxbury, Higgins & Mills, 1992; Frone, Russel & Cooper, 1992b; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). This unidirectional approach of conceptualising the concept is generally problematic in the sense that the effects of characteristics of the family were ignored in those studies (Premeaux, Adkins & Mossholder, 2007). According to Posig and Kickul (2004), women are generally seen as exhibiting a unidirectional relationship, where work interferes with their family responsibilities as a result of their traditional role as homemakers even though this traditional role is gradually changing. It is therefore not surprising how the construct of work/family conflict was traditionally construed as women's issue after their entrance into paid work.

Attention of scholars in the field of work and family research has changed from this unidirectional approach to more focus on bi-directionality (Byron, 2005; Netemeyer et al., 1996; Frone et al., 1992b). This approach focuses on the reciprocal effects of work interfering with family and family interfering with work, that is, work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict. The assumption of this approach is that "role demands and expectations originate from both the work and family domains" (Golden, Veiga & Simsek, 2006, p. 1341) and so there is the need to distinguish moments where work demands interfere with family demands and vice versa (Frone et al., 1992b). Although various studies have supported this claim the results have been mixed (Borovsky, 1999; Aryee, 1992; Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1999). One major reason that may account for these mixed findings is methodological differences between such studies. One such

methodological difference is in the area of sampling strategies, for example, either sampling only men or women, or both men and women.

The expected relationship between work/family conflict and gender is that men will experience greater work-family conflict whilst women will experience family-work conflict (Mortazavi, et al., 2009; Pleck, 1977). This is because men often place importance and commitment to work roles because of their role in the family as breadwinners. Women on their part tend to commit more of their time and energy to family roles. It is therefore not surprising that women are expected in general to do more of domestic and caring activities in the family than men (Crompton et al., 2005) even when they work full time. This gives way for scholars to argue that women often juggle work and family roles and that makes work/family conflict more salient for women (Mauno, Kinnunen & Feldt, 2012). Scholars generally argue this way because men's paid work is often less impacted by family demands because men are expected to prioritise their paid work over family demands (Mauno, Kinnunen & Feldt, 2012).

From the ensuing discussions, one would have expected the findings from the literature to have been consistent with the assumption that men will experience greater work-family conflict whilst women will experience greater family-work conflict (Mortazavi, et al., 2009; Pleck, 1977). However, studies have presented mixed findings (Byron, 2005). In some studies, there is no gender difference in work/family conflict (Byron, 2005; Frone, 2003; Gutek et al., 1991) whereas in the findings of Parasurman and Simmers (2001) men experience more work-family conflict than women. These mixed findings suggest that “the relationship between gender and work-family conflict may vary based on cultural norms and ideologies related to expectations of appropriate role behaviour of men and women in different cultures” (The expected relationship between work/family conflict and gender is that men will experience greater work-family conflict whilst women will experience family-work conflict (Mortazavi et al., 2009, p. 254). It is as a result of this that the institutions of work and family can only be understood in the wider social, economic and political contexts (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999). It is through these contexts that gender can clearly be understood as they impact differently on men and women, hence the justification of this study in the Ghanaian context.

Another reason that calls for researchers to consider the construct from different political economies is that, although dual-income families are common both in the global North and South, they come in different forms and natures. For example, although the dual earner family is common in Australia, many women in Australia work part time (Craig & Brown, 2015). This minimises the effect of work/family conflict for them because these women “have more flexibility to fit their work around their non-work activities and time with others (Craig & Brown, 2015, p. 7). Also, for most Scandinavian countries like Sweden and Norway, there are various policies regarding paid leave and access to flexible working arrangement in order to help mothers meet their care responsibilities (Anxo, Boulin & Fagan, 2006). The focus of such policies is to assist mothers in combining care responsibilities and work demands (Skinner, et al., 2014). For example, in Sweden, employees have the right to make changes to their work schedules as a result of family demands without significant losses to their income and mothers often rely on this policy (Roeters & Craig, 2014).

The literature from the West confirms that flexible working hours provide good support for parents in combining of work and family roles (Medina-Garrido, et al., 2017; Sharabi, 2017; Skinner, et al., 2014; Pocock, Williams & Skinner, 2012; Craig & Mullan, 2010). To be able to manage the demands of work and home effectively, employees require day-to-day flexibility. It includes time off to visit children’s schools, take care of elders or take time off to attend to family emergencies (Medina-Garrido, et al., 2017). It may also include taking days off in return for working non-standard hours or being able to work part time temporarily at certain points in life (Moen, 1996). Research on flexibility has been generally positive and found a reduction of work/family conflict associated with flexible working conditions (Medina-Garrido, et al., 2017; Sharabi, 2017; Stier, et al., 2012; Kopelman, 1992). Similarly, Casey and Chase (2004) and Allen (2001) stressed the importance of flexible work arrangements, including job schedule flexibility, for reducing work-family conflict.

In Ghana where hours of work are basically the same for everybody and there is no shift system for most organisations, men and women who work full time have to start work the same time and close at the same time. That is, hours of work are not negotiable and there is no part-time work facility for career women and men who may also be mothers and fathers. This example from

Ghana may appear to make the tension between work and family more intense for the one taking more responsibility for maintaining the home in addition to paid work: a situation that warrants further scientific enquiry to ascertain the authenticity of the claim.

My thesis focuses on ‘work/family conflict’ because it describes the struggles that non-western women and men from Ghana have with combining work and family roles. Work/family conflict differs significantly from work/family balance because empirical evidence has suggested that, although achieving a balance is what employees in general seeks to achieve, they often end up experiencing conflict. The experience of conflict often has negative influence on employees’ outcomes and so an attempt should be made to explore more in this direction in order to reveal the unknown experiences of employees, especially in Ghana where the phenomenon is understudied. Throughout this study, I use work/family conflict to encompass the struggles employees go through in combining the demands of work and family roles, especially families with young children.

4.3 The Double Life of Working Women

The increase in female participation in the labour force around the globe, in addition to their traditionally assigned homemaker role in the home, presents several challenges regarding how women combine these roles in their lives. Because of this, a lot of research interest has been generated among scholars in their attempt to explore the challenges these dual roles pose for women. Central to the challenges of how women combine work and family roles is the failure of men to substantially increase their participation in unpaid work and care labour, which has meant that the burden of combining paid work and unpaid work is something that is largely experienced by women (Lewis & Campbell, 2007; Hochschild, 1989). This increase of women in paid work without a compensatory decline in the amount of unpaid work they perform in the household is what Hochschild (1989) describes as the ‘second shift’. A similar view is shared by Craig (2007) when she argues that women’s involvement in paid work has not been offset by reductions in time they spend on domestic and caring activities.

The seminal work by Hochschild (1989) on the gendered division of labour brought to light the inequity of the division of household labour in North America that left women doing most of the

domestic unpaid tasks associated with childcare and domestic work. She argued that women do more unpaid work in addition to paid work than men and this produces an imbalance in women's lives. Hochschild (1989) spent one year observing 10 North American families on how they went about their household chores. Hochschild documented that their reported behaviour was different from their actual behaviour as she observed it (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Hochschild, 1989); a situation she referred to as the 'family myth'. This family myth comes about in the family because their ideological values on distribution of domestic work differ from their lived reality. Almost three decades after this ground-breaking study, there are still expectations in both Western and non-Western worlds that women should work and have a career and also take responsibility for the second shift at home and for the children (Mapedzahama, 2014; Hochschild & Machung, 2003).

Subsequent studies (e.g. Craig, 2007) affirm the double life of working women and that the phenomenon does not belong to the past (Milkie, Raley & Bianchi, 2009; Bittman & Wajcman, 2000). Using Multinational Time Data Archive and the Australian Time Use Survey, Bittman and Wajcman (2000) found that most women are involved in paid work and unpaid work. The authors argue that these dual roles played by women have left the career women with the 'second shift' in the 21st century and that the prominence society has given to paid work at the expense of unpaid work will have a 'social cost' for women, especially in earnings. This made the authors conclude that the pervasiveness of unpaid work as a responsibility of women continues to disadvantage women in our society.

The double burden of women in combining paid work and unpaid work is further confirmed in the various time use surveys to show the differences in hours men and women in full-time job spend doing domestic and caring work at home. The general finding among researchers from time use surveys is that women do more of the domestic and caring work than men in addition to working full-time (Anxo et al., 2011; Galvez-Munoz et al., 2011; Miranda, 2011; Sevilla-Sanz et al., 2010; Craig, 2007). From example, as has been stated earlier, the data from the Western world indicate that women continue to do more of the housework and care activities in heterosexual marriages despite the increase in women's participation in the labour force (Sevilla-Sanz et al., 2010; Bianchi, et al., 2006). These various time use surveys provide data on men and

women about time spent on paid work, unpaid work and participation in leisure activities (Esquivel et al., 2008; Beneria, 2003). The findings from these studies are important in reshaping our understanding of gender and work/family conflict in the sense that women's increase into paid work is not compensated by men taking on more unpaid work.

In a study by Sevilla-Sanz et al. (2010), the authors sampled individuals from Spanish Time Use Survey 2003 aged between 20 and 65, who were income earning married couples and had children under 10. The authors found that women who earn the same as their husbands from their paid work still perform about 70 per cent of the housework as compared to their husbands. Consistent with this finding is a cross-national study by Anxo et al. (2011) who studied how women and men in France, Italy, Sweden and United States use their time over their life cycle. This study relied on national surveys from the late 1990s and early 2000s from these four countries. The authors found that men from all the four countries usually spend less time on housework and care activities than their female counterparts, although there are some variations between the countries. Among these countries of study, Italian women spend on average of 40 hours more a week doing domestic and caring activities than Italian men do, especially when children are under the age of three, unlike their Swedish counterparts where the gender difference is 11 hours. These differences are attributed to family policies in these countries. For example, Sweden is generally seen to be one of the best countries in Europe because of its friendly family policies that help career men and women in negotiating the demands of family and work and achieving a balance together with its commitments to gender equality. Again, Sweden has flexible parental leave packages and flexible employment choices that enable working women to continue their focus with work after having children, which are non-existent in countries like Italy.

Although the general findings among scholars indicate that women do more at home than men, a changing trend shows the narrowing of gender differences (Ramos, 2005), although this is generally not consistent with other findings (Sevilla-Sanz et al., 2010). This changing trend is attributed to increased labour force participation, which has resulted in women's ability to negotiate a more equal distribution of domestic tasks with their husbands (Chang, MacPhail & Dong, 2011; Craig, 2007). Chang et al. (2011) confirmed this when they opined that "increased

participation in paid work has the potential to improve women's well-being by raising their bargaining power through wages" (p. 94), although the finding by Sevilla-Sanz et al. (2010) does not suggest so. Another reason attributed to this decline in domestic unpaid work by women is educational attainment by women (Craig, 2007; 2006a; Ramos, 2005; Sayer, 2005). In a study conducted by Craig (2007) using data from Australian Bureau Statistics Time Use Survey from women, the author found that university educated women "were more likely to be in the paid workforce and to work longer hours, than other women" (p. 161). The same study also found that mothers with university education devoted more time to both paid work and unpaid work than other mothers. Although this finding is important, there is the need to extend similar studies to other non-Western countries like Ghana where cultural norms might mediate the effect of education.

Time use survey results from non-Western countries, especially Africa by Arora (2015) is consistent with the findings by Craig (2007). Using the data from 2013 primary household survey, Arora (2015) investigated time-poverty experienced by men and women from Mozambique households. This study was undertaken on the assumption that education might raise women's status in the household and therefore reduce the number of hours they spend on domestic activities (Gammage 2010; Wodon & Ying, 2010). The study by Arora (2015) found that higher education does not reduce women's household activities and that the situation becomes worse when caring activities are added to domestic activities. The consistency in findings from the Western world (Australia) and non-Western world (Mozambique) can be explained based on strong social norms (Craig, 2007) as was attested to by one of the participants from Arora's study that "we accept our husband's orders and whims as this is our culture. If we refuse to do the household work, our husbands will blame us for not performing our duties and divorce us" (p. 217).

The methodological strength from these studies is that time use studies gather data about both paid work and unpaid work (Bonke, 2005) and so makes it possible to compare data on the numbers of hours individuals spend in doing paid work and unpaid work (Bryson, 2008). One other important contribution of the time use diary to our understanding of gender differences in paid and unpaid work is that women still do most of unpaid work in addition to paid work. As

has been argued by Bryson (2008) “this work [unpaid work] is still largely done by women, and that their increase in paid employment has not been matched by significantly more equitable distribution of tasks within the home” (p. 139). Although the time use survey has methodological strength, the mixed findings in these studies from the West and non-West raise an important methodological gap in the literature. Studies that rely on time use survey often only report on primary activities in the home to the neglect of other activities that may be carried on simultaneously with the primary activities. The findings from such studies and the figures they produce are likely to underestimate the time cost associated with those secondary activities (Bryson, 2008; Craig, 2002).

Irrespective of these criticisms with time-use studies, the findings emerging from such studies still confirm the earlier findings by Hochschild (1989) about the double burden of career women. In addition to these time-use studies, other studies are consistent with the findings of Hochschild. One such important study is the work by Milkie, et al. (2009). Using data from two nationally representative time diary studies, that is, 2003-2005 American Time Use Survey and 2000-2001 National Survey of Parents, the authors sought to substantiate the claims they have deduced from the ‘second shift’. The study confirms earlier finding by Hochschild (1989) that full-time career mothers with children do more hours of housework and childcare than full-time fathers, although both studies (Hochschild, 1989; Milkie, et al., 2009) did not incorporate secondary activities. This is a lapse in their methodological approach as secondary activities usually show women do even more work (Bryson, 2008). Another key finding of Milkie, et al. (2009) is that full-time career mothers experience more time pressure than fathers.

The first of these claims by Milkie, et al. (2009) is that mothers have unfair workloads in the family. In their attempt to explain this claim, the authors drew inspiration from the work of Hochschild that employed women do more of the unpaid work than employed men because of women’s accountability to family responsibilities. That is, “although mothers have made many inroads into the ‘first shift’ of paid labour, they are confronted with the ‘second shift’ of housework and childcare when they arrive at home” (Milkie, et al., 2009). Added to this claim was the finding from Hochschild’s study that employed mothers do not just only do more of the housework than men but also do the unpleasant part of the housework like washing, cooking and

cooking while men do the ‘fun’ part of childcare in the family like talking children for a walk and watching cartoons with them.

The second major claim the authors sought to investigate in their study was that mothers experience time pressure in remaining committed to their paid job and housework and care activities. The authors argue that mothers experience ‘chronic emotional exhaustion’ for “remaining committed to the job while also devoting time to very needy young children, not to mention one’s spouse” (Milkie, et al., 2009, p. 490). Women feel pressured in negotiating these two demands in their lives because, although they have been ‘pushed’ into paid work, various cultures still position them to be responsible for the nurturing role together with the maintenance role of taking care of the family (Blair-Loy, 2003).

The third claim by the authors is that gender inequity is experienced in the family because of the ‘second shift’ of parenting especially when mothers have pre-schoolers and work full-time at the same time. For Hochschild (1989), the quality of time parents spend with their children is affected when parents become career oriented. This was also confirmed by Milkie, et al. (2009) who found that the quality of these activities are affected as a result of parents’ commitment to paid work and include “reading to and eating meals with children, laughing together and praising offspring” (p. 491). This is somewhat contentious in that mothers spend more time on childcare now than in the past especially because of lessening extended family support. These findings suggest that, although a lot has changed in the world of work since the earlier work by Hochschild in 1989, career women are still compelled to devote time and energy to the demands of the family in American society.

When the burden of paid work and unpaid work becomes too much for women, they rely on a variety of strategies to cope with the situation (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2017; Drach-Zahavy and Somech, 2008). According to Somech and Drach-Zahavy (2017), there are eight categories of coping strategies used by women in dealing with conflict between work and family roles. The authors’ research used these eight coping strategies to measure the effectiveness of coping strategies according to sex and gender-role ideologies. Their study showed that women adopt particular coping strategies based on the beliefs and values they have about the domains work

and family (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2017), although women are more inclined than men to prioritise family roles over work roles in adopting a particular coping strategies.

Somech and Drach-Zahavy (2017) further argue that although coping with work/family conflict is a universal experience, irrespective of the culture in which women find themselves, women from different cultures may respond differently to work/family conflict (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2017). An Australian study by Pocock (2003) and Charlesworth and Cartright (2007) found that many women resort to part time work in order to reduce the burden of paid work for the sake of family demands and to minimise work/family conflict. Although this may appear to be a partial solution in reducing the number of hours women commit to paid work, there are other important issues that may worsen the problem for these women. For example, part-time work is generally poorly paid and is associated with fewer workplace benefits (Walby, 1997). Another example from Germany and Sweden found that women in Germany take extended leave after birth compared to Swedish women who return to work faster (Aisenbrey, Evertsson and Grunow, 2009). This difference is generally attributed to the friendly Swedish parental leave policy, which has helped Swedish women to manage their paid work with childbirth (Evertsson & Duvander, 2010; Duvander, Ferrarin & Thalberg, 2006).

Decreasing the hours mothers spend on paid work has negative impact on those mothers as confirmed by various scholars (Kaufman & Bernhardt, 2015; Kuhhirt, 2012; Abele & Spurk, 2011; Maume, 2006). Some women need to cut down the hours they spend doing paid work when they become mothers because of the societal expectations on them to be responsible for the caring of the children and maintenance of the house, which influences their career (Kaufman & Bernhardt, 2015; Gustafson, 2006) and makes them devoted to family roles (Blair-Loy, 2001); so creating more pressure to make work adjustments (Kaufman & Bernhardt, 2015).

Women's inability to effectively combine the demands of work and family once becoming a mother has been a major concern since 1970s when large numbers of mothers began working for pay (Kaufman & Bernhardt, 2015; Misra, Budig & Boeckmann, 2011). For example, women who become mothers reduce their paid work time (Maume, 2006). In a study conducted by Abele and Spurk (2011) among 1015 highly educated professionals from Germany, the authors

found that women reduce their work hours with the arrival of a new child whilst men do not. According to the authors, women and men do so as a result of gender role expectations. That is, a reduction in paid work hours is one strategy women from the West adopt to ensure work demands do not conflict with their expanded family demands. This demonstrates how national policy as a social support can be of great importance to women's strategies for combining paid work and family responsibilities.

The above discussions suggest that most of the researches on the burden of women doing the double shifts are from North America and Europe, although there are a few other related studies from other parts of the globe like Australia where the focus has been on policy level (Pocock, 2008). This calls for exploration of the construct from a more diverse cultural context as has been advocated by Poelmans et al. (2003), who advocated that work/family interface should be studied within a specific cultural context. Second, there is the need to give individual voices the avenue to narrate their experiences about the tension between work and family roles in their lives. Various quantitative studies have used variables to explain the construct that are limited in explaining the diversity of individuals as well as the diversity in work/family experiences. It is important to acknowledge that individuals experience these two domains differently and so individual voices need to be heard and studied.

4.4 Work/Family Conflict as an Emerging Significant Issue for Fathers

The first half of the 21st century has seen a sharp increase in interest by scholars regarding fathers' involvement with housework and, especially, caring activities (Brandth & Kvande, 2016; 2013; Doucet & Merla, 2007; O'Brien, Brandth & Kvande, 2007). This interest appears to be in direct response to an ideological change in the way good fatherhood is defined, such that it now includes care work. In actuality, the shift in men's actual performance of care work has been varied across national contexts. Past studies (e.g. Hochschild, 1989) found that child care in the family was assumed to be the sole responsibility of mothers. However, changes in the political economy in various countries have pushed women into paid work and this is gradually changing the meaning of fatherhood to include child care. This is gradually making fathers assume a more nurturing role in the family (Kaufman, 2013) in addition to paid work; a situation that suggests work/family concerns are not only an issue for mothers but fathers as well.

There is a growing body of literature confirming this claim (Kaufman, 2013; Allard, Haas & Hwang, 2007; Doucet & Merla, 2007; O'Brien, Brandth & Kvande, 2007). Allard, Haas and Hwang (2007) conducted a study on managerial fathers in Sweden with the objective of exploring work-to-family conflict among this group. The paper focused on 77 managers who were identified as middle-level or upper-middle level managers. These managers benefited from shorter weekly working hours and flexible working arrangements. In spite of these work-friendly policies, all 77 respondents reported experiencing work/family conflict. More importantly, the authors found that family context was critical for these managers in their experience of work-to-family conflict, especially having responsibility for childcare. According to Kaufman, (2013), this conflict for men comes about because "fathers are expected to work long hours but are also expected to be highly involved with their children" (p. 197). The findings of Allard et al. (2007) is consistent with the findings of Kaufman (2013) who found that most of the fathers in her study experience work/family conflict and so advocated that researchers should listen to men's stories about this conflict they experience. Although such findings illuminate men's experience of work/family conflict, a similar study is needed to compare data on both men and women in order to explain the differences in their experiences of work/family conflict.

Men's experience of tension between work and family roles because of their active involvement in the family is further evidenced in a study conducted by Doucet and Merla (2007). This study sought to explore qualitatively the various strategies fathers adopt in their attempt to balance work and family life, relying on data collected from Canada and Sweden. The authors interviewed 70 Canadian men who were at home for at least one year on parental leave and 21 Belgian men who had stayed home for at least six month with the sole aim of taking care of their children. The authors found that the men adopted various coping strategies to reduce their time at the workplace in order to make more time for the family. These strategies included working from home and adopting flexible working hours. One major difference that emerged from this study was the perception that was associated with stay at home fathers from Canada. Canadian society's expectation that men are to be breadwinners questioned their decision to stay-at-home as it defies their identity as husbands. The authors commented on the contrasting view some societies have on the new concept of fatherhood as caring and on the traditional notion of men as

ideal worker. This needs to be explored further in non-Western countries like Ghana where the gender dichotomy is enshrined in every sphere of society.

Research on men's involvement in domestic and caring activities has produced different typologies on men (Kaufman & White, 2016; Kaufmann, 2013; Ranson, 2010; Holter, 2007; Gerson, 1993). These different categories of men come about as a result of the extent they share or are involved in domestic unpaid work and the extent they allow their family-sharing practices to impact on their paid work. Beginning from the later part of 20th century, various authors have come out with different typology of men in their attempt to explain the shift in men's focus from the provider role to nurturer role (Deutsch, 1999; Gerson 1993). Although these typologies may not be directly related to the construct of work/family conflict, there is the need to explore them further, especially the involved fathers, as research has shown that the combination of paid work and unpaid work brings tension in individuals' lives (Hochschild, 1988; Kaufman, 2013).

Gerson (1993) observed that a significant number of men were actively involved in domestic and caring activities in their respective families in North America. Gerson (1993) interviewed 138 white-colour and blue-colour job workers from New York, with 53 per cent of these 138 men being fathers. Based on the way the men in this study conceive the interplay of work and family roles, Gerson came up with three types of men. The first group of men are the 'uninvolved' husbands who see themselves as breadwinners in the family and so worked to make sure they met the economic well-being of their families. The second group of men Gerson calls 'autonomy'. These are men in her study who consciously avoided engagements with family and work commitments and sought not to commit themselves to work and family roles. The last group of men are 'involved' fathers who give equal attention and commitment to paid work and family demands and who sometimes prioritised family needs above work demands. Although Gerson's study demonstrates diversity of men found in American society, she failed to give in-depth analysis of how these various forms of men negotiate the demands from work and family roles as my thesis seeks to do. This is important because the involved fathers are likely to have double devotions, which will make them have competing devotions as compared to the uninvolved fathers who are likely to have their only devotion to paid work. This is understandable to some extent as the main purpose of the study was to respond to the work by

Hochschild (1989) who demonstrated how slow men's involvement with domestic work has been in North America (Kaufman, 2013).

Although Gerson (1993) argues that there are three categories of men, Holter (2007) claims fathers are changing from their traditional role as breadwinner to caring fathers after examining men's work/life balance in Europe. After analysing the qualitative interview thematically, the author came out with two models of change among the men he studied. The first group of men fit within the 'new man' model who "act as the main change factor" (Holter, 2007, p. 436). This is because these are men who are ready to embrace the concept of equality and are normally seen as the manifestation of change in society. The second group of men identified in the study are 'new circumstances', which comes about as a result of certain circumstances these men encounter in their family that brings change in them; hence Holter's argument that the 'new circumstances' model is more practical than ideological.

Kaufman (2013) added to the 'men' focussed research with a study conducted in North American. Kaufman's study specifically explored working fathers who were living with at least one child under the age of 18. Three categories of men were identified together with how each of the typology of men strategizes to meet the demands of the family and work. What is unique about Kaufman's study is her attempt to give a voice to the meanings these men give to the domains of work and family. Studying men's experience of work/family qualitatively helps us to understand the sacrifices men make in relation to these two domains whenever they come into conflict with each other in their lives; something quantitative studies fails to achieve. More so, Kaufman's study explains how each of her typology experience the domains of work and family differently, thereby making a rich contribution to the literature on fathers and their feelings and experiences of work/family conflict.

The first category of fathers is 'old dads' (Kaufman, 2013). These are fathers who see their primary responsibility in the family as a breadwinner and so prioritise work demands over family needs. These fathers spend little of their time with their children because of the longer working hours they spend doing work-related activities. These men try to make up the lost time with the children during the weekends. Kaufman found that these fathers tend to experience little tension

between work and family roles and tend to make little adjustments to work demands despite the presence of a small child in the home. They prefer to work long hours as a strategy for reducing work-to-family conflict as it limits their involvement with unpaid work and gives them enough time and commitment for their paid work. This group of fathers share some resemblance with the ‘uninvolved husband’ explained in the study by Gerson (1993) who primarily see themselves as the family breadwinner and so assume responsibility for it but do not see themselves as directly responsible for their children’s care needs: they adhere to a traditional gender division of labour.

The second type of men identified by Kaufman (2013) is the ‘new dads’. According to Kaufman, the new dads are fathers who hold quite a liberal attitude to gendered roles and make a good attempt to take on an active role with child care. These fathers try to meet both demands from work and family equally and so end up putting a lot of pressure on themselves. That is, “new dads experience the greatest amount of stress because they always like to spend more time with their children and have not achieved a desired balance between work and family” (Kaufman, 2013, p. 13). They have to make some adjustments to their work situation in order to help them find a balance between work and family roles.

The last group of men identified by Kaufman (2013) are the ‘superdads’. For these fathers, fatherhood encompasses caregiving and so they devote more time to caring activities than to paid work. They give more prominence to their caregiving roles than their provider breadwinner role. Kaufmann (2013) found that these men did not complain about work conflicting with child care in their lives because they tend to adjust their work roles to make room for childcare activities as a result of their devotion to caring work in the family. This has been conceptualised in various ways by different authors (Hochschild, 1989; Holter, 2007) and appears to be the new type of fathers that are being advocated for in the current policies of most countries around the globe (van Tienoven et al., 2015). The strategies that are employed by the superdads in avoiding moments of work-to-family conflict include quitting jobs and changing careers. Others include “change positions, start their own business, adopt flexible work schedules, take on shift work, and work from home” (Kaufman, 2013, p. 142).

Although the enormous contribution of Kaufman's study cannot be underestimated, there is the need to draw attention to one important methodological issue in the study. Unpaid work in every family comprises domestic activities and caring activities. The domestic activities include cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing, among others. These are normally repetitive and involve a lot of energy and time in getting these activities accomplished. The presence of a child increases the demands of these activities in the family. The other side of domestic unpaid work is caring activities, which include taking care of children and the elderly if any. Typical activities in relation to caring for the young ones include feeding them, bathing them, taking them for a walk, supervising their school work and putting them to sleep. Any study that fails to focus on these two types of domestic unpaid work fails exclusively to capture the full meaning of unpaid work. Such is the case of Kaufman's (2013) research that only studied men's involvement with childcare. Such a study fails to give a comprehensive understanding of the extent men are involved in domestic unpaid work.

4.5 Cultural Influence on Work Family Conflict

Researchers have acknowledged that one of the limits of work/family literature is that the existing research has primarily been developed in Western societies, most notably in the United States (Cohen & Kirchmeyer, 2005; Poelmans et al., 2003). This is probably because women entered into the formal labour market in large numbers earlier in the Western world than in other parts of the world. Irrespective of this, work/family conflict is now a common phenomenon of modern life in many countries and cultural contexts (Aycan, 2011). However, the prevalence of perceptions about work/family conflict, its antecedents and consequences tend to vary across societies and cultures. According to Russell and Bowman (2000), "global organizations have realized that there is a need to understand variations in work/family issues from one country or region to another, and what the key drivers of these variations are" (p. 124). This claim by Russell and Bowman (2000) is critical in work/family research because one of the key factors related to a gender division of labour – gender ideology – "has been found to be affected by national context, cultural values, and economic variables" (Rajadhyaksha, 2017, p. 395).

One dominant factor that influences gender ideology in every society is culture, which is generally defined as the norms, assumptions, values and belief systems of a group or community

that differentiates it from another. These systems influence the members of the community to behave and act in ways that are considered acceptable by the other members in the group (Hofstede, 1980), indicating that individuals are products of their culture and their social groupings. With this explanation, it can be inferred that the elements of a particular culture that may impact on individuals in one culture, may not be the same in another culture (Smith, 2002; Hofstede, 1980). Therefore, it might not be a good idea to generalize the results of studies of work/family conflict in one country to other countries because it is argued that the experience of work/family conflict is culturally and historically specific and not universal (Smith, 2002).

One of the major studies on work/family conflict in relation to cultures was conducted by Spector et al. (2004). Among the 18 countries participating in the study, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Portugal reported the highest work-family conflict pressure; whereas Australia, United Kingdom and Ukraine reported the lowest. In another study comparing eight European countries Simon, Kummerling and Hassellhorn (2004), found work interfering with family to be higher than family interfering with work in all countries. However, the work interfering with family experienced by men was greater than that experienced by women in Italy, whereas the reverse was the case in The Netherlands. According to Hofstede (1980), Italy is considered as one of the highly masculine cultures and The Netherlands as a low masculine culture. What this means is men in Italy are pushed to undo the segregation of roles along gender lines and to hold the role of men and women equal both at work and at home: this may run counter to their values and beliefs. If this is the case, they will experience greater work/family conflict as compared to The Netherlands that has a culture that does not place much premium on gender differences. Again, a study by Yang et al. (2000) on United States and China reported that men experienced higher levels of work/family conflict than women did in China, whereas a gender difference did not exist in the US sample. The authors explained that the American cultural norms put family before work whereas the Chinese cultural norms put work before family and these cultural norms influences how the men in these countries negotiate the demands from these domains.

The cultural norms are built around gender division of labour in the home. Cultures with strong adherence to gender division of labour are generally categorised as 'traditional' whereas cultures with a liberal attitude on gender division of labour are seen as 'modern'. For example, in

traditional cultures, the norm is that women take up the role of home caretaker while the men take up the role of provider (Patel et al., 2006), although this norm has not disappeared from modern Western culture either. Women are expected to stay at home and manage all the home related tasks, while the men are expected to work and provide for the family in monetary terms. This traditional view of stay-at-home mothers appears to be in contrast with the modern view where most women equally commit their time and energy to paid work as do men.

Women from traditional cultures currently seem to be taking up a new role, as an employee, while at the same time being expected to maintain their traditionally assigned role of home caretaker. Luk and Shaffer (2005) state that research in Hong Kong (in which the culture is considered to be traditional) shows that, although there has been an increase in the number of married women in the work force, expected traditional roles have not shifted. Women are still expected to be the primary caregivers and to take care of the household. In order to gain a positive identity, these women may be forced to adhere to this role.

Within the work/family literature, there are two ways of comparing research on different cultures. One type collects data in a specific country to test or replicate existing Western models. Many studies have taken this approach, including the study of Aryee et al. (1999) testing the generalizability of the United States-based model in Hong Kong and the study by Noor (1999) examining the relationships between work family roles and women's well-being in Malaysia. The second type is comparative studies involving two or more countries. Examples of this type include the study by Yang et al. (2000) comparing work family conflict experience in United State and China, and the study by Spector et al. (2004) examining the relationship between work hours and work-family stressors among managers in the United Kingdom, China and Latin American countries.

Irrespective of these cultural differences in Western and non-Western societies, the findings from the studies from both sides show balancing work and family is a concern for workers in general although negotiations may differ across societies and cultures. The literature from Africa that employed similar methodological approach has similar findings to the literature from the West. For example, two quantitative studies from Nigeria that focused on the relationship between

organisational work/family culture and physical and psychological well-being among employees found that organisations with a family-friendly culture tend to enjoy lower level of work/family conflict (Epie, 2010). In addition to this, a comparative study by Mapedzahama (2014) focused on everyday challenges that working women from Australia and Zimbabwe faced in combining work and family demands. The study collected qualitative data on 30 women, 15 each from the study countries, who were working at least 20 hours a week. The results indicate that working women from these two countries experience “similar everyday work-family realities, even though they tend to employ different strategies in dealing with the conflict between work and family domains” (Mapedzahama, 2014, p. 51). Although the study failed to discuss the reasons for the variations in coping strategies among these countries, cultural differences on gender division of labour in these countries may account for such variations.

In the context of Ghana, three main studies by Annor (2016b, 2016a, 2014) have examined the concept of work/family conflict in various ways. One of these studies, Annor (2016a), used cross-sectional data to examine work-family support and subjective well-being among 217 university employees in Ghana. It was found that support from supervisors and family are sources of help for employees in combining work and family roles. This finding is consistent with the general findings in the literature about support generated from one domain being transferred to another domain (Nicklin & McNall, 2013; Carlson et al., 2006; Wayne et al., 2006). This means that workplace support and family support help employees to be relieved of the burden of meeting the demands from work and family. One important gap in Annor’s study from Ghana is its failure to account for gender differences in various forms of support from these two domains that men and women need in negotiating the demands from work and family.

In a related study, Annor (2016b) surveyed 154 university employees with the aim of finding out whether demands and support from work and family predict work/family conflict. The results bear resemblance to the general literature that demands from work and family predicted work/family conflict, although with some differences. From the study of Annor (2016b), it is worth noting that the pressure from the family is stronger in predicting work/family conflict than pressure from work. The author explained that “the cultural context may influence the way an individual attributes conflict to a particular domain” (p. 96). This cultural context works together

with the Ghanaian political economy, which is generally low paid with low levels of retirement benefits and weak institutional support for work and family (Annor, 2014). In order to meet individuals' financial commitments and to make provision for their future, individuals, especially men, tend to work more hours. On the part of women, Annor (2014) found that women showed greater involvement in domestic and caring activities than men. All these differences among men and women exist because of traditional gender ideology (Annor, 2014). This implies that, when traditional gender ideology is toned down, Ghanaian men and women may be able to share family responsibilities equally among themselves and spend relatively equal amount of hours doing both work and family related activities.

The complex nature of work and family domains and cultures in our societies require scholars to consider other factors that help us to understand dissimilarities in results among scholars. That is, conflict in these two domains is influenced by cultural, social and economic conditions of a particular country. This is why it is important to expand knowledge in this area to non-Western countries such as Ghana. Apart from the cultural factors discussed earlier, other factors that shape individuals experience of family domains include political economy and work-family policies of individual countries. This is important because political economies, labour markets, and laws are not the same across borders either. For example, in a study that compared work/life balance among Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Finland, Poland and United Kingdom, Poland had the most difficulty balancing work and family because Poland presents a lower level of flexible working hours than the other countries. Therefore, although it would be beneficial to understand how people from other cultures with their own beliefs and values react to the work/family conflict (Parasuraman & Greenhauss, 2002), there is also the need to discuss how these work in addition to the changing dynamics of the political economy and policies around family and work.

4.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter has reviewed the empirical literature in four areas – the general overview of work/family interface; the double life of working women; work/family balance as an emerging significant issue for fathers; and cultural influence on work/family conflict. The comprehensive literature review in these areas presented in this chapter shows that the phenomenon of work/family conflict is not only an issue for women, but also for men. The chapter demonstrates

the limitations of the research on work/family conflict in three areas. The first is that the only literature from Ghana on work/family conflict minimises gender influences. Because of this, there is no literature from Ghana addressing how gender relations affect work/family conflict. It is important to consider gender in any analysis of work/family conflict because this comprehensive and holistic approach is likely to provide more understanding in a wider sense about how men and women perceive their work and family lives. It will further help us to understand how men and women negotiate the tension between work and family as the literature continues to show mixed findings.

The second limitation of the literature is that work/family literature is shaped by Western literature because prior research has predominantly been conducted in Western countries, especially from North America, which are generally considered as 'modern' in nature. Thirdly, the literature is full of studies that have been aimed at identifying which types of variables are predictors, mediators, moderators, and consequences in an effort to more fully understand the nature and processes by which work and home domains interact (e.g., Aryee, Srinivas & Tan, 2005; Bellavia & Frone, 2005; Boyar et al., 2003; Brotheridge & Lee, 2005; Eby et al., 2005). These studies fail to give a voice to how individuals are shaped by the cultural expectations of being a man and woman in the society that shape an individual's gender identity and the meanings they give to work and family roles in their lives. Based on these limitations in the literature, it is important to fill the existing gaps by exploring qualitatively how gender influences the experiences of work/family conflict in a new context of a non-Western developing country, Ghana.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

5.1 Introduction

This thesis seeks to explore the struggles that non-Western women and men from the Ghanaian city of Kumasi have combining work and family roles. Due to the subjective nature of the construct of work/family conflict as has been argued in Chapter Four, I needed to rely heavily on a subjective approach to study the participants in this study. This chapter provides a detailed discussion of my methodological framework and the methods for data collection and analysis. My choice of qualitative methodology was determined by the research purposes, which focus on experiences of individuals' work/family conflict. The chapter specifically focuses on the phenomenological qualitative research, a detailed description of the participants in the study and the process of selection, data collection procedure, data management and data analysis. It concludes by discussing the trustworthiness of the data produced during the field work.

5.2 Phenomenological Qualitative Research

The overall methodology employed for this study is qualitative, which was used to explore how gender shapes the experience of work/family conflict in the everyday lives of Ghanaian bankers and teachers. The main objective of qualitative research lies in exploring the opinions, attitude, behaviour and experience of a person or sample of persons within a larger population. This made it possible for me, as a researcher, to understand the topic of interest from my participants' perspective (Merriam, 2002a). More importantly, the nature of the construct under study acknowledges the key dimension of subjective experience so talking to people matters in order to explain the meaning they give to their experience, which is intrinsic to the experience itself, including how they make sense of their lives and the events they have experienced (Casebeer & Verhoef, 1997; Patton, 1990). Gathering information about the context in which the phenomenon exists is an important focus of qualitative research (Gilgun, 2005). That is why I depended mainly on in-depth interviews in the form of conversation in order to probe deeply into the context of my participants' experience of the work/family conflict.

In contributing to the general description of qualitative studies, Lamnek (2005) summarizes the following characteristics as an attribute of qualitative research. Firstly, it is interpretative, that is,

social reality is constructed through interpretation and meaning, therefore it is not objective. Secondly, it is naturalistic in nature, in the sense that, as a researcher, I interpreted my participants' experiences of work/family conflict according to the meanings they gave to their experiences. This is the reason why Seidman (1991) opines that phenomenological interviewing assumes that people are naturally driven to make sense of their experiences and that their understanding is to be found in their stories or narratives of experience.

Thirdly, it is reflexive, that is, it involves the researchers' acknowledgement, be it thoughts, feelings and behaviours experienced throughout the research process. These are not necessarily understood by the researcher until after a specific action has taken place at which point the researcher has time to reflect on what these emotions, thoughts or behaviours mean, and needs to be self-reflective in different ways. To enhance this quality, I ensured that the research process was my focus of enquiry and so constantly kept asking questions about my role in this whole process. In addition, it is qualitative, that is, qualitative research is different from standardized quantitative approaches and so is inevitably non-positivist. There is no objective reality that can be discovered by researchers and replicated by others, in contrast to the assumptions of positivist science. That objectivity or objective reality cannot be found by a researcher and repeated by others is the epistemological approach that was used to address the research objectives.

From the analysis of existing literature in the field of work/family conflict, it is obvious that there is a strong need for an in-depth research approach to investigate the struggle that non-Western women and men from Ghana have with combining work and family roles. This is because most of the studies conducted in this area used a 'positivist' quantitative approach, which generally sets out to identify outcomes, establish facts, test theories and demonstrate relationships (Parahoo, 2006): this leaves some important questions unanswered. Partly to this is because of the complex nature of how gender plays out in our understanding of the institutions of work and family (Mills, 2015) as well as the diversity of sub-cultures and lifestyles in modern society, as well as organisational complexities. Therefore, research approaches and methods need to take into consideration cultural diversities in various societies (Flick, 2002); and that knowledge needs to be understood as something that is influenced by culture and is not permanent. This is why this research about the experience of tension between work and family

roles among Ghanaian men and women is bound up in the Ghanaian context and is shaped by the common gendered practices in Ghana around gender division of labour. Qualitative research has the techniques to investigate complex phenomena on a different level than quantitative research (Gordon et al., 2005) and uses smaller sample sizes that can provide important new and unanticipated information that might not be provided when dealing with a larger group (Bryman, 2012).

As has been stated previously, this research aims to develop an understanding of the tension between work and family domains in the lives of men and women from Ghana. I employed qualitative research to describe and understand participants' experiences along with attitudes, opinions and their descriptions of the phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Understanding how gender shapes men's and women's experiences of work/family conflict requires just such a flexible strategy. According to Parahoo (2006), qualitative research strategies provide understanding of participants 'perceptions and actions'. As such, a qualitative strategy is best suited for this research as it seeks to explore how gender shapes the experiences of work/family conflict in the lives of Ghanaian employees. Using qualitative research strategies allowed me to better understand the role gender and culture played in influencing how my participants experience and negotiate the tension between work and family.

In order for me to be able to give meaning to participants' experiences of work/family conflict, I selected phenomenology as a method that allows inquiry into peoples' experiences and the way they interpret those experiences. By so doing, participants in this study were able to describe what, for them, may well be a meaningful experience in terms of the concept of work/family conflict that is predominantly described in subjective terms by men and women. Phenomenology thus permits a phenomenon that is frequently undisclosed and that maintains a hidden quality for the participants themselves, to be clarified and to establish a validity for personal experience. Phenomenology has particular strengths in this context, related to how it can alert one to existing understandings and sharpen one's reflective lens (Thompson, 2008).

Pursuing phenomenological studies for this research enriched the current study in the following ways. Firstly, it helped my participants to talk about their experience of work/family conflict to

me as a researcher and were able to provide a comprehensive description of their experience of the phenomenon. By examining the interviews of employees, I could closely examine the employees' experience of work/family conflict and further explore how participants negotiated the tension between work and family life. Secondly, since description and interpretation directed the research questions of this study (Person, 2003), a phenomenological approach was deemed relevant. It is a highly appropriate approach to researching human experience (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000). It tries to uncover concealed meaning in the phenomenon embedded in the words of the participants (Sorrell & Redmond, 1995).

5.3 Research Methods

In choosing the most appropriate research methods, Lankshear and Knobel (2004) recommend that issues related to data collection be taken into consideration. First, the authors highlighted the importance of using the research questions to guide researchers with the type and amount of data that need to be collected that will fit the purpose of the research. Consequently, I constantly referred to the research questions in deciding on the types of data to be collected as the research questions sought to find out the experiences and negotiations about work/family conflict. There are different types of data available to a qualitative-based research, but the most commonly employed is interviews. For this reason, I chose to utilise one-to-one interviews as the most fitting research method to gather information for this thesis. Detailed justification for choosing each of these methods is provided in this section of this chapter by presenting an overview of the research phases including accessing research settings and participants, ensuring rigour, data collection, data analysis and data management. The section concludes with a discussion of the processes used to ensure the quality and rigour of the methods.

5.3.1 Participants in the Study and the Process of Selection

In a phenomenological study two principal criteria exist for eligibility: to have experienced the phenomenon, and willingness to talk about that experience to the researcher (Thomas & Pollio, 2002). In that sense, these two criteria make phenomenological studies purposeful (Morse, 1994). Participant selection was based on the study's need to ensure authentic, useful and rich data that represent the phenomenon. The criteria for inclusion were: that the participant at the time of the interview was employed full-time and was living together with a spouse or partner

who was also employed full-time and had children. This criterion ensured that all participants were from dual-income families and were employed full-time. Each participant's youngest child needed to be 12 years old or younger; the rationale being that, in Ghana, the average age for children to enter junior high school is 12 years and at this age they are able to live a largely independent life. That is, being able to do morning care by themselves and are able to walk or catch the school bus without any assistance. This lessens the burden of parents in caring for them. It was as a result of these criteria that I chose the purposive sampling approach for this study.

The labour market sectors for the study were the banking sector and the teaching sector. These two institutions belong to the private and public sectors of the economy respectively. The popular notion within these two categories in Ghana is that the public sector is relaxed and there is no strict supervision as compared to the private sector. Related to this notion is the general perception that banking is demanding, while the opposite is the case for the teaching profession, and so bankers do not have any flexible working hours. In addition, these two institutions have significant numbers of eligible participants in that there was a sufficient concentration of women working there for study purposes because banking and teaching jobs are generally considered safe and respectable for women, a notion that has led to feminisation of these professions.

Apart from purposively choosing these participants for this study, the next important issue was the sample size that was chosen. In choosing the sample size, I was guided by two viewpoints. I first took into consideration the 'richness' of data I collected (Annells & Whitehead, 2007). To do this, I was guided by the breadth and depth of narrative data I gathered from participants, rather than the number of participants (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I continued doing sampling for a period of two months with the intension of getting the data for this research rather than intending to attain a particular sample size and so continued with the sampling until the point when I realised no new information was provided by the participants. This means that I would not have arrived at the size of the sample before conducting the research. This made the number of participants for this study determined only at the point where no new or relevant data were emerging (Liamputtong, 2009). That is, sampling continued until data saturation was achieved,

which is considered as the golden principle in qualitative research (Morse, 2010), and is where no new information can be obtained and redundancy is achieved (Polit & Beck, 2008).

After approval from University of Auckland Ethics Committee, I travelled to Ghana to commence the fieldwork. While in Ghana, I approached 14 banks in Kumasi to establish initial contact and to explain and make the research intentions known to the branch managers. Eleven of these managers agreed to allow me entrance to distribute my flyers to the staff. The other three bank managers were of the view that their staff were always busy and so it was going to be hard for them to get time to respond to the study. I asked the branch managers who gave their consent to post a flyer in their banking halls describing the study. A follow-up was done on subsequent days to get the names and contacts of those who had expressed interest in the study. I followed it up with an in-person visit to those who expressed interest. This face-to-face contact provided me an opportunity to adequately describe the study and lay the groundwork for successful participant involvement (Seidman, 2006). This process was repeated until I exhausted the kind of information I was looking for and so further sampling would not have added any new information to my data.

In a similar way, twelve schools comprising of seven basic schools (primary and junior high schools) and five senior high schools were contacted. The heads of these schools all gave their consent to the study and gave me the right to talk to teachers in the staff common rooms and to post a flyer on their notice board in the staff room. I was able to meet and interact with most of the teachers who took part in the study the first day of my visit to the schools. Because of these interactions, I was able to explain the study to them. Out of the fifteen teachers who took part in the study, only two of them contacted me on phone to express their interest in the study. With these two people, phone conversations were held to describe the study after which initial arrangements were made to meet them personally.

After initial contact with each participant (both bankers and teachers), a formal invitation explaining the research was sent to those participants who had expressed interest in participating. It was explicit in all written and verbal communication that this was a voluntary experience. Upon agreement, a date and time were arranged for the interview. Apart from five (2 teachers

and 3 bankers) who arranged to have the interviews conducted at their workplace, all the rest took place outside of the work environment in a quiet, mutually agreed upon, private setting such as their homes, cafeteria and restaurants. There were 15 each from banking and teaching. This comprised fifteen males and fifteen females. I interviewed an equal number of men and women in order to generate comparative data by way of sex, with a difference of one between the two sectors of study (banking and teaching).

In all, the sample for this study consisted of 15 married men and 15 married women from intact families. Five of the teachers were from the basic schools and 11 from high schools. However, in Ghana the working conditions for basic schools and high schools are sufficiently similar not to warrant further considerations. The ages of all the participants ranged from 31 to 52-years old. The participants had children with an age range of six-months to 24 years. There were two participants that had not listed the ages of their children although some of their children were 12 years or younger, which was part of my criteria for this study as previously stated. Appendix I provides important demographic descriptions of the participants in order to understand the sample on which the study is based.

5.3.2 Data Collection Procedure

Choosing data collection strategies involved a process of deciding between available alternatives for collection and validation of data. In this research, I relied on interviews as a basic method of collecting data or coming to know my participants' experiences that illuminated the exploration of gender differences and similarities of work/family conflict. This is because, as a researcher, I wished to use the phenomenological approach to analyse in detail how participants (men and women) perceived and make sense of things that are happening to them. It therefore required a flexible data collection instrument (Smith & Osborn, 2003), which this instrument is known to be.

I used the semi-structured interview as a tool for dialogue between my participants and myself. This ensured in-depth interactions that afforded me a view into the world of my participants. I used interviews to further explore the struggles that non-Western women and men from Ghana have with combining work and family roles. According to Rossman and Rallis (2003), interview

as a method for qualitative studies is “the hallmark of qualitative research” (p. 180). It is a method through which one gains understanding of the participant’s world through experiencing their speech and response. As such, it provides a means of ‘seeing’ and ‘experiencing’ the participants’ experiences, and as Patton (1990) argues “its fundamental principle is to provide a framework in which participants can express their own understanding in their own terms” (p. 205). Within my research, this notion of expressing understanding in one’s own terms was critical in understanding the experiences of my participants because of the phenomenological nature of the study.

There are various advantages that motivated me to adopt the interview as the data collection instrument. In the first place, interviewing participants gave me the option to listen to and understand my participants’ experiences (Seidman, 1991; Kvale, 1983) as these participants are driven to not only talk about these experiences, but also to understand these experiences as they are told in their stories and narratives (Seidman, 1991). The in-depth interviews in this study allowed me to focus on my participants’ experiences and provided me an opportunity for detailed exploration of how gender shapes work and family roles in their lives.

Notwithstanding these advantages, there were a few limitations I encountered in using this data collection instrument. For example, during some interviews, I realised my participants brought their own unique style and background to the conversation, so the entire process was subject to my particular investigative lens (Macklin & Higgs, 2010). The men differed in their approach and attitude to some of the issues that were discussed during the interview. For example, during the interview, the men were asked about specific activities in the house they involved themselves and their readiness to get more involved with domestic unpaid work, some of the men had little to say. This made me keep reminding them to think retrospectively. Another limitation of conducting interviews is that interviews may not reveal tacit knowledge. This was important because, as this is a phenomenological study, these participants needed to be open in their narrations in order to be able to know the meanings they give to their stories. To overcome this, I used skilled prompting and probing to help bring taken-for-granted, hidden elements of experience to the surface (Legard et al., 2003). Some examples of probing questions I used were

“can you clarify this statement you made for me”, and “how do you reconcile what you just said with your earlier statement about...”

With permission from the participants, all the interviews were voice recorded and fully transcribed verbatim by myself. During the transcription, each tape was listened to and transcribed simultaneously. The transcription gave me the opportunity to note down the key ideas that ran through each interview. This procedure was important for the subsequent detailed analysis and ensured that participants’ responses were captured in their own words. The audio recorder and subsequent transcripts were kept in a locked area at the investigator’s residence. The audiotapes were destroyed upon completion of content analysis. Field notes were also used during the interviews as a means of recording the investigator’s observations and main content ideas without distracting from the interview itself.

Copies of the transcribed interview were sent via postage to each of the participants who requested same to offer them the opportunity to clarify or add information and to confirm the data (Creswell, 2007). My participant consent form asked whether the participants wished to receive the transcript of their interview. If so, they had one month to edit. For example, to edit, they could delete statements they were not satisfied with before returning it to me. Only six out of the thirty participants requested their transcripts and out of the six, only two of them returned an edited version. Most of their edits were minor ones, with one woman who added additional thoughts to the content of their interview answers. Contributing to the need of allowing participants to review the transcripts of their interview, van Manen (1990) argues that it is imperative to the depth and quality of the interviews to allow participants to reflect and expand on what they have already contributed.

5.3.3 Data Analysis Procedure

In general terms, there are three main steps for analysis of data as described by Speziale and Carpenter (2007). The first entails reading of the text as whole and formulating thoughts about its meaning for further analysis. The second step is structural analysis where various themes identified from the initial reading of the data are compared and contrasted in order to identify patterns that can be meaningfully connected; this is referred to as interpretative reading. The

third step is the interpretation of the whole and involves reflecting on both the initial reading as well as the interpretative reading to ensure a complete and comprehensive understanding of the findings. When applying an interpretative phenomenological approach to research it is important that careful examination of the researcher's role is required as well as the data analysis and any ethical issues identified that may be connected with this type of methodology. I manually prepared my own database by creating files under the various themes on my desktop to assist with categorising, sorting, organising, storing, tabulating, recombining and retrieving data for analysis. All the raw data was analysed, compared and interpreted against the background of the research problem.

More specifically, I undertook a thematic analysis in the first instance followed by a constant comparative method for the overall data analysis (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) based on four coherent data sets (from men, women, bankers and teachers) within this study. Thematic analysis is a qualitative tool that allows for different epistemological positions to be considered. I used it in this study as it is flexible in allowing for themes to be analysed within this study. My ability to observe emerging themes and interpret the themes in order to make sense of them was important as the content of this study has scarcely been researched in Ghana (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as a method for “identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns or themes within the data” (p. 79).

The process of thematic analysis facilitates the identification, organisation, analysis, and reporting of themes within the data (Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic analysis is widely employed in qualitative methodological paradigms (Braun & Clarke, 2006) because it allows researchers to usefully summarize key features of a large body of data and offer rich descriptions of a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Bryman & Burgess, 1994). It differs from other forms of analysis that search for patterns in data, in that it is not theory bound; thus it is flexible within different theoretical frameworks achieving different research goals. Other strengths of thematic analysis include its ability to highlight similarities and differences across data sets, to allow for clear presentation of results; its easy interpretation by most readers; its use for social as well as

psychological interpretations of data; its usefulness in informing policy development; and the possibility of generating unanticipated insights (Bryman & Burgess, 1994).

A thematic analytical approach may be inductive, whereby analysis (coding and themes) are concluded from the data itself (i.e., interview content) or deductive (theoretical), whereby analysis is guided by previous research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Inductive thematic analysis is typically used when investigating newer, less researched areas, whereas deductive thematic analysis is often employed to investigate research areas that have received some attention with research interest guided by previous findings, and analysis guided by previous research designs. Deductive thematic analysis is commonly used when a researcher is interested in providing less rich, but more detailed analysis of a particular aspect of the data or in examining a specific research question as opposed to conducting an exploratory investigation. I used a data-driven inductive approach (Boyatzis, 1999), which allowed me to develop my themes from my transcripts because of the phenomenological nature of this thesis. Although this was my approach to the study, Braun and Clark (2006) warn that, as a researcher, my coding cannot be void of my theoretical and epistemological commitments.

Overall, my analysis of the interview data followed the standards of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006). This process is divided into the following steps. The first step involved the familiarization of the researcher with the data. Under this phase, I did the transcription of the interviews, reading and re-reading the data, and by writing down an informal list of initial ideas. The second step involved the generation of initial codes for each research question. In this first coding phase, I printed versions of the transcripts to manually identify themes and collect initial ideas for the interpretation. The third step involved combining codes into potential themes and gathering all the data relevant to a specific theme. Here, I considered broad themes to every part of each transcript and assigned codes, and noted further comments and ideas for the preceding analysis. Fourth, I reviewed the themes created in order to check if the themes worked in relation to the coded extracts and to the entire data set.

In the next stage, before the final report itself, each theme was given an appropriate name and was listed together with its subthemes. Each main theme was described in brief detail before the

subthemes were presented with illustrative quotes from the thirty participants. Then I assigned final themes and subthemes and structured them in a coherent and clear way. I then subjected each subtheme for analysis and personal interpretation. The final stage involved identification, selection, and review of extracts representing themes, relating findings back to the research question, and comparing findings with previous literature in the area. I have presented selected findings at two international conferences, and one local conference and publication of further materials is anticipated.

The next analytical method, which was employed as a result of the comparative nature of the study between men and women, was the constant comparative analysis. According to Maykut and Morehouse (1994), the constant comparative method is an “inductive category coding with simultaneous comparison of all units of meaning obtained” (p. 134). This approach assists in identifying codes and patterns in the data and then in categorizing the findings (Anfara et al., 2002). The constant comparative method enables the researcher to determine similarities and differences through each new unit of analysis from which categories can be created.

It is defined as:

The method of comparing and contrasting that is used for practically all intellectual tasks during analysis: forming categories, establishing the boundaries of categories, assigning the segments to categories, summarizing the content of each category, finding evidence. The goal is to discern conceptual similarities, to refine the discriminative power of categories, and to discover patterns (Tesch, 2013, p. 96).

Using this method, I constantly compared and contrasted the data and results of men and women, and bankers and teachers. In doing so, I passed through three stages. In the first place, I compared and contrasted the whole data for the purpose of identifying similarities and differences in the data. The second stage was a comparison between participants’ texts in the same group. Here, within group comparison was carried out. That is, the men’s data set was compared constantly within that group and women’s data set was compared and contrasted

within that group. In the same way, the data sets of bankers and teachers were constantly compared and contrasted. The last stage during this phase was comparison of participants' text across different groups, that is, constantly comparing and contrasting data sets of men and women, and teachers and bankers. This analytical process was followed in line with Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Corbin and Strauss (2008) for open, line-by-line coding of the textual data, whereby the initial concepts and properties were developed from the data.

The final stage of my analysis was to develop a summary of the main findings that emerged from the data that accurately captured the essence of the experience under study. The purpose for this was to enable me to write the full thesis, which is reflected in the ensuing chapters. These processes helped me in describing the meaning of the experiences of the participants. This can only be achieved when assumptions of the researcher are removed or bracketed in order to arrive at themes through an open mind concentrated on the lived experience of the participants.

5.3.4 Evaluating Qualitative Research

To ensure reliability in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness as a way of evaluating my thesis is crucial. Seale (1999), while establishing good quality studies through reliability and validity in qualitative research, states that the “trustworthiness of a research report lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability” (p. 266). When judging qualitative work, Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest that the standards of “good science ... require redefinition in order to fit the realities of qualitative research” (p.552). Earlier works by Lincoln and Guba (1985) mentioned four methods of ensuring trustworthiness of qualitative research, which are credibility, confirmability, dependability and transferability. These four standards of evaluating qualitative research have been confirmed in a recent writing by Wu et al. (2016) who argued that these standards help to strengthen the trustworthiness of qualitative research. It was upon this basis that these four standards were adopted for this thesis.

Credibility refers to confidence in the truth of the data and the interpretation of data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and is increased by continuous reflection and validation of the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon, and by trying to make sense of, rather than explain, ‘what participants see and how participants see’. The continuous reflection and understanding of the

phenomenon were done by a comprehensive survey of the relevant literature. In addition to this, participants for this study were recruited according to specific criteria together with adequate time spent in the fieldwork to generate detailed and abundant data. Also, the interview guide was subjected to rigorous review by my supervisors who are experts in the field to ensure content validity. It was piloted using four people who matched the purposive criteria, which led to modification of the interview guide before the actual fieldwork.

My position as an insider adds to the validity of the data set and the interpretation of it. As an insider, I share two characteristics with participants that enabled me to provide credible interpretation of my data. The first characteristic is that I come from the same region as my participants and was born and raised in the same city in which I undertook this study. I have worked as a professional teacher throughout my life in the same city and speak the same native language as my participants. I am therefore aware of the cultural sensitivities of participants. Sharing the same cultural and similar cultural background, I considered myself a research cohort insider. Secondly, I share the same criteria with my participants. That is, prior to my travel to New Zealand for my PhD studies, I was staying with my wife and both of us were working full-time: our two children are under the age of 12. These factors make me knowledgeable in the culture I studied allowing me to understand the context in which my participants narrate their experience of work/family conflict.

The next method that I took into consideration in ensuring trustworthiness in the study was confirmability. It is making sure the data represents the information that the participants provided. It relates to the ability of someone to confirm the information collected and confirm that the findings are accurate (Bryman, 2008; Schwandt, Lincoln & Guba, 2007; Erlandson et al., 1993). In ensuring confirmability in this study, I sent back copies of the transcript to my participants in order for them to clarify or add information to the data as explained in details earlier in this thesis. Related to confirmability is dependability. Erlandson et al. (1993) argued that one cannot have confirmability without dependability of the findings. Dependability refers to “evidence that if it [the study] were replicated with the same or similar respondents (subjects) in the same (or similar) context, its findings would be repeated” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290; see also Schwandt, Lincoln & Guba, 2007). This shows accurateness and consistency of the

study results and this was ensured in this thesis by asking the same questions to each participant and planning for the same length of interview time for each participant. Sometimes, questions were rephrased to ensure greater understanding for participants. Furthermore, five interviews did not meet the planned one hour duration. Two interviews were slightly shorter and the other three were slightly longer in duration, probably due to the participant's interest in the topic.

The last method in ensuring trustworthiness of qualitative research, as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), is transferability. This explains how the results of one study can be applied to other context or setting. To ensure this, I presented the research findings using direct quotations from my participants together with explanations and a description of the research context that was developed through using rich, contextual descriptions, data collection and data gathering processes.

5.4 Ethical Considerations

Appropriate procedures for obtaining informed consent and permissions are critical for the ethical conduct of the researcher (Rossman & Rallis, 2003); and in addition are required by the University of Auckland Internal Ethics Committee Procedures. According to Rossman and Rallis (2003), all ethical issues should rest on four principles: transparency of the purpose of the research to the audience and the research community; full understanding of the participant's agreement to participate; willing consent; and right to withdraw without penalty or consequence. All of the forms and questions that were developed within the study were written with these principles in mind; and the project and the forms were reviewed and approved by the researcher's supervisors and the University of Auckland Ethics Committee.

The participants for the study were all volunteers who were not intimate partners and were given clear information about the study, together with a consent form prior to taking part. Participants were reminded that their anonymity would be protected and that they could withdraw from the study at any time with no adverse consequences for themselves. They were advised that they need not answer any question with which they felt uncomfortable. They could give as much or as little information about themselves as they wished but were advised to maintain the anonymity by not using their names. All of this was designed to help them feel relaxed about their

participation. Once they had agreed to take part the participants were asked to sign a consent form to be given to the researcher at the interview.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how the research study design was created and carried out. That is, the chapter has presented the actual research process in this study. The phenomenological approach to data analysis was used to identify emerging themes that could be used to address the research questions that guided the study. Analysis of the research data included thematic analysis and constant comparative analysis. These two analytical methods were used to complement each other in this thesis. Trustworthiness of data analysis was assured through the integration of methods to ensure the credibility, confirmability, dependability and transferability of this study. That is, the final part discussed how authenticity was developed and maintained during the research together with ethical considerations. The next chapter explores the findings from the data that were obtained from the study. Overall, this section provides detailed information about how the study was designed, carried out, and how data were collected and analysed.

CHAPTER SIX

DOING GENDER THROUGH DOMESTIC AND CARING ACTIVITIES

6.1 Introduction

“Obaatan na onim dee ne ba bedie”.

To my wife: ‘It is the mother who knows what her child will eat. A good wife is the one who makes sure the husband never sleeps hungry’. ‘A good wife should always be submissive to the husband’. ‘A good wife should make sure the house is clean and tidy every morning before she gets out for work’.

To me: ‘Make sure there is always money on the table to feed the family every day’. ‘Protect your wife and discipline your future children’.

(Advice given by the elders of our family to my wife and me during our traditional marriage ceremony in Ghana)

Chapter Three of the thesis discussed how work and family are seen as gendered spheres of activity in the Ghanaian society despite the massive entry of women into the paid workforce. It further discussed how men and women, through a gendered division of labour, work to fulfil their respective primary devotions to work and family. This influences how gender is produced through every day paid labour and domestic and caring activities, and makes men and women do gender as they carry out gender-differentiated housework and childcare (Martin, 2003; Fenstermaker, 2002; Berk, 1985). The chapter seeks to explore how my participants’ respective devotions are demonstrated by the way they do gender through the division of housework and caring activities in the political economy of Ghana. I argue in this chapter that women’s entrance into paid work and gradual involvement of some men in unpaid work show women’s and men’s individual gender ideologies are gradually changing but their respective devotions to unpaid and paid work remain the same. Women’s primary devotion to unpaid work together with their secondary devotion to paid work makes women in this study do a double shift and so would like the traditional and transitional men to contribute more to the day to day work of running the house and looking after their children. This causes them to experience marital conflict with the

men. Consequently, this chapter explores men's and women's ideas and actions on domestic and caring activities and how this influences their involvement in these activities at home.

Within this context, differences and similarities among women's and men's ideas and actions on domestic and caring activities are of significant importance in this thesis in understanding how gender division of labour produces gendered experiences, gendered responses and gendered negotiations over work/family conflict in Ghana. This will further show how these women and men negotiate the tension between work and family in their lives to confirm their perception and involvement. This is consistent with Hochschild's (1989) finding that strategies for dealing with work and family tension are gendered and that couples' gendered strategies are informed by their individual gender ideologies. Therefore this chapter focuses on how women and men in Ghana 'do' and 'undo' gender differently in domestic and caring activities and further discusses the changes that are happening around men's involvement in unpaid work.

The chapter first discusses men's changing gender roles in Ghana, which reflects the changing roles of men globally (Kaufman, 2013). This helps to understand the ideas men in this study have about domestic and caring activities and how this influences their actual involvement in these activities. For a similar reason, I then present women's changing gender roles. In doing so, I emphasize the importance of differences among women and men and further explore the actual changes among these participants. Since women are forced into paid work as a result of political and economic conditions in Ghana, they carry the 'double burden of paid and unpaid work and so largely expect men's assistance with their traditionally assigned unpaid work. As a result of this, some women in this study contest men's failure to get involved with unpaid work. I was interested in exploring the ideas and actions on domestic and caring work because they serve as a background to the different accounts of work/family conflict provided by men and women.

6.2 Men's Changing Gender Roles

Chapter Four demonstrated a variety of terms that have emerged in the literature to describe the extent men are involved with domestic unpaid work (Kaufman & White, 2016; Kaufman, 2013; Ranson, 2010; Holter, 2007; Gerson, 1993). What these studies from the global North demonstrate is that there has been a shift from 'provider' role to one more involved in housework

and care work for at least some men. As with Kaufman (2013), most of the research that studied men's involvement in unpaid work only focused on childcare or caring activities. These studies did not consider other equally important aspect of unpaid work which involves domestic activities, for example, cooking, washing and cleaning. This is because domestic activities expand with children as the presence of children brings more washing, cooking, cleaning and shopping; and so the need for men's involvement in domestic labour (Craig, 2007). That is, caring activities only become obvious with the presence of a child or an ill person or older person requiring caring labour in the family in addition to cognitive care (thinking about another person's needs) and emotional care (attending to another person's emotional wellbeing), which occur between couples. Failure to consider domestic activities in such studies will render the findings of the research inadequate. It is as a result of these that this chapter explores men's involvement in Ghana by taking into consideration both domestic and caring activities.

In doing this, I first explored what the ideas of the men in this study were regarding the gender division of work in the family. Then I proceeded to ask them to report on the kinds of activities they involved themselves in, in their respective homes. I did this because there should be a match empirically between what people say and what people do in their lives. In doing so, I was able to find out whether men in my study actually put into practice the perceptions they have on domestic unpaid work. Furthermore, to find out whether their actions confirm or run contrary to their perceptions on gendered work in the family as I observed how consistent they were on the perceptions they hold and talking about what they do in the house. It is important in this study to consider the type of ideology men have on who does what at home and what they said they actually do. This is because the traditional gender ideology embedded in the traditional gender division of labour across Ghana is so strong that it influences men's performance of unpaid domestic and caring activities in Ghanaian homes. This was observed during the interview process as my participants kept making reference to the culture in their narratives with a statement like "our culture..." the culture is..."

From my data from Ghana, I encountered three types of men. This typology is based on ideas men in this study have on gender division of labour in the family and the extent of their

involvement in housework and child care. Table 2 gives a summary of these types of men together with a brief description of them.

Table 2: Types of Men

Type of Men	Participants	Brief Description
Traditional Men	MB: Male Bankers; MT: Male Teachers MB4, MB10, MT3, MT15, MT17, MT24, MT25	Adherence to traditional gendered roles; no involvement in domestic or care work.
Transitional Men	MB8, MB18, MT7, MT19, MT23	Awareness of the need to change; selectively undertake activities they do at home.
Modern Men	MB13, MB21, MT14	Men who challenge norms on gender division of labour and take an active role in unpaid work.

Source: Field work

6.2.1 Traditional Men

Among the 15 males I interviewed, the first group of men identified in the data is what I refer to as “traditional men”. From Table 2, it appears male teachers in my study offer more ‘traditional’ gendered ideas on the gender division of labour in the family than the male bankers. Teachers tend to be more traditional towards common gendered practices in Ghana because teachers are supposed to play an important role in preserving traditional cultures in the country and this can shape their ideas and actions on various aspects of the culture. This is confirmed in a study by Oduro and MacBeath (2003) who found that the traditional gender ideology of male teachers in Ghana saw them resent the authority of the heads who were women. The authors described in their study an instance where one of the female heads was reminded during a staff meeting of her female, subordinate status when being yelled at to drop her views and accept the decisions of male teachers who were her subordinate. This finding demonstrates the extent to which some Ghanaian male teachers can be traditional in their views and actions on gender division of labour

in Ghanaian society. Although male teachers were the majority in this category, some male bankers also demonstrated this traditional gender ideology.

Regardless of the number of male teacher and bankers who fell into this classification, the traditional men found in my study are men who adhere strictly to traditional gendered roles in the family, are not involved with unpaid work, strongly hold to traditional gender ideology, and are more largely devoted to paid work. As a result these men fail to get themselves involved in domestic and caring activities and compensate for their lack of involvement in housework and child care by being moral husbands/fathers in a more traditional manner. Under this section, I first discuss what the traditional men reported their role to be in the family, followed by how these men reported on women's role and the final part then discusses how these men resist demands for change from their wives.

6.2.1.1 Keeping to the Tradition

The cultural expectation in Ghanaian society is that women perform childcare and housework duties while men carry out breadwinning work outside the domestic sphere, even in this 21st century. As has been discussed in Chapter One, the increasing change brought about by the current political economy of Ghana and the pressure mounted by some Ghanaian feminist scholars and activists, for example, Prah (2003), have seen changes taken place within the structure of the Ghanaian family. The change in the structure of the household in the modern Ghana has brought with it some change in the pattern of dividing the work and sharing responsibilities. However, these changes appear not to be reflected in the lives of these "traditional" men, who still hold onto the breadwinner/homemaker relationship despite their wives being fully engaged in paid work as demonstrated by how these men report on the kind of activities they get involved in the family.

In all, seven of the men I interviewed saw their primary role in the family as that of "provider". In essence, they are to work hard and make sure they put money on the table for the upkeep of the family, and they rely heavily on common gendered practices in Ghana around gender division of labour to justify their position. For instance, MT24traditional commented that culturally, men are not supposed to do things like bathing children, cleaning the house and

washing. As a result, he wakes up and just gets ready for work, leaving home around 5:30 am. He adds:

From my practical experience, my responsibility is basically providing for the house. This includes food, accommodation, health and their welfare. Aside from these, the father has to be a disciplinarian. This is because for most women, when a child does something in the absence of the father, the mother will wait till the father comes back before the mother tells him with the intention of getting the child disciplined by the father (MT24traditional).

In Ghanaian society, apart from men's provider role, discipline of children is considered to be part of their caring roles as fathers. Such is the cultural expectations placed on fathers by society and further demonstrates how fathers' involvement in the upkeep of children are not performed on a daily basis as men are often called upon to exercise such a function only when children are assumed to be going 'wayward'. Similar views were shared by other 'traditional' men in this study and, in principle, this is what they do; they leave the rest of the responsibilities like washing children's dirty clothes and feeding young children in the hands of their wives.

In our culture, I am to look after my wife and the children in the marriage. I am to provide basic needs in life for the family and to make sure the kids are educated. I am also to provide for accommodation and make sure food is always on the table for the family and that is what I do (MT15traditional).

In most statements from these 'traditional' men, it is clear that their individual gender ideology is traditional and is predominantly derived from the dominant traditional gender ideology in Ghana. The arguments about what they said they do in their respective homes largely confirm their individual traditional ideology as can be seen from MT15traditional's "... and that is what I do". This gender pattern expressed by these men has been described in the literature as "doing traditional gender" (Grunow et al., 2007, p. 3) where domestic and caring activities are

traditionally considered female tasks (Grunow, Schulz & Blossfeld, 2012). As can clearly be seen from the discussion so far, gendered ideology on housework practices in Ghana, according to the views of “traditional” men, are held onto because of strong adherence to the dictates of common gendered Ghanaian practices that apportion the provider role to men and this is used to justify their non-involvement in domestic and caring activities in their families. It is therefore argued that there is a need to focus particularly on these traditional ways of doing gender, especially on the part of men, as these “traditional” men assign feminised tasks to wives and masculinised tasks to husbands.

6.2.1.2 “Women as Chief Executive Officers (CEO) of the House”

In reporting on women’s role in the family, MB4traditional sees women, including his wife, as the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the house. He is a 31-year-old man who has been married for two years. He and the wife have a one-year-old child. His wife is a full-time nurse by profession and he is a banker. Unlike some other men in my study, his wife has never pushed him to do anything at home. He holds a strong belief in gendered practices in Ghana, to the extent that any time he makes reference to gendered work in the Ghanaian society, he starts by making reference to its culture. “From our culture, my responsibility as a husband is to be the head of my family”, “in my culture, wives mostly have more time than we the men and so in most cases socialize kids on basic training in life” (MB4traditional). His ideas are strongly influenced by cultural expectations and gender role ideology. MB4traditional is holding onto his privilege position embedded in the gender division of labour in the family by avoiding getting involved with domestic responsibilities.

The assumption by MB4traditional that women have more time to do housework and care work in the family demonstrates how gender division of labour produces gender power relations by allowing men to exercise various forms of power over women and exercise agency in ways that women cannot. According to MB4traditional, mothers have greater responsibility in the upbringing of the children than do fathers. This man, like most men in the study, is aware of the practices of nurturing, of women socializing children in the family, and so expects his wife to live up to that expectation. This clearly demonstrates why women are mostly held accountable for the future failure of their children; as this Ghanaian proverb affirms: “wone adagye a yenye

ba yie”, which means that if you don’t have time you cannot socialize your child to be responsible in life, which is often told to mothers when they appear to be preoccupied with paid work at the expense of caring for their children.

It is on the basis of this strong belief in gender ideology that makes MB4traditioanl see a clear distinction between what is expected of a man and what is expected of a woman. This makes him see his wife as the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of his house. According to him, “most of the time I say my wife is like the CEO of the house. Her focus is on the management of the house. Anything about the management of the house is the responsibility of my wife”. In his view, management of the house includes but is not limited to cooking, washing, cleaning, caring for the children and supporting the husband in times of difficulty. Such a reflection by MB4traditioanl means for him any role associated with maintenance of the house should be left for his wife. This makes MB4traditioanl fail to take into account the equal role the wife is playing in the public sphere as a full-time nurse as this appears to be of no concern to him.

MB4traditioanl’s adherence to the traditional gender ideology is further confirmed by how he wants to avoid the shame generally associated with seeing a man in Ghana performing house duties. For MB4traditioanl, a visit by his mother to see him, as a man, doing most of the house-chores can lead to marital problems.

if my mother comes to visit to see today I am washing, the next day she comes I am cooking, another time I am sweeping, the conclusion she will draw will be that my wife is using some juju or voodoo on me. My wife is using some magical powers on me to get me to do what I am doing (MB4traditioanl).

With such statements, MB4traditioanl articulated how his individual traditional gender ideology on gender division of work in the family is shaped by members of his immediate family and this influences his non-performance of housework and care work. This confirms how he ‘does’ gender in order to avoid being subject to ridicule by society as a result of the rigid cultural expectations of being a husband/father in Ghana, demonstrating how MB4traditioanl sees

himself accountable to the gendered norms in Ghana. This clearly shows that MB4traditional is not ready to defy the expectations of his immediate members of the family and, to a large extent, society as a whole. He therefore locates his acceptance of these expectations externally and in so doing he protects himself from the moral judgements of the common cultural practices across Ghana about being a man.

When asked further to talk about specific activities he does in the house, MB4traditional responded that he normally did not have time because of work, as he leaves early and comes back very late. He believes he is always busy with work and that his wife has more time to herself and the family. This confirms why he said women tend to have more time than men and so the training of the children has been entrusted in their hands.

Because of the nature of my work, I don't have any specific things I do in the house. But I provide all the financial needs of the family and also during weekends if I don't go to work, I play with the little girl. I most of the time leave home early and get back very late (MB4traditional).

This participant has developed a moral identity of a 'good man' through the provider role hence his claim of providing the financial needs of the family. In addition, he privileges his work over his wife's work, something that can be in his claim that women have more time to themselves than men in the family. He does not seem to take into account the time demands on his wife. This is further supported by his claim of having a busy schedule at work, thereby limiting his commitment at home without considering how his action affects his wife's work as his wife also works full time as a professional nurse. This, to some extent, demonstrates how gender, power and work operate to privilege men's work over women, even if both couples work full time. MB4traditional expresses his domination over his wife in the family by 'tactically neglecting' to be involved with domestic and caring activities by being absent from home.

Again, MB4traditional is a recipient of countless privileges, such as not being held accountable for domestic responsibilities that come to men simply as a function of their gender. This comes

to what Komter (1989) refers to as invisible power, which is derived from gender division of labour in the family where men gain power from being economic providers. This is what makes this participant privilege his work over the wife's own work. Furthermore, men's economic power and the exercise of it makes it possible for men to freely decide on what to do and when to do it in the family as was demonstrated by MB4traditional who only claims he sometimes plays with his one girl when he does not work on weekends. This demonstrates how power in the family works to enable the practice of gender as some men continue to protect their powerful positions through their refusal to take part in domestic and caring activities.

In commenting on the traditional role of women as homemakers, MT17traditional also had this to say:

I think it is something my mother did when I was growing up. It is the same thing my wife is also doing now, except that she is lazy. I don't see why she has been brought up in that way and it then becomes a burden to do the tasks. She must do it. Definitely she has to do it. She has to demonstrate to me, the husband that she can cook, wash, iron, sweep, etc. (MT17traditional).

MT17traditional's individual gender ideology on gender division of labour in the family continue to be traditional and so sees women today as being no different from their mothers and grandmothers. The attitude of MT17traditional clearly shows that he is not taking into consideration changes in the structure of the household, especially the political economy of his parents is not the same as the current political economy that is impacting on families today. Most importantly, mothers at that time were mostly not engaged in paid work outside the home and so could devote their time and energy to caring for the house and its demands.

The narration from MT17traditional further reflects how family life more closely approximates men's wishes and interests than those of the women in my study. Interestingly, women's ability to live up to the tasks of running a household is a demonstration to their husbands that they are hardworking and ready to live up to their marital expectations. This is important to most women

and men in general and appears to become a moral activity, as has been alluded to earlier, which holds men and women to account in society. Failure to adequately perform this role as a wife can be a cause for divorce in Ghana. Again, this participant is using the power structures in the family as a dominant figure of being a husband to label his wife as being 'lazy'.

6.2.1.3 “Doing” Gender in Domestic and Caring Activities through Resistance

As men and women practice gender through the performance of domestic and caring activities, they actively “do” and “undo” gender (Goldberg, 2013; West & Zimmerman, 1987). One common feature of traditional men in my study is their continual resistance to women’s attempt to get them involved in domestic and caring activities as part of the dynamics of power relations in the family and broader social relations that enforce a version of masculinity that is not tainted by the feminine. Although not explicitly stated, resistance is used mainly by men as a way of protecting their position as “head” of the family, as they consider protest from the women a threat to losing their power and dominance.

MT25traditional lives with his family at the top of a four-storey building. Because of the low pressure from the tap he sometimes has to go down to the ground floor to fetch water for their use. His wife has always relied on him to carry out this activity whenever there is a shortage of water in their flat. He narrated during the interview how he nearly stopped doing this when he realised his wife had been counting on him to perform that role. In the initial stages of fighting with his wife over being relied on to fetch water, he began to change his attitude towards helping in the house. His resistance became worse when one day he was confronted by his wife to wash the bowls after meals:

There are times we have been experiencing shortage of water in our flat which is located on the 4th floor of the building. I might be busy with something but she will intentionally wait for me to finish with what I will be doing before I get down and get water for her to use. There was a day I washed the bowls after eating. The following day after eating she left the bowls unwashed. I just reminded her about it and the next comment was “can’t you also

wash them”)? From that day on, I started having second thoughts about helping with house duties. So I told myself it is not anything that I need to take part. This is because in my attempt to assist or help her, she makes it look like my obligation. My role as husband is to provide for the house (MT25traditional).

MT25traditional seems to want to continue to experience patriarchal privilege in the home, a privilege that exempts him from helping with domestic and caring labour. By so doing, he embraces the traditional gendered roles in the family and so each of them should keep to their societal assigned roles. According to him, role assistance should not be taken for granted or turned into an obligation. It should be by choice and thus something that generates gratitude (Hochschild, 1989). By so doing, MT25traditional’s individual gender ideology subscribes to the dominant cultural ideology across Ghana. This is what MT25traditional seeks to do as he tries to oppose being asked to wash bowls. It is not surprising that MT25traditional reconsiders his participation in housework because of his wife’s persistence to get him involved. Most women in this study often become the subject of resistance from the men who benefits most from the unequal structure of gender division of labour in the family. MB4traditional described the reason for such resistance as:

There is a saying in Asante Twi⁴ language that “there is nobody who will spill out honey when it is dropping into their mouth”. If a man knows that any time he gets up from bed somebody will come to dress it up, when he comes from work and removes his shoes somebody will come and pick them up, when he starts watching TV his food will be ready the next 10 minutes, that is honey spilling into the mouth. And as such he wouldn’t gladly want to change it (MB4traditional).

MT25traditional is not the only man who appears to be enjoying the ‘male privileges’ as most of those described as traditional men express domination by resisting the invitation from their

⁴ Asante Twi is one of the Akan dialect in Ghana.

respective wives to get involved with housework. These men do not want to be told what to do or be apportioned work by their wives. MT3traditional is one such man, who did not mince words when he was reacting to how he had been involved in housework and caring work.

What I don't like is an attempt by my wife to apportion work to me in the house. That is trying to dictate to me to do this and that. No man will tolerate that... But whereby the woman tries to instruct me or apportion a work to me, I, for one, will never do it (MT3traditional).

When probed further, he gave a second reason: that he doesn't want to be told what to do and that he hates being instructed to do something. He stated that, even if he needs to be approached to do something, he must be approached "romantically". He explained:

I naturally don't want to be told what to do and trying to instruct me to do something. To me, in an African setting, there are some works or duties that are entrusted to the hands of our women which they must do... Sometimes also it all depends on the tone in which the woman will speak.... No matter what, a man is a man and so should not be spoken to anyhow by the wife. It should be a little bit romantic. For example if you approach me and say "please could you assist me to do this?" but if you tell me I am doing this so you should also do that, then I for one will never do it. So to me I will say it all depends on the approach (MT3traditional).

As has been discussed before in this chapter, gender power relations is produced through gender division of labour as men continue to exercise economic power through their provider role. This gives the traditional men in this study freedom to choose whether to get involved in housework and care work in Ghana and leaves women with less choice for those responsibilities. This becomes obvious when men take entrenched position on taking an active role in domestic and caring activities as demonstrated by MT3traditional. He exercises his power visibly and expects

the wife to be submissive to his control and also feels he is superior to his wife. This makes him get an exaggerated sense of self-importance, as was also affirmed by MB4traditional: “To me it is an ego in us that makes us feel that certain things are not supposed to be done by a man”. These men experience marital conflict with their wives who are seeking more egalitarian power regime. They are resisting this and attempting to use culture to hold their wives to account to the prescriptions of femininity encoded in a traditional division of labour within Ghana.

Men seem to deliberate on what happens between them and women before responding to the invitation from women for assistance with household tasks. This mental process is often carried out and informs the way they react to such demands from women. This is what MT25traditional has been subjecting himself to whenever he is confronted by his wife for household task demands; he looks at the invitation from his wife for work from two angles. If she is persuasive, he will be ready to do the work but if she commands he will never do it, or may do it for the first time but will find a ‘nice’ way to ignore it completely the next time she proposes something.

Cockburn (1991), in her work on the type of resistance women face in organisations, uses the concept of ‘male cultural resistance’ to explain the anger and hostility of men towards gender equality. According to her, men resist by generating cultural barriers to women’s progress. She sees this as a strategy to retain male control over women. This is in accord with Booth and Bennett’s (2002) contention that positive action by women to entice men to do housework and child care, for example, induces feelings of resentment and places women in opposition to men. Studying the gender division in housework tasks offers insight into how individuals ‘do gender’ as well as men’s resistance to increasing their housework participation. It appears as though, instead of women’s action bringing about transformation, it rather induces resistance from at least some of their male counterparts. This highlights the fact that some men have no interest in losing their privileges from which they benefit (Oyegun, 1998).

6.2.2 Transitional Men

The second group of men that I found in my data for this study is what I refer to as ‘transitional’ men. Like the ‘traditional’ men in the previous section, one criterion that informed this typology is my evaluation of my participants’ talk on gendered work at home, and how that shapes and

influences their performance of housework and care work. Out of the 15 men I interviewed, five of them are in this category; three from the teaching sector while two came from the banking sector. As has been argued earlier on, there is no clear-cut distinction between the borderlines of this typology although the two extremes are easily distinguished.

Transitional men are those who have realized there is a need for change because of the changes in the political economy in Ghana that have produced dual income families. However, they are highly selective about the kind of activities they engage. These participants are able to select specific activities they involved themselves in because of the power relations embedded in the gender division of labour in the family. These men are inclined towards being the 'breadwinner', although they appear to relinquish some of their power in the family as was shared by MT19transitional that "we have arranged among ourselves so each is responsible for each specific role..."

6.2.2.1 More Childcare; Fewer Domestic Activities

One common feature that runs through all the transitional men is their active participation in childcare activities, although they are selective with domestic activities. MB18transitional is a male banker in the marketing department at one of the popular banks in Ghana. He and his wife attend to their one child every morning before he leaves for work. He does the bathing and dressing and his wife does the feeding. After that he drives the child to school before he goes to work. He also picks the child up from her day-care centre after finishing work around 5 pm. He drops the baby at home with the mother and leaves to attend social functions. He says he is ready to make sacrifices at work for the sake of the child, especially when the child is sick. For instance, he tells me his job requirement (marketing department) is to look for new customers and to talk to existing customers. Because of that there are many times he takes advantage of his position as marketer to check on his child at her day-care centre and to send her to the hospital when she is not feeling well. He makes sure he spends more time with her, especially when he is on leave, not even sending her to day-care during such times.

Even though MB18transitional is ready to make some sacrifices for his child, he still has traditional gender ideology around domestic activities, and this makes him feel he is the head of

the family. Apart from the care he provides for the child, he is not actively involved in domestic activities. Even in his attempt to care for the child, he does not involve himself with feeding her as he considers this to be an extension of the mother's breastfeeding role for their children.

Although there are a number of reasons why men are less enthused about housework, some of the men in my study fear that once they start getting involved with these activities, their wives might make it a habit to expect them to always help as some of my participants argued and so become hesitant in helping with housework and child care.

Taking an active role in caring for the children is a feature shared by MT19 traditional, although he was worried about not having time to do certain things in the house, and so makes sure that when he is home during the weekends he cooks for the family. Here, time is used as the main constraint for his inability to do more in the house. This is mostly because the responsibility of being "provider" is treasured by these transitional men, limiting time availability for other things. In an attempt to meet this demand, MT19transitional describes himself as a "contractor" because for him "salary alone will not suffice for anything. I always try to do other things to help me survive. I am most of the time like a contractor because I try to get myself involved in a lot of areas in and outside the school to help my family survive". The narration reflects how the Ghanaian political economy is a low pay economy, especially for teachers and so they need to engage in other income generating activities in order to be able to meet their financial needs at home.

As has been observed earlier, transitional fathers are mainly concerned with the caring activities of their children as confirmed by MT19transitional.

We have arranged among ourselves so each is responsible for each specific role in relation to them. It is my responsibility to bathe them and iron their uniforms and she prepares their food in the morning. I send them to school and I am also responsible for getting them back home. Everything about their school is in my hands. I correspond with the teachers always about them. The children are also aware and so they tell me everything about their

school. I also make sure I spend the morning of every Saturday with them. I also supervise their homework so that I can get time to interact with them (MT19 transitional).

This participant has arranged housework and caring work with his wife. He is responsible for care of the children although not in its entirety, and he tells me he does this to make up for lost time with the children, as he sees this as an opportunity to spend more time with them. This can be understood as a departure from tradition in the Ghanaian society. Although common gendered practices in relation to gender division of labour are traditional, quite a number of men in this study appear to be making the effort to keep to the new image of fathering being portrayed in the western media as ‘nurturing’ and so to be a good dad, you need to step out of the traditional role of provider to this new way of conceptualising fathering. This means your willingness to share in all parts of the child’s life by making sure the child has all the benefits of having the father in his or her life. This may be the main reason why these participants are getting more involved with the upbringing of their children in their family together with the pride associated with seeing their children succeed in the future. Although this can be seen as a sign of progress towards getting men involved with domestic and caring responsibilities, these men have carved off for themselves the more socially valuable tasks, leaving their wives to undertake their service drudgery.

Apart from being actively engaged with caring activities, some of the transitional men selectively shared in domestic activities, as was explained by this participant.

I don’t leave everything for my wife to do. I do washing, cleaning, etc. For instance, this morning before I left home for work I woke up at 5:30 am to mop the whole house. I do this most times because the kids are always playing on the floor and so if you don’t make the floor clean they may be infested with bacteria. While I was doing that there were clothes in the washing machine and she also took them for the dry lines (MB8transitional).

Although it appears MB8transitional is generally getting involved with domestic chores, it is also obvious from the quote he does this not for the general maintenance of the house but specifically for the sake of the children. He starts his narration by casting himself as a moral husband who does not leave everything to his wife, as he cleans and mops the floor almost every morning for the welfare of the children.

The transitional men seem to be involved only with care of their children rather than basic caregiving activities such as cleaning and feeding the children, especially when they are babies. This is consistent with the findings of Lamb (1987) that men get involved specifically when the children are present at home but not with other related activities pertaining to the children. By carrying out these roles, especially dropping the kids at school in the morning and picking them up, these men make their efforts visible to the larger society unlike other domestic activities that are always done within the house. This means that better contribution to gender equality at home can only be achieved if men help with the drudgery of looking after the home. It is therefore not surprising to see men dropping their kids off to school in the mornings, especially whenever driving is involved. Another reason why most men take up the duty of dropping the children at school is that men in Ghana largely control the usage of cars in the Ghanaian family. Thus, access to cars further demonstrates gender imbalance in the family and masculine privilege in Ghanaian society. This forces the men to carry out this role as there may be no alternative way of doing it.

6.2.2.2 Undercover

The feminization of domestic and caring activities which has become a common gendered practice across Ghana means that men who attempt to get involved are held to account by the norms of gendered work in Ghana as I show in this section. Elderly women in particular are generally rigid in that respect because of their generational attitude towards men and housework. If the gender division of labour in the household is violated by any of the family members, especially men, it causes much shame in the family and in the immediate community. These participants referred to as ‘transitional’ men are willing to challenge the traditional gender roles in Ghana but are often derided and ridiculed by other men and by women. To avoid being

ridiculed for getting involved with unpaid work, these participants prefer to perform such activities in the absence of such immediate observers like family members.

MB18transitional shares with me his personal experience and the experience of a good friend about the friend's attempt to fetch water for the house whenever the family runs out of water. The neighbours considered it 'odd' and confronted him one day about it. In recounting his own experience, MB18transitional narrated how he was confronted by his landlord when the family moved to their current apartment, who observed that he 'does assist his wife with household'. MB18transitional told me he is the type who enjoys doing things for himself. To avoid the confrontations associated with involving himself with domestic activities, MB18transitional says he tries to hide some of the things he does at home. Most especially, he does so not to create problems for his wife, especially between his wife and the members of his extended family whenever they visit. When probed for further clarification, he added:

I said this because you know our parents have a strong perception about this and we can't change them overnight. And the most serious thing is even got to do with the problem that it might create for the family. That is why I initially said we can do some of those things undercover when those people are around us but not the larger society who have no business to do with your family. It is also more to do with generational attitude. I am saying this because the way my grandparents will perceive it when they see me doing washing will not be the same as my mother will perceive it... For example, I don't think my wife will ever complain when she sees her son washing the clothes of his wife because she has grown to experience it in her life (MB18transitional).

Although this participant appears to avoid the confrontations that normally comes from members of his family and social network, his narration addresses two important issues that need to be expanded upon. In the first place, the family is a powerful social institution that holds its members accountable for performances of certain activities like housework and care work. The

other important observation that can be made is that these participants acknowledge that the general perception about men's involvement in unpaid work is gradually changing in Ghanaian society. This shows some individuals' gender ideologies are gradually changing from the dominant cultural ideology on gender division of labour; and that the traditional gender ideology is stronger with the older generation and weakening with the younger generation. This means with the passage of time the cultural and individual gender ideologies will eventually fade.

6.2.3 Modern Men

According to my data, these are men who are ready to defy the common practices across Ghana that keep men away from taking an active role in unpaid work and take an active role in their respective homes. This group of men are similar to those described in various ways by a number of scholars. In her seminal work, Hochschild (1989) described this category of men as 'egalitarian' because they shared family responsibilities with their wives. This is quite problematic because, as the literature attests, there is no society with an equal share of domestic activities between couples or men and women (Bernhardt, Noack & Lyngstad, 2008). Bernhardt et al. (2008, p. 275) argue that, to be considered an egalitarian society, "women and men should have the same opportunities, rights and responsibilities in all significant areas of life. This includes shared responsibility for work in the home and with children". Although some men make an appreciable effort with regard to getting involved with unpaid work, women still shoulder the burden in almost all societies and cultures according to various report by Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Ferrant, Pesando & Nowack, 2014; Miranda, 2011).

Kaufman (2013) describes this group of men as "superdads". According to her, these are men who are ready to make sacrifices in their workplace because of their desire to be more involved fathers. As has been argued before, this typology did not consider men's involvement in the family all inclusive. It considered fathers' involvement with childcare practices without taking into consideration domestic activities. Child care only adds to the already existing domestic activities in the family. As a result of some of these shortfalls in some of these typologies, I argue for the word "modern" to classify those men who are making the effort to share in the domestic and caring activities in the home. Although the modern men in my study do not make

the same sacrifices as the ‘superdads’ do in Kaufman’s study, some of them often take advantage of flexible working conditions at their workplace to deal with family demands that may come up during the day; a practice most men in Ghana under similar condition will not do. Two things are common to these participants. First, they hold modern views about domestic and caring activities, that is, their perception on gender ideology is ‘modern’ by not holding onto the traditional gender division of labour in the family and so take an active part in domestic unpaid work. Secondly, they make a conscious effort to get involved although not with equal commitment to their wives, hence the term ‘modern’ rather than ‘egalitarian’.

6.2.3.1 Cultural Shift: Moving away from Cultural Expectations on Gendered Work to more Involving Family

The extent to which “modern” men are involved with domestic and caring activities in their respective families is discussed in this section. These men have been able to challenge the traditional gender practice of breadwinner/homemaker in their marriage and have taken an active role in domestic and caring activities. They have also been able to resist being policed by society for deviating from the gender norms, which involves ignoring some of the confrontational and ridiculing comments. Although the data cannot dispute the fact that women do more housework than these fathers do, the extent of these fathers’ involvement and the sacrifices they are ready to make should be recognized and appreciated in the search for equal participation of men and women in unpaid work in various societies.

Another aspect that shows progress in the search for equal involvement of men and women with domestic and caring activities from the data is how these men’s gender ideology on domestic division of labour is consistent with their involvement with domestic unpaid work. This is important because whenever there is a mismatch between gender practices and gender ideology, progress may be distorted because people’s words will not be matched by actions.

The general perception of these “modern” men is that the current socio-economic situation calls for equal assistance in order to meet the demands placed on them and to be happy as a family. For example, these ‘modern’ men are not ready to share their lives with unemployed woman, as they believe the role of women as homemakers has lost its significance, as was voiced by MT14modern and MB21modern:

No. There is no way. I think there is something in work you can't really put your hands on it. It makes you diligent and very responsible. It makes you programme your life very well. So I think no matter how well off I am, I wouldn't make my wife a house wife (MT14modern).

No! I can't make her... be a house wife. This is because I love seeing my wife working. The beauty of that is a source of joy to me in the family. Also, if we want to maintain a healthy home, then both of us need to contribute financially for the upkeep of our family. Currently, I am an average salary earner. So if my wife also brings something to support, it will help in the smooth running of the family (MB21modern).

MB13modern is a banker and has worked in the banking industry for many years. He does almost all the housework with the wife although the wife works in a less demanding profession. He was passionate about what he does for the home in terms of domestic and caring activities. He has been playing this role from the day he got married:

I don't have any problem doing that at all. I wake up almost every day at 4 am, wash the uniforms of my kids, bath them, dress them up for school and take them to school before I come to work. I do this daily. I also cook anytime I am in the house and everybody knows that is what I do (MB13modern).

His role is not without ridicule from the neighbours. It is always directed at the wife who is judged by people as a lazy wife who has relinquished all her marital duties to her husband. Although he has never been approached by anybody, he knows and feels people gossip about him in his absence.

Normally when there is misunderstanding between my wife and the people in the house they use that to say all sorts of things about my wife and me. They always address her as a lazy woman who has neglected her basic family responsibilities. But for me nobody has ever approached me about it before. They might be gossiping about me in my absence but that is their issue (MB13modern).

A similar situation was told by MB21modern, who does virtually everything together with his wife. His motive for doing this is to complement the efforts of his wife.

I remember there was a day a colleague of mine visited me in the house one weekend and saw my wife and me cooking together. They went back to the office and tried to mock me about it (MB21modern).

These narratives show how strong gender ideology plays out in Ghanaian society. Such a strong traditional ideology on gender division of labour can slow down the progress of getting men involved because the nature of gender division of labour puts pressure on men to withdraw from taking an active role in unpaid work. For the people in MB13modern and MB21modern narratives, this gender ideology is embedded in their thoughts and influences their performance of housework and care work. MB21modern appears not to be worried about performing house duties, and believes that helping with house duties will make his wife happier in their marriage. This has been his guiding principle as he believes the main purpose of marriage is to ensure that all the parties involved are happy.

So I am never worried about cooking for instance and I make sure I always do it. I wash, pound fufu⁵, weed, iron, I wash even at my age and we always wash together. I use to the bath the kids when they were young every morning and get them ready for school while my wife was busy preparing breakfast. I go to the market

⁵ Fufu is a local food in Ghana which usually requires the assistance of a second person to help prepare.

any time. You can see the location of this office. It is at the heart of the city where you can easily get things to buy. I find time always to get to the market and sometimes I have some market women whom I always call to get me things any time I need them. I have stayed in a compound house before and people were always talking about [me]. But later, I saw they were happy with it and were talking about it to other people. In fact, it really brings peace in the house. This is because it doesn't make the woman think she is always overburdened (MB21modern).

Another man who is equally responsible for taking care of the home is MT14modern. During the weekdays, he is responsible for the running of the home because of the nature of his wife's work. The wife is a supply officer in a large hospital. The distance from where the family stays, coupled with the traffic in the city, means that his wife has to leave home early and comes back very late. MT14modern also washes the clothes with the wife during the weekends.

Virtually I am in charge of the kids because of my wife's work. She works in the hospital as a supply officer. She leaves very early and comes back very late. So dropping the children in school, picking them up from school and supervising their homework are all my duties. I almost do everything for the house and the kids. So they are closer to me than their mum. I do all these things because she is always busy and also because of my background. During [the] weekends, my wife and I put clothes together in a washing bowl and wash together (MT14modern).

Even though these men make the effort to actively play important roles in their respective homes, they sometimes see themselves as lacking knowledge and competencies in specific areas. This shows that the competencies of the partner can be another possible criterion for deciding who does what in the family, as an efficient division of labour could be established on this basis (Becker, 1991). MT14modern believes his wife is more competent than him and so consults her

on many occasions when he is not sure what he is doing. For example, he phones his wife for “tutorials” when he is not sure how to cook certain kinds of food.

The discussion of modern men from this data from Ghana shows there has been some progress in getting men to play a key role in unpaid work, although the presence of traditional men shows there is more to do in this area. These types of men (traditional, transitional and modern) show that a host of social changes are taking place in the family. Dual-earner households are becoming the norm in Ghana as they are in many other parts of the developing and developed worlds (Crompton et al., 2005) as a result of women’s entry into the public sphere of employment, a situation referred to as the first part of the gender revolution (Bernhardt et al., 2008). This gender revolution will be complete only with the realization of the second part; that is, when “men enter the private sphere, and share the responsibility for the care of home and children equally with their female partners” (Bernhardt et al., 2008, p. 278).

In the next section, I move onto my interviews with women. Interestingly, I did not find a pattern of different types among the women in my study as will be explained in subsequent paragraphs.

6.3 The ‘Double Burden’ of Ghanaian Women

The previous section draws attention to one typology with three categories on men’s involvement in the division of domestic labour and the provision of childcare. What differentiated men were their gender ideologies and for those men who held more egalitarian gender ideologies their willingness to deal with ridicule and censure. Interestingly, the women in my study combine a traditional responsibility for unpaid work with a modern requirement for them to engage in full-time paid work for pragmatic reasons and so can be categorized into a homogenous group. The traditional gender ideology the women have makes them see themselves as primarily responsible for the upkeep of the family, and so family concerns are central to all women although some of the women have access to assistance from relatives or house help.

Although from the picture of the West it appears the gender gap in unpaid work is narrowing, Western women still carry out the bulk of the work in the family (Anxo et al., 2011; Galvez-Munoz et al., 2011; Miranda, 2011; Sevilla-Sanz et al., 2010). This makes the situation a

problem because the common type of family life in most countries is the dual income family where both wife and husband are working. This has prompted researchers to look at developments in the domestic sphere (Bianchi et al., 2000) as women continue to be burdened with domestic and caring activities after a full time shift with paid work. Women's double burden in their dual lives needs to be given critical consideration in Ghana as has been necessitated by the current political economy of low paid work and the high cost of living in Ghana making dual income family the norm. While these transitions are taking place, Kan (2008) claims that women have increased their hours in paid employment faster than they have reduced their time spent on household labour. This means that total hours of work, both inside and outside the home (the double shift) have actually risen for married women (Hochschild, 1989; Craig, 2007). It is as a result of this that this section of my thesis examines the changes women are expecting from their husbands as they continue to shoulder domestic and caring activities in addition to their participation in the public sphere. By so doing, these women pragmatically want men's involvement in domestic labour and child care as a way of reducing family demands and hence a way of making it easier for them to undertake paid work. It further explores how women have been contesting their male counterparts in order to encourage men to "undo" gender in household labour.

6.3.1 What Women Want

Women in Ghana largely continue to take up more paid work in the formal sector. As a result of the time commitment involved in this, most women I interviewed generally want equal male participation in unpaid work in the private sphere. Although my data has shown an increase in fathers doing more childcare (transitional men), and childcare and housework in general (modern men) than they did in some decades ago, they are still doing less than women. Most women bargain out domestic tasks with men in order to get what they want from men. According to these women, this negotiation is important because women no longer want to be sole homemakers, and so failure on the part of men to share domestic responsibilities with them will continue to perpetuate women's already disadvantaged position in society.

I will think it is okay because he works and I also work in addition to caring for our children, especially taking them to school. We

have to know how to share these responsibilities among ourselves as husband and wife. And that is the only way to help me work within time and be able to send the kids to school on time and be able to also get to work on time (FT1).

FT1 is a female teacher whose husband does not involve himself with domestic tasks in any way. She says her husband feels domestic work and caring activities are the responsibility of the wife and mother respectively. The husband picks the children up from school only when his wife is sick, and even then he sometimes arranges for a taxi to send the children home. She thinks the husband works just as much as she works. FT1's narrative addresses three main issues. In the first place, this participant is concerned about the second shift she has been doing. She believes she works in the same way as the husband does and also cares for the children. The second main concern is that, as a result of this double life, FT1 is advocating for shared responsibilities with the husband that will help lessen the burden of carrying out domestic and caring activities together with paid work. Third, this participant is advocating for shared responsibility because she believes combining work and family responsibilities without the support of the husband affects her work. This can cause her lateness at work and so assistance from the husband will help her with work and family management.

A similar view is shared by FB12 as she narrates:

I am a full time student, a mother of five and also a full-time banker. Sometimes I look so pale when the demands become so much. Most of the times I get home around 9.30pm or sometimes even around 10pm. When school is in session, I close from work around 6pm and have to rush also and go to lectures. Sometimes I leave home around 4am when I have exams. So if you, the man, you don't help I will be stressed and may not be able to cope with that stress. We will also continue to be where we are because when I am able to upgrade myself, I will get a higher salary which will eventually be for the good of the family (FB12).

FB12 wants gender equality, but she does not experience it. The cause of this inequity is attributed to the common gendered practices in Ghana with regards to division of work in the family by FT5, who happens to be a professional teacher. According to FT5, the problem is not with men but with culture. Culture has positioned men and women in different positions and has assigned house duties specifically to women. Therefore, any time a man is seen performing those duties, “society” raises questions. For FT5, men should challenge this and step out to help, and by doing so show that they really love their wives. “But I see my husband’s assistance with housework as a sign of love. This is because it is only when you love your wife that you help her with house duties so that she won’t get so tired and be weak in life” (FT5).

It is interesting to note how help from men for the women in my study is associated with love. Given that domestic work takes place in a private realm of intimacy and intimate relations where loving relationships occur (du Plessis, 2011; Anderson, 2003; Nelson, 1990), one would expect the family to be an ideal place for anyone to show affection to one another in the form of support, whatever form that support might take. Women expect men to show affection through the support they offer them by helping with domestic and childcare activities.

The opinions of those women who have been assisting their husbands financially are that domestic and caring activities should be a shared responsibility. As part of the benefits and responsibilities associated with FT9 in the workplace, FT9 enjoys free accommodation for the whole family. According to her, this has relieved her husband the burden of paying for rent in the city and so the man has to help when school demands become too much for her:

Actually he knows I am a career woman and the work I am doing demands a lot of time. He knows we are staying where we are because of the work I do. That is, I have been given free accommodation on campus because I am a house mistress. This is relieving us a lot from paying rent. So once my work is relieving him of all these burdens, he has to also help when the school demands also becomes too much for me. I had this facility because

of those responsibilities associated with it...My brother let me tell you about this. It is not a joke caring for these children in our society today. How they will eat, be cared for and their education should all be the responsibilities of both parents. Anything concerning the home should not be centred on one person (FT9).

According to this participant and other women participants in my study, the financial support they provide because they are in full-time employment needs to be reciprocated with men's support with unpaid work at home. Again, the decline of extended family support in Ghanaian society attest to the need for men's assistance with household work as attested to by FT26: "in most marriages today, people are no longer interested in external entities [extended family, maid-servant] in their families. In that sense, we are supposed to support each other". That is 'de-traditionalisation' of Ghana as a result of the global influence of neoliberalism and individualism has made dual families the norm and that calls for the husband and wife to put their financial resources together for the maintenance of their nuclear family.

The assistance from the extended family with child care is declining and so such assistance should be taken up by the husband as is being advocated by this participant. This will make spouses constitute an important support source by helping with child care so that the burden of combining work and family roles will be reduced. This participant, together with most women in this study, judges the support from their husbands as being vital, especially as most of these women are not interested in outsourcing home support for various reasons as discussed in the subsequent section.

An example of such support was shown by FB22 during the interview when she narrates:

My husband is not the type who will ever think of doing what you are asking. It is only once I saw him making an attempt. It was only yesterday after our marriage that I saw him doing something. I was really down from work and I needed to iron my uniform. I went out to buy ironing spray and upon my return I saw him

washing the dishes in the house. I was so proud of what he had done. Immediately I saw him doing it, I raised the respect I have even for him. It really moved me. I really appreciated it and I was so happy (FB22).

According to Hochschild (1989), whenever one offers something extra beyond what is expected of the person in a relationship, the other person is likely to be grateful toward such a person for such an act. Such is the feeling expressed by FB22. The action by her husband is a clear demonstration of how such action is a way of reducing family demands on working mothers and hence making it easier for them to rest after working all day long. Men have taken for granted women's labour in the house because it is normative for women to do so although it appears to be a burden for most women in this study.

6.3.2 “Undoing” Gender in Domestic and Caring Activities through Contestation

As discussed earlier, one of the most significant transformations of men's involvement in domestic labour has been in the area of childcare. Despite this very promising shift, women are still responsible for overall childcare and domestic activities; and as women in my study pointed out, getting their husbands to do domestic labour required a considerable amount of their time and energy. Sometimes, the women argued, it took more energy to get the man to do the work than it took to do the work themselves, because of the power men have to decide on what they want to do in the family. Women who want their husbands to be more involved have developed a variety of strategies and tactics to get their men to take on more work. These strategies range from gentle appeals to requests for more assistance to avoidance of the performance of a particular activity. In some cases, women discussed the situation with their husbands and they mutually agreed on sharing tasks. One woman explained:

Initially he was not doing anything at all. I was doing almost everything. But he realized that in the night I was not able to help him in bed. This is how it all started: there was a day I sent him a message in the office asking him about the things I have been doing in the marriage which he wished I had done differently.

Then the sex issue came up. He complained bitterly about it. I felt bad though but I explained to him that I am a human being who wakes up 4:30am, does all the stuff, goes to work, comes back to continue all by myself doing domestic duties and in the night you expect me to give a good show. It will surely be difficult for me. I told him I don't intentionally sleep to neglect my duty. That was how I started to get him doing some of the things he has been doing (FT6).

Similar to women in Komter's (1989) study, my women participants want change in the practice of gender around domestic and caring activities, and so contest and challenge male privileges at home. Some men oppose this non-traditional family pattern. This section explores further the various ways women have been contesting men's practice of domestic and caring activities in the family in their attempt to get men involved. Women do this because they face difficult challenges in their attempt to execute the tasks of both parenthood and employment effectively. The demands placed on workers by their employers makes it difficult for women to meet such demands because of their prior responsibility for reproductive labour and makes it possible for men to exercise various forms of power around reproductive labour in ways that cannot be done by women.

Most of the women I interviewed want a change in this and so expect the traditional and transitional men to contribute more to housework and care work in the family. For example, FT5 explained how she has been asking her husband to assist with house duties because the load is too much for her. She says sometimes she gets angry about this as the children belong to both of them. "It is not easy managing kids and the family, I tell you". She explained further:

I have complained about it many times and he is always telling me that even the mother knows he is lazy, and it is because of this he decided to study hard to be where he is today. So I should forget about him helping with house duties. But I am still hoping that he will change one day (FT5).

The behaviour of FT5's husband can be understood in what Ashcraft (2000) called domestic dodging where men exercise their power invisibly through various behaviours that make it possible for them not to do housework and care work. Women know that men sometimes make up the reason they give for not getting involved with domestic labour as can clearly be seen from FT5's explanation. This shows how men use these excuses in a combination of the power and privileges men enjoy as a tool to 'dodge' housework and care work, and also avoid being persuaded by the women into taking an active role in caring and domestic activities. Again, women in my study are not able to hold men accountable for their failure in taking an active role in domestic unpaid work because men in this study still exercise power by being economic providers and so presume women should take care of the housework and caregiving.

Another way women have been contesting this is to ignore some comments from their husbands by 'pretending' not to have heard those comments. They do this as a protest against certain male attitudes. According to FT16, she prefers cooking lunch early on Saturdays before leaving for shopping. Her husband will be watching television in the lounge until she comes back waiting for her to serve him with dinner. When that happens she ignores him and will not serve him:

Most of the time, after cooking, especially on Saturday, I leave the food in the kitchen to go to town mostly to do shopping. My husband will be sitting in the lounge watching television. He will wait for me to come back and tell me he is hungry. The reason is that he expects me to put the food on the table and invite him to come and eat. Once I didn't do that it means I didn't finish my work. I hate it and wish it changed. I just ignore him and pretend I am busy with what I am doing. I can't understand why he has to wait till I come back to be told that. I always tell him you could [get your own food]. Then the answer is I was waiting for you (FT16).

This clearly demonstrates how sometimes power relations in marriages is exercised in Ghana and lay the foundations for performance of gender in the traditional Ghanaian family. Although FT16 narrated during the interview that she has persistently used this strategy throughout their years in marriage, it appears the needed impact is not being felt by her husband. By resisting how this husband is exercising power in this relationship, this participant wants such tradition to be changed although her husband appears to be indifferent to such resistance from the wife. This means that some men will continue to be masculinised until they are ready to change, irrespective of the effort made by women to change them.

One strategy that appears to be working for women is negotiation. What seems to make this strategy effective is what women bring to the table during negotiation, as talked about by FT2. According to her, everything about life is through negotiation. “Wherever you find yourself, you have to negotiate at any point in time to get the best results from whatever alternatives might be available to you” (FT2).

Other women in the study have been using similar approaches as a bargaining tool to lure their husbands into getting involved with unpaid work. One such participant in this study is FT9.

At times I discuss issues with him. I remember when I was called to be the house mistress. I told the authorities I can't do it because it was going to add to my existing burden. Then the headmistress called my husband and explained everything to him. So when he came home he said he will support me so I should take it up. So I think when women are able to help financially in the home, men will also be ready to assist in return. I wanted to run away from those additional responsibilities because the work load was too much for me (FT9).

Other women have compromised for the sake of the family. FT1 claims her husband cannot be convinced to change his mind on certain things. She is now used to whatever she does at home, and for the peace of the family she has to cope and accept the situation as it is. She explained:

I have gotten used to that so I am okay and for the peace of the family I need not complain. My husband is a type whom you cannot convince to change his mind overnight. And the more I talk about it the more it will generate hot debate so I have to compromise for the peace of the family. I am worried about it but what can I do? I have to compromise. You either have to walk out or if not then you have to compromise (FT1).

Women's acceptance of their situation in the household can be explained by Kandiyoti's (1988) concept of "patriarchal bargain". This participant has accepted to accommodate her husband's behaviour for the benefits of what it achieves for her children and for her extended family. For instance, women may choose to trade off their agency and submit to their husbands for the security and status they receive from being married. In this case, some women may choose to continue to bear household and childcare responsibilities as a strategy to acquire or retain their husbands (Kandiyoti, 1988). This is important for most Ghanaian women as divorce is mostly seen as a disgrace not only to the women alone but to her entire extended family. Such cultural family norms act as a structural constraint for women in Ghanaian families as they need to always please their husband to ensure sustenance of their marriages. This is what keeps a lot of women in their respective marriages, regardless of the conditions they find themselves in. This is one of the reasons women are always the ones who have to let go of their will for the preservation of their family. They do so because privileges in society are tilted towards men and structures appear to be in support of men, although some men are making some effort to defy this as discussed earlier in this chapter. It is therefore impossible for women to succeed in the contest, especially in Ghana, unless the structures that locate men at the privilege position are removed. Women give up during such strong debate around gender because of the end results, which could be family conflict.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings that specifically investigated men's and women's ideas and involvement with domestic and caring activities in Ghana. The chapter began by reporting on

men's ideas and involvement with domestic unpaid work. Exploration of men's ideas and involvement of domestic and caring activities led to the identification of three types of men. The majority of the men – traditional men – hold onto Ghanaian traditional gender ideology about unpaid work. Their involvement in the family largely comes in the form of provider/breadwinner. The second group of men – transitional men – have realised there is a need to assist women with domestic and caring activities but are generally selective with these activities; they tend to involve themselves with caring activities but not domestic activities like cooking and washing. The last group of men – modern men - have moved away from the cultural expectations on gendered work and are actively involved with domestic and caring activities, although they are not as equally devoted as women are.

The chapter further found that, although some men are making the conscious effort to get involved with domestic and caring activities, the data from Ghana show women generally carry the double burden in life. The double life of Ghanaian women demonstrates how cultural factors still force women to define themselves as primary homemakers in spite of their entrance into paid work in the 21st century. The strong motherhood mandate on women in Ghanaian society in combination with their involvement with paid work have made most women in this study contest men's refusal to be involved with unpaid work. That is, household labour has become a site of contestation, conflict and negotiation in which members need to debate and allocate domestic chores (Bianchi et al., 2000). The contest is always initiated by women in my sample who have been handed additional responsibility in the public sphere and are expecting a similar role change in men in the private sphere. Most men have resisted the challenge to preserve their gendered identities over the division of household labour.

By resisting and avoiding certain household chores, men continue to fulfil the social norms of what it means to be a man in society. This works together with the economic power men have by being economic providers to shape their negotiations over work/family conflict. Again, this chapter has demonstrated that women in this study do the double shift in Ghana because their entrance into paid work has not taken away their homemaker role in the family. It is therefore reasonable to argue that gender division of labour produces gendered experiences of work and

family and lays the foundation for the gendered experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family conflict as investigated in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENDER SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE EXPERIENCE OF WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT

7.1 Introduction

Juggling work and family is no longer an issue for women alone but is becoming an issue for some men (The US Council of Economic Advisers, 2014; Kaufman, 2013; Galinsky, Aumann & Bond, 2011). This has made Western scholars (Kaufman, 2013; Gerson, 2004) written extensively on the importance of gender in understanding work and family life among men and women. By so doing, these literature from the West demonstrate an increasing recognition of the role of gender in work/family conflict (Kailasapathy, Kraimer & Metz, 2014; van Veldhoven & Beijer, 2012; McLoyed et al., 2008; McElwain et al., 2005).

The gendered nature of the institutions of work and family (Acker, 1992, 1990) causes men and women to have different commitments to work and family domains (Blair-Loy, 2003). The traditional assumption in Ghana is that family is for women and work is for men. Because of the transitional nature of Ghana's economic and social development however, Ghanaian society is experiencing a transition in gender roles. Now more than before, women are more involved in work and men more involved in family especially in the case of the "modern" men discussed in the previous chapter. This situation is expected to produce stress because of the belief that work involvement threatens a woman's role as mother and wife and family involvement threatens a man's role as a committed employee (cf., Gutek et al., 1991). This confirms the literature from Ghana that demands from work and family predict work/family conflict although pressure from the family more strongly predicts work/family conflict than demands from work do (Annor, 2016b). This chapter of my thesis explores how men and women in this study experienced the institutions of work and family in their attempt to produce the desired fulfilment of being gendered individuals in these gendered institutions.

The first section of this chapter discusses how demands from the family penetrate men's and women's working lives. Traditional men are absent from this part of the discussion because these are the men in this study who do not involve themselves with domestic unpaid work and so do not share in their narratives moments where they leave work to attend to family demands. In this

case, traditional men experience work/family conflict differently from that of transitional and modern men as they continue to show strong allegiance to their traditional role as breadwinners. This makes the traditional men experience work/family conflict in the form of work-to-family conflict as commitment to work makes it impossible to commit themselves to family commitments. This is the basis for which they blame their wives for lack of financial support as they believe that such support from their wives will lessen the financial burden on them thereby reducing the number of hours they spend on work-related activities. The last section will explore how most men in this study spend longer hours in paid work in their attempt to honour their provider role and so are not able to get enough time for their respective families. In the same way, the women in this study spend longer hours doing domestic and caring work and so are not able to commit enough time and energy to paid work in their attempt of meeting the homemaker role in the family.

7.2 How Family Demands Penetrate Men's and Women's Working Life

Although work/family research and policy are becoming more widespread, comparably little research has examined possible gender differences or similarities between male and female employees in terms of work/family conflict. In an attempt to account for this research gap, this section of the thesis explores gender differences and similarities in work/family conflict. This discussion is important because, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, with gender-stereotypical ideologies gradually shifting, women are taking on more demanding work roles and men are gradually getting involved with family responsibilities albeit in a rather limited and uneven manner. As such, this data from Ghana show the struggle to combine work and family remains highly gendered in most cases. It is a problem for Ghanaian women rather than Ghanaian men by and large, and is only a problem for those men who are categorised as modern.

7.2.1 Needing Moments of Time off from Work to Handle Family Matters

The focus of this section is largely on how women and men talk about sick children: this shows their “twin” devotions to family and work and the conflict they experience because of it. The section helps to elucidate the importance of occupation and sector and how these come to influence the experience of workplace conflict as men and women in the study talk about how sick children interrupt their work. Discussion of sick children is important because this is an area

where most of the transitional men and modern men share similar experiences in their narrations with women. In this study, leaving work to attend to family needs is largely seen in relation to sick children, because this is about the unexpected and to some extent urgent. That is, it cannot be planned for, predicted in advance or put off to another more convenient time.

7.2.1.1 The Case of Female Participants

From the discussion of the previous chapter, it became obvious that domestic and caring activities are largely organised and executed by women in Ghana. It is as a result of this that all the female participants in this study expressed concerns about the many times they have to leave work to attend to sick calls from the child's school or stay at home to take care of a sick child.

FB30 is a female banker with many years working experience. Many times she has had to leave work to attend to her sick child in the hospital or stay home when one of her three children is sick. She recalled one such moment when she nearly lost her job because a colleague reported her to senior management for not being at her post during working hours, although this is not the workplace rule. She was called to head office to account for this absence even though her branch manager had granted her "informal" permission.

It was really difficult. There was one time that one [of my children] was seriously sick. Where I was ... in a big hospital but ... no trusted pediatrician there. So I needed to rush her to a different city to have access to an expert. We came back home and my mother had to come and stay with me to take care of her most times during the day. But what really helped me was that my manager understood my situation and was always granting me permission to attend to her. But somebody anonymously called our general manager that I normally don't stay at post. He came to our branch to threaten ... dismissal. In fact I went through a lot (crying). I went through a lot. There was another time I had a call that my child was seriously sick so I went to my boss to ask for permission. He was not ready to let me go because he thought I

was lying. I was just standing in front of him and tears started coming. I didn't intend to cry but it came out naturally (FB30).

FB30 says her crying came out “naturally” after her manager reprimanded her. FB30's commitment to her child as a mother makes her interpret her emotional response as natural. In reality, it is probably very much shaped by her gendered devotion to her child, which men as fathers in this study would not have such emotional response in place in that situation. This makes such a response become a reflection of FB30's socialisation as a woman. Most women in the study experience similar things, and so become a gendered pattern. For example, FT5 is a mother of four aged between one and eight years. She described how she was called one day during school about her sick children. As soon as the calls came through she jumped into her car and drove straight to the children's respective schools without asking for permission.

It happens a lot. I remember last term I was in school about to start my lesson when I was called by the class teacher of [my] first child that he was having a crisis. Surprisingly, I was also called around the same time that [my] second [child] was also having a problem that I need to be there. So what I did was that I did not even ask for permission. I just [got into] my car and went straight to pick [up] the second child and continued straight to pick the first before rushing them to the hospital. It becomes more difficult most of the time when it is about sickness (FT5).

FB30 and FT5 are both career women who double as mothers. Like most women in this study, each of them needs to attend to sick children within working hours. FB30 works in a stressful environment in banking as a teller. The consequences for her to attend to family needs are entirely different from FT5 who works in the teaching sector with some level of flexibility. FT5 reported that she was able to leave the workplace without asking for permission and it appears her absences go unnoticed. The believed flexibility in the teaching profession appeared to have worked for FT5 unlike FB30 who had to face the consequences of using working hours to attend to family needs although she was granted some sort of permission.

This demonstrates that a flexible work environment, in this case the teaching profession in Ghana, continues to assist career women to be able to deal with unforeseen family demands whilst the rigid nature of the banking sector makes situations hard for women to deal with similar situations. FT5 and FB30 are similarly devoted to family and work. However, FB30's capacity to show her devotion to her family conflicts with the requirements imposed on her as a kind of worker in the banking sector who is supposed to show devotion to work through her continual presence on the job. This appears not to be the case with the teaching profession in the case of FT5.

7.2.1.2 The Case of Transitional and Modern Men

In the case of the men, taking care of sick children was a concern for those men described as “transitional” and “modern” in the previous chapter. This means that the more men become involved with domestic work and caring activities, the more they are likely to share the same or similar experiences as women within work and family domains. The ‘transitional’ and ‘modern’ men, especially the transitional men I interviewed were more engaged with caring activities than domestic activities in the family. As a result of this, taking care of the children was an integral part of their life, even to the extent of leaving work behind to attend to sick children whenever they were notified of such an event. This means men who are engaged with caring work faced similar situations when leaving work to attend to sick children that women face. Such situations are becoming common for men as they take up more caring roles, although the intention and reason for getting involved with caring activities may differ for men and women. The men in this study do so as a way of spending more time with their children. Men claim that by doing so they will be able to develop a deeper fatherly affection with the children, and that makes this optional for fathers but not optional for the mothers.

MB18transitional who is one of the men considered as transitional in Chapter Six appears to be solely responsible for dropping their only child off and picking her up from school because he controls the family car. According to him, the child catches a lot of infections from her day-care centre. When this happens, he sends her to school under the careful watch of the child's caretaker

since it is hard for both him and the mother to stay at home and take care of her. At such times, he goes to work feeling torn between his day's activities and wanting to be with his child.

It happens a lot. Most often you know because of the age of the child, she easily gets infections from the day-care centre. For instance, just recently, she was coughing almost every night. You wake up in the morning [and] see her temperature is so high. What do we do? Both of us have to go to work. When it happens like that we are always torn between the two. So when the stress comes up like that we just give her medication and decide to send her to day-care and leave her to the careful watch of the caretaker. So you could see you get to work and you are not ... yourself. You wished you could have spent the day with her but it is not possible because of work. Your mind is never stable because you are working under somebody so you can't use those things many times as an excuse for not going to work. So you will be working alright but you will not be in good mood to even go out and attract customers (MB18transitional).

MB8transitional is another male participants who frequently leaves work to attend to family. He is a branch manager and normally goes out with the marketing team to attend to customers. He is committed to family responsibilities especially when it touches on sick children because the family is more valuable to him than work since his position as a father and husband is irreplaceable as compared to his position as manager. For him, "when I am not at work, my deputy can take charge". This shows how valuable MB8transitional's family is to him and he believes that there will always be somebody to act on his behalf at the workplace but there would not be any body to act on his behalf as the father of his children.

MB18transitional and MB8 though speak of being constrained whenever they have to leave work and attend to sick children because of their particular positions within the banking sector that gives them some form of flexibility to move around and be there for the needs of their children

without hindrance. The condition of these labour market sectors allow these participants the flexibility to leave work to attend to children's needs. These men do so without any risk of losing their jobs because of the sectors and positions they occupy in their respective organisations. This is contrary to their female counterparts who are willing to risk losing their jobs for similar demands that may come their way during working hours. In addition, MB18transitional has access to the only car of the family, and as the distance from the wife's workplace to the childcare centre is quite far, it is easier for him to deal with such situations when they become necessary. These examples show that men will leave work to attend to family issues when they can do so, especially if, for various reasons, their wives are not able to do so, while women do it without considering the consequences as in the case of FB30. These narrations from MB18transitional and MB8transitional describe how these particular men have more autonomy in their work roles, which gives them the freedom to come and go. For example, MB8transitional has enough status in his workplace as a branch manager to delegate work to those below him. He has the privilege and power to leave and care for his children. This would be harder for lower status, as well as for most women in this study who were typically of lower status in the banking industry.

Another participant, MB13modern, often takes time off work to attend to sick calls from his children's school. MB13modern gets involved with domestic work and caring activities without fear of being publicly ridiculed. According to him, any time such demands come up, he asks for permission from his supervisor to take the child to hospital. He says that once he is called about a sick child, he is not able to concentrate on any meaningful work.

Any time I get a call about my sick child in school, I ask for permission to take him to the hospital. To be frank with you, once I am told my child is sick, there is no meaningful work I can do from that moment on (MB13modern).

Men like MB13modern, discussed earlier as one of the modern men, who are involved with childcare together with other domestic activities appear to have similar commitment to family demands as women do. This modern man shows a sense of emotion to his children, although the

other modern and transitional men did not speak like this of tending to sick children. That is why the gendered pattern in this study is generally women who were emotionally driven to tend to sick children, influencing them to leave work. Involved men, like women, take time off to attend to these demands because of the unpredictable nature of child care. Managing the care of children is quite different from other domestic work, such as cooking, washing and cleaning, as these can be planned in advance or factored into the day's plan before leaving for work. Some participants have other caregivers, such as a nanny, maid or close relative, who can attend to childcare needs during the day and so do not have to leave work. This suggests that the presence of a caregiver in the family other than the husband or wife can help mitigate the need to leave work during working hours for this purpose.

These men's readiness to leave work at any time for the purpose of attending to sick children means they are getting more devoted to family than the traditional men in the study and that there is a possibility of expanding gender practices in the family, especially caring activities in Ghana. This is important because men in my study are generally ridiculed for making their involvement at home known at their workplaces. There is a general stigma attached to men who are involved at home (Williams, 2010). For example, men who take time off for family purposes risk being viewed by others in the workplace as lacking in commitment, they may be openly ridiculed and have their "manliness" questioned (Williams, 2010; Levine & Pittinsky, 1997).

According to my data from Ghana, women are generally held accountable to the needs of the family although there has been some progress with men engaging in caring activities. This engagement of men with childcare activities in this study seems to 'degender' this traditional nurturing and caring role of mothers although these men did not speak with the same passion and commitment as the women I observed during the interviewing process. The involved men, like their women counterparts, take some time off while at work in order to be able to honour sick calls from caretakers or their kids. Although the general findings from the literature show women most often are likely to stay at home to care for a sick child (Barnby, et al., 2002; Mastekaasa & Olsen, 1998), a significant proportion of my male respondents (transitional and modern) engage actively in care work. This finding largely contrasts the findings by Bianchi and Milkie (2010)

that fathers are more likely to be absent from their children's lives and so are not likely to be involved with care needs.

One major difference with most studies from the global North is that a number of these countries have family leave or child sick leave and so either of the parents can exercise this entitlement when it becomes necessary. In Ghana, no such a policy exists: parents have to deal with such situations in their peculiar ways, especially when they are unable to get permission from supervisors to attend to such needs. Blair-Loy (2001) suggests that, as the context of constraint and possibilities changes across time, women experience different possibilities for negotiating their devotion to work and family. This is the main reason why most of the participants in this study have to either send their sick children to work or leave work to attend to them intermittently. It is as a result of this that some of these men use their position within the workplace whilst some female teachers rely on the flexible workplace environment to attend to sick children.

7.2.2 The “Blame Game”

In this section, I discuss how the experience of work/family makes my participants blame their partners for lack of support in the family, although the accusation comes in different forms from men and women. Although men appear to be blaming their wives for lack of financial support that puts pressure on them to work extra hours to meet the financial needs of the family, a critical reflection on their narratives shows these men do not seem to want to have to be responsible for housework. Women, by contrast, blame the men for not supporting them by helping with domestic and caring activities. As a result, mothers in this study report that they have to do ‘double shifts’ (Hochschild, 1989). The first shift starts in the morning when they get up early to clean, cook and get the children ready for school before they go to work. The second is the actual paid work they do. After work women still have to come and continue with the first shift – they pick the children up from school, cook dinner, wash the children's dirty clothes and supervise their school work before putting them to bed.

Inadequate spousal support has received a great deal of attention in work/family conflict literature. For example, it is known that a good and open relationship between spouses can result

in less marital stress (Bodenmann & Shantinath, 2004). Low support from spouses regarding their partners' work has been found to be associated with high levels of work/family conflict in dual career couples (Michel et al., 2011; Lo et al., 2003); and a husband's support is vital in determining if the wife's employment has negative consequences for the family (Nasurdin & Hsia, 2008). Also, studies have found that a husband's support of his wife is crucial in achieving a balance between work and family (Halbesleben et al., 2010; Beutell & Greenhaus, 1982). It is not surprising then that the women interviewed for this research complained a lot about a lack of or inadequate support from their husbands in their respective homes.

This inadequate support from men means that women remain responsible for most of the childcare and domestic duties. Studies from the West on women and their roles in the family show that women continue to spend three to seven times as many hours as men on cleaning and laundry tasks, and that work and household activities can be considered an exhausting "second shift" (Kurtz, 2012; Johnson & Johnson, 2008; Morash et al., 2006; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). According to Komter (1989), women wanting men to be more actively involved in housework experience some form of conflict between them and men at home. The fact that women still have intensive and time-consuming family roles alongside their roles at work seems to be one reason they blame the men for not supporting them. That is, the conflict women experience between work and family is brought home by these men and becomes a conflict between women and men, wives and husbands. The women, in effect, are arguing that husbands cannot be singularly devoted to work but must become devoted to family too, and show this through domestic and caring labour and through that help lessen their workload in the family. So they are posing a challenge to the traditional way men have shown their devotion to family, that is, through wage labour.

MT1 is a female teacher who claims to have no personal life because of the demands work and family place on her. She sees the lack of assistance from her husband as the main reason she is under significant stress. According to her, while her husband does not help, he complains about little faults he finds in the house. She believes that assistance from her husband will relieve her stress and make her happier:

I come home after a stressful working day and still come and work like a slave, then there is no way I can ever be happy in life. I don't have any life. I think if my husband is ready to assist me, it will take a lot of stress away from me and make me a happier person. Failure from my husband will make the situation the same (FT1).

Other women in the study felt their husbands were responsible for the situation they found themselves in. According to FT9, the situation women find themselves should be blamed on men's failure to assist their wives. She says that housework should not be centred on one person and advocates for men to change their attitudes towards housework. The difference between when her husband was not helping and now that the husband is helping, is huge; this is what she hopes to change.

I blame the current situation in which women find themselves on men, especially those who fail to assist their wives. Actually [it] is [high] time men changed their perceptions and motives about some of these things. Children are brought into this world by both a man and a woman. So the care of them should not be the sole responsibility of the woman. My brother, let me tell you about this. It is not a joke caring for these children in our society today. Anything concerning the home should not be centered on one person (FT9).

Another woman in the study, in responding to the need to advocate for paternity leave for her husband, was of the view that such a policy would add to the existing burden of women. This is because her husband wants to be cooked for, and so his presence in the house during such periods would overburden her:

No! My husband does not need it. It is going to add an extra burden to the already existing demands on me. Men in general are already responsible for most stress women go through, especially

in the house. My husband wants to be cooked for and served on the table always. Imagine getting such a person around you when you are already struggling with the troubles at the initial stages of childbirth. I don't think men will ever use it for its intended purposes. My husband virtually does not do anything in the house. He occasionally engages the children when you are looking. That is all. I have been complaining over this for a long period of time but still there is no change in his life (FB28).

One participant was quick to blame the husband during the interview for the worsening stressful situation she once experienced. She explained how anxious she was about work and family. She narrates:

I was recently stressed ... and was advised I needed to have enough rest as a way of managing the situation. In as much as you need enough rest, those around you should also support you to be able to achieve that. Even this went to the extent of affecting my behaviour. I was sort of behaving abnormally. So I thought [my husband] was going to be the first person to understand me but he never saw it that way (FT26).

From these quotes, it shows most of the women in this study appeared to have husbands who were 'traditional' men. In contrast, the men I interviewed sometimes spoke in ways that reflected a modern, egalitarian perspective as discussed in Chapter Six. The traditional perspective by the husbands of these women makes these women blame their husbands for not being supportive with domestic and caring duties. The nature of these women's complaints shows women want their male counterparts to take an active role in domestic and caring duties. On the other hand, most of the men in this study, especially those described in the previous chapter as 'traditional' men, also blamed their wives for lack of financial support in the family. This lack of financial support from their wives impact their experience of work/family conflict as they need to work longer hours in order to earn more for the upkeep of the family. The nature of blame reflects

these men's devotional schemas (Blair-Loy, 2003) to paid work. It is therefore quite surprising how they ended up complaining about lack of financial assistance from their wives during the interview.

One participant explained that the tension in his house stems from the fact that, as a teacher, he finds it difficult to meet his financial obligations because his monthly salary is never sufficient to meet the needs of the family. He has been asking the wife for money that she earns and the wife's responses are always negative. This makes him uncomfortable seeking help from the wife.

The money I earn at the end of the month is not enough to meet my demands at home. Because of this, there is always tension at home at the end of the day. So there is always pressure on me. It even goes to the extent of affecting communication with my wife. When I get home I feel she will come and talk or ask for money. I always become a bit introvert most times. It even affects my sleep. There are many occasions I request money from my wife and the first answer is "No". Then she comes back to offer me the request. For me I always refuse it [the money] (MT3traditional).

MT3traditional request for the money from the wife is to help him meet the financial needs of the family. The common practice among most couples in Ghana is for the couples to operate separate bank accounts in the family. Under such situation, individuals may earmark their income for their specific needs within the month. For example, women often earmark their money on food, children clothing or other kind of family obligation. This is what MT3traditional fails to realise as the wife may have her own financial commitments for the month. He has been refusing the money that the wife offers, even though he has been requesting it. The nature of the blame shows how MT3traditional wants a change in 'provider' practices in the family but in reality, he ends up conforming to the traditional gender roles and a further demonstration of men's control in the family. What MT3traditional may be asking is not only a change, but a restitution of his control over the entire family's financial resources. This problem of being in a

low wage economy is brought home in the form of stress and conflict and so affects the men's quality of time with their family.

Another participant who is described in the previous chapter as one of the traditional men also responded that he finds himself in a similar situation as MT3traditional. When MT15traditional is not able to meet his financial duties, he finds it difficult to have peace of mind at work, which affects his performance at work. To overcome this, he works extra hours, which affects the family. He wants more financial support from his wife: "What I would like to change [is] the financial support I get from my wife. She is in ... low paid work and so virtually she is not able to bring anything home to support me" (MT15traditional). This participant individualises structural features in his life and only pays attention to the amount of money the wife is earning, but not the amount of energy and time the wife commits to her paid work.

Complaining of lack of financial support from women was a source of conflict in some of marriages represented in this study. One male participant claimed he supported his wife's tertiary education before they got married in the hope that when she started working she could help him meet the financial needs of the family. According to this participant, although his wife is working full time, his wife has refused to offer him the financial assistance he was hoping for and so he "regrets ... marrying her" (MB8transitional). The participant is worried because he helps with domestic and caring activities and he hoped to be reciprocated with financial support. He thought a career woman would offer financial support for the man and so he helped his wife become employable. MB8transitional is annoyed with the wife because according to him, the wife spends her income on non-family things as she recently uncovered some documents showing that the wife is undertaking a building project with her mother without his knowledge.

Another area in which men blame women is their inability to make the home a peaceful environment that will help them to de-stress when they come back from work. Such complaints from male participants reflect how some men in this study capitalise on traditional male dominance in the family to seek their interest at the expense of wives. One such participant is MB4traditional: "Anytime a man is coming home, he has to come and meet peace and whether that peace [is] ... there or not will depend on the wife" (MB4traditional). MB4traditional like

other men is more likely to use family time to recover from workplace stress; and women are to play an affective role in relieving them from their stressful day at work, hence his desire for peace on his return from work. MB4traditional is holding his wife accountable for her apparent failure to be sufficiently devoted to family, and in so doing, fails to acknowledge that his wife is also engaged in paid work and so she has the same commitments at work as he does. This is the kind of husband females participants above are complaining about. The affective role by women in the larger society is being played in the mind of this participant, which shows the general trend in the literature that men are likely to use family time to recuperate from the stress of work (Pleck, 1977). It confirms earlier works on how emotions are gendered, even in the family, with the wife showing affection to the man because women are considered experts in emotional aspects (Risman & Johnson-Sumerford, 1998).

The nature of the blame carried by both men and women is informed by interactional accountability and demonstrates how participants in this study often revert to traditional gender role ideology. Although each blames the other for not going beyond the boundaries of gender role ideology, the behaviour and actions of these participants show how inconsistent people's thoughts and actions can be. The men blame the women for not supporting them financially although these are men who are with wives who work; the women in turn blame the men for not helping them with domestic and caring activities (although some advances have been made in general on this but not necessarily by the men in these women's lives). Perhaps these women are living with traditional men as it is clear from some of these women's narratives that their husbands do expect traditional privileges in the family. The nature of the blame affirms how power and privileges are exercised in the family where some of the men in this study rely on the privileges associated with their exercise of traditional power to influence and control how their wives should spend their income. In addition, the same men use their power in the family to decide on whether to get involved with unpaid work or not and to choose the specific activities they get involved with in the family/home.

The nature of the blame from both men and women in this study is not of the same kind. The women in this study are largely talking about the problems that arise for them because they are trying to do both the first and the second shifts. For women in this study, relieving them of

housework and child care will lessen their burden of homemaker role in addition to paid work and so help them to effectively deal with the demands from work and family. The men want to be relieved of the responsibilities they have in the realm of paid work, that is, they want assistance from their wives with the single shift they do although all these men in the study have working wives.

7.3 Gender Differences in Work/Family Conflict

Gender differences have continued to command a significant focus in the work/family literature. Previous work on work/family conflict has been found to be more prevalent for women; however results have been mixed with regard to the few studies that have examined gender differences in relationship to work/family conflict. Initial contributors to the phenomenon of work/family conflict focused primarily on women; however the current research trend is to see it as equally important and of concern to men too (Kaufman, 2013). This has led to an increase of research on the impact of work/family conflict on men significantly in the past decade. Accounting for this shift are the changing cultural values and roles for men, especially in relation to childcare.

Pleck (1977) in his seminal work posited that, among women, family demands would intrude into the work role more than work demands would into the family role because women assumed primary responsibility for managing home-related demands. Pleck further posited that, among men, work demands would intrude into family role more than the reverse because men were more likely than women to take work home and more likely to use family time to recover from workplace stress. There are many recent studies exploring the dilemmas fathers face in reconciling work and family (Kaufman, 2013). These claims by Pleck affirm the devotional dynamics of work and family in men's and women's lives (Blair-Loy, 2003).

Following on from the literature, this section explores gender differences in the experience of work/family conflict. Key areas considered here are longer hours of paid work for men compared to longer hours of domestic activities for women. These differences exist among couples because of the traditional expectations of men as breadwinners and women as homemakers. This section further examines how longer hours of work for men, as a result of trying to meet the provider role, limits the time they have for family and other important things in their life. It further

discusses how longer hours of domestic activities and the pressure of being a homemaker give women limited time for paid work. I argue that these differences exist in relation to gender because of the highly gendered division of labour in the family.

7.3.1 Longer Hours of Paid Work; Not Enough Time for Family

The political economy of the labour market in Ghana compels dual earner couples and calls for long working hours among workers. Again, the ongoing re-structuring of the family, especially with the limited support from the members of the extended family, makes women work long hours in their second shift. Irrespective of the changes in Ghana's political economy, one theme became obvious as I listened to both men and women talk about their experiences of work and family– the amount of time men and women reported spending on paid and unpaid work respectively. Men reported spending longer hours in paid work because of the pressure to maintain their status as “provider” or “breadwinner” for the family, whereas women spent longer hours in family-related activities because of their role as homemakers in addition to their involvement in paid work.

7.3.1.1 Longer Hours of Paid Work

The pressure of being the breadwinner has put considerable burden on most men, especially when those demands are not met as a result of financial difficulties. Such is the situation in which MT3traditional finds himself. Commenting on what he would like to change in the family to make him more satisfied, he said that “everything depends on money”. He further explained how the inability to meet the financial needs of the family has been creating problems within the family:

Because the money is not enough to meet my demands at home, I could see there is always tension at home at the end of the day. I pay for children's fees and bills. So there is always pressure on me. Very, very big pressure. It even goes to the extent of affecting my communication with my spouse, because when I get home I feel she will come and talk or ask for money. It even affects my sleep always (MT3traditional).

Although no reference is made by MT3traditional on contributions his wife makes to the running of the family, it is highly suggestive of the fact that his wife contributes to the family economy. The main problem he has is that his monthly income is certainly not enough for the family expenses. So, the problem of being in a low wage economy is brought home in the form of stress and conflict. These affect the quality of time together as a family to the extent of even affecting communication flow. He then experiences the tension between work and family in the form of his inability to earn enough from long working hours for family expenses. His devotion to work with the promise of enough income for the family is not being materialised and that has become the source of his tension in managing his family economy.

Reacting to how often the demands of work and the family conflict with each other, these participants explained:

It does happen most of the time. Sometimes I am not able to settle my financial duties because I may not have money. So when I am at work, I am not able to concentrate well. Sometimes also I need to do part time [work] to get more money. Time to spend with the family is what I use to do part-time teaching in an attempt to raise more money for the upkeep of the family (MT15traditional).

The source of pressure is always from the mother [i.e. his wife] especially when I am not able to meet the financial demands of the family. The needed respect [from my wife to me] goes down when those expectations are not met. She really looks down on me as the head of the family. Secondly, I also feel that the personal contact or relationship between the child and me distance itself naturally. It makes the child gets closer to the mother than me. Sometimes I feel unwanted in the family. This is because the woman expects you the man to be responsible for those roles while she supplements it. If this turns around, how do you still expect the

woman to accord you the respect assigned to those roles when you are not able to meet them? In as much as she takes the role of a provider, you should also know that all the respect that goes with it will also be taken by her. I think is natural. So when it happens that way you will feel pressured. This is the reason why I always make sure I work extra hours in order to meet my expectations (MT17traditional).

These participants have masculinised work devotion in their lives and so have been dedicating most of their time to work. They do so because devotion to work promises income to men (Blair-Loy, 2003; 2010) which these participants are expecting to use to meet the financial needs of their families. This is the main reason MT15traditional together with most of the traditional men in this study devote much of their time and energy to work. Additionally, the narrations from MT17traditional demonstrate how he uses his dominant position in the family to command respect from the wife through the exercise of his role as a provider. Failure to exercise this role by him means a shift of power and respect to the wife. This is the main reason why he feels threatened when he is not able to meet such expectations. This always puts a lot of pressure on him to work hard in order to be able to meet such expectations and to make sure his powerful position is maintained in the family. Again, MT15traditional's and MT17traditional's lower incomes coupled with traditional ideology on gendered roles lead to attitudes towards their wives that are very negative. This shows how society's conventional understandings of gender really harm social relationships, especially within a strained economy like Ghana.

In MT19transitional's case, the desire to always have enough money to provide for his family (although in the quote he does not refer to his family and uses the single pronoun) has earned him the title of "contractor" among his colleagues. This is because he has to do a lot of things outside work to earn extra money to meet the family's expenses for the month. He claims there is no way he could survive on his regular monthly income had it not been for what he does outside his normal work, which includes teaching extra classes after school, weekend classes and vacation classes. He is also engaged in school extra-curricular activities, which earn him some allowances.

My salary alone will not suffice for anything. I always try to do other things to help me survive. I am most of the time like a contractor because I try to get myself involved in a lot of areas in and outside the school to help me survive. Some people even think [it] is because I am hard working that ... I am always moving up and down. I do all those things because of what I get at the end of it. There is no way I could have been able to survive ... on teaching alone (MT19transitional).

Work seems to be taking over the life of most men in this study in their attempt to maintain their status as both the head of the family and the breadwinner for the family and their positions at work, or to fight for work promotions. This pressures men to devote their whole life and energy to work to the neglect of the family, a situation that sometimes results in misunderstanding among couples. The pressure these men are experiencing as a result of their traditional provider role has become obvious in their narration because of the changes in the political economy which makes it hard for one person to solely meet the financial needs of his or her entire family. As a result of this difficulty, these participants have to work longer hours, thereby affecting their time with their families. That is, their devotion to work pressurises them to work harder, which makes their work interfere with family commitments. This makes the experience of work/family conflict for these traditional men described in this study experience unidirectional, that is, for these participants in this study, work is interfering with their ability to get involved at home (Tuten & August, 2006). In the case of MB4traditional, everything about him is work and the fear of not being able to meet his targets as branch head makes him sleep in fear many times.

There are many times I sleep in fear ... I will be demoted if I am not able to meet those targets. Everything about me is about my work. Even if I go home I still think about my work. For example, when I get home then I start thinking about what to do the next day

at work, thinking about what went wrong during the day at work (MB4traditional).

Most of the men spend about 12 hours a day in work-related activities including the time it takes them to actually get to work. They are usually the first to leave home for work and the last to return home from work. “The point is if I go to [the] office by 7am and close by 7pm ... you wake up in the morning and the rest of the day is all about work” (MB10traditional). Another participant talked about the time he leaves home and the time he comes back. “I leave home around 6:30 am and get back home around 9:30 pm” (MB18transitional). These quotes from these men speak to the strain these men experience due to work, which may lead to mental health concerns, such as depression and chronic anxiety, which may affect their family life.

Almost all the men (both bankers and teachers) worked longer hours in paid work than women (both bankers and teachers). The men do so because of their ‘devotion to work’ that makes them committed to their provider role, which takes the burden of ‘managing’ the home away from their shoulders. Male bankers appeared during the interview to be well paid and so are not under the same financial pressure to some extent as male teachers. Irrespective of this difference, both male bankers and teachers appeared to be working longer hours. This appears to be at odds with Brandt (2003), who said that, for many low-paid workers, long work hours if available, are essential. This is contrary to the situation in Ghana as both bankers (highly paid) and teachers (who receive lower pay) appear to work long hours. The only difference is that bankers spend this time in an office whereas teachers commute from one place to another, taking extra classes. The pay gap between these two sectors is huge, and bankers are able to survive with one job while teachers have to work additional hours in different (mostly private) schools to earn more to provide for their families.

One major difference between teachers and bankers is flexibility. Bankers appear to be busy throughout the working day, to the extent that they sometimes do not have time for lunch. They are compensated for this with good remuneration, while male teachers seem to have a lot of free time around their work, and can use this to their advantage by working outside their main job.

This situation is reflected in the number of teachers who complained about their poor salary, compared to bankers who criticized the unrealistic targets set for them by their managers.

Most of the men I interviewed also worked at weekends. Weekend work comes in different forms for teachers and bankers. On one hand, the bankers either use the weekend in the office to finish work not completed during the week so as to keep up the following week or they are rostered on for Saturday banking. Teachers on the other hand do extra teaching mostly on an individual private basis. This creates problems for the men as they claim their wives complain about lack of time with the family as women in these studies believe the presence and involvement of men in the family will help lessen the tension they go through in carrying out their double burden.

If my wife learns to appreciate that this is the kind of work I do, and in most cases when I tell her I am going to work on Saturdays then the next question is “are you also going to work on Saturday?” If she [can] understand this ... it would make my working environment and home environment conducive for me (MB8transitional).

This participant only experiences work/family conflict to the extent that his wife makes his long work hours a problem. He is not really trying to combine an active family life with full work life. He wants to be able to devote himself to work and so there is the need to apportion his time equally in these two domains, hence, his complaint about the wife’s reaction for going to work on Saturday. He wants the wife to understand his condition of working during the weekends without him making any effort to rectify the situation. This demonstrates how some men with power makes women compromise their situation in the family even if such adjustments may go against their will.

7.3.1.2 Not Enough Time for Family

For most of the men in this study, time for family appears to be a big issue as a result of the number of hours they spend in work related activities. These fathers admit the interactions they

have with their children is not the best; that is, the quality and quantity of time spent with the children are compromised by work. Such is the situation in which one participant finds himself. He admits that most of the time he leaves home when the children are sleeping and comes back shortly before they go to bed, especially on weekdays.

... many times they will still be sleeping before I leave home and most of the time they go to bed immediately I get home. So interaction with them during the weekday is virtually non-existent. This is a worry to me because I can see that the love they have for me is not even there (MT24traditional).

Similar views are shared by other participants who acknowledged the lack of quality time with the family, especially with the children, and so they have decided to drop them off and pick them up from school to get more time with them.

This is one of the main reasons I have decided to take [my children] to school every day and to bring them back. Everything about their school is in my hands. I correspond with the teachers always about them. The children are also aware and so they tell me everything about their school to me. I also make sure I spend the morning of every Saturday with them. I also supervise their homework. I do all these [things] so that I can get time to also interact with them (MT19transitional).

The social expectations placed on fathers in the family require them to put work ahead of the family in most of the things they do. They have to make sure they get to work on time by leaving home very early in order to escape traffic. It is therefore not surprising that most of the men I interviewed have to leave home as early as they can in the morning. Even those who have been assisting with morning care of the children, for example the transitional and modern men, have to sometimes leave them mid-way to their mothers so as to be able to get to work on time.

As a way of filling the gap their absence has created in the family, some fathers pay for other people to perform childcare roles on their behalf. Such a service is used only by those who are financially sound as it adds to the financial burden of the family. One such important duty is supervision of children's school work, a role parents sometimes prefer to outsource, because as well as supervising the children after school the person can act as a one-on-one teacher; a common practice in Ghana.

Even I have to pay somebody to come and supervise and to assist my children with their homework. This is the job I would have loved to do with the children that would have helped me to spend more time with them together but I always get home exhausted and tired. That is why I have to pay somebody to do it on my behalf (MB10traditional).

Although most fathers were worried about the quality and quantity of time spent with their children, they were also concerned about other significant individuals, such as friends and others.

I think you can't have equal time in life for everything you are supposed to do. Most of the time what suffers is the family and friends. There have been many times friends have complained about my lifestyle because I don't get time to attend social events like weddings, funerals, etc ... So it's almost like cutting people from my life which is also not good. It is like you have side-lined the people you started life with. That is the challenge I have now in my life (MB18transitional).

Others were also worried about missing important occasions or events in the family. Some of these events were related directly to the nuclear family. For example, MB2modern missed his son's graduation ceremony. MB21modern spends a lot of his time attending training and workshops that comes with his position as branch manager. Commenting on how valuable the work is to him, MB21modern has this to say:

Family is so precious to me. For example, my first child is graduating this Saturday as [a] pharmacist. Around the same time we are to meet our board of directors. It is a job matter. I have to forgo my child's graduation. But not when our traditional structures demand that I make myself present as a man for my family. That one I will seek permission and go... I wish I [was] always there for my family. Because of my position, I travel a lot for training and workshops. So I don't have the opportunity to always be with my family (MB21modern).

These situations men find themselves in clearly demonstrate that some of the men have work overload; that is, they have more work than can be completed within a given period of time (Jex, 1998). From the literature, signs of work overload are long working hours, tougher work, pressure to work overtime both paid and unpaid and shorter or lack of breaks, days off and vacations, which affects one's availability to do family work. MB21modern is one of the men discussed in the previous chapter as a modern man. He, together with the other men who are engaged with domestic and caring duties, especially the transitional men, did not talk too much about tension between the domains of work and family because they are able to adjust one domain (mostly family) to compensate for work. This shows how some men give primacy to work devotions even if they get involved with domestic and caring duties. This finding from this study confirms the argument by Posig and Kickul (2004, p. 378) that "although males are more participative in housework than before, paid employment is still of paramount importance".

7.3.2 Longer Hours of Domestic Work; Not Enough Time for Work

Predictably, as the men spend more hours on paid work, the women in the study spend more hours on unpaid work. Despite the increase of women in the workforce, women still take on the main responsibilities at home (Kristiansen & Sandnes, 2006; Kitterød, & Lyngstad, 2005): that women spend more hours in unpaid work than men across all cultures is consistent with the general literature. For example, even in Sweden, a relatively gender-egalitarian society in many

respects, women perform, on average, two-thirds of the housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

7.3.2.1 Longer Hours of Domestic Work

While many of the men in this study spend their weekends in paid employment, many of the women in my study work at house chores – cleaning, washing, shopping and, most importantly, cooking in bulk. Cooking in bulk at weekends was one of the strategies most of the women use in an attempt to balance work and family life as will be further discussed in the next chapter. Others prefer to spend more time with the children to make up for the time lost during the week. Cooking in bulk during the weekend together with spending more time with children makes women work more unpaid hours, whilst men work during weekends for paid work. This makes men and women devote more hours to these domains to confirm their respective devotions. I argue, therefore, that until societal perceptions and attitudes on gender practices of the breadwinner/homemaker are changed, the pressure on the male breadwinner and the female homemaker will persist and accounts for gender differences in work/family conflict.

The long hours women in my study spend on family-related activities are demonstrated in their daily routine; women are the first to wake up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night. “At least I should be up by 4 am and go to bed when I am done with all I need to do ... [At the] latest by 11 pm I should be in bed” (FB28). This makes them so exhausted that when putting the children to bed, they sometimes fall asleep before them.

In the house I have to wake up very early in the morning to prepare breakfast for the house. I also have to prepare lunchboxes for the children too. In addition, I have to do small washing almost every morning. Because of these, what I go through in the morning before I come to school is always hectic for me. Most of the time [I] get to school already exhausted. And then when I go back to the house, I also have to go through similar tussles by making sure they get something to eat, prepare for the next day’s activity, either bath the kids or my husband has to bath them (FT26).

You have to be able to adjust yourself very well by waking up early in the morning around 3.30am, take my bath and start preparing their breakfast. Then I wake them up around 5am and make sure they get ready before they come and have their breakfast. I drive them to school before I also come to work and pick them up when I close from work. Immediately we get home, I start cooking dinner for the family. Such is the life I find myself in (FB11).

I try my best to balance the two equally. This puts a lot of pressure on me every day. I don't get time to rest at all. [Not] until we go on vacation [am] I able to get more time for myself. So I have taken resting out of my time in my life. I don't even think of it because [it] is not possible. Every day you will see me rushing, running from one place to another. Sometimes you may think I am mad. You virtually have no life during the day, especially when the children are around you in the house (FT5).

These comments suggest, in line with other research, that women spend longer working hours, hence the complaint of being exhausted. This is because most women in this study have to change location when their next shift begins while men generally stay doing the same work in the same place for a longer period of time. Men are able to leave home earlier in the morning to avoid heavy traffic because they are not committed to domestic work as are women. In the same way they stay on at work until later, usually to avoid rush-hour traffic in the evening. Women have no choice: they have to stay back in the morning and get the children ready before they go to work and they have to rush home to welcome the children from school immediately after work.

This means the women's second shift is made up of two parts: the first - before paid work - and the second - after paid work - both parts involve as much time commitment and energy as the

first (paid) shift. “Mothers sacrifice their energy, time and strength to support their children”, according to FT9. To accomplish the kinds of activities women perform in relation to their children demands constant supervision and exertion of energy. As a result, most women complained of being exhausted even before they start their actual paid work.

It is really tiresome. Getting up early morning and getting children ready for school is a whole work on its own. It is even worse when they return from school when I am already tired from work. Until they eat and sleep, I don't have life and peace. And I can see I only have time for myself when they are sleeping. What happens most times is that in an attempt to get them to sleep, I end up also falling asleep. This happens almost every day from Monday to Friday. Even weekends [when] we are to stay at home and rest become worse because you have to do cleaning and play with the kids (FT1).

The experiences of women in relation to domestic tasks are never the same. They are contingent upon the ages of the children and the number of children in the house. FB30 has two boys and a girl aged 13, 11 and 8 years respectively. Although these children are, to some extent, quite capable of getting themselves ready independently in the morning, she has to use a lot of energy to convince them to do these chores so they can leave the house on time for school.

It is never easy. I have already told you a lot. When you get up in the morning, you have to shout your voice out before you can get these kids from bed. At times, they all enter the bathroom together and go and fight. So there are many times I have to be a peace-keeper. This morning, they nearly spoilt my fridge because of the fight they had when each wanted to take something from it (FB30).

As a result of the hassles women go through in their attempt to meet the demands of work and family, some women, especially the bankers, dream of quitting their profession for a more

relaxing job. They consider commitments in the banking sector to be too demanding, finding it hard to get enough time for their family. A more relaxed profession would enable them to satisfy familial commitments.

I am planning a better job where I can get much time for my children. There are some professions which are a bit more relaxed and which you can make more time for the family, for example, teaching (FB20).

This is quite inconsistent with my cursory observation during my university years in Ghana about the general attitude of young women in Ghana, especially those at the university who dream of becoming bankers one day after their education because of its prestigious nature among Ghanaians. This shows how family life and childbirth can sometimes change the wishes of women in Ghanaian society. Women feel more constrained by their work structures. This is in line with the literature, whereby women change their devotion after becoming mothers or change their employment status in response to contradicting circumstances in which they may find themselves (Berrington et al., 2008; Himmelweit & Sigala, 2004; Johnson & Huston, 1998). Those women may reconsider their orientation to paid work because of the difficulty of combining the two domains of work and family together with lack of support from their partners.

7.3.2.2 Not Enough Time for Work

The repercussions of longer hours of domestic work affect the number of hours women spend in paid work. Research from the Western context shows that motherhood is still associated with a considerable time reduction in paid work (Smeaton, 2006; Vlasblom & Schippers, 2006; Harkness, 2003). Even though some men in this study are involved in child care, more often than not, mothers take time off from work to attend to sick children and to recover from complications associated with birth. These affect time commitments at work and work promotions as most promotions are based on commitment, which is often measured by how consistent an employee has been on the job over a period of time and the accomplishment of certain tasks or attainment of certain targets within a specific time frame. Family commitments also make it impossible for women to always attend training workshops and seminars. As one

woman explained “I can’t leave my kids alone or [with] my husband and stay outside even overnight for any workshop” (FT1).

Generally, Ghanaian women take time off from work for the following reasons: maternity leave, complications of birth, breastfeeding babies, sick children, and attending to regular medical check-ups. Some of these activities take a few minutes off work (for instance, taking time off to breastfeed a baby); others take days, weeks and months (e.g., to recover from complications associated with birth or as a result of a hospitalized child). This was summarized by FB2 as follows when she spoke in general terms about the experience of Ghanaian women:

Yes it really affects your promotions and some other incentives that you may be entitled to. Promotions are carried out every three years and it is expected that within the three years you are able to perform certain tasks. You are assessed on those performance indicators. If you are not available to perform those functions, you will not be able to achieve those targets. For instance, when you go on maternity leave, you stay away from work for about 90 days. We normally say 90 days but normally after that the person may still want to apply for actual normal leave and then try to make sure the baby is about one year at the time the baby can eat well. Even if you resume work within one year you are required to come to work one hour late and leave one hour earlier. So anytime you are being assigned a work or task to perform they take all those things into consideration. With these one can see that your working hours [are] reducing unlike a person who is ... available all year round, especially the men (FB2).

A major factor accounting for mothers’ unequal time commitment to work (compared to men) is attending to sick children during working hours. This goes a long way to affect women’s promotion as mothers carry out their motherly role to show their identity as the primary caregiver, they are mostly the first point of contact if their child encounters a health issue in

school or day-care. This is one of the main reasons mothers rush to fulfil such important roles in their lives without counting the cost, as explained by FT1: “I always make sure I attend to family demands first even if by so doing [it] will [cause] me to lose my job”.

Some mothers are even ready to resign from work when they find it difficult to get permission to attend to a sick child. To these mothers, family is everything and there is no way they would sacrifice their family for work, even though they accept that their work gives them the needed financial support for their family. One such mother is FB28, who explained her position as follows:

There are many times I have to lie that I am sick in order to stay at home or go home to attend to my sick child. I had one boss who once told me I am not a nurse when my child was admitted in the hospital. I nearly resigned that day from this work. Can you imagine a mother whose four-year-old child has been admitted [to] the hospital? How can such a mother even work? Family comes before work to me. So I can't sacrifice my family for my work. No! I can't do that. ... the work supports us to be able to look after the children but they should always be attended to first in such situations (FB28).

Absenting oneself from work on a regular basis as a result of sick children can threaten job security for women at their workplace. Although they know such regular absence can affect their promotion at work, the life of their child cannot be compared with anything else they do and so they are ready to risk their job for their family. That is, the conviction some of the women in my study hold when it comes to issues affecting their children is entirely different from that of most men in the Ghanaian society, although some of them attend to their sick children when at work. These women are often threatened by their bosses with losing their job, especially when the situation continues for a long period.

There was one time that one [child] was seriously sick. So I needed to rush her to a hospital ... But what really helped me was that my manager allowed me to go to the house to check on her condition anytime I wanted because my house was not far from the office. But somebody anonymously called our general manager that I have been cutting work hours. This nearly led to my dismissal. So later I had to go and explain the situation to him (FB30).

Some women reported that they attended to their sick child or children many times without asking for permission from work. The capacity to handle family matters outside work by taking time off work is, however, contingent on the women's occupation. Women cannot leave work as easily as the men do. This is a systemic form of sexism in the workplace. Men (especially make bankers) have the power to get others to oversee their work but not be penalised. But women in the same industry have lower-status positions, and therefore, cannot advance because they have taken time off for family duties. Women in the teaching profession have a lot of flexibility unlike their counterparts in the banking sector who most often leave work without asking for permission because permission would not be gained – sometimes they just arrange with friends to stand in for them.

Other participants talked about how on many occasions training workshops conflicted with family roles; FT5 said she found it always hard to leave the children behind to attend such important programmes. She admits that on many occasions she is not even selected because her boss knows very well about her family commitments.

Some training and workshops may require that you go for three days or one week outside Kumasi. There are many times as a mother I cannot leave my children and spend those days outside. Even I know my boss will not select me because he knows my family commitments. All those opportunities will be given to the men (FT5).

Family commitments affect the professional development and promotion of women as well as a result of many factors that affect women's work. FT26 said she wanted to advance her studies but was unable to because of childbirth. She said this affected her promotion, because when she was due for promotion she was nursing a baby and could not organize her documents and apply. She narrated this with a lot of pain because, according to her, childbirth would not allow her to achieve her academic dreams.

I will use my own life as an example. I completed training college [in] 2001. Among our year group, I was the first to go to the university. I completed the university [in] 2007 and had wanted to do my Masters straight away. I started giving birth right after my first degree and now here I am over eight years [and] I have still not done my Masters. So sometimes I feel like I am a failure in my academic ambitions. On a more serious note, when I was due for promotion, I had given birth Because of this, I couldn't process my documents to apply. So as we speak now I am one year behind my mates (FT26).

The idea that mothers lack commitment to work has been used by employers when recruiting new staff. One participant said she was told at the interview that she was not going to be considered for a job because she was pregnant.

I remember very well and I don't think I will ever forget about it. After marriage I got pregnant and at the time I was still not working. I applied for a job and they invited me for an interview. During the interview, they openly told me they [couldn't] employ me because I was pregnant. I felt very bad because I knew I will be able to do the work. In fact, I even regretted ... getting pregnant (FT16).

One woman told of how a banker colleague was sacked from her job because childbirth and family commitments prevented her from meeting her targets.

Just recently, in one bank, they dismissed one staff [member] because this lady gave birth to three children within two years. What was happening was that those staff had to go out and look for customers. And because of the childbirth that woman was not able to meet her targets. So they realized she was always on maternity leave and said that she was not really serious to work with them (FT11).

Attitudes such as this have made it difficult for women to work outside the home. Although it is right for women to work, women are perceived differently in the job market because of the gendered nature of workplace organisations (Acker, 1992; 1990), especially in terms of their commitment to work (Blair-Loy, 2003), which makes them less desirable as workers by employers, as in the case of FT11. This affects the hiring, assignment, training and promotion of women in the workplace (Bass, Kruss, & Alexander, 1971). The situation becomes worse and puts a lot of pressure on women after they are employed as they struggle to meet expectations in order to correct the perceptions placed on them by others.

Men and women go through all these hassles in their attempt to meet gender role expectations in society. For example, in attempting to live up to their “provider” role in society, men end up spending more hours on work-related activities, which affects the number of hours they spend with their family. In a similar way, women spend more hours in family-related activities, which affect the number of hours they spend at work. This is generally used against women as a lack of work commitment, which affects their promotion at work. This finding from Ghana is consistent with research from the Western world, which shows that the gender gap in time spent on paid and domestic work is more pronounced between mothers and fathers among that population. For example, in the western literature, while men’s paid work hours seem largely unaffected by the arrival of children (Dermott, 2006; Cully et al., 1999), motherhood is still associated with a considerable reduction in time spent on paid work (Smeaton, 2006; Vlasblom & Schippers,

2006; Harkness, 2003). Unlike women from the West, women in Ghana are forced to stay in paid work irrespective of the condition they find themselves after the arrival of children in their family because of the lack of social benefits most advanced countries used to support families.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed gender similarities and differences in the experience of work/family conflict among male and female employees in Ghana. I argued that the men and women in this study experience these two domains differently because of their respective positions and expectations place on them by Ghanaian society. Men adhere to the provider role, suggesting that men allowed disturbances in their work domains more than in the family domains. On the part of the women, work/family conflict seems to be viewed as a consequence of adding paid work, along with those domestic roles that are strongly related to cultural perceptions of women's nature. This finding is similar in nature to the findings on transitional and modern men who appear to experience work/family conflict as a consequence of adding caring work along with paid work.

One expects that men who are generally involved with caring duties may be affected by work/family conflict, because the pressure to spend time and energy away from their jobs tending to child care matters may significantly challenge them at the core of their breadwinner identities. One major finding from this chapter appears to be in contrast with this generally held assumption. This is because the transitional men and modern men who are engaged with domestic and caring duties, did not talk too much about tension between the domains of work and family because they are able to adjust one domain (mostly family) to compensate for work as has been discussed in the earlier sections because of the prominence they give to work roles in their lives (Posig & Kickul, 2004).

Another important finding from this chapter is that women in this study have 'double shifts' of full-time work and domestic work. This means women have added paid work to their traditional role as homemakers. Irrespective of this added role, women in this study still exhibit a unidirectional relationship between work and family, that is, work interferes with women's ability to function at home because of their primary devotion to family roles. Another finding

emerging from this chapter is that to lessen the burden of doing double shifts by women, they need men to manage the second shift. In a similar way, all the traditional men discussed in this chapter want women to relieve them of the burden of earning money that puts pressure on them to work longer hours at the expense of their family. In the next chapter, I explore how men and women in this study adopt various strategies in coping with the demands of work and family to further demonstrate their respective devotions to work and family.

CHAPTER EIGHT

GENDERED STRATEGIES FOR NEGOTIATING WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT

8.1 Introduction

The gendered nature of the work/home interface in Ghana, with structures of obligations, makes men primarily responsible for meeting the financial needs of the family and women primarily responsible for the home and care work (Chapters Six and Seven). It is reasonable therefore to expect non-homogeneity in both the selection and the effectiveness of coping strategies for work/home conflict. As discussed in the previous chapters, the data I have gathered from Ghana show employed women spend significantly more time on household chores and childcare than men do, which is consistent with studies from the global North (Milkie, Raley & Bianchi, 2009; Hundley, 2001). Consistent again with the general literature, especially from North America, is that the majority or most women, as a result of their devotion to the family (Blair-Loy, 2003; 2010), are more likely to report attempts to structure their work duties to fit their responsibilities at home (Abele & Spurk, 2011; Aisenbrey et al., 2009; Karambayya & Reilly, 1992; Huws, Korte, & Robinson, 1990). Again, consistent with the general findings from the global North is that the majority of men are more likely to report attempts to structure their family duties to fit their responsibilities at work because of their traditional position as provider of the family in Ghana. This is especially common with ‘traditional’ and ‘transitional’ men in this study who, like similar men in Kaufman’s study (2013), might be called workaholics because of the number of hours these men spend performing work related activities.

Women are primarily held responsible for the home because of cultural norms in Ghana around the gender division of labour (see Chapters Two, Six and Seven). As a result, they experienced stronger sanction (for example, being ridiculed in the community, and by their husbands as lazy) than men for non-compliance with family demands like keeping the house tidy. These gender norms of seeing paid work as men’s primary responsibility and unpaid work as women’s primary responsibility become part of the explanation for the gendered experiences of work/family conflict as discussed in Chapter Seven, especially as work and family continue to produce different expectations for both men and women. Not only do the gendered institutions produce gendered experiences of work/family conflict, they also produce gendered responses and negotiations over work/family conflict. For example, women in this study are more likely to

schedule their work hours or adjust their involvement in work roles in order to ensure their responsibilities at home can be met. This means that women are more likely to make adjustments at work to suit family demands, and in so doing constrain their involvement at work. This confirms the earlier discussion (see Chapter Seven) about why women generally claimed not to have enough time for their work, a situation that significantly affects their work promotion and professional development. On the contrary, as further confirmation of their breadwinner role, most of the men in this study strategize to suit work demands by adopting values and expectations traditionally linked with being a conventional, single-income, male-breadwinner in the family.

Prioritization of work over family by most men in the study means that men commit more time and energy to work than family and so are compensated with rewards like money and promotions compared to women who commit less time and energy to work. When this happens, men will continue to enjoy greater financial power than women. This is likely to widen power relations between men and women in the family. Second, this makes men appear to be working harder than women so they gain more public recognition than women who do more of the private work (unpaid work). The impact was felt by almost all the women in my study who felt they were not appreciated for the contribution they make to the family and society, as was summed up by one female participant who claimed “working mothers are going through a lot and because of that society doesn’t see our effectiveness [in paid work].” (FT26)

I argue therefore that the various gendered coping strategies by Ghanaian men and women in this study are adopted by individuals to affirm their respective devotions to the gendered institutions of work and family. That is, men in this study adopt coping strategies that affirm their devotion to paid work whilst women in this study adopt coping strategies that affirm their devotion to domestic and caring duties in the family. In addition, the various coping strategies by men and women in this study limit their involvement in the other domain. For instance, because of the paramount importance men in this study give to paid work, they largely strategize around family demands in order to make time for work demands, and as a consequence do not experience family demands as women do. In contrast to this, family devotion has positioned women in this study such that they adopt coping strategies that affect their commitment to paid work. By so

doing, employers generally question mothers' commitment to paid work and are consequently less likely to reward and promote them.

This chapter seeks to further explore the coping strategies Ghanaian men and women in this study adopt in their attempt to manage work roles and family roles in their lives. Specifically, the first section of this chapter explores outsourcing as part of the coping strategies used by my participants and analyses the perceptions men and women in this study have about this coping strategy. The next two sections explore how the various strategies by men and women limit their involvement in family and work respectively. Finally, the last section analyses how men and women have to 'cut back' on personal needs in order to be able to cope with the demands of work and the family.

8.2 Outsourcing Coping Strategies

The outsourcing strategy is common with participants who see family demands conflicting with work demands. More women than men use this strategy although men occasionally rely on it too. This is predominantly because, although some men are involved with domestic and caring activities, women are held responsible (and hold themselves responsible) for domestic and caring tasks. As a result, women in this study put measures in place to curtail the impact of the conflict between home and work in their lives.

The outsourcing strategy comes in two different forms. The first is to hire the service of a house help to assist with general household duties, which range from house cleaning to being sent on errands. Hired home helpers always take care of the couple's children when the parents go to work. However, this strategy is only available to those couples who can afford it, just as is the case in the global North (Hochschild, 1989). Data from the couples in this study confirm that financial constraints, at least as far as the men are concerned, is important in deciding whether to have a house help. There is the cost of paying the person monthly as well as providing them with a room if they stay with the family. Both husbands and wives equally prefer to have the maid under the same roof so they can be called on at any time.

Irrespective of how stressful family and work demands can be, a person can only afford house help if they are financially sound, as confirmed by MT14modern when he said, “I cannot afford a house help in my family”, a situation that has made him a ‘modern’ man because he has to do most of the domestic activities himself because of his wife’s work. “It has come up thousands of times in our family but I can’t afford it”. According to him, his wife has brought it up many times because of the nature of her work that requires her to leave home very early in the morning. This was supported by MT19transitiona who said “we have discussed many times whether to go in for a house help or not but the two of us seem not to be in support of that. There is always money involved...” Being that house help is not affordable, this perception is held mainly by the men as they seemed to always make the financial decisions.

It appears from MT14modern’s and MT19transitional’s narrations that their wives would like to have house help if they are ‘allowed’ by these men who control family finances. But the narration from women themselves in this study shows otherwise. The narrations from these women show they exercise agency in this situation. Because young women are usually employed to do this work, they are considered a threat to a marriage by six out of the 15 female participants. For instance, as was put generally by FT26 that “the house girls come and can snatch your husband away from you” (FT26). Apart from being husband snatchers, women in my study also see house girls as a threat to the wellbeing of the family, especially the children, as they may mistreat the children. Others also expressed concerns about keeping a house help:

I saw I needed a house help but did not go for one because with house help, they can even come and add to your burdens. My mother always advised me against going in for one. They can mess up things for you or can even steal your things and run away. They can also compete with you for your husband because they are always at home (FB11).

Men should understand that once you leave your children in the hands of a house help, you should know you are doomed. You may not know their backgrounds.... Now [for] the career women, the

job takes much of their time. The available option for most families is to go in for house help which is not the best (FT9).

When I went home my house girl had already taken her to the hospital. What happened was in an attempt [by the house girl] to get my daughter to sleep in the afternoon... the house girl decided to give her 'akpeteshie' to drink but this time the baby got drunk and collapsed (FB30).

These participants together with three other participants feel hiring the service of a maidservant may worsen their situation because of these identified problems generally associated hiring a maid in Ghana. The concerns of these participants are threefold: stealing from the family by the maid, 'snatching' their husbands from them and mistreating their children. Whatever the case may be, although husbands control house help because they control the purse strings, women in my study appear to exercise some powers in influencing decisions around outsourcing for house help.

Although the current political economy of Ghana, together with the pressure from feminist scholars and activists, is driving the gendered social change in Ghana, it appears this change is not working in favour of most women. The women in this study are still confronted with obstacles in the house even though they appear to have some autonomy in making their own decisions. The first obstacle is that men in this study control the decision to hire or not to hire house help because financial commitments are involved. The second concern is about the danger of these house helps engaging themselves in extra marital affairs with men, which enhances women's fears of such service. This makes the position of Ghanaian women quite different from women in Hochschild's study. Some participants (both women and men) in Hochschild's study appeared to have had financial challenges in their attempt to hire housekeepers, which makes Hochschild's finding gender neutral; unlike the finding in this study, which is gendered.

These negative perceptions associated with house help means that women prefer the second source of outsourcing; that is, getting in a close relative of either the man or the woman – such as

the wife's or husband's mother or any adult family member considered mature enough for the task. The preferred choice by women in Ghana is a relative from their side of the family. This is one area where women are more powerful decision makers, primarily because they will be the ones working closely with such a person as the tasks are basically domestic activities. So, no matter how powerful a man is in the family, if the woman does not consent to having a close relative, or even a house help, the man cannot make that decision as was expressed by MB8transitional.

I wish that we [had] a house help rather than my mother-in-law helping us. I think we are burdening her too much. This is because I believe she has finished playing those roles and it is the time for her to rest in life. There are also certain things you can't instruct too much as an in-law but if she was a maidservant you could have easily instructed her to get done. She [my wife] believes that maidservants are husband snatchers and ... witches. She also thinks they will disturb your children and are also wicked. So pushing her to accept a house help has never been easy (MB7transitional).

Of the 15 women interviewed, three confirmed they had a relative who was assisting with house work. Two of the three participants had assistance from their mothers; only one said she was staying with a cousin. Four of the 15 were using the services of a house girl and a nanny. So in all, seven out of the 15 female participants have some kind of assistance. In contrast, only one of the men confirmed the presence of the mother-in-law and one man (MB10traditional) engages the services of a woman during the weekend to wash and clean their house. To some extent, this confirms that, generally, issues related to house management are of greater concern to women than to men, and are significantly influenced by gendered division of labour and power relations that inform and influence the decisions and choices mothers and fathers make around work and home.

The constant tension between work and family, especially among women, is why some mothers arrange for their own mothers to provide assistance. These female participants can foresee a potential inter-role conflict and so put in place this measure to help them manage. These relatives are mostly involved in care work, especially when the mothers are at work.

I am currently being assisted by my mum. She does most of the care work for me Looking at the current needs; I think if my mother leaves, I will need somebody to support me with the baby. That person will be at home at least to welcome her when she starts schooling or to take care of her while I am away working. And the nature of the work we do sometimes you don't close early. So definitely I will need someone (FB29).

I have my mother staying with us who is always at home to receive the kids from school and to prepare their dinner for them. This is what is really helping since they always [finish] school before I [leave] work. So if they get home by the school bus, at least there is always somebody to welcome them, although I feel they are being pampered by my mother (FB20).

It appears relying on external support is of great importance to female bankers but not female teachers as only two of the eight female teachers confirmed having some form of assistance. This is because teachers have shorter working day, and are less held to one place and can work from home and not just the office. The banking sector does not afford female employees flexibility as it did not enable them to act in a particular way as mothers especially as they are mostly positioned as tellers in the banking hall attending to customers throughout the day. This is due to the gendered nature of the banking sector where women are mostly positioned to deal directly with customers while most female teachers were able to go and leave work to attend to family needs.

Mothers resort to house help on a temporary basis because their close relatives might not always be there for them. There are many reasons their own mothers might not be there on a permanent basis. In such instances, they are relied on in critical moments, such as when a child is born or if any of the children has a serious illness. “My mother came to assist me when I gave birth. After some time, she left and I have always stayed with some of my siblings who are always there to assist me” (FT27). Child care is critical to mothers because young babies are delicate to handle and so becomes a big concern for mothers, especially when maternity leave is exhausted. As a result, mothers always require an experienced person to handle children in their absence. For this reason FB12 has decided to keep both a nanny and a house help. According to her:

Because of the nature of this job I have a house help and a nanny. The house help doesn't have the experience to bring up a child. She is just there to do the domestic work. But bringing up a child should be someone who is old and has the experience to do so. The nanny comes in the morning and leaves in the evening. She takes care of their eating and bathing and everything (FB12).

Most of the women expressed concerns about managing the situation they find themselves in as they need to work and also look after their family. Although some women challenged the attitudes of their husbands on helping with house work, as discussed in the previous chapter, some planned their family life by making provision for a member of their family to stay with them when possible or paying someone to assist with childcare and domestic activities. Although several women made individual choices around work to make way for family needs (as will be discussed later in this section), others chose to arrange domestic and caring activities around their work by proactively outsourcing some of their roles. Most women in this study from Ghana did so by hiring housekeepers or arranging to have a family member stay with them.

8.3 Limiting Family's Involvement

Further demonstration of how coping strategies for work/family conflict are gendered can be seen in how women and men manoeuvre themselves around work and family to make time for the family and work respectively. Although some of the women in this study use outsourcing and

other strategies like cooking in bulk during weekends so they can meet the demands of work, the majority of my female participants also strategize around work to meet family needs during the day by reducing their working hours either directly or indirectly. In contrast, most of the men in this study rely on gendered power, especially the way it operates socially, to privilege work and neglect family. Although some of the transitional and modern men scale back their work (see Chapter Seven, section 7.2.1.2), the excerpts from all traditional men are almost devoid of any reference to children and family. As has been discussed earlier, these traditional men only experience family demands in the form of a demand for money. This does not conflict with work so much as it only intensifies their relationship with paid work. This strategy of limiting one's involvement in a particular domain to have enough time for the other domain is generally referred to as "scaling back" (Becker & Moen, 1999; Moen & Wethington, 1992; Hochschild, 1989).

A common finding among researchers is that many families effectively cope with multiple roles by using some form of scaling back strategy, in which one partner reduces their work involvement to care for the children and home responsibilities (Becker & Moen, 1999; Moen & Wethington, 1992). In my thesis, it is largely the women participants who adopted this strategy whenever family roles conflicted with work roles during the day and such a strategy was adopted by these women to maintain their devotion to family. This finding from my study is consistent with the findings from the West where women rather than men scale back their work involvement (Becker & Moen, 1999). Most men in my study needed to scale up their involvement in paid work to reflect their devotion to paid work and in doing so avoided housework and care work altogether by being more dedicated to work. The literature from the West suggests that, in theory, either the father or mother could be doing the majority of paid work, the reality from my participants is that fathers usually spend more hours in paid work, which takes priority over the family; and while they may help with housework, they do not take responsibility for it.

One area where gendered strategies become conspicuous is in the decisions and negotiations men and women make when work and family demands conflict with each other. The data from this study from Ghana suggest that gender remains embedded in the way participants negotiate home

and work life. As has been demonstrated earlier, Ghanaian society still expects men to provide financially for the family. As a result, their obligations towards housework and care work are not enforced by society in the same way as for women. This informs how they strategize around family and work roles. Most of the men I interviewed scale up their paid work as they believe their primary responsibility is providing a stable income for the family and so their role as paid workers is not questioned (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2007).

In scaling up, mostly adopted by men, adaptations are made at the family level in order to make more time for work. The first of these strategies is leaving home early to either avoid heavy traffic during the 'rush' hours or to getting to the office early to complete unfinished work. Other strategies adopted are postponing family events or failing to attend important family events and working at weekends. Consistent with the findings of Jennings and McDougald (2007), these are strategies most men in my study have used to limit their involvement in the family domain to meet responsibilities in the work domain.

Postponing family events to make way for work appears to be one of the main strategies men use to minimize occasions where work conflicts with family demands. This is contingent on the seriousness of the situation. Where a situation requires immediate attention, women generally may have to sacrifice work and attend to it. MT3traditional explains:

There have been many occasions one of the children might not be well when you get up in the morning. Sometimes it is hard to get permission from work [to attend to sick child]. So I assess him or her and if I see it is not that serious, then I wait till after work before I send him/her to hospital. This has happened quite a number of times especially when they were young. But there is nothing one can do than to wait till your free time before you can send them to the hospital. But my wife sends them immediately whenever it is serious (MT3traditional).

The narration from MT3traditional confirms the traditional gender ideology he holds on gender division of labour in the family as discussed in the Chapter Six. Sending children to hospital during the day involves being absent from paid work, a situation that runs contrary to the idea of unencumbered worker and so for him someone (his wife) has to take up such role. This will make it possible for him to maintain his devotion to paid work and to control his own time and how he uses it during the day. Again, as has been discussed in Chapter Three, this MT3traditional relies on the existing hidden powers embedded in the gender division of labour to get his wife to send the sick child to the hospital because of the wife's assumed role as carer in the family. This demonstrates how power shapes negotiations over work/family conflict between couples in my study.

Another area in which men are happy to postpone their involvement because of work commitments is interacting with their children. These traditional men are not obliged to consider the welfare of the children on a daily basis, although some men make more effort to get involved with childcare in the family as in the case of 'transitional' and 'modern' men, as has been discussed in the previous chapters.

What I normally do is that I wait most of the time till weekends to spend time with them [children]. I take them out. I play with them and also watch cartoons with them. There are occasions I take them to play grounds (MT25traditional).

The traditional men were similar in limiting work in the house to childcare, especially during the weekends. This became obvious during the interviews where, apart from a few men who acknowledged their involvement with cooking, cleaning and washing, most talked only about childcare when they made reference to housework. It is therefore not surprising the strategies these men are talking about are in reference to children only. This demonstrates how slow progress has been getting men involved with domestic work such as cooking, washing and cleaning, compared to caring activities. Even with the progress made with childcare activities, some men still pick and choose what they want to do and when they do it.

Another key strategy men adopt is the strategy of dodging housework and care work by retiring early to bed after work. This means that women are the last to get to bed and the first to get up in the morning. Men resort to this strategy to ensure they get sufficient rest and energy for the next day's work. According to one male participant, the kind of (paid) work he does during the day makes him exhausted by evening. As a result he prefers to go to bed early even though he admits that this affects family interaction.

I also try and go to bed as early as I can when I come home from work exhausted. This helps me to regain enough energy and strength for the next day. I do that in order not to get to work the next day already tired In some way, this is affecting family interactions and the quantity of time we spend together as family but there is nothing can I do about it (MT19transitional).

MT19transitional like other traditional men in my study dodge family work and in so doing maintains a structure of privilege. He gets to sleep early but his wife is highly likely to be exhausted if her life is anything like the lives of the women in my study. He does not think of his wife workload as his wife also works full-time. For these participants, time is never shared equally between work and family and it is often the family that suffers at the expense of work. The power to choose as a man in the family makes MT19transitional feels that nothing can be done about the situation, and demonstrates that he has accepted the situation and is not attempting to rectify it although he knows it impacts on the family. This appears to be a common strategy for the male participants. For example, MB21modern gets stressed at work. According to him, the only thing that helps him cope is to go to bed as soon as he gets home from work. This enables him to face the following day's tasks.

Another strategy for managing work and home situations is for men to leave for work early and come home late. This is to avoid heavy traffic in the morning and at night when returning from work, participants share their views on this below:

I leave home very early almost every day and come home very late because I always want to avoid rush hours traffic in the city in the morning and in the evening. I don't drive to school so if I don't leave home early to beat market women and students going to school, you may end up queuing for a longer period of time before getting a 'trotro'⁶ which may cause your lateness in school. I also do after school classes which gives me extra income in the month (MT24traditional).

But because we are not paid well, you have to work extra hours somewhere in order to get something extra to support your regular income. For instance, I have to do morning classes somewhere two days in the week before I go to my school and teach. As a result of that I have to leave home very early to avoid traffic on the road (MT3traditional).

These male teachers are both part of the traditional men category who teach extra classes to make extra money. This is a common pattern among male teachers from my own observation and during this interview process too. Because the traditional men have not assumed responsibility for their children or for the other work required to sustain a family household, they tend to work longer hours while their wives do not have the same control over time. The gender division of labour in the family together with women's subordinate position in relation to men regulates and shapes women's lives in Ghana. Wanting to be at home and being accountable to be at home force women in this study to go home straight after work to welcome children from school – unless there is a caregiver in the house.

As has been discussed earlier, these traditional men together with most of the men in my study are devoted to paid work with social forces in Ghana that work to reproduce men's devotion to paid work. Examples of these social forces are accountability at the interactional level, gender

⁶A converted van used as a public transport in Ghana

ideologies at the cultural and individual levels and gendered divisions of labour. This makes them simply strategize in order to manage work. They are able to do this because there is not as much pressure on most of them from the extended family to fulfil domestic responsibilities as there is on women. As a result, I realised during the interviews that the traditional together with most of the transitional men were not explicit about the specific ways they cope with work and family demands because they only experience work demands. At least these traditional and transitional men show the work/family conflict itself is profoundly gendered, where the women with the double shift tend to experience more tension between work and family roles than the men with one shift.

8.4 Limiting Work Involvement

Whenever men and women in my study have commitments at work and the situation at home makes it hard to honour such commitments, women in my study are generally expected to take responsibility for the family and rearrange work. This is because of the assumption made by Ghanaian society that men's jobs provide for the family. Such is the finding from this work when women in this study are often relied on to attend to family tasks, a situation that clearly can have an impact on women's careers (Craig, 2007). Overa (2007) notes that it is always child care and cooking duties that limit how much of the day Ghanaian women can work away from home. It is therefore not surprising that the actual home and work situations and capabilities of men and women differ in significant ways. Overall, the literature from the global North posits that women run a higher risk of experiencing work-to-family conflict and adjust their hours of work to meet family demands. This section further explores the strategies women in Ghana adopt whenever tension rises between the family and work domains.

As has been noted before, most of the strategies adopted by women in the study are geared towards making space to meet family needs, thereby limiting the time they spend on paid work. One such strategy is seeking permission from their supervisors at work to respond to family demands. In most cases, and in conformity with the common gendered practice in Ghana in relation to gender division of labour, mothers are the first point of contact for a sick child because of their position in the family as primary carers. When a child becomes ill, mothers generally face a socio-cultural expectation to leave whatever they are doing and attend to such

emergencies; a situation in which mothers I interviewed almost never compromise. This takes them away from work physically, and can sometimes lead to questioning about their job commitment because the time employees are visibly at work is a social cue that managers use to infer employee commitment as confirmed through findings from the global North (Munck, 2001).

Sometimes some of the mothers in this study leave the workplace to attend to sick children without asking for permission. This strategy is adopted by mothers who work in organizations with less supervision, such as teaching.

One thing which is actually helping me is that due to flexible nature of our work and lack of strict supervision in my school, there are many occasions I leave the school to attend to my sick child in the house. My mother is staying with me so when it happens like that I leave the child under her care and just go to school and hang around for some time and run away. I just have to inform a few friends before I leave (FT1).

Not only do female teachers leave work without permission to attend to sick children, they sometimes leave work to go home and complete domestic activities such as washing. FT9 is a female teacher who uses the proximity of her house to the school to her advantage by leaving any time to attend to family needs. She uses her free time at school to do household chores and is often able to rest in the afternoons when she feels exhausted.

I am lucky to be staying on campus here now. So at any free time, I just walk to the house which is just a few meters away from the classrooms to sometimes do some washing before I come back to class. There are many times in the afternoon I run to the house to take a rest for a few minutes when the house is quiet and then come back to class (FT9).

Flexibility in the teaching sector allows teachers greater influence over time and to integrate work with family roles. However, none of the mothers in the study who worked in the banking sector talked about this strategy. From my data, the banking sector appears to be more rigid than the teaching sector. Such rigidity in the banking sector is likely to affect women more than men as women are more likely than men to seek for permission to attend to family needs like sick child during the working hours. Again, as has been discussed earlier, some of the banking men have quite a degree of flexibility because they do different jobs like marketing so are not closely supervised. This allows them to respond to care emergencies when at work. This makes the rigidity in the banking sector gendered because of the division of labour.

Providing flexibility, such as the freedom to take brief leave to attend to family matters, may be practical and useful for all Ghanaian employees, especially women, because this gives them autonomy and personal control over their work, which is essential for all employees (Crowley, 2013). This was demonstrated by the teachers in the interviews, who found it helpful being able to leave work at any time to attend to sick children, complete domestic tasks during work hours and rest while at work.

As has been argued earlier in this section, the banking and teaching sectors constrain and enable women in various ways. In the first place, the banking sector appears to constrain women's mobility when they are at work. The banking sector constrains women in this study by positioning them as tellers that makes it hard for them to have some flexibility at work, as was lamented by FB11 "I can't run without asking for permission because customers are always in the queue. As has been argued earlier in this chapter, this limits their movement while working especially as mothers who may need to respond to and attend to sick children from work. The lack of flexibility in the banking sector for women made FB20 narrate that she is planning on leaving her current work: "... I am planning a better job where I can get more time for them. There are some professions which are a bit more relaxed and which you can make more time for the family, for example, teaching". In contrast, the experiences of the female teachers are entirely different from that of the female bankers. FT26 makes calls to her school (place of work) and asks for permission when she feels stressed for the day or goes to school and asks for permission to come home. For FT5 and FT1, there are many occasions they leave school to attend to a sick

child without asking for permission, while FT9 uses school hours to do washing at home. These mothers are able to leave work and attend to family needs, demonstrating how the teaching sector enables female teachers to act as devoted mothers without any hindrance.

Another strategy teachers use to their advantage, due to the flexible nature of their profession, is taking a sick child to work. This relieves the mother's stress and enables them to be with the sick child all day while carrying out their normal work. "... I immediately check his temperature to see how he is feeling ... So when I observe any high temperature, then I take him up with me to school the next day depending on the time I made such observations" (FT6). Generally, the labour laws of Ghana prohibit sending children to the workplace. Although not officially permitted, sick children are permitted in various schools because teachers are largely not engaged in teaching throughout the day and so can have them to attend to such needs when at work. They also rely on workplace support from their colleagues who look after these children when it becomes necessary for the mother to go and teach. This gives female teachers some sorts of flexibility thereby helping them to deal with the two domains of work and family more harmoniously. Another female participant also observed:

Some can do but [not] in my case ... because taking care of kids has become [my] primary duty ... so if my child is not feeling well I cannot ask my husband to take care of him/her. So any time one is not feeling [well] I ... take them with me to school in order not to have a divided mind when I am at work (FT2).

Arranging for cover ups and delegation are other strategies adopted by women whenever work demands conflict with family demands. These strategies are mostly employed when mothers know the situation ahead of time and so proactively strategize to respond to it. These women typically arrange for colleagues to cover for them or delegate colleagues to stand in for them. Friends who are work colleagues are generally used for this purpose so that they in turn can stand in for them in similar situations.

.... I make arrangements for somebody to cover for my class while I am away so that I can also take the person's class when I come back, especially when I am to take any of the children to the hospital (FT5).

The nature of our work requires that I should be able to delegate powers to people to work in my absence and internal arrangements can also be made for people to cover on my behalf and that is what I do (FT2).

A more gendered strategy, which reflects women's devotion to the family, is going to work late and leaving early. This reverses the strategy used by their male counterparts – to leave home early and come back late. By so doing mothers are able to send children to school and to meet them after school in the absence of a caregiver. This is a fundamental part of women's strategy in negotiating work and family. Participants, especially those without alternative care support, discussed how they always get to work late and have to leave work early in order to get home for the children.

There are also many occasions I get to work late because of family commitments. You know I can't cut short certain things I do in the morning. For example, I have to send children to school before coming to work (FT26).

This woman acknowledges that certain routine activities in the morning cannot be compromised and that those activities have to be fulfilled before work, a situation which can make mothers late for work. Most female teachers in Ghana do not drive their own vehicles and so have to use public transport to get children to school before using the same means to get to work. It can be hard for mothers as most public transport is not well organized and can be unreliable. This gives men in the study additional privilege of making their movement during the day a bit easier than women because they drive a personal car.

Another participant said that she wakes up early in the morning to get to work on time but she sometimes ends up going late. Although she could not pinpoint the specific cause, it appears that getting through what needs to be accomplished in the morning makes her late: “I wake up early in the morning in order to be able to prepare and get to work on time but even with that I still get to work late” (FB28). This view was shared by another r participant who claimed that “there are many times I get to work late because of the family” (FT1).

Some participants in this study have to leave work early to meet their children home from school. This strategy is employed mainly by mothers who do not have house help. Where it becomes impossible to rely on this strategy, for example, when they are not able to make internal arrangements for colleagues to cover for them when they are on duty or are not able to sneak out, participants stated they have to leave the children at school for a few hours until they can pick them up or ask them to go home by themselves and wait for them (latchkey children).

In my school, you have to stay after closing to make sure all the children have left the school before teachers can also leave. Around the same time, I also have to pick the children from their school. What I do is to sneak out from the school to go and pick them up or ask them to go and wait for me in the house (FT9).

FT9 is able to ask her children to be at home because her first child is 13 years old and the other two are nine and four so the first is able to look after the last two before she returns home. She is also living in the school compound and so can easily rush home and check on them when the need arises. One female banker who seems to rely on this strategy had a different experience. FB22 has to write a report at the end of each day and balance the accounts before she leaves the office. Many times she is not able to finish these tasks and leaves with the hope of finishing them the next day.

Most times I have to stay for some time after work to make sure I write the day’s report and also balance off my accounts. But because I have to be at home quite early, I most of the time try to

postpone [tasks] till the next day with the assumption that I will come early and get it done. This has always been hard to do in the morning because I have to do a lot of things in the family before getting to work. Just recently, I received a query letter from my boss because I have not been able to complete my day's task (FB22).

Although most of the female teachers in this study reported many times they get to work late and also leave work early, none of them spoke of being reprimanded by their respective bosses. The extract from FB22 shows women face different constrictions because of the sectors they are involved in. The banking sector in this study appears to be more rigid than the teaching sector.

Again, these strategies show how women strategize to demonstrate their devotion to housework and care work and so tend to give family the highest priority and allow family concerns to intrude into their work. This makes these women mostly more devoted to family and pragmatically linked to paid work. In this case, devotions for women participants in this study are in two parts. They have primary devotion to the family and secondary devotion to paid work. They feel obliged always to honour their primary devotion because of the social forces of accountability, gender ideologies (both cultural and individual ideologies) and gender division of labour in the family.

Furthermore, honouring their primary devotion by women participants in my study tends to limit their involvement with paid work, a situation referred to as “accommodation” in the literature (Jennings & McDougald, 2007), “where individuals limit their psychological and/or behavioural involvement in one sphere to satisfy the demands of the other” (p. 749), although men accommodate work more than the family. At the same time, there appears to be a reduction in the use of the extended family for support by Ghanaian mothers (Aboderin, 2004). This is clear from the data, which show that only a few of the women cope by delegating tasks to family members. Although there is a general appreciation of the decline of extended family support in Ghana, it is unclear the reason that may account for such decline (Aboderin, 2004). In writing about such a situation in Ghana, Aboderin (2004) admitted the possibility of modernisation and

political economy concerns but was quick to add that “it is not clear to what extent support has actually declined in urban Ghana and what processes have underpinned the decline” (p. 129). This decline in the extended family, which used to be a source of support for married couples, has forced most mothers to do all the work in the home themselves, which in turn forces them to work harder to be able to get everything done by the end of the day, especially those families who cannot afford house help (as is in the case of many male teachers).

8.5 Cutting Back on Personal Needs

One strategy common to both men and women in this study is that of needs reduction to make way for the demands of work and family. That is, working fathers and mothers from Ghana resolve their work/family conflict by cutting back on the time and attention they give to themselves. Under the huge pressure of work and family demands and commitments, men and women scale back their personal needs as mothers/fathers and employees. In doing this, men share some strategies with women in my study, although the strategies also differ in parts. This is inconsistent with some men in Kaufman’s (2013) and Hochschild’s (1989) studies. On one hand, the men in those studies make changes within their work life by cutting back hours at work in order to make more time for family needs. On the other hand, men and women in my study share these strategies in common, but for different reasons. The women limit their devotion to work and prioritise their devotion to children and home, and men prioritise their devotion to work and limit the claims on them as family members. These include: not attending to family related obligations (weddings, funerals and birthdays); limiting time with friends (example, hanging out with friends); having less leisure time and postponing professional development.

One working mother described how work demands and family demands have made it difficult to socialize with friends as she used to, something she misses.

I used to visit friends anytime, hanging around for drink ups even sometimes late into the night but I can’t do them anymore. It is something I have been missing a lot in my life. I wish I could go back to it but I have to let go because of my family and work I am doing. Also, before marriage, I could buy whatever I had wanted

for myself but now you have to think twice about it before you buy. This is because you may need to assist the man to pay school fees and other things (FT16).

Another male participant lamented:

There have been many times friends have complained about my lifestyle because I don't get time to attend most of these social events like wedding, funeral, etc. They think it is deliberate but it is not. There are many times I had wished to make a call to somebody but once I forget it, it is hard to go back or remember it. So it almost like cutting people from my life which is also not good. It's like you have side-lined the people you started life with. That is the challenge I have now in my life because of my work (MB18transitional).

The reasons for these participants not being able to socialise with friends are gendered. FT16 attributed such a reason to her family and work commitments whilst MB18transitional only attributed the reason to work alone. This is a further demonstration of how women participants in the study do the double shift. MB18transitional talked largely about his current work demands as the main reason for his inability to catch up with friends whilst FT16 emphasised more on family, and the need to rush home to do the second shift. This affects her time with friends as she used to do before she got married. This means men and women cut back on personal needs on gendered grounds. Men do so largely because of the need to work longer hours whilst women largely do so because of family related demands like the need to be at home early to cook dinner and to receive the children from school.

One major observable difference between FT16 and MB18transitional is structure of obligations that influence the reason why they cut down on personal needs. The family structure in relation to gender division of labour positions women as primary homemaker. This makes women and men in this study develop their respective devotions to conform to this structure. This is the main

reason why FT16 is mostly affected by family needs since it is the family that is hindering her from hanging out with friends in the evening and during weekends. On the contrary, MB18transitional admitted categorically that it is work that is making it impossible for him to attend social events in his life. This further demonstrates how relative positions of men and women at work and in the family respectively become the source of constraint in their respective lives.

Other participants talked about delaying or postponing education because of family and work commitments. These participants said they planned to further their education but were not able to realize this because of work and family demands, a major concern as their inability to achieve higher laurels in education appear to be a failure in their lives and may affect work promotion. As with most of the strategies, the participants did not explicitly say they were coping strategies, although this became obvious during interactions with them.

I started my second degree 2008/2009 but due to my children I haven't been able to finish. I finished with the course work but have not been able to write the thesis. It is not easy to combine work and family life and at the same time study. It is the men who are able to do that. It is not easy for the mother to leave the children behind and go and stay on campus to study. It is easy for men but not for women who are mothers (FT9).

The only regret is that my children are still young. This has pinned me to the house and has affected my movements. It is actually limiting my movements. I should have done my second degree now but I am not able to do it. As we speak now I still have my admission letter sitting on my table today. I did a calculation and realised I don't know what will happen to my kids if I leave them to go and stay on campus and come home weekends (MT23transitional).

The same issue I have talked about has even affected me to some extent because there are some colleagues of mine who have been able to do their masters when we started here because they don't have any family responsibilities. You know I have a young family and I always wish to be around them. Secondly enrolling for a second degree ... entails payment of school fees. Those are the main reasons why I have decided to give my time and resources for the family for now (MT19transitional).

There has been a time I missed my wife's birthday. I missed my sister's wedding because of work. I was part of my sister's wedding planning committee. When the date was due, I had a letter from our headquarters the board chairman wants to have an emergency meeting with all branch managers at the headquarters. I also made them aware the urgency of the meeting and the reason why I should be there. I also have to suspend my Masters programme I was doing for one year because of work. In the same way, I have to suspend my wedding for one whole year because of work (MB4traditional).

MT19transitional and MT23transitional are engrossed with activities of the house to the extent that he does almost everything in terms of domestic and caring activities. Their concern for the family significantly impacts on their intention to further their education. This is particularly so because furthering education involves time and resource commitments. They have to be away from the family for a period of time when school is in session. Secondly, financial sacrifice may be needed as they have to pay fees and buy books and other materials. As a result he has forfeited his education to commit his time and resources to his family. Similarly FT26 and FT9 are not able to further their education because of family commitments. These examples show how men (transitional and modern men) in this study who are engaged with child care activities can find themselves in a similar situation to women when they get involved with domestic and caring activities. These participants are not able to further their education because of time

commitments for studies and the need to be away from the family for a while, which for them might not be possible since they cannot leave the children alone.

Somewhat different is the situation of MB4traditional who had to postpone his education and other family commitments because of work pressures. There appears to be a sharp contrast between MB4traditional and MT23transitional. MB4traditional has to suspend his education because of the work demands while MT23transitional could not start at all because of family demands. However, MT23transitional still has not been able to further his education because of the continuous nature of family demands, whereas MB 4's situation may be temporary and subject to change at any time; that was why he was able to continue his education when work demands lessened or disappear. Either work or family can serve as an obstacle to an individual's progress in life, and the kind of adjustments a person adopts depends on the situation they may be confronted with.

8.6 Conclusion

Generally, different roles, such as being a wife/husband, a parent and a worker, lead individuals into complex situations in which they have to prioritize issues, make decisions and apply coping strategies. These different roles may cause conflict in people's lives (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2011). It was as a result of this that this chapter investigated how men and women participants in my study negotiate demands from work and family on a daily basis. It was found that such negotiations are gendered and are influenced by men's and women's respective devotions to work and family. Men are largely devoted to work because of their provider role in the family whilst women have primary devotion to family and secondary devotion to work because of the double shifts women in my study do. These gendered devotions are reproduced everyday by social forces of gender accountability, gender ideologies and gender division of labour.

From the data under study, women generally appear to fulfil maternal gender roles and norms by accommodating work/family roles, while men appear to accept their breadwinner status by putting work before family responsibilities. The structures within gender division of labour see men as providers and that make men privilege work over family roles. Mothers participate in work and family by trading one role off for the other, mostly work for the family although not

exclusively, thereby revealing their primary devotion to the family whereas men trade off mostly family for work. Similar findings were evident in Aryee and Luk's (1996) study of 207 dual-earner parents in Hong Kong with similar gender orientation like Ghana, with husbands appearing to define themselves through their work role, while wives defined themselves through their family roles. The findings confirm that family remains a gendered institution characterised by doing gender division of labour even though women work for money.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to examine the gendered experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family conflict among Ghanaian employees. The overall purpose was achieved through three specific objectives: firstly, to gain an understanding of how men and women do gender through domestic and caring activities in the family; secondly, the study examined how gender division of labour produces gendered experiences of work/family conflict; and lastly, the study explored the various coping strategies in negotiating the tension between work and family roles. By exploring these research aims, my research adds to the body of existing literature by specifically investigating culturally specific experiences of work/family conflict in a non-Western country, Ghana. In addition, my thesis provides theoretical insights by applying various theoretical concepts from the Western literature to make sense of the data from Ghana.

My thesis is important in understanding how work and family roles in Ghana are experienced and negotiated because urban areas in developing economies like Ghana are also sites where work/family conflict is part of everyday life because, just as in the West, women are being increasingly drawn into the paid labour force. But unlike the West this is occurring in a context of difference. The context of Ghana's political economy as discussed in Chapter One of the thesis is seen as a low income economy. This has made the dual income family the 'norm' as one source of income will not be sufficient for the financial needs of the entire family. The dual income family is also important because there are no social benefits that families can rely on to support their family income. This means most women in the cities involve themselves in income generating activities. In addition, policy settings in Ghana make it hard for anyone with family responsibilities to negotiate work roles in addition to family demands. For example, there are no flexible working conditions in the country and no access to part-time work for most professions as discussed earlier in the thesis. This means career mothers cannot escape the heavy traffic in the morning because they have to meet family needs of cleaning, preparing breakfast, and getting children ready for school before they can leave home for work. They also have to go through similar experiences to get home early after work to continue with their 'second shift'. Despite the increasing global prevalence of work/family conflict, the literature on this construct remains

under-researched in Ghana. This chapter recapitulates the key findings of the thesis and their significance. Next, the contributions of the research findings are highlighted. The last sections of this chapter presents the limitations of the study and the conclusion of the thesis.

9.2 Brief Overview of Findings and Significance of the Findings

The primary findings were analysed in Chapters Six to Eight. This section gives a general outline of the key findings and reviews their significance. The results indicate that the different experiences of work/family conflict that men and women in this study have can be explained through gender division of labour in Ghana. On one hand, some men in my study are gradually getting involved with domestic and caring activities in the family and therefore, showing signs of devotion to family responsibilities, although most of the men are more devoted to paid work because of their traditionally assigned role of breadwinner. They experience family demands in the form of demand for money, which intensifies their relationship to paid work in order to meet such demand. On the other hand, the entrance of the women in this study into paid work, together with their homemaker role, make them equally devoted to work and family, causing them work/family conflict to a greater extent than the men. That is, work/family conflict is experienced more by those who showed signs of double devotions to these two domains even though negotiations around work and family roles confirm the cultural meanings of being a man and woman (Connell, 2009).

In addition, the gendered responses to work/family conflict are actively worked out in relation to workplace structures and norms. The different possibilities afforded by different industry sectors and different positions within those sectors shape an individual's response to their experiences of work/family conflict. These are also shaped by the cultural norms about gender division of labour that leaves men unaccountable for domestic and caring activities but holds women accountable for those responsibilities. Again, it was found in this study that men as husbands/fathers are often able to exercise greater power to determine outcomes about negotiations with their wives around domestic and caring work because they have more financial resources due to their position as breadwinners. This financial resource that men have in the family requires women to defer to them as their husbands, which afford the men a sense of entitlement over the women as wives. Other related findings are discussed below.

9.2.1 Men's Changing Gender Roles: Progress in Men's Involvement in Unpaid Work

Exploring men's ideas and actions on domestic and caring activities demonstrate that the majority of the men still hold onto the sexual division of work in the family. Irrespective of this, reasonable numbers of men in this study are actively involved with either caring work or both caring and domestic activities in their families. My study shows from Chapter Six that the main driving force for these men's changing actions is the current political economy of Ghana. As has been discussed in Chapter One, Ghana's political economy is a low income economy (GSS, 2013) with a high cost of living and so a single source of income will not be enough to meet the financial needs of a family. Therefore, these men have admitted that it is hard for them to solely provide the financial needs of their respective families; the reason for which they said they decided to marry career women. This financial support they get from their wives needs to be reciprocated by them getting involved with domestic and caring activities in the family. Again, among those involved men, one of them showed such commitments because of his devotion to the wife. This participants argued that it is only with such support from him that has ensured his wife's career progression as a professional nurse who has been able to rise to the top management position and get her second degree. This finding shows that, although the political economy of Ghana is driving the liberal ideas of these involved men, individual's responses to the change are influenced by the various ideologies they have on these activities.

Another finding emerging from the ideas and actions on domestic and caring activities identified three types of men in this study: traditional men, transitional men and modern men. Although earlier work by Hochschild (1989) showed a stalled revolution about getting men involved with unpaid work, conceptualising this typology of men encourages us to appreciate the advancement being made in Ghana about getting men to take an active role in domestic work. Furthermore, given that the typology found in this thesis is only from a small qualitative sample suggests that other studies could be done to expand on this typology. In doing so, scholars are encouraged to explore whether men's involvement in domestic and caring activities will make them devoted to both work and family and whether such double devotion will cause them to experience work/family conflict as is the case with the women in this study.

9.2.2 The Double Burden Life of Ghanaian Women: Contesting Domestic Work with Men

Irrespective of this finding about the changes happening with respect to men's involvement in unpaid work in Ghana, this study indicates that women do housework and caring work and are also involved in paid work. These double shifts that women confront the men in their attempt to get them involved with the shift of unpaid work. The traditional men discussed in Chapter Six, usually experience conflict with their wives over this and so resist this pressure from the women. From this study, some men, largely the traditional men, again see such confrontation from the women as a threat to their privileged position in the family and so consciously resist getting involved in domestic and caring activities. It appears as though, instead of women's action bringing about transformation, it rather induces resistance from their male counterparts. This highlights the fact that some men have no interest in removing the patriarchy from which they so obviously benefit (Oyegun, 1998): this illuminates the fact that gender equality may not be easily achieved in Ghana.

9.2.3 Experiences of Work/Family Conflict: Devotional Dynamics of Work and Family

Findings from Chapter Seven illustrated that women together with the transitional men and modern men who are involved with caring activities and domestic activities shared some experiences of needing time off from work largely in response to a sick child. One thing to be noted from this finding is that women in this study express a different passion in narrating their engagement with their children, especially when the children are sick, from their men counterparts. Almost all the women in this study see the care of children as part of their 'natural' duty as nurturers and so get a sense of fulfilment after accomplishing that important role in their lives. For these women, this cannot be compromised under any circumstance. This means that, until the cultural expectations of being a man and woman are changed by the Ghanaian society, most men will not appreciate caring as part of their responsibilities as a father in Ghanaian society.

The traditional and most of the transitional men experience family demands in the form of demand for money thereby intensifying their devotion to paid work and ensuring such devotion does not conflict with unpaid work. This makes the results of the study on the experience of work/family conflict among the traditional men unidirectional, thereby making them devote

more time and energy to work commitments than family commitments. It therefore pressures the men in this study to work harder and so they do not give the same commitment to the family role as they do to the work role. Contrary to this finding, women have special devotion to the family and largely construct their feminine identity in accordance with societal expectations of being a mother and wife. In a culture where little support is offered by men, women in this study who also work full-time have to struggle during the day to be able to execute these commanding roles effectively. It is as a result of this that almost all the women in the study complained of carrying out a double burden or what Hochschild (1989) called the 'second shift' in their daily lives.

It follows that, in understanding work/family conflict in the context of my participants, gender ideology in Ghana plays an important role in shaping how my participants' experience the domains of work and family. The question that needs to be answered is, how does gender ideology impact on the experience of work/family conflict? Following from this question, the different experiences of work/family conflict found among men and women in this study are likely to continue, and even more intensify, as traditional gender ideology persists. Therefore, efforts to ensure a better understanding of the prevailing gender ideology may be a more useful way for scholars to spend their time. Such a research agenda will have to entail what needs to be altered to drive a change in the Ghanaian dominant culture ideology on gender division of labour.

Again, to help reduce the existing gender differences in the experience of work/family conflict in Ghana, there is the need to change the existing gendered practices in Ghana in relation to the gender division of labour and how men and women are socialised into it. This can happen by using some institutions like schools and media to educate Ghanaian men on the need to understand the double burden life of Ghanaian women and the need for men to assist with domestic and caring activities. My research has shown that the dominant cultural ideology about gender division of work is traditional and this is what men and women are socialised into it, although this shows individual gender ideologies are gradually changing. The modern requirement for women to engage in full-time does not reflect this traditional ideology as the economic provider role of men continues to be demystified with women's entrance into paid work. Furthermore, a change in cultural ideology in Ghana will also help to even out the power

inequalities between men and women in marital relations. Otherwise, it is unlikely that gender differences will disappear from Ghanaian society.

9.2.4 Gendered Attitudes on Outsourcing as a Coping Strategy

One of the findings that was discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis was the different attitudes men and women in this study have on outsourcing family roles. Because of the nature of the work of family roles (cleaning, washing and cooking, babysitting), young ladies are usually hired for this purpose. Men and women in this study hold gendered views about this service. On one hand, having the power to take most important financial decisions in the family, men in this study, especially male teachers generally opposed hiring a house help. That is, it was found that men's financial disposition plays an important role in determining whether one can resort to hiring a house help or not in the family. This finding appears to be in contrast with the finding of Groves and Lui (2012) that hiring of house help by men is a strategy for men to buy 'the gift' of domestic help for their wives so that they (men) can be released from domestic and caring responsibilities. Rejecting having a house help on financial grounds demonstrates the control men from Ghana have over family finances to plan and determine how much is to be spent, and on what. It is therefore not surprising to find that, in this study, most men object to hiring a house help on financial grounds.

On the other hand, some female participants believed that house helps are husband snatchers and a threat to their marriage in general and so prefer a relative to help in the house. This finding from Ghana contradicts earlier research from North America by Hochschild (1989) that women were cautious in hiring a house help because for those women, hiring a house help avoids the need to make men change their attitude towards getting involved in domestic and caring activities. Although this finding from North America may have had a good intention, the irony about this finding is that, almost three decades since Hochschild's study, women with such attitudes continue to do most of the domestic and caring activities in the family. The same argument can also be made in Ghana, where the findings from this thesis demonstrate that women in this study continue to do the lion's share of the domestic and caring activities in their respective homes. This difference in perspectives between fathers and mothers demonstrates how traditional gender division of labour influences men's and women's perspectives on hiring a

house help among my participants from Ghana. Most fathers in my study are still more focused on finances in the family, while mothers are still more focused on maintaining harmonious family relations.

9.2.5 Gendered Coping Strategies: Manifestation of Gendered Devotions

In Chapter Seven, I analysed the differences in men's and women's experiences of work/family conflict in their daily lives. I demonstrated in that Chapter that those differences stem from the fact that the institutions of work and family are gendered with different assigned roles to men and women. The nature of these gendered roles means men and women have different devotions to these two gendered institutions. I followed this analysis with Chapter Eight by arguing that it is reasonable to expect gender differences in both the selection and effectiveness of coping strategies to deal with tension between work and family roles. One of the contributions made by this thesis lies in its demonstration that the gendered nature of work and family may mask important differences between men and women in their experience of work/family conflict and their coping strategies. More specifically, the finding from Chapter Eight clearly showed that gender influences the way men and women in this study from Ghana negotiate the tension from work and family roles.

Men in this study limited their involvement in domestic and caring activities to accommodate paid work whilst women reported limiting work roles and scheduled paid work to accommodate family demands. Men and women strategized in gendered ways to affirm their devotions to work and family respectfully. This finding leads us to wonder whether or not paid work maintains men's status in the family and so failure to maintain their devotion to paid work will lead to lost identity in their lives. It is therefore important to know what influences men to be devoted to paid work at the expense of the family and to know what impact this may have on women's entrance into paid work as women continue to honour their primary devotion to the family in addition to their involvement in paid work.

9.3 Contribution of the Thesis

The findings of this thesis, although based on a small number of qualitative interviews, make knowledge, theoretical and applied contributions to the understanding of work/family conflict.

This thesis contributes new knowledge to the existing literature on work/family conflict. One main difficulty in reading the literature on work/family conflict is its lack of comparative analysis where data on men and women are discussed together because of the traditional assumption that the phenomenon is an issue for women as a result of their double burden of combining work and family duties. This has made researchers feel that gender must be considered when studying work/family conflict (Calvo-Salguero, Martinez-de-Lecea & Aguilar-Luzon, 2012; Gerson, 2004; Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000). This study adds to the literature by engaging an equal number of men and women in this study. These men and women were also employed in the same sectors. Crossfield et al. (2005) have demonstrated the need to investigate men and women who have similar working roles and are likely to experience workplace conditions that are similar in nature and degree.

Another area in which this study adds to the existing literature is the widely held assumption among work/family researchers that work/family conflict is bi-directional (that is, the reciprocal effects of work and family interfering with each other) challenging the earlier view of scholars about its unidirectionality (that is, work interfering with family responsibilities). The findings from this study show that the experience of men and women is largely unidirectional. As such, I argue that the direction (unidirectional or bi-directional) of work/family conflict depends on the domain in which participants for a particular study are devoted towards and so becomes specific to individual studies themselves. Men and women with equal devotions to work and family roles are likely to have both domains interfering with each other, whilst those who have stronger devotion to one domain will make the other domain interfere with their primary devotion (Minnotte et al., 2010).

Again, those men and women who still hold onto the traditional gender ideology are likely to see the roles of men and women as distinct and separate and so will do everything possible not to allow their traditionally held roles be affected by the other domain. This was often the case of the traditional men in my study who, for example, often have to leave home early in order to escape the heavy traffic jam in the morning and come home late for a similar reason. Such are the views strongly expressed by men and women in this study from Ghana and so the unidirectional nature

of work/family conflict should not be entirely discounted. On the contrary, those men and women who hold liberal views on gender ideology tend to accept more responsibility in other domains. Such individuals are likely to experience work/family conflict bi-directionally as they allow one domain to interfere with the other domain.

Furthermore, the double burden women in this study have made them confront their husbands for their lack of assistance with domestic and caring duties. Consequently, Ghanaian men should understand that supporting their wives in the 21st century is not an option to choose but a necessity for a smooth family relationship in the same way they the men also expect their wives to financially assist them; the reason for which they marry career women. Again, the political economy of Ghana does not make it possible for Ghanaian women to become stay-at-home mothers. This means that government policy should address the double role of women so that they can contribute to the development of Ghana efficiently and effectively with less work/family conflict.

One of the things the government in Ghana can do to address the second shift of women is the introduction of paternity leave. As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the Labour Act 2003 (Act 651) only makes provision of maternity leave without considering paternity leave.

Therefore, law makers in Ghana should make the effort to debate this important policy and to ensure paternity leave is considered in our law books in Ghana. Although paternity leave is being advocated for in my study, implementing such a policy change will not be effective unless cultural change happens as well. For example, with respect to paternity leave as FB28 said, especially for traditional men and some of the transitional men, paternity leave will not change the structure of gender division of labour in the family but rather worsen their situation.

No! My husband does not need it. It is going to add an extra burden to the already existing demands on me. Men in general are already responsible for most stress women go through, especially in the house. My husband wants to be cooked for and served on the table always. Imagine getting such a person around you when you are already struggling with the troubles at the initial stages of

childbirth. I don't think men will ever use it for its intended purposes. My husband virtually does not do anything in the house (FB28).

One of the ways cultural change on gender division of labour can be achieved is by educating Ghanaian men through the media to understand the need for such a change. The media in Ghana can be resourced to educate men to understand and appreciate the need for them to change their attitudes towards housework and care work. Respected community members whose opinions are highly regarded in the Ghanaian societies can be drawn on by these media houses to serve as change agents for this course. These opinion leaders can educate men to understand the importance of helping their wives in the family and the benefits that can accrue from such assistance for example, as was stressed by MB21modern during the interview. According to him, it is only with such support from him that has ensured his wife's career progression as a professional nurse who has been able to rise to the top management position and get her second degree. Again, in socialising young ones into gendered roles in the family, mothers can implement a distribution of household chores that require boys to also do chores that are traditionally girls work. This will help boys to develop empathy for women's experiences further serves as a means of empowering both girls and boys with the ability to live independent lives.

The other related policy that appears to lessen the burden of mothers in combining paid work and child care is that mothers are entitled to interrupt their work for an hour each day to nurse their babies for up to one year when they resume work. This policy makes it possible for mothers with babies to leave the workplace to feed their babies for a period of one hour during the day. The congested nature of most of the cities in Ghana during working hours of the day makes this policy practically impossible for mothers to move around, especially as most organisations do not provide child care centres for their workers within their premises. It is therefore suggested that, in order to make this policy beneficial for nursing mothers, organisations should make it a policy to provide child care centres around their premises to support staff who may need to attend to their babies. Again, as has been discussed earlier in the study, lack of flexible working conditions in Ghana leaves mothers with no option of leaving home for work at their own convenience. It is therefore recommended to Ghanaian human resource practitioners to make the

effort to offer mothers the needed workplace flexibility to enable them negotiate the work and family roles with less stress.

Theoretically, I advance the field of work/family conflict through my research. First, I extend Western theories to explain work/family conflict in a non-Western country, Ghana where the theories have not been previously applied. These Western theoretical frameworks were used in analysing these data from Ghana. In contextualising these Western theories, I made sure I did not lose sight of the sensitive nature of the common gendered practices in Ghana around gender division of labour which make my second theoretical contribution expands the existing theoretical work. The earlier work by Blair-Loy theorised that career women have double devotions to work and family and the conflicting nature of work devotion and family devotion causes career women to experience work/family conflict, especially as devotion to one domains makes it impossible to be equally devoted to the other domain. The findings from my research show that, although women participants do the double shifts, they are not equally devoted to the two domains of work and family. These women participants have their primary devotion to the family and a secondary devotion to work. The conflicts they experience during the day largely stems from the double shift they do, where they combine the traditional responsibility for unpaid work with a modern requirement for them to engage in full-time paid work. The men participants were basically devoted to paid work as a result of their economic provider role in the family. These gendered devotions are reproduced among my participants through the social forces of gender ideologies at the cultural and individual levels, gender accountability at the interactional level and gender division of labour. It is as a result of these social forces that make gender and culture an integral element in explaining the gendered experiences, responses and negotiations over work/family conflict among my participants from Ghana.

In addition to these contributions, this thesis makes an applied contribution to Ghanaian society. By engaging men and women in this study, this thesis has brought this gender-based issue of work/family conflict and some hidden structures sustaining the privileges some men are enjoying to the forefront of Ghanaian thinking through the data from Ghana. As a result of this, policy makers advocating for change have empirical evidence to rely upon. This thesis raises awareness on the prevailing gender ideology in Ghana and how this influences men and women to become

devoted to work and family. This awareness may go a long way to change men's domineering positions in the institutions of work and family. Such behavioural change is important because, in spite of women's entrance into paid work and the expectations of Ghanaian men in marrying a career woman, Ghanaian women are still expected to solely carry out their traditional role as homemakers.

9.4 Further Research

Several possible directions for future research have emerged during the course of my study. The study confirms that work/family conflict in Ghana is largely regarded as a woman's concern because of the dual role they play as career women and homemakers, although it is gradually becoming a concern for Ghanaian men as well. Work/family conflict is of greater concern to women because the culture and tradition associated with being a mother in Ghana often restricts women from getting assistance from their husbands. There are two areas of interest to explore in the future. The first is to determine the actual support and help provided by husbands in the home. Secondly, based on the typology discussed in Chapter Six, it is suggested for future research to explore quantitatively the number of men in each category. This will shed light on the number of men in each category and will help us to know the progress that has been made in getting more men involved with domestic unpaid work, if such studies are done repeatedly over time.

Earlier research in relation to work/family conflict is limited by two things: the domination of quantitative methods, and the influence of Western literature. It is important to consider newer areas of research such as ethnographic study. The ethnographic study will enable researchers to engage in participant observation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and to get a better sense of how accountability to gender norms operates in interactions between the couple, between a couple and their children, neighbours, extended kin and home help if they have one. Several questions could likely be answered by going to the house to observe the actual dynamic relationships between a wife and a husband at home: what is the reality presented by wives and husbands? Is there actual pressure to maintain traditional relationships at home or only to maintain a good image in public? Do wives ask for support from their husbands in the private domain of their

home? These questions are important because the in-depth interview data in this study indicate that most men appear to be traditional and are unlikely to offer family support to their wives.

9.5 Limitation of the Research

This study from Ghana offers empirical evidence on how gender division of labour produces gendered experiences, gendered responses and gendered negations over work/family conflict among two groups of professionals. While this research employed rigorous methodology as discussed in Chapter Five in collecting and analysing my data, some limitations need to be acknowledged and considered for future research.

Data (30 participants) for my thesis were from two groups of professionals in the teaching and banking sectors. While my participants represent a combination of various banks and schools, these banks and schools only represent a small number out of the many branches and schools located in the city. Logistics in relation to time and budget did not allow me to gain from other cities in the region of study. Getting permission from many banks' management to conduct the study with their staff was also a challenge. Nonetheless, the sample size is appropriate for this research, allowing participants to be selected from banks and schools throughout the city.

My study is limited to participants who are generally well-educated and find themselves in the working middle class. That is not to say their lives are easy, but every participant I interviewed was employed in a professional career. So another limitation of my thesis is that I did not include unemployed or underemployed mothers and fathers, which may have yielded different results.

As noted earlier, my study introduced and discussed a typology including three categories describing men's involvements in domestic labour and provision of childcare. The study homogenised the women by not including a typology for them because all of the women were all employed full-time and were also fully involved in their inescapable role of unpaid work in the family. Such a homogenisation will limit our understanding on the different gender ideologies these women have in relation to domestic and caring work in the family as the theory on gender ideology seems to suggest in the Chapter Three.

9.6 Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, this study provides insights into work/family conflict in a new cultural context, Ghana, a developing country in West Africa that has a predominantly traditional gender ideology on gendered roles in the society. This study demonstrates that specific groups of men and women from a specific study in Ghana experience different forms of work/family conflict and adopt different coping strategies for negotiating work and family roles. These differences in the experience of work/family conflict and coping strategies can be explained through the structure of gender division of labour in the family that makes men become more devoted to paid work and women to family roles. The study confirms that individual gender ideologies, together with their respective devotions to the domains of work and family, produce gendered experiences of work/family conflict and gendered responses to those experiences.

My thesis concludes that family demands, if unsupported by men, could become an invisible constraint keeping women from climbing beyond men on the career ladder as was identified by women in my study. Despite living in the 21st century, Ghanaian women still assume full responsibility as homemakers in addition to their paid work. The implication is that those women are not able to compete with their male counterparts at work especially as the men are always used in the world of work as the yardstick for measuring success and to determine promotions and wages. Equal sharing of domestic work between men and women will ensure an 'egalitarian' family. Therefore, it is recommended to gender advocates that all efforts should be made to get men to take an active role in the family.

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Appendix I: Demographic Features of Participants

Pseud	Age	G	MS	YM	NM	AC	LE	P	SW	WE
FT1	44	F	√	13	2	12, 9	2deg	HoD	T	16
FT2	32	F	√	7	2	6, 4	1deg	_	T	_
MT3	54	M	√	18	4	16,14,11,7	2deg	HoD	T	26
MB4	31	M	√	1	1	6 mths	2deg	Manager	B	7
FT5	38	F	√	10	4	8,6,4,1	2deg	Teacher	T	12
FT6	37	F	√	9	2	7,4	1deg	Teacher	T	15
MB7	40	M	√	8	2	6,4	1deg	Manager	B	10
MB8	35	M	√	4	2	3,1	1deg	R officer	B	9
FT9	46	F	√	14	3	13,9,4	1deg	H Mistress	T	22
MB10	37	M	√	14	3	3,2,6 mths	2deg	Manager	B	14
FB11	49	F	√	_	5	24,22,14,13,9	A-lev	Banker	B	24
FB12	38	F	√	10	5	9*, 5 2*	Dip	Clerk	B	12
MB13	45	M	√	16	3	13,7,5	A-lev	Clerk	B	22
MT14	40	M	√	7	2	5,4	1deg	H Mistress	T	12
MT15	49	M	√	25	3	22,18,10	2deg	HoD	T	19
FT16	32	F	√	_	3	6,3,1	_	Teacher	T	_
MT17	38	M	√	5	3	5,3,1	1deg	H Master	T	10
MB18	34	M	√	4	1	3	1deg	_	B	7
MT19	39	M	√	6	3	5,4,2	1deg	HoD	T	13
FB20	38	F	√	3	3	13,11,8	Dip	_	B	10
MB21	52	M	√	24	3	_	2deg	Manager	B	29
FB22	30	F	√	1	1	1	1deg	_	B	5
MT23	38	M	√	7	2	7,2	1deg	Teacher	T	8
MT24	47	M	√	20	4	_	1deg	Teacher	T	17
MT25	38	M	√	6	3	6,4,3	2deg	Teacher	T	14
FT26	38	F	√	8	3	6,4,2	1deg	Teacher	T	14

FT 27	43	F	√	7	2	23,6	2deg	H Mistress	T	21
FB 28	35	F	√	10	3	9,7,3	1deg	Banker	B	5
FB 29	30	F	√	2	1	1	2deg	Banker	B	5
FB 30	45	F	√	14	3	13,11,8	1deg	Supervisor	B	22

Source: Field work

Key

G – Gender; MS – Marital Status; YM – Year(s) in Marriage; NM – Number of Children; AC – Age of Children; LE –Level of Education; P – Position at Work, SW – Sector of Work; WE – Work Experience; T – Teachers; B – Bankers; FB – Female Bankers; MB – Male Bankers; FT – Female Teachers; MT – Male Teachers.

Appendix II: Advertisement



Department of Sociology
Level 9, Human Science Building
10 Symonds Street, Auckland
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 88613



Are you a married man or woman?

Are both of you working in full time jobs?

Do you have children?

Is your youngest child 12 years of age or younger?

If you answer yes to all of these questions, I would like to invite you to share your experiences with me.

I, Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu, am conducting research on how men and women, husbands and wives, mothers and fathers, experience their work and family commitments. This research project is being done as part of my Doctorate in Sociology. The filling of time use diary and conducting interview will last between 1 hour to 1 and a half hours and will be conducted at a location convenient for you.

If you are interested in taking part in this research or if you would simply like more information please contact me by email or mobile:

Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu

Email: hasi319@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Mobile: **0544044104**

You may also contact my supervisor:

Dr Vivienne Elizabeth

Email: v.elizabeth@auckland.ac.nz

Telephone: + 64 3737599, extension 88613

Thank you.

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COMMITTEE ON 06-APR-2015 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 013785

Appendix III: Interview Guide

1. General background information

- a. Age
- b. Gender
- c. Level of education
- d. Years in marriage
- e. Number of children
- f. Age of children
- g. Childcare arrangements
- h. Eldercare responsibilities
- i. Type of work
- j. Work experience

2. General description of work and family situation

- a. Can you tell me about the policies of your workplace that relate to working hours, holiday leave, and other kinds of leave that you are entitled to, for instance, maternity leave, sick leave or flexible work?
- b. Do you work the hours you are paid for?
- c. Could you apply for maternity leave, holiday leave or flexible working arrangements and expect to get it?
- d. Would opting for flexible work arrangements have negative effect on long term career prospects?
- e. If you could change one thing about your working lives that will make you feel more satisfied with your live over all, what would it be?
- f. If you could change one thing about your family live that will make you feel more satisfied with your live over all, what would it be?
- g. What is one thing you would change about who does what that would make you happier with how things work at home?
- h. Are there other changes you would like and what are the obstacles to these changes?

3. Personal values about work and family

- a. Can you tell me about how important is work to you?

- i. Is there an anecdote that you can tell me that conveys the place that work occupies in your life?
 - ii. If push came to shove and you had to prioritise work or family, which would come first for you?
 - iii. Can you tell me about the thinking that lies behind priorities?
 - iv. How willing would be to tell your workmates or your family members about your priorities?
- b. Can you tell me about how important is family to you?
 - i. Is there an anecdote that you can tell me that conveys the place that family occupies in your life?
 - ii. If I was to ask your family members or work colleagues to talk about how important being a parent to you was, what do you think they will say?
 - iii. Is there something that you do as a parent that they would use as an example to justify their answer?

4. Work/family conflict

- a. On a scale of **1** to **5**, can you tell me how satisfied you are with your work lives?
- b. On a scale of **1** to **5**, can you tell me how satisfied you are about who does work home?
- c. Can you tell me how it is for you to combine paid work and family life?
- d. How do you feel about work?
 - i. What are the things at work or at home, or in getting around the city, that make combining work and family life tricky?
 - ii. Do you feel that your work life suffers at all as a result of your family situation?
- e. How do you feel about your family?
 - i. Can you tell me more about how family interferes with work life?
 - i. Do you feel that your family life suffers at all because of work commitments?
 - ii. Can you tell me more about how work interferes with family?

5. Strategies used to balance work and family

- a. How do you personally manage the moments were family life suffers because of work commitment?
- b. How do you personally manage the moments were work life suffers because of work family commitments?

- c. How do you generally make decisions in situations where work and family life clashes with each other.
- d. Can you tell me more about what you normally do when demands of work clashes with demands of the family?

6. Perception about women and paid work

- a. How do you define being a good wife?
- b. How do you define being a good mother?
- c. What are the responsibilities that go along with being a wife?
- d. What are the responsibilities that go along with being a mother?
- e. How pressured are you when you depart from these responsibilities?
- f. How do mothers who work fulltime feel they are rated by family members and friends?
- g. How would family and friends respond if wife/mother was intent on being very successful at and earning more say than the husband?
- h. If you have opportunity will you still allow your wife to be in full time job (explain)?

7. Perception about men and unpaid work

- a. How do you define being a good father?
- b. How do you define being a good husband?
- c. What are the responsibilities that go along with being a father?
- d. What are the responsibilities that go along with being a good husband?
- e. How pressured are you when you depart from these responsibilities?
- f. How would family and friends feel if they saw husband/father doing more of the cooking, cleaning and caring?

8. Achieving a balance between work and life.

- a. Looking at the current demands on family and work, how can we achieve a more balance between these two domains?

Appendix IV: Request Letter for Participants Recruitment



Department of Sociology
Level 9, Human Science Building
10 Symonds Street, Auckland
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 88613

LETTER OF REQUEST FOR PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

Project Title: Work/Family Conflict: A Study of Ghanaian Employees.

Name of Researcher: Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu.

Researcher Introduction

I am a doctoral student in Sociology at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. The overall purpose of my thesis is to explore work/family conflict among Ghanaian employees.

Work-life balance is a general term used to describe the satisfactory combining of work and family life. In situations where balance is not achieved between these two domains the resultant effect is tension and conflict; hence, work/family conflict.

The frequency with which people all over the world experience a tension between work and family is the reason for my research. As a Ghanaian I want to examine the challenges other Ghanaians face when attempting to combine the demands of work and the demands of home. The study seeks to gain an in-depth understanding of how men and women perceive work/family conflict. It will further examine how men and women negotiate the tension between work and family roles and to explore what needs to change in order for men and women to experience work/life balance.

The purpose of this letter is to ask for permission to interview employees in your organisation and to visit the place of work to talk with staff about the project. If it is appropriate, I would like to visit the workplace since this is the best way for me to contact prospective respondents and to talk to them about my research.

This letter seeks your consent to approach employees and also your assurance that there will be no negative consequences for employees should they participate or not participate in the research.

Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu

Mobile: **0544044104**

Email: hasi319@aucklanduni.ac.nz

If you have any questions about the research, please contact any of the followings:

Contacts

Dr Vivienne Elizabeth (Supervisor, Department of Sociology)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 extn. 88613

Email: v.elizabeth@auckland.ac.nz

Associate Professor Steve Matthewman (Head of Department, Department of Sociology)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599extn. 84507

Email: s.matthewman@auckland.ac.nz

Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu (PhD student)

Phone: **0544044104**

Email: hasi319@aucklanduni.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office,

Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn.87830/ 83761. Email:
humanethics@auckland.ac.nz.

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Appendix V: Participants Information Sheet for Bank Managers and Heads of Schools



Department of Sociology
Level 9, Human Science Building
10 Symonds Street, Auckland
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 88613

PARTICIPANTS INFORMATION SHEET

'Work/Family Conflict: A Study of Ghanaian Employees'

Researcher Introduction

I, Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu, am conducting research on how men and women, husbands and wives, mothers and fathers, experience their work and family commitments. This research project is being done as part of my Doctorate in Sociology.

Thank you for expressing interest in this study. Before agreeing to allow your employees to participate in the study, it is important to read and understand the explanation, procedures and methods of the study. You will then be asked to sign a form indicating your consent to grant access to the researcher in your organisation to talk to employees and to give out or post fliers in your organisation.

Project Description and Invitation

Work-life balance is a general term used to describe a situation where workers combine the demands of work and family relatively harmoniously. In situations where balance is not achieved between these two domains, people can feel a sense of tension, or what is called in the academic literature work/family. (Note: This is not a study about interpersonal conflict or domestic violence, but rather how parents in Ghana experience the demands placed on them by work and family, something that can give rise to a sense of tension, stress and/or overload.)

The frequency with which people all over the world experience tension between work and family is the reason for my research. As a Ghanaian I want to examine the challenges other Ghanaians face when attempting to combine the demands of work and the demands of home. The study seeks to gain an in-depth understanding of how Ghanaian men and women experience their work and family commitments. It will further examine how Ghanaian men and women negotiate the tension between work and family roles and to explore what needs to change in order for Ghanaian men and women to experience work/life balance.

I am seeking to interview approximately thirty participants who are married men or women, who are both of working in full time jobs have at least one child 12 years of age or younger.

Participation Criteria

To be included in this study the employee needs to be employed full-time, be living with your spouse or partner, and have at least one child 12 years of age or younger.

Men and women, who are unmarried, divorced and without children will not be included in this study. It is assumed that these people may not be able to answer questions relating to family and work/family conflict. Also excluded are non-professionals, that is, workers who do not have a full time job and/or those who work in Ghana's informal economy.

Project Procedures

If employee agrees agree to participate in this study he/she will be asked to complete a time use diary recording how his/her spent your time on the previous day. I will provide employees with the necessary template to fill out when I meet up with them for the interview.

Having completed the time use diary employees will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview will involve an hour to two hour conversation about their experiences of combining work and family, including whether employees experience a sense of tension between these two aspects of their live and if so, how they manage this tension. I would also like to hear their thoughts about what employers might be able to do to assist them in managing work and family life.

I plan, with employees' permission, to audio-record the interview.

Participants will be given a choice of being interviewed in English or Asante Twi. If they choose to be interviewed in Asante Twi, the transcript will be done in English and the translation and the transcription will be done by the researcher.

Once the translation and transcription process is complete I will send to participants a copy of the transcript to check and make modifications. I would ask that participants return any modifications that you would like to make to me within fourteen days.

- If participants wish an executive summary of the overall PhD findings in English it can be sent to them at the end of the project.
- The researcher will make small token of GHC 20.00 available for participants on the interview day as a gesture of appreciation for participants' help with this project.

Data Storage/ Retention/ Destruction/ Future Use

Signed consent form will be stored securely and separately from the research data for a maximum of six years. It will then be shredded.

Digital recordings from the interview with the participants will be erased from the recorder as soon as these are safely transferred to password protected electronic storage under my control. These files will be transferred to the University of Auckland's server when I return to Auckland and kept there until the completion of the project.

Transcriptions of the interviews with the participants and the time-use diary the will be kept securely by me in a locked office and/or locked filing cabinet for up to six years. At this point they will be destroyed.

The data participants provide me will be treated confidentially by those involved in the project: me and my two supervisors, Doctors Vivienne Elizabeth and David Mayeda. Any identifying information, such as name, email and postal address will not be disseminated. In addition, a pseudonym will be used and other identifying features in the interview (for example, place of employment) will either be omitted or changed.

The data participants provide to me will be used to produce my doctoral thesis and may also be used to produce conference papers and publications in peer reviewed academic journals.

Right to Withdraw from Participation

Filing out the time use diary and participating in an interview is voluntary. Participants may ask for the recorder to be stopped during the interview for any reason and without explanation. They also have the right to withdraw their interview and the time use diary in their entirety within 7 days of the interview. In addition, they will have the opportunity to edit their transcript.

As an employer, you will not be allowed to see any personal responses from this study, and decision of employees to participate in this study will not be communicated to you, so whether employees decide to participate or not should not have any impact on your employment.

Contact Details and Approval Wording

If you are willing to allow access to your organisation, please contact the researcher, Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu:

Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu

Mobile: **0544044104**

Email: hasi319@aucklanduni.ac.nz

If you have any questions about the research, please contact any of the followings:

Dr Vivienne Elizabeth (Supervisor, Department of Sociology)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 extn. 88613

Email: v.elizabeth@auckland.ac.nz

Professor Steve Matthewman (Head of Department, Department of Sociology)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599extn. 84507

Email: s.matthewman@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn.87830/ 83761. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz.

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Appendix VI: Consent Form for Bank Managers and Heads of Schools

Hubert B. Asiedu



Department of Sociology
Level 9, Human Science Building
10 Symonds Street, Auckland
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext 88614

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

'Work/family balance: A Study of Ghanaian employees'

I have read the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and understand the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to the following:

- To allow permission for the researcher to come and talk to employees in my organisation as part of this research project.
- To give out fliers to my employees and where necessary post fliers in my organisation inviting my employees to take part in the research project.
- To provide assurance to employees that taking part in the research project will not affect them in anyway as employees in this organisation.
- I understand that employee's participation is entirely voluntary and that he/she is free to withdraw part or all of his/her interview material at any time within a week of participating in the interview.

- I understand that every attempt will be made to keep my employees identity private, both during the research process and in publications that may arise from the research. I understand that a pseudonym will be used and that other identifying features will be from my interview.

Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

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Appendix VII: Participants Information for Respondents



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Level 9, Human Science Building
10 Symonds Street, Auckland
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 88613

PARTICIPANTS INFORMATION SHEET

'Work/Family Conflict: A Study of Ghanaian Employees'

Researcher Introduction

I, Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu, am conducting research on how men and women, husbands and wives, mothers and fathers, experience their work and family commitments. This research project is being done as part of my Doctorate in Sociology.

Thank you for expressing interest in this study. Before agreeing to participate in the study, it is important to read and understand the explanation, procedures and methods of the study. You will then be asked to sign a form indicating your consent to participate in the study.

Project Description and Invitation

Work-life balance is a general term used to describe how workers are able to combine the demands of work and family. In situations where balance is not achieved between these two domains, in some cases, people feel a sense of tension, or what is called in the academic literature, work /family conflict. (Note: This is not a study about interpersonal conflict or domestic violence, but rather how parents in Ghana experience the demands placed on them by work and family, something that can give rise to a sense of tension, stress and/or overload.)

The frequency with which people all over the world experience tension between work and family is the reason for my research. As a Ghanaian I want to examine the challenges other Ghanaians face when attempting to combine the demands of work and the demands of home.

The study seeks to gain an in-depth understanding of how men and women experience work and family commitments. It will further examine how men and women negotiate the tension between work and family roles and to explore what needs to change in order for men and women to experience work/life balance.

I am seeking to interview approximately thirty participants who are married men or women, who are both of working in full time jobs and have children, with their oldest child being 12 years of age or younger.

Participation Criteria

To be included in this study you need to be employed full-time, be living with your spouse or partner, and have at least the youngest child who is 12 years of age or younger.

Men and women, who are unmarried, divorced and without children will not be included in this study. It is assumed that these may not be able to answer questions relating to family and work/family conflict. Also excluded are non-professionals, that is, workers who do not have full time job. What we call in Ghana informal economy.

Project Procedures

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to complete a time use diary for the previous day, recording how you used your time on that day. I will provide you with the necessary template to fill out when I meet up with you for the interview.

Having completed the time use diary you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview will involve an hour and half conversation about your experiences of combining work and family, including whether you experience a sense of tension between these two aspects of your live and if so, how you manage this tension. I would also like to hear your thoughts about what employers might be able to do to assist you in managing work and family life.

I plan, with your permission, to audio-record the interview.

As a participant you will be given a choice of being interviewed in English or Asante Twi. If you choose to be interviewed in Asante Twi, the transcript will be done English and the translation and the transcription will be done by the researcher.

Once the translation and transcription process is complete I will send you a copy of the transcript to check and make modifications. I would ask that you return any modifications that you would like to make to me within fourteen days.

- If participants wish an executive summary of the overall PhD findings in English it can be sent to them at the end of the project.
- The researcher will make small token of GHC 20.00 available for participants on the interview day as a gesture of appreciation for participants' help with this project.

Data Storage/ Retention/ Destruction/ Future Use

Your signed consent form will be stored securely and separately from the research data for a maximum of six years. It will then be shredded.

Digital recordings will be erased from the recorder as soon as these are safely transferred to secure electronic storage under my control. These will be stored on computer files which is password protected. These files will be kept securely stored until the completion of the project.

Transcriptions of the interviews and the time-use diary will be kept securely by me in a locked office and/or locked filing cabinet for up to six years. At this point they will be destroyed.

The data you provide me will be treated confidentially by those involved in the project: me and my two supervisors, Doctors Vivienne Elizabeth and David Mayeda. Any identifying information, such as your name, email and postal address will not be disseminated. In addition, a pseudonym will be used and other identifying features in your interview (for example, your place of employment) will either be omitted or changed.

The data you provide to me will be used to produce my doctoral thesis and may also be used to produce conference papers and publications in peer reviewed academic journals.

Right to Withdraw from Participation

Participating in an interview is voluntary. You may ask for the recorder to be stopped during the interview for any reason and without explanation. You also have the right to withdraw your interview and the time use diary in their entirety within 7 days of the interview. In addition, you will have the opportunity to edit your transcript. If you would like to edit your transcript please

indicate this on the Consent Form and this will be returned to you once the transcription has been completed. You will have 7 days to undertake this task.

Your employer will not be allowed to see any of your personal responses from this study, and your decision to participate in this study will not be communicated to your employer, so whether you decide to participate or not should not have any impact on your employment.

Contact Details and Approval Wording

If you are willing to participate, please contact the researcher, Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu:

Hubert Bimpeh Asiedu

Mobile: **0544044104**

Email: hasi319@aucklanduni.ac.nz

If you have any questions about the research, please contact any of the followings:

Dr Vivienne Elizabeth (Supervisor, Department of Sociology)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 extn. 88613

Email: v.elizabeth@auckland.ac.nz

Professor Steve Matthewman (Head of Department, Department of Sociology)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599extn. 84507

Email: s.matthewman@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn.87830/ 83761. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS
COMMITTEE ON 06-APR-2015 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 013785

Appendix VIII: Consent Form for Respondents

Hubert B. Asiedu



Department of Sociology
Level 9, Human Science Building
10 Symonds Street, Auckland
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 88613

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

'Work/family balance: A Study of Ghanaian employees'

I have read the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and understand the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to take part in the research project, given the following:

- I understand that the time use diary and the interview will take between one to two hours of my time.
- I understand that the interview will be digitally recorded by the researcher, and that I may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time during the interview without explanation.
- I understand that there is no third party involved in this research, and the researcher himself will transcribe and translate the audio tape.

- I understand my participation is entirely voluntary and that if I do take part I am free to withdraw part or all of my interview material at any time within a week of participating in the interview.
- I understand that every attempt will be made to keep my identity private, both during the research process and in publications that may arise from the research. I understand that a pseudonym will be used and that other identifying features will be from my interview.
- I understand that the information resulting from the interview will be held for a maximum of six years, after which hard copies will be shredded and electronic files will be deleted. During this time, data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or a password protected computer.
- I understand that the consent form will be stored separately from the research data, in a locked filing cabinet on the University of Auckland campus for a maximum of six years. It will then be shredded.
- I would like to receive a follow-up phone call within 72 hours of the interview by the principal investigator in this project: Yes/No (please circle your reply)
- I would like to receive a copy of my interview transcript to review and understand that I will have 7 days within which to review my transcript: Yes/No (please circle your reply)
- I would like to be kept informed about findings from the project: Yes/No (please circle your reply)

Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

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