

W WORKING MOTHERS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FAMILY:

THE CASE OF THIKA 9

BY

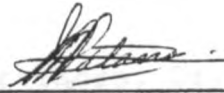
AGOSTINO M. ZAMBERIA

A Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfilment for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi.

November 1990

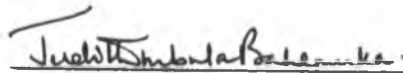
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

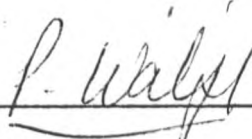


AGOSTINO M. ZAMBERIA

This thesis has been Submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors



PROF. JUDITH MBULA BAHEMUKA



DR. PARVEEN WALJI

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I am grateful to my supervisors, Dr. Parveen Walji and Prof. Judith M. Bahemuka, whose guidance has made this work possible. I thank them particularly for giving their time to reading through and commenting on my successive drafts, and for their continued support and constructive criticism in seeing my work through to completion. I am also greatly indebted to the University of Nairobi for funding this research.

I also would like to express my deep gratitude to all those who cooperated in this undertaking, particularly those who gave me audience when carrying out the research.

Finally I must express my sincere appreciation for the tolerance of those friends who supported me in various ways during the course of my research and writing.

Agostino Matano Zamberia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgements	(i)
List of Tables	(v)
Abstract	(viii)

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Women's Participation in the Urban Labour Markets of East Africa	1
1.2 Problem Statement	6
1.3 Justification and Significance of the Study	8

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature Review	12
2.1 The Contribution of Friedrich Engels to the Analysis of Women's Work and the Family	12
2.2 Marx, Comte, Spencer, Durkheim and Weber on the Position of Women in Society	14
2.3 Why Mothers Work Outside the Home	16
2.4 The Effects of Mothers' Earnings on the Family	20

	<u>Page</u>
2.5 Family Life-Cycle and Labour Force Participation	20
2.6 Family Formation and Stability	21
2.7 Household Division of Labour	27
2.8 Theoretical Framework	31
2.9 Research Hypotheses	33
2.10 Operationalization of Concepts	36

CHAPTER THREE

3. Area of Study and Methodology	41
3.1 Thika	41
3.2 The Study	42
3.3 Sampling Strategies	45
3.4 Data Collection	47
3.5 Data Analysis	48
3.6 Problems Encountered in the Field	48

CHAPTER FOUR

Page

4.1.1	The Main Characteristics of the Sample	51
4.1.2	Determinants of Mothers' Participation in Work outside the home	63
4.1.3	Working Mothers and the Division of Labour within the Household	81
4.2	Familial Problems	106
4.2.1	Child Care	106
4.2.2	Role Strain and Conflict	117

CHAPTER FIVE

5.	Hypotheses Testing	130
----	--------------------------	-----

CHAPTER SIX

6.	Summary and concluding Discussion	149
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	155

APPENDIX

	Interview Schedule ..	163
--	-----------------------	-----

<u>List of Tables</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Distribution by area of residence	52
2. Distribution by age	54
3. Distribution by Marital Status	56
4. Distribution by level of education	57
5. Level of Education by area of residence	58
6. Distribution by Present Occupation	61
7. Distribution by Mother's Monthly Income	62
8. Reasons for Working	65
9. Explanation of husband's influence on decision to work	72
10. Why the husband's approval does not influence the decision to work	72
11. Can your family run smoothly provided your husband works?	74
12. Reasons why the family can run smoothly provided the husband works	75
13. Reasons for mothers' feeling that the family would not run smoothly	77
14. Satisfaction on working outside the home	79

	<u>Page</u>
15. Does your work influence the way your children work within the home?	82
16. Why mothers' work does not influence the way children work	83
17. How the mother's work influences the children's work	85
18. Mother's Work experience and its influence on children's performance of household tasks	87
19. Mother's performance of domestic activities	101
20. Children's performance of domestic activities	102
21. Do you encounter any problems in taking care of your children?	108
22. Problems encountered in child care	110
23. Solutions to child care problems	112
24. Amount paid for child care	115
25. Mother's work experience and problems in child care	116
26. Negative effects of the mothers work in relation to the children	119

	<u>Page</u>
27. Problems in husband - wife relationship	121
28. Problems in the performance of familial duties	123
29. Satisfaction in housework	125
30. Difficulties in meeting demand of two roles	126
31. Can you stop working if your husband earns enough to take care of all the family needs?	132
32. Would you be willing to stop working if you had other means of livelihood apart from work outside the home?	134
33. Do you experience any difficulties in meeting the demands of your two roles?	136
34. Number of children staying home and frequency of difficulties in the demands of two roles	137
35. Work experience by difficulties in meeting the demands of two roles	140
36. Mother's income by role strain	142
37. Number of children staying home by satisfaction in housework	144
38. Mother's monthly income by negative effects	147

ABSTRACT

This study examines the implications for the family when mothers are engaged in income-generating activities outside the home. It substantiates the mother's double role in the family, and documents the nature and magnitude of the difficult trade-offs mothers in urban areas face as a result of their participation in the job market. Analytic techniques have been used in this study to examine the mothers' household and non-household activities, and the way these activities intersect with and are affected by the presence and activities of other household members.

The study begins by identifying the need for research on working mothers in the Kenyan context. The existence of cultural variations between societies is pointed out as one of the main reasons for carrying out the research. It then reviews some of the literature on the relationship between the mothers' work and the family with the aim of giving a viable research basis for the study and also for highlighting the complexity of the research problem. Some of the historical and current conceptions of sex roles and their limitations are also discussed. This review is then used as the basis for the assessment of the implications of the mother's work on the family.

The determinants of the mother's participation in work outside the home are discussed in detail. Many of the mothers work outside the home to earn a living. The proceeds from their work are utilized in catering for the family and meeting other

needs. Other reasons for working include the mothers' need to be busy, the satisfaction derived from work, and formal education. The focus on these determinants helps in clarifying the discussion on the pattern of the division of labour in the urban family. The emphasis on mothers' care for the children stands out significantly. Though mothers are engaged in most of the domestic duties and work outside the home, they are still the primary caretakers of the children. The salient points as to whether working mothers experience role overload are explained by a detailed examination of role allocation in the family.

The problems of role conflict and strain, and the difficulties that working mothers experience in taking care of their children are also explained. The main problem encountered in child care is the lack of housemaids. In other cases maids may be available but irresponsible. Role conflict and strain arise because it is the mothers who perform many of the domestic tasks on a regular basis. Mothers are therefore often overworked as they attempt to fulfil their domestic role obligations and their obligations in work outside the home.

The main sampling strategies used in the study were cluster sampling and systematic sampling. These were used to get the desired sample of working mothers in Thika town. First, the town was divided into estate clusters, and then systematic sampling was used to get the mothers to be interviewed from the selected dwelling units. The working mothers in Thika were chosen to represent Kenyan mothers working in the urban centres.

Two major considerations governed the choice of Thika town for study. Foremost was the desire to have a representative of

Kenyan towns. Thika was found to be typical of other urban areas in Kenya, where working mothers experience a lot of strain and conflict because of their participation in income-generating activities. Secondly, the researcher's familiarity with the town was found to be advantageous in that it would ease the sampling procedure.

Data collection was done by the use of an interview schedule. The main types of questions were standardized structured and unstructured. The statistical tests used in the analysis of the data include the chi-square and gamma.

The major findings of the study were that:

- (a) in many urban families mothers work out of economic necessity;
- (b) work experience influences the intensity of role strain among working mothers, with mothers who have worked for many years experiencing less role strain than those who have worked for a shorter period of time;
- (c) role strain among working mothers is not related to the number of children within the household;
- (d) the intensity of role strain is not influenced by the mother's income.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE URBAN LABOUR MARKETS OF EAST AFRICA

Migration from one area to another in East Africa has been predominantly male until fairly recently. Before the Second World War only a small fraction of the African people could be described as town dwellers, and only for a still smaller fraction was urbanization more than partial (Wrigley, 1965). Thus, during the Colonial period, hardly any Africans had entirely severed themselves from their roots in the rural areas since the urban economy was based in the main on the system of migrant or temporary labour.

The incentives to provide labour in the urban centres were specifically directed at the men. The men migrated to the towns to sell their labour while women remained behind to tend the family plots and care for the children (Wrigley, 1965). At first, therefore, the main rural input into the urban system was male workers who in time returned to their birth place. Given the short-term nature of male urban migration, it was most unusual for wives to accompany husbands to town.

In Kenya, as in the other East African countries, women's rate of participation in the labour force and the pattern of such participation varied significantly in the rural and urban sectors. In rural areas virtually all adult females contributed to the household economy. Women invested more time in

agricultural production than men, while in contrast, females were under-represented in wage labour employment. Thus, when men migrated to the urban centres, women were left to concentrate on agricultural production, a system which, according to Wrigley (1965), favoured the employers. This favourable situation for the employers arose because it was possible for them to continue paying low wages, which were, in effect, subsidized by subsistence production in the reserves.

It was not until after the Second World War that women started accompanying their husbands to the urban centres (Middleton, 1965:385). By this time, there was a marked decline in the importance of traditional social groupings especially those based upon kinship. This period also marked the emergence of individualization. Individualization implied the appearance of the individual as the unit of production and of residence. Middleton (1965) therefore argues that with the emergence of individualization, a single man, often helped by his wife and children, came to be the labourer or squatter in urban areas. He further states that women also moved to towns to work as individuals.

Migrant labour became more and more institutionalized as the rural areas principal mode of involvement in the money economy as men started living with their wives in the urban centres. Moreover, independent, unattached women also started living and working in these centres. Consequently, the move to the urban areas involved whole families, single parents (female), or independent women, instead of just the male workers as in the past. A description of the previous migratory system by Little

(1973:16) vividly shows this change:

Hitherto, the nature of migratory system had inhibited women's movement to the towns, and the Government considered that they were best kept in the rural areas.

Following the Carpenter Report of 1954 in Kenya, the Government, by means of minimum wage legislation began to try and secure an urban wage level which had no element of rural subsidy. Swainson (1980:114) states that in the field of labour policy "the government's aim was to create a stable workforce, in order to break the traditional pattern of male migrant workers moving from their rural homes to employment areas for limited periods." Migrants were, as a matter of official policy, encouraged to bring their wives with them as a way of ensuring minimum preservation of African family life. It can therefore be argued that by 1950 the traditional assumption that marriage precludes involvement in the labour force no longer held, inasmuch as married women formed a part of the female workforce. Traditionalism has experienced a further decline as mothers have entered the labour force, and the number of female urban migrants has continued increasing.

Obbo argues that the question of urban migration and its perception came into existence as soon as the first towns were established in East Africa. She further states that women "were seen as adding to the overwhelming unemployment problem by competing for jobs with men whose labour was assumed to be more valuable" (Obbo, 1980:7). In her discussion of the occupations of migrant women Obbo (ibid:122) argues that women migrated to towns to increase their options and opportunities for self-

improvement. Some of these women were self-employed in jobs that required minimal training such as distilling, brewing, and hairdressing.

According to Little (1973:33) commerce in African towns is carried on by women in both the traditional and the modern sectors of the economy. He adds that women are gradually being allowed to take up the kinds of employment traditionally denied them. This is evident in the Kenyan situation where 26.2% of the professional and technical workers, and 29.1% of the administrative, managerial and clerical workers are females.¹ This is an indication that the urban economy is not based upon the sexual division of labour, but on workers who are mainly selected according to criteria appropriate to the job getting performed. This shows that women's contribution to the economy has dramatically changed as they now work outside the home. However, women's basic commitment to home and family has remained largely unchanged.

It is worthwhile to note a major point raised by Little (1973:31) that "the relative lack of education and training means that in competition for jobs women are at a considerable disadvantage." Women's opportunities for wage employment in urban areas are therefore limited because their lower rates of literacy and educational attainment place them at a disadvantage in seeking wage employment. It is also more difficult to

1. Republic of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, Urban Labour Force Survey 1986, Nairobi: Ministry of Planning and National Development, 1988:40.

reconcile family obligations, particularly child rearing, with the fixed hours and work schedules demanded by most types of wage employment as compared with farming on the family holding.

The foregoing, by showing the extent of women's participation in the urban labour force since the colonial period has highlighted the process through which women came to be part and parcel of the urban labour force. The overall features are that many women have migrated to towns and joined wage employment, both in the formal and informal sectors of the economy. It is suggested that women's participation in the labour force is however limited by their apparent lack of formal education. This has consequently meant that many of them have to take up jobs that do not require highly specialized skills. The most important picture that emerges is that of a working mother, who has to meet the demands of both her family and her job concurrently. It is against this background that this study attempts to analyse the working mothers' situation and that of their families in relation to their participation in the labour force.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The entry of mothers into the labour force has raised the issue of the effects of mothers outside employment on their traditional roles and responsibilities, and the general implications for the family. Although many studies have been carried out on the impact of social and economic change with regard to working women, it is difficult to make generalizations on the basis of such studies since they are mainly from Western societies (e.g. Myrdal and Klein, 1968; Kessler and McRae, 1981; Roy, 1964). Indeed, researchers have only complicated the picture of the impact of development on women. This has happened because various researchers have come up with varied findings.

This study therefore starts from the premise that cultural variations exist between societies, and that the results obtained from studies on working mothers in the West cannot be generalized for all societies. It is with this in mind that this study seeks to ascertain these implications within the context of a developing country, Kenya, by an in-depth study of the urban families in Thika, one of the major urban areas in the country.

What inspired this study was not the gap in methodology or theoretical model of the previous studies, rather it was the recognition that although data on the number of women entering various occupations have been made available, more information is needed on specific family environments. data, even when used objectively, are often insufficient for

making sound inferences. For instance, those who discuss current familial problems in relation to working mothers may draw upon the experience of the Western family, but the character of the family in the West is too singular to provide the basis for safe generalizations. Specificity, focusing on the environment, whether African or Western, implies that the issue of different life-styles, economic and social variations, is dealt with.

Stereotyping has largely contributed to making women unable to participate in activities outside the family which are considered male tasks. Feminine characteristics of nurturing and helplessness and masculine traits of aggressiveness have all been used in justifying the restriction of women from involvement in activities outside the household. On the surface we often appear to be unduly conservative in our social structure because we cling to forms and institutions that seem to have outlived their day. It is becoming increasingly necessary to evaluate the contributions of working mothers to the well-being of the family in particular and the society in general. But such an evaluation may not be possible unless the barrier of stereotyping is removed by a thorough study of the relationship between the mother's outside work activities and the family.

Another area that has not been adequately covered is women's preferences in Kenya. There is need to ask whether it is women's desire for a life-style different from that of men that has contributed to their being latecomers in the world of work outside the family, or it is a matter of limited alternatives as a result of more demanding family responsibilities. As for those who have joined the labour force, we need to ---- but the reasons

behind their participation in the labour force. This calls for a systematic and analytical study of the urban family in Kenya to delineate the reasons for mothers' entry into the labour force and remove the confusion that is likely to arise in any attempts at generalizing the findings from studies based on Western urban areas.

This is a study of the urban family in Thika which aims at:

- (i) finding out the reasons behind mothers' participation in work outside the family;
- (ii) finding out the extent to which mothers' work outside the family relates to family conflict (e.g. role conflict and strain) and its implications for the family;
- (iii) examining the social and economic implications for the family when mothers work outside the household; and
- (iv) generating knowledge and understanding of the ways in which policy makers could improve the lives of working mothers and their families in this country.

1.3 JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Employment for mothers has been viewed as a social evil that makes them neglect their homes (Myrdal and Klein, 1968:5). The issue of conflicting loyalties, i.e. home and work, has specifically been pinpointed as having adverse effects on children (Bossard, 1954: 282-286). Since the life of the mothers is intricately linked with the existence of the family, it is vital to understand the implications for the family when the mothers work outside the home. Such an understanding

would make it possible to give practical scope both for family life and the gainful employment of mothers. We must learn to reconcile the conflicting claims of home and work because the two need to be coordinated: if they are pursued on conflicting lines they will neutralize one another.

Family studies based on Western societies have revealed the dire need for family studies within the context of developing countries. This seems called for specifically because the family in the developing countries has followed a different path in its development. We should therefore expect that the problems associated with mother's work outside the family are bound to be, to some extent, unique. It thus follows that measures to alleviate such problems should be different from those applied to the Western family. Therefore, there appears to be a gap in our knowledge with respect to what exactly our familial problems are, and what methods we could use to overcome them. This study attempts to fill this gap by its specific focus on the urban family within the Kenyan context.

The mental health and happiness of coming generations is dependent on the love and security provided during early childhood. It is therefore necessary to study working mothers so as to find out the extent to which their outside employment limits their ability to provide the love and security that their children badly require. This is particularly important because it has a direct bearing on the concern for the future quality of Kenyans.

The concern over the welfare of working mothers in particular and women in general has become an issue of primary importance among policy makers today. The activities of many women's organizations are geared toward the liberation of women and their full participation in the developmental activities in the country. However, despite all these attempts, culturally defined sex role differentiation in many societies seems to have relegated women to a subordinate position right up to the present day. It is only by understanding the relationship between mother's work outside the family and various aspects of family life that it becomes possible to check the prejudices that now exist against employing mothers. This study attempts to accomplish this aim.

The fact that mothers now participate in work outside the family is a significant social change. This means that such a change should necessarily entail certain institutional and family changes. However, few studies have focused on these. This study, by examining the implications for the family, aims at identifying the areas of family life that would require these changes. Moreover, the provision of social services would also necessitate an understanding of the areas of family life that need certain services now that the mother is not within the family for the whole day. It is necessary to provide these services where they are needed, and this requires adequate information. It is this information that this study intends to provide. The aim of this inquiry is therefore of more than academic interest since the implications for the family are examined with the hope that the findings will afford some

guidance in the solution of the family problems now confronting us.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The percentage of women in the labour force has increased over time. It was previously believed that work and family were separate domains of life. This belief was buttressed by the society's perception of the roles of men and women as having little influence on each other. This belief was based on the traditional sex-role ideology which regards men as bread winners charged with the performance of instrumental tasks outside the home, and women as wives and mothers whose duty is to perform expressive tasks inside the home (Parsons, 1967; Parsons and Bales, 1968). However, the prejudice against employing women has now waned (Myrdal and Klein, 1968:xi). Since the central concern of this thesis is the relationship between work and family, most of the literature reviewed deals with married women (with children) and single mothers.

2.1 THE CONTRIBUTION OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS TO THE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S WORK AND THE FAMILY.

The foundations for an analysis of the position of women in class society were laid by Friedrich Engels. Following Marx, Engels presumes that it is the development of modern industry that has led to women's entry into social production. Engels, however, views the position of the woman in the social production as being in contradiction with her position in the family since:

.... if she carries out her service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she

wants to take part in public production and earn independently, she cannot carry out family duties (Engels, 1985: 104-105).

Engels sees the preconditions for the resolution of this contradiction as arising from the development of modern industry. To him, this gives rise to a new form of family within the working class. He states:

the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry, and that this in turn demands that the characteristic of the monogamous family as the economic unit of society be abolished (Ibid. 105).

According to Engels, the embryo of this new form of family can be found in the proletarian family. This happens as women are drawn into social production by modern industry. He posits:

And now that large-scale industry has taken the wife out of the home onto the labour market and into the factory, and made her often the breadwinner of the family, no basis for any kind of male supremacy is left in the proletarian household, except, perhaps, for something of the brutality toward women that has spread since the introduction of monogamy (Ibid. 103).

Engels offers three reasons for the disappearance of male domination in the era of modern industry. First, the proletarian family does not have private property which is the basis of the monogamous family. Secondly, the woman, being a wage-labourer, has economic independence from her husband, and she is thus no longer his property. Third, the proletarian family does not have the means for securing male domination in bourgeois law.

Engels' postulation about the centrality of production and the family as determinants of the position of women and in constituting the form of family is, to a large extent, correct.

However, in a number of respects his analysis is deficient. First, he overlooks the sexual division of labour in the family. He does not regard this as problematic and, hence, requiring explanation. With the movement of women into social production one would expect changes in the familial division of labour which are worth explication.

Second, Engels uncritically takes for granted that the monogamous family would disappear among the working class. This would happen as women are drawn into social production. This assumption can be doubted because many monogamous families have managed to survive in the epoch of modern industry. Engels also assumes a standard type of family in all societies and seems to be discarding cultural variations. Moreover, he fails to recognize the role of women's domestic labour in the reproduction of labour power within the family.

2.2. MARX, COMTE, SPENCER, DURKHEIM AND WEBER ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

The 'founding fathers' lived and wrote in the nineteenth century. In Euro-American culture this was one of the historical periods in which women were most oppressed. It was an eminently sexist era. Weber argued for sex-equality within marriage (Mitzman, 1970). Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) championed laissez-faire rights to individual women and argued that women should have equal rights of competition with men. Later, however, he reversed this opinion and declared that "if women comprehended all that is contained in the domestic sphere, they would ask no

other." (Schwendinger, 1971:784). Auguste Comte (1798-1857) was a doctrinaire sexist who believed in the constitutional inferiority of women. This is clearly shown in his utopian 'positivist scheme of social reconstruction.' He states:-

In all kinds of force, whether physical, intellectual, or practical, it is certain that man surpasses woman, in accordance with a general law which prevails throughout the animal kingdom (Comte, 1953:234).

The perspective Durkheim (1858-1917) held on women was also shaped by a biological doctrine: Women belonged 'naturally' in the family. His analysis of the structure of the modern conjugal family was phrased solely from the point of view of the man. He regarded it as essential that men become more deeply committed to their work through the formation of professional/occupational groups, since for them an involvement in the family did not provide a sufficiently sound moral basis for continued existence:

Men must gradually become attached to their occupational or professional life ... In the hearts of men, professional duty must take over the place formerly occupied by domestic duty (Lukes, 1973:185).

Meanwhile, the family (as the province of women) would continue to be a centre of moral education and security.

The intellectual achievements of these men rested in a personal way on the basis of women's domestic oppression. It was said of Comte that "the woman he chose as his wife was nothing more than a means for the immediate gratification of his crude

sexuality" (Becker and Barnes, 1952:570). The proto-type of many a wife, before and after, was Marx's wife Jenny, who "dedicated her whole being to his life and his work ... In later years when they were reduced to penury, she displayed great moral heroism in preserving intact the framework of a family and a household, which alone enabled her husband to continue his work" (Berlin, 1939:78-9).

Similarly, Durkheim's marriage "could not have been happier, both personally and in creating an atmosphere conducive to his work ... his wife created for him the respectable and quiet familial existence which he considered the best guarantee of morality and of life. She removed from him every material care and frivolity" (Lukes op. cit., p. 99).

Such points as the one above could be made repetitively. Indeed, the subordinate position of women in society has been the same since time immemorial. This view of the position of women has further been reinforced by a biological reductionism applied to gender roles, a presumption that women belong in the family but hardly anywhere else, especially the world of work outside the home.

2.3 WHY MOTHERS WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

There are several reasons for mothers embarking on work outside the home. Myrdal and Klein (1968:xi) give one of the reasons as being the production of a vast range of consumer goods which help to simplify domestic management. They point to household gadgets and domestic appliances as setting more women

free for employment. The authors further claim that these developments have led to a noticeable change in public opinion and the acceptance of women in paid employment.

Ogburn and Nimkoff (1964:505) have stated six factors which influence the mother's decision to combine the roles of housewife and mother with that of a paid worker. The factors include the husband's positive attitude towards her work, employment before marriage in an occupation that requires high educational achievement and specialized training, and employment for a time before marriage. They also add other factors as achievement of a high professional level, the husband's acceptance to undertake child care and household chores and the presence of children of school age. The two authors have also noted the primacy of education and economic necessity in making mothers seek paid employment. They state:

As expected more mothers work outside the home where the family income is low than when it is high. But mothers who have attended college are more likely to work than those with less schooling (Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1964:504).

Young women now have access to jobs which were previously denied them because they now have the required educational attainment and training. It has been argued that a direct relationship exists between years of school completed and labour force activity (Hicks, Hansen and Christie, 1983).

Most women work to provide income for themselves or their families (Myrdal and Klein, 1968; Anker, 1985; Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1964). Myrdal and Klein (1968:xi) add that it is the need to be able to purchase consumer goods that make married

women seek gainful employment. This happens in both two - earner families or single parent families. Voydanoff (1987:71) emphasizes that women's contribution to the total income and standard of living of their families is substantial especially among full-time workers and in those families with relatively low incomes. This fact is directly linked to the poverty of the family. In families where husbands have permanently ceased to support the family and in families of unskilled men earning low wages, women have to work to support the family (Tentler, 1979:140).

Why do women work for market income, particularly when the costs are high, in terms of their own leisure time or the time of older children spent at home instead of school? Popkin (1983); King and Evanson (1983) indicate that they do so to increase total family welfare. For example, estimated full income is higher, by 11 per cent, in the Filipino households when women are employed outside the home. They do so, in short, when the benefits outweigh the costs.

Bunster (1983) describes the work and home life of market women in urban Lima, Peru, based on in-depth interviews with a small sample. Her description indicates that these women choose their occupation for the specific reason that it is compatible with child care and home responsibilities.

A mother's participation in market work is based, according to economic theory, on a perception that the benefits of market work outweigh its costs. Any negative effect on child welfare that may result from the mother's labour force participation is

consistent with this theory, since the current and future costs of her labour force participation, in terms of child welfare, may not be fully perceived, or these costs may be outweighed by the perceived benefits of her work in the form of increased family welfare or income, personal satisfaction, and so on. In addition the potential social costs, in terms of child welfare, of the mother's labour force participation may be unknown or may not be weighed as heavily as the perceived personal or social benefits of her work.

Not everyone agrees that it is the economic need which has made women participate more in paid employment. Ferdynard Zweig, for instance, after carrying out a social investigation into the attitude and habits of Lancashire working women, estimates that "among married wives no more than about one in three goes out to work under economic pressure either because of inadequate housekeeping money or because she has to keep her husband. The rest go out in order to earn extras, to cover the educational expenses of their children, to buy things they want, or for other reasons, as they are used to going out to work and enjoy it" (Myrdal and Klein, 1968:84). He further states that the emotional pressure of loneliness is another driving force behind women's decision to work outside their homes.

There is a correlation between the development of social services and the participation of women in the labour force (Myrdal and Klein, 1968:75). However, although the number of married women wishing to take up employment creates a growing demand for domestic services such as organized home-help, shopping and nursery arrangements, it is getting increasingly

difficult to meet this demand within the traditional framework, because "social readjustments, which make it possible to dispense with domestic service of the old style and yet free married women from a great deal of domestic drudgery, have nowhere kept in step with the growing need for them" (Myrdal and Klein, 1968:76).

2.4 THE EFFECTS OF MOTHER'S EARNINGS ON THE FAMILY

Women's earnings have differing effects on the family's well-being depending on the level of the husband's earnings. For instance, in the United States before 1930, in working class families the short-time wage earning by the wife was essential to family survival, especially when no children were of age to go to work (Tentler, 1979:140). In most poor families today the mother's earnings add substantially to the family's well-being by supplementing the husband's income. Oppenheimer (1982), reports that wife's earnings serve as a functional alternative to the husband's upward occupational mobility by raising family income to the level of higher paid occupations. Thus, employed women whose husbands earn relatively high incomes are able to improve the relative earning status of their families.

2.5 FAMILY LIFE-CYCLE AND LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Family responsibilities associated with child-bearing and child rearing are a limitation on wives' labour force participation and attachment. Childbearing decreases labour force participation in the early stages of the work family life cycle, but after the early years of childbearing, labour force experience is associated with decreased fertility (Voytenoff, 1987: 73). The short-term effect of fertility lessens as children

grow older, while the effects of initial employment and reduced fertility stimulate later employment (Cramer, 1980). Research documents a complex process through which marriage at a later age, later first birth, higher educational attainment, and lower fertility are associated with labour force participation and economic well-being (Moore and Hofferth, 1979).

In the case of Africa, Delancey (1981:2) argues that if role incompatibility exists for working mothers, wage employment may affect fertility. This does not happen when there is role compatibility. In her study of Tole Tea Estate in Cameroon, she found out that wage earning women do not tend to have a smaller average number of children per age group compared to that of the non-earning women.

2.6 FAMILY FORMATION AND STABILITY

Data on the effects of wives' employment on divorce are mixed. The results may be explained by two counter-acting processes discussed by Voydanoff (1987:77). These are the independence effect and the income effect. The independence effect suggests that since working women can support themselves, they are less likely to marry for economic reasons or to escape their parental homes. In addition, women in unhappy marriages may be more likely to divorce if they can support themselves. The income effect suggests that working women are more likely to marry because their income makes marriage affordable and increases their desirability as marriage partners. The income of working wives may also prevent divorce by improving the quality of family life (Moore and Hofferth, 1979).

Women's employment has been regarded as a leading cause of family break-ups. However, there are trade-offs, with both benefits and disadvantages (Koziara et. al., 1987:x). There is no indication that children of working mothers turn out better or worse than those of non-working mothers (Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1964). Besides, Voydanoff (1987) has argued that part-time jobs help to reduce stress and increase family harmony. Nye and Berardo (1973) make the same assertion by stating that the job acts as a safety valve for the mother, reducing nervousness and frustration, provided her employment is free of such experiences. Wambui wa Karanja (1981) in a study carried out in Lagos found out that there was a general agreement between males and females that wives' work does not adversely affect marriage, family, or children.

Data obtained on the effects of wife employment on marital satisfaction are complex and mixed. Voydanoff (1987) argues that employed wives have higher levels of marital satisfaction than home-makers under certain conditions. She puts down these conditions as wives' high educational level, working out of choice, working part-time, and the husband's approval and support of the work that the wife does. She further states that wives who have low incomes, are working out of necessity, and/or hold undesirable jobs have lower marital satisfaction than full-time homemakers. These findings have been attributed to 'a relative loss of power and status, demands to participate in household work, and a disruption in traditional routines. Men whose wives are working out of choice or are working part-time have higher levels of marital satisfaction than husbands of housewives (moore

and Hofferth, 1979; Rallings and Nye, 1979).

Nye and Berardo (1970) note that it is difficult to find out whether or not the lives of married women are made more satisfying or less so as a consequence of their becoming providers. Nye obtained information relevant to this question from some two thousand mothers by asking them to indicate the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with seven aspects of their lives: their income, their house and furniture, their recreation, their daily work, their community as a place to live in, their relationship to their children, and their relationship to their husbands. Employed mothers were better satisfied with their relationships to their children and with the community as a place to live. They did not differ significantly from unemployed mothers with respect to feelings about income, house and furniture, recreation, or daily work.

When scores were summed on the seven items, the employed mothers averaged higher satisfaction scores. This outcome still does not prove that being employed typically leads to more satisfaction in a woman's life, because one cannot be sure that the employed mothers would not have been better satisfied with their lives in any event, but the authors feel it is some evidence that the additional role provides additional satisfactions.

Many independent investigations have shown that frequent conflict and dominant negative affect are found in more families with employed than non-employed mothers. Several hypotheses have been advanced to explain this situation. These are discussed by Nye and Berardo (1973:286-285). The first is the selective

factor hypothesis. This states that conflict and negative affect between spouses lead to the employment of the wife rather than vice-versa. Nye's findings (Nye and Hoffman, 1963) support this hypothesis. He found that of the mothers not working who would like to be employed, a disproportionate share rated their marriages unsatisfactory. The hypothesis is further supported by the inferential evidence that husbands of employed mothers average lower incomes than husbands of those not employed. Such lower earning power might be a cause of less satisfaction with their marriage.

Another type of selective factor hypotheses could be deduced from Heer's findings (Heer, 1964) that both employed mothers and their husbands tend to be higher in general dominance than spouses in marriages in which the wife is not employed. Weekes-Vagliani (1976) concluded from a study on family life and structure in Southern Cameroon that many of the husbands do not like their wives to work. This is because they believe that the wives become too 'head-strong' and independent. Dominant wives married to dominant husbands produce more conflict than other combinations (Nye and Berardo, 1973). Moreover, as Ogburn and Nimkoff (1964:504) state:

A husband with a traditional orientation, possibly because his mother played a predominantly if not exclusively domestic role, envisions his wife doing the same, whereas a husband with a progressive or developmental viewpoint can see his wife in a non-domestic as well as domestic role.

Second, is the increased freedom to voice opposition to the husband hypothesis. This states that wives enter into their marriages with the expectation that their husbands hesitate to oppose their husbands' wishes or

express their own displeasure. The woman who earns part of the family income is less likely to be so inhibited. This hypothesis is also given inferential support by Heer's findings that mothers in the provider role exercise more influence in family decisions. It may therefore be that the causes of conflict are no greater but the freedom to make covert disagreement overt is increased.

The third hypothesis is the social change hypothesis. This assumes that as social status changes, confusion occurs and with it frustration and conflict. Kirkpatrick (1963) has formulated the proposition that as social definitions change each participant tries to keep the privileges of the old definition and add those of the new, while trying to rid themselves of the old duties and to resist accepting new ones. Thus mothers who enter employment could be expected to try to keep personal control of their earnings, while persuading their husbands to perform some of the household tasks, whereas the husbands would expect to share their wives' earnings without sharing the household tasks. Whether Kirkpatrick's thesis is acceptable or not, it is true that major and rapid social change does bring about a decrease in the predictability of behaviour with consequent confusion and frustration.

Work outside the family may also negatively affect the mother's psychological well-being. Myrdal and Klein (1968) argue that the mothers may feel guilty because of the feeling that they are sacrificing to work what they think are the just claims of their children. Ogburn and Nimkoff (1964) have noted role conflicts in marriage as a source of strain. They argue that this situation emanates in part from the belief about the woman's

proper place. Moreover, the demand of full-time employment would overtax the time and physical strength of the women, if the physical demands of the role of housekeeper, supervisor of children, and recreational participant demand the full-time and physical energy of the wife - mother (Nye and Berardo, 1973:279).

Bossard (1954) has noted certain negative effects on children when the mother works outside the home. He argues that the child feels lonely and neglected. This happens because the mother is unable to offer detailed services to the child. He also says that the supervision and training of the child are neglected. Moreover, Bossard adds, children exploit the lack of maternal control. In this way a child may rationalize his own anti-social behaviour.

In contrast with the situation in more formal jobs, market women are able to have their children not only accompany them, but also assist them in transporting goods from the wholesale market, working in the stall, and bringing lunch from home to their mothers. Bunster (1983), in his study of market women in Urban Lima, Peru, reports that children aged between 8 to 12 years are able to sell, handle money, and market food like adults, temporarily replacing mothers who must be home with sick babies. Involvement in these activities may be detrimental to the older children's well-being. According to one of the market women:

"Sometimes everything is so hard! Shortages of certain products make it so tough for us! It is then my children practically don't go to school; they are exhausted and go to sleep in class, under the teacher's nose. The school year ends and my children are behind ... When I see them so tired, it breaks my heart and I

feel so guilty and so powerless." (Bunster, 1983:99).

Myrdal and Klein (1968:130), discussing the effect on the mental health of children, state that "the risk exists that working mothers, owing to overwork, ambition or worries, may more often cause their children to feel wilfully neglected than women who are about the house all day long." Roy (1964) opposes Bossard's argument that the employment of the mother would lead to anti-social behaviour on the part of the children. Findings from a study he conducted in two counties in the north eastern section of Washington did not show that delinquency would increase due to the employment of the mother.

2.7 HOUSEHOLD DIVISION OF LABOUR

Although Anker (1985) has argued that the sexual division of labour in the home remains similar to that found in times past, it is important to note that some changes have undoubtedly occurred. Since employed women spend less time in family work, husbands have slowly begun to increase the amount of time they spend in housework and child care (Voydanoff, 1987). Though Voydanoff states that men do relatively more housework before the birth of the first child and after grown children have left home, she remarks that this change is not associated with wife employment.

When the mother has a full-time job, her husband and children have to share some of the housekeeping and other family duties (Nye and Berardo, 1973). Two questions posed by Nye and Berardo are worth special attention: "Will such responsibilities ~~be~~ prepare young girls for adult responsibilities? Are the

household tasks that the husband shares therapeutic or do they only place an additional burden on him?" (Nye and Berado, 1973:283). Such sharing may not always be detrimental to family stability since the employment of the mother can contribute to more democracy and cooperation in the family because of the greater sharing of work and decisions (Roy, 1964).

Popkin (1983), in his study of rural Filipino women, found out that there is close to a one-to-one correspondence between an increase in maternal work time and the decrease in maternal leisure time. Rural Filipino women working for cash income give up nearly four hours per day of leisure. When women work, older children substitute for the mother in home chores and care of siblings. When there are seven or more children, men actually reduce their child care time (to about ten minutes a day) and increase their leisure time; thus children reduce the workload of the fathers but not of the mother.

Goode (1964) points out that in Western countries men have begun to assist their wives in the menial tasks of homemaking. He makes the assertion that though many people view this as a loss of authority, it is not, since the husband now has greater influence in certain areas of homemaking. A question worth asking with regard to our Kenyan situation is whether the husbands' assistance in household tasks is related to the wives' work outside the home.

Peterson and Maynard (1981) view the sharing of housekeeping tasks between the husband and wife in a different perspective.

In their study of the parents of children in the third grade in public and parochial schools in Yakima County, Washington, they found that the spouses' relative income (wife's income/husband's income) influences the degree to which husband and wife should share housekeeping tasks. Their findings show that as the wives' incomes become more equal to their husbands' there is a tendency on the part of the wives to become more egalitarian in their perception.

What one should note from the studies on the household division of labour is that many of them have ignored the critical dimension of the distinction between 'help' with household labour and 'responsibility' for it. For example, those attempting to measure husbands' household labour contributions have typically asked wives if their husbands 'help' with household labour and have sometimes asked how often help is forthcoming. Such methods reveal little about the division of household labour on a day-to-day basis and often obscure the real differences between taking the responsibility for and participation in the work of the home.

Working wives have higher levels of marital power than full-time homemakers, especially in the area of financial decision making. Roy (1964) carried out a study through oral interviews with respondent couples living in Greater Boston area and found out that the working wife exerts more influence in family decision-making than the non-working wife. This has been explained by the resource theory of power. This theory suggests that the level of marital power is associated with the relative amounts of income, occupational prestige, contacts, and other socio-economic resources provided by the husband and wife. Since

employed wives are able to provide more of these resources than full-time homemakers, their power relative to their husbands' is greater (Moore and Hofferth, 1979; Rallings and Nye, 1979).

While many have agreed with the assumption of the resource theory, it cannot go uncriticized. First, many family members engage in household work quite willingly and derive considerable satisfaction from it. This fact has been completely ignored by the assumption underlying the resource framework. Second, socio-economic variables have become reified as direct measures of resources (and therefore power), and as explanatory variables they take primacy over almost all other household characteristics. It is to these abstract measures of family power that more grounded and sensible measures of the potential determinants of work organization are lost.

Largely because of the great differences in method, technical sophistication, and quality represented in the empirical literature on working mothers, there is disagreement surrounding both the substantive and practical significance of the findings, and even their overall validity. Despite these and other shortcomings, which render most findings suspect, these studies have converged on a number of issues relevant to working mothers and the implications for the family. It is with the aim of dismissing generalizations across studies that have often been ill-conceived and laden with serious shortcomings that the present study's specific focus is on working mothers in the Kenyan urban environment.

2.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework to be used for this study is role theory. The choice of this theory is not based on its superiority, but rather on its advantages in terms of applicability to the study. Each member within a family occupies a position or positions. A number of roles are assigned to these positions. Living up to the obligations of family norms with regard to a particular role involves role-playing. From the view-point of role theory, therefore, there exists the idea of the quality of role enactment. This refers to the extent to which a person is capable of fulfilling normative role expectations.

In looking at the extent to which a mother can fulfil her normative role expectations within the family, work outside the home will be viewed in relation to the amount of work done by the rest of the family members. The independent variable, in this case the mother's employment will be examined in relation to household duties. If this influences household work performance, it will be possible to judge by scrutinizing the way the mother's tasks are performed by either the husband or the children. The question as to whether mothers are actually capable of fulfilling their normative role expectations will therefore be answered.

Role enactment in the family involves personal relationships between husband and wife, and parents and children. In a family the husband may be the one who makes decisions on how the wife is to perform her role. There are instances when consensus -- role expectations is reached. This happens when the husband and wife

make a joint agreement on what each of them is supposed to do in the family. Role theory will therefore help in measuring how the independent variable (husband's attitude towards the wife - mother's work) influences the dependent variable (the mother's decision to work outside the home). This will involve looking for the test factor, the reason as to why the mother's work is influenced by the husband's attitude.

Consensus on role expectations is rarely reached, and it is no wonder that apart from husbands expecting their wives to perform their familial roles efficiently, the latter have also to manage jobs outside the home. Role conflict and strain will therefore be viewed in relation to the husband's support of the wife - mother's work i.e. his low level of performance of household tasks. The concept of role strain appears in many contexts. The notion of strain will therefore be broken down into various dimensions. Finally all the information will be combined into one overall index of role conflict and strain. The fulfilment of familial role expectations is therefore not only supported but is also limited by the pattern of family life which has evolved as the family interacts with society at large when mothers go out to work.

In the case of single mothers, one would view them as individuals playing familial roles associated with other roles in the wider society. When viewed in this perspective it is possible to understand the relationship between the family and society. The issue of single mothers working outside the home becomes salient since these women are faced with the duty of caring for their children and participating in income-generating

activities. An attempt will be made to test whether this participation makes mothers neglect their children. To measure this, frequency of instances of role strain (regularly, occasionally or rarely) will be examined in relation to the problems encountered in childcare. It will also be examined in relation to whether or not domestic help by maids, elder children, or relatives is available.

Working mothers are generally able to fulfil their role obligations. Yet with respect to any given norm or role obligation, there are some mothers who cannot conform. The individual mother is thus likely to face a wide distracting, and sometimes conflicting array of role obligations. If she conforms fully or adequately in one direction (her job) fulfilment will be difficult in the other (her familial responsibilities). The result is role strain, i.e. difficulty experienced in meeting given role demands. A working mother therefore experiences a great deal of conflict and strain trying to manage a job outside the home and many of her familial tasks.

2.9 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

1. That in urban families mothers work out of economic necessity. Thus married mothers whose husbands earn more participate less in work outside the home. For single mothers an alternative means of livelihood would reduce their participation in work outside the home.

Independent Variables

- Husband's income
- Alternative means of livelihood

Dependent Variable

- Participation in work outside the home.

2. That role strain among working mothers is related to the number of children within the household. Mothers with many children at home experience greater role strain than those with fewer children.

Independent Variable

- Number of children within the household

Dependent Variable

- Role strain.

3. That work experience influences the intensity of role strain among working mothers. Those mothers who have worked for many years experience less role strain than those who have worked for a shorter period of time.

Independent Variable

- Work experience

Dependent Variable

- Role strain.

4. That the mother's income is related to the intensity of role strain that she experiences.

Independent Variable

- Mother's income

Dependent Variable

- Role strain.

5. That housework satisfaction is related to the number of children living within the home. Satisfaction in housework lessens with the increase in the number of children living within the home.

Independent Variable

- Number of children within the home.

Dependent Variable

- Housework satisfaction

6. That the mother's monthly income influences the extent to which the family is negatively affected by the mother's work outside the home. Thus negative effects are associated with those families with mothers earning low monthly income. Those with mothers earning higher incomes experience little or no negative effects.

Independent Variable

- Mother's income.

Dependent Variable

- Negative effects.

2.10 OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTSWork

Work has been defined as an "activity which uses effort, especially with a special purpose, not for amusement" (Procter, et. al., 1978:1269). Sandra Wallman (1979:4) views work as "the application of human energies to things; which application converts, maintains, or adds value to the worker, the thing worked on, and the system in which the work is performed." The varying definitions of work serve to indicate that the concept work is a complex term which cannot be encompassed in a simple definition. After examining the various facets of work one can say that work is any human activity whose purpose is to produce and distribute goods or services for the benefit of self and/or others.

In line with the definitions outlined above this inquiry specifically focuses on the mother's work outside the family i.e. those income-generating activities that the mother engages in outside the home. Also to be noted is the fact that this study does not deny that house work should be categorized as work. The relationship between work outside the home and the variables (operationalized below) is the main line of

investigation in this study.

Husband's income

Income is money received during a given period as salary, receipts from trade, interest from investments, etc. For the purpose of this study income is closely tied to employment. Employment should denote a situation in which remuneration in cash is received in exchange for direct personal participation in the production process. In the context of this study therefore income will refer to the money that the husband earns per month.

It has been hypothesized that the higher the husband's income the less the wife will be inclined to participate in work outside the home. This will be interpreted as a reduction in the family's economic necessity. Less participation will be measured by the mother's willingness to stop working if the husband earns enough to cater for all the family requirements. An attempt will therefore be made to establish whether or not a causal connection exists between the husband's income and the wife's willingness to participate in work outside the home.

Participation in work outside the home

Participation means to take part in. Participation is used in this study to denote the wife's involvement in income-generating activities outside the home. The study tries to find out the influence of the husband's income on the extent to which married mothers participate in these activities. It also tries to ascertain the influence of an alternative means of livelihood

(apart from work outside the home) on the single mother's choice of whether to work or stop working outside the home. This will be elaborated below.

Alternative means of livelihood

In this study a means of livelihood will refer to any activity that a mother can undertake to earn money to care for her family. A means of livelihood common to all respondents is work outside the home. An alternative means of livelihood will therefore refer to any other activity that the mother can substitute for her work outside the home and still manage to provide for her family. It is this study's purpose to investigate whether the single mother would relinquish her participation in work outside the home if she has any other means of maintaining her family. This will be measured by testing the relationship between the mother's willingness to leave her present occupation and the availability of an alternative means of livelihood.

Role Strain.

Role strain refers to difficulty experienced in meeting role demands. In the study role strain has been broken down into five dimensions in order of magnitude viz., never, rarely, occasionally, often, and always. According to the hypothesis on the relationship between the number of children and role strain, one would expect the intensity of strain to correspondingly increase with the increase in the number of children within the home. The number of children within the home will refer principally to those children who are within the home all day

long, and those in school or elsewhere but spend the night at home. Children in boarding schools or away living with other relatives do not constitute this category.

Work experience

Experience is the process of gaining knowledge or skill by doing and seeing things. For the purpose of finding out the hypothesized relationship between work experience and role strain, work experience will be taken to refer to the period between the mother's commencement of work outside the home and the date the mother was interviewed by the researcher. The link between work experience and the various dimensions of role strain (explained above) will then be ascertained. It is expected that an increase in the number of years worked corresponds to a decrease in the intensity of role strain on the part of the working mother. This assumption will be tested and a conclusion over whether or not the link between these two variables exists will be drawn.

Housework Satisfaction

Housework in this study is taken to refer to those activities done exclusively within the home and are not income-generating. These tasks will primarily include the mother's housekeeping work such as cooking, washing clothes and childcare. Housework satisfaction will be broken down into five levels viz, very satisfied, satisfied, neutral, dissatisfied, and very dissatisfied. These levels will be used as the overall index of housework satisfaction. The number of children within the home

will be examined in relation to housework satisfaction to find out whether the two variables are related.

Negative effects.

These will refer to the outcome of work which is not a positive contribution to the family's well-being. No attempt has been made to single out some families as being negatively affected and others not being affected. It is a widely accepted view that the negative effects of work on the family are evident once in a while in almost every family. It was due to this fact that the respondents were asked to state, in general terms, whether or not their families experience any negative effects as a result of their work outside the home. Therefore the objective of postulating that negative effects on family are attributable to the mother's work outside the home is to find out the families where this phenomenon is commonplace. This does not preclude the fact that these effects are experienced in other families although to a lesser degree. A test of the relationship between the mother's income and the negative effects will give direction on whether to reject or fail to reject the hypothesis.

CHAPTER THREE

AREA OF STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 THIKA

Thika is the sixth of Kenya's secondary towns, with a population approaching 65,000.* It developed as a station town on the railway line which was extended from Nairobi before 1920. Industrial development started in the later 1930s based on the processing of local agricultural produce, e.g. pineapples, leather, and tanning extracts. Geography and history favoured industrial growth in Thika. Thika's markets and services have been diversified by good rail and road communication, forty five minutes by road to Nairobi, the centre of decision making. These, combined with adequate water supply, provided the basic condition for industry. The proximity to large labour reserves in the Central Province and very low land prices constituted other fundamental attractions to industrial investors. Thika today is an industrial town, known as "little Birmingham" in the words of the investment promotion pamphlets.

Thika's immediate environs are big estates and plantations, part of the former 'White Highlands', the eastern part cultivated with sisal or used for ranching, the western part dominated by coffee plantations. Most estates are in Kenyan hands, but some foreign companies control large estates. A single multinational corporation, the U.S.A. - based Del Monte Corporation under the name of Del Monte Kenya Limited, has since 1966 accumulated over 10,000 hectares of land immediately to the north of Thika for the

cultivation and canning of pineapples.

The links of the population to the rural homes are very pronounced in Thika. The vast majority of residents regard their stay in Thika as temporary, forced on them by economic conditions. Whether the aspiration to move back to the rural area one day is realised, or whether it remains a myth, the aspiration affects their priorities. They give low priority to investing energy and resources in an urban home, and inexpensive, rented accommodation is their preferred solution.

The population growth rate of Thika has since 1948 been declining steadily from 8.5% before independence, to 7% between 1962 and 1969, and down to 5.6% between 1969 and 1979 which is well below average for towns in Kenya. The 1972 Development Plan forecast for Thika was 8% per annum. Thus by 1985 the population of Thika was not 81,000 as projected, but only 63,000. In other words the population to settle was not 58,000 but only 40,000.*

Thika town qualifies as a 'big' town by Kenyan standards. It was therefore chosen for the research because it is typical of other urban areas in Kenya. It is in these big towns that mothers experience a lot of strain and conflict because of their participation in the labour force. Moreover, the author's familiarity with the town (for sampling purposes) was also an indisputable advantage.

3.2 THE STUDY

This study aims at exploring in detail the implications for the family when mothers participate in work outside the home, and finding out the reasons behind such participation. It was

*Danish Assistance to Physical Planning in Thika Municipality: An Evaluation Report, DANIDA, Copenhagen, Denmark, March (1986:51).

originally planned that the study would focus on households/families in all the residential estates in Thika. This was later found inappropriate for practical purposes. To cover many estates would have required a great deal of time and money, and these could hardly be met in a small-scale research like this one. Thus only thirteen residential estates were covered. The thirteen estates included in the study were:

1. Kamenu
2. Pilot
3. Majengo
4. Biafra
5. Bahati
6. Kimathi
7. Ziwani
8. Kiandutu
9. Section Nine
10. Makongeni
11. Starehe
12. Ofafa
13. U.T.I.

The primary aim of including the above estates was to cover as many families as possible from different locations so as to get a representative sample, a sample which would permit generalization on the urban family in Kenya. The greatest emphasis is placed on how well the data may be generalized. Unless one is dealing with a small special population in a single location a limited sample does not usually represent the entire universe. If one observes the same results in several locations

with widely differing populations, however, one has a great deal more confidence in their generality than if the sample is only of a single location.

Questions as to whether the Thika town case is typical of other urban areas may arise. It is not known whether the sample of mothers interviewed in Thika town reflects mothers generally in every urban area or not; additional research would yield an answer to the question. However, it seems probable that most of the generalizations made from studying mothers in Thika will apply to those elsewhere in other centres. This appears likely for three reasons. In the first place, due to the steady decline of localism and regionalism in Kenya, it seems likely that most of these findings could be duplicated by similar studies in other towns. Secondly, the issues investigated are basically national in character, and not local. Advances in transportation and mass communication mean that people all over the country are nowadays subject to similar pressures and influences. Local and even regional peculiarities have been progressively eroded. Thirdly, Kenyans are becoming more and more mobile. This constant movement of population also hampers the development of regional peculiarities, and promotes the homogeneity of the national population.

In this study the analysis of working mothers' work, attitudes, and problems have been undertaken at the family level. The unit of study is the family and the units of analysis are individual working mothers. Because this was an attempt to comprehensively portr... and its implications for the family only households with married mothers

or single mothers were included in the sample.

3.3 SAMPLING STRATEGIES

Three sampling strategies were used to get the desired sample. Each was used at a particular stage. These strategies were:

- (1) Cluster sampling;
- (2) Systematic sampling; and
- (3) Purposive sampling.

The aim was to interview only married mothers and single mothers. Since no list of these parents was available these three sampling methods were used. Cluster sampling was used to save survey costs and to make the data gathering procedure more efficient. In cluster sampling one takes advantage of the fact that the units of the population are found in close geographic clusters. Sampling these clusters rather than individuals in the population can reduce some of the major cost components.

Systematic sampling was applied because sometimes it is very efficient in eliminating autocorrelation in the sample, that is, the similarity of adjacent elements. Systematic sampling may also substantially improve sample efficiency by being a form of implicit stratification. This is the case when the sampling is of large geographic areas rather than individuals. Moreover, this method is easier to use compared to simple random sampling.

In the case of Kiandutu, the biggest 'single informal area with almost 8,000 people housed in single rented rooms both

cluster and systematic sampling methods could not be used effectively. Instead, purposive sampling was used. This was justified by the fact that the plots in Kiandutu do not conform with the sampling principles. Moreover, no door numbers or specific housing arrangement were available to allow for the application of cluster and systematic sampling techniques.

An attempt was made to cover all the thirteen residential estates (already listed above) in the municipality so as to enhance the representativeness of the sample. The division of the town into housing estates was convenient because it entailed the use of already drawn boundaries. This also simplified the task of subdividing the town into sections.

First, each housing estate to be covered was defined, excluding areas that do not include dwelling units. Each estate was then divided into blocks, each of which was numbered. A systematic number of blocks was then selected.

Second, all dwelling units in each of the selected blocks were listed and numbered. This was easy since most of the houses had door numbers. However, for houses not bearing door numbers, numbers were assigned to them to ease the sampling procedure. From the list of numbers of dwelling units a systematic sample of these units was selected. Individual working mothers within each selected dwelling unit were interviewed. Respondents not found at home were revisited until, with very few exceptions, all in the sample had been interviewed. On finding out that a particular unit did not have a working mother, the researcher went on to the next unit in accordance with the sampling strategy.

A filter question was asked to determine whether the occupants of particular dwelling units should be included in the sample or not. The proposed sample was 250 working mothers. However, during the actual fieldwork only 200 mothers were interviewed. An attempt was made to include enough single mothers in order to have a representative sample. This was done by noting down the number of mothers interviewed each day and their marital status. This proved unsuccessful and, at last, the number of married mothers far outweighed the number of single mothers in the total sample.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

Data for the study was collected by the use of an interview schedule. The selected working mothers were interviewed by the researcher. The type of questions posed were mainly standardized structured questions. The aim of using structured interviews was to standardize the interview as much as possible, and thus to reduce the effect that the interviewer's personal approach or biases could have upon the results.

Before carrying out the actual fieldwork a sample questionnaire was constructed and pretested on a few respondents. This helped in the construction of a final questionnaire that could be well understood by all respondents. The original interview schedule contained about 90 questions, inclusive of factual and classificatory data. In a first revision, the schedule was felt to be excessively long for actual field use and was reduced to 35 questions. There were also modifications in the wording and order of the questions.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

After the completion of the fieldwork the questionnaires were divided into two groups: those for married mothers and single mothers respectively. Since the responses were classified into categories to which numerical codes were assigned mechanical methods of data analysis were used. Thus, for the purpose of data processing the SPSS computer programme was used. Frequencies for all the variables were run. The variables of interest to the researcher were then singled out and crosstabulated.

The observations were studied systematically to discern the patterns of relationships emerging. This helped in determining in what circumstances certain relationships manifested themselves and in what circumstances they did not.

Statistical tests which were run included the Chi-square, Lambda, Somer's D, Eta, Cramer's V, Kendall's Tau B, Kendall's Tau C and Gamma. To minimize the problem of spuriousness, certain variables were controlled for to avoid invalidating the data. However, only variables that showed an association with the independent and dependent variables under investigation were selected as control variables.

3.6 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD

(i) Respondents' failure to cooperate.

Some respondents refused to be interviewed on grounds that they were very busy with housework, or they were just about to go

for something urgent outside the home. The failure to accept an appointment for a revisit was a clear indication that they were totally unwilling to be interviewed. In other cases, the respondents were suspicious. One could tell from the manner in which they responded that they were not quite willing to tell all what they knew.

(ii) Irrelevant answers.

Irrelevant answers constituted another problem. There were times when the respondents digressed from the question asked and went at length to explain matters irrelevant to the question posed. This constituted an unnecessary waste of time and there were many questionnaires to be filled.

(iii) Premature termination of the interviews.

Though most of the interviewees were willing to answer all the questions, to some the questionnaire appeared quite lengthy. They therefore complained that a lot of their time for household chores was being taken. Some literally forced the researcher to terminate the interview just as the questionnaire was only half-way done. For the sake of getting a more comprehensive picture of the issues dealt with in this thesis, it was decided that such questionnaires should be discarded. Ten of them were not included.

(iv) Absence of respondents from their homes.

Some of the respondents in the household units selected for the study were away from home. To solve this problem, the researcher visited these units at least once more. In the

process some of the respondents were got and interviewed. In other cases, there was no way that the absentee working mothers could be traced. This further aggravated the problem of achieving the desired sample size and getting it in such proportions that it would reflect the size of the estate clusters.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1.1. THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

This section presents the main characteristics of the sample used in the study. A profile of the respondents is provided in terms of some key variables. Both the absolute and relative distributions are given for all respondents and an explanation of the trends discernible is provided.

It was found necessary to discuss the characteristics for two main reasons. First, the knowledge of the sample characteristics would provide a basis for the analysis of the findings. Second, a description of these characteristics provides the background to understanding the mother's role in the urban economy of Thika vis-a-vis her role as a mother in the family. The distribution of respondents by area of residence is provided in Table 1.

TABLE 1DISTRIBUTION BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

Residence	Respondents expected	Respondents interviewed	Percent interviewed
Kamenu	30	29	14.5
Pilot	12	7	3.5
Majengo	30	22	11.5
Biafra	25	20	10.0
Bahati	13	5	2.5
Kimathi	13	7	3.5
Ziwani	13	10	5.0
Kiandutu	10	6	3.0
Section 9	15	14	7.0
Makongeni	50	50	25.0
Starehe	13	13	6.5
Ofafa	13	9	4.5
U.T.I.	13	8	4.0
Total	250	200	100.0

The table shows that the respondents came primarily from Makongeni (25%). Following Makongeni, in terms of numbers, are Kamenu (14.5%), Majengo (11.0%) and Biafra (10.0%). Kiandutu, with 3.0% of the respondents, has the lowest number of respondents in the total sample. That Makongeni has the highest number of respondents can be explained by two major facts. The first is its size. Comprising several phases, Makongeni is many

times the size of the other estates. It is therefore no wonder that this estate yielded the highest number of working mothers ready to be interviewed.

The other reason for the easy access to mothers in this particular estate is their familiarity with outsiders. In Makongeni every block is occupied by many residents. Many of the mothers were therefore quite willing to be interviewed because they are used to seeing outsiders within their blocks. This was not the case in estates like Kimathi, Kamenu and U.T.I. where some of the mothers viewed the interview as a kind of intrusion into their privacy. This may seem sort of begging the question, but evidence from the interviews conducted in U.T.I. showed a very high degree of reluctance to being interviewed. This was demonstrated by the mothers' insistence that they be shown the research permit before getting interviewed. This was a way of evading the interview perhaps because they viewed it as an infringement on their privacy.

The arrangement of the houses in Kiandutu was not amenable to the sampling strategies employed in the study. This made the researcher resort to purposive sampling. The justification for the use of this technique has already been explained. It is worth noting that it was planned from the start that only very few respondents were to be interviewed from this area. This was done with the primary aim of avoiding the contamination of the final results since the respondents were chosen purposively.

AGETABLE 2:DISTRIBUTION BY AGE

Age (in Years)	No.	Percent
15-19	1	.5
20-24	17	8.5
25-29	59	29.5
30-34	52	26.0
35-39	39	19.5
40-44	19	9.5
45-49	5	2.5
50-54	3	1.5
55-59	4	2.0
60 and above	1	.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

It is evident from the above table that there is considerable concentration of mothers in the 25-29 age group. This group constitutes the modal category with about 30% of the respondents. Next in order of numbers are categories 30-34 years (26%), 35-39 years (19.5%), and 40-44 years (9.5%). The ages of the mothers are thus concentrated among the reproductive and prime age groups between 20 and 44 years (55%). Of all the

respondents only .5% came from the 15-19 years category. Coincidentally, the 60 and above age group also constituted only 5% of the respondents.

It appears from the above age distribution that most of the working mothers are generally young. More than two-thirds of the respondents were below 40 years of age. This is only natural because young mothers are more likely than older ones to be in town working, especially under the prevailing circumstances where many young people are moving from the rural areas to the urban centres in search of jobs.

MARITAL STATUS

In any study on the involvement of mothers in work outside the home, a discussion of the status of the mother within the household is important. This is so because a mother's allocation of time between market work and house work is to a great extent governed by her life cycle commitments. Her duties as a mother and/or wife determine to a large degree whether or not she can participate in the labour force. The profile of respondents by marital status is shown below (Table 3).

TABLE 3:**DISTRIBUTION BY MARITAL STATUS**

Marital Status	No.	Percent
Single (Never married)	55	27.5
Married	129	64.5
Divorced	6	3.0
Separated	4	2.0
Windowed	4	2.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

The table shows that the number of mothers who are married is the highest, constituting 64.5% of the total number of respondents. It is followed by single (27.5%), divorced (3.0%), separated (3.0%), and widowed (2.0%) respectively.

LEVEL OF EDUCATIONTABLE 4:DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Level of Education	No.	Percent
None	5	2.5
Std. 1-4	11	5.5
Std. 5-8	44	22.0
Form 1-2	29	14.5
Form 3-4	88	44.0
Form 5-6	11	5.5
Over Form 6	12	6.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

Table 4 shows that a large proportion of the mothers in the sample had attained Form 3-4 level of education. These form 44.0% of the total number of respondents. Those with Std. 5-8 level of education constitute 22.0%, and Form 1-2 constitute 14.5%. Std. 1-4 and Form 5-6 levels of education both have the same proportion of respondents in the sample, with each having 5.5% of the total number of respondents. Only 6% of the respondents have studied beyond Form 6 while 2.5% have not had any formal education.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY RESIDENCE

RESIDENCE	None	Std1-4	Std5-8	Form1-2	Form3-4	Form5-6	Over Form6	Total
Kiamenu	-	-	2 (1.0)*	3 (3.5)	12 (6.0)	3 (1.5)	9 (4.5)	29 (14.5)
Pilot	-	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (1.0)	3 (1.5)	-	-	7 (3.5)
Ma jengo	1 (1.5)	4 (2.0)	9 (4.5)	3 (1.5)	5 (2.5)	-	-	22 (11.0)
Kiafra	-	1 (.5)	5 (2.5)	4 (2.0)	10 (5.0)	-	-	20 (10.0)
Mahati	-	-	3 (1.5)	-	2 (1.0)	-	-	5 (2.5)
Mimathi	-	-	2 (1.0)	2 (1.0)	3 (1.5)	-	-	7 (3.5)
Miwani	-	1 (.5)	2 (1.0)	-	6 (3.0)	1 (.5)	-	10 (5.0)
Kiandutu	1 (.5)	1 (.5)	1 (.5)	1 (1.0)	2	-	-	6 (3.0)
Section 9	-	-	-	-	11 (5.5)	3 (1.5)	-	14 (7.0)
Makongeni	1 (.5)	1 (.5)	9 (4.5)	11 (5.5)	22 (11.0)	4 (2.0)	2 (1.0)	50 (25.0)
Starehe	-	-	5 (2.5)	2 (1.0)	6 (3.0)	-	-	13 (6.5)
Ofafa	2 (1.0)	1 (.5)	3 (1.5)	-	3 (1.5)	-	-	9 (4.5)
U.T.I	-	1 (.5)	2 (1.0)	1	3 (1.5)	-	1 (.5)	8 (4.0)
Total	5 (2.5)	11 (5.5)	44 (22.0)	29 (14.5)	88 (44.0)	11 (5.5)	12 (6.0)	200 (100.0)

* Percentage figures in parenthesis.

Table 5 is a crosstabulation of the level of education by area of residence. It is of interest to note that the 6% of the respondents who have attained educational level above Form 6 came from three estates namely Kamenu (4.5%), Ziwani (.5%) and U.T.I. (.5%). These are, of course, some of the estates occupied by the elite and such a pattern is thus expected. These estates do not have mothers in the sample without formal education. Although not having any mothers with educational level above Form 6, Section 9 is also mainly an elite area of residence. In the total sample, the respondents from this estate had attained Form 3-6 level of education. Moreover, none of the respondents from this area had educational levels below Form 2.

The respondents without formal education are found in Majengo (.5%), Kiandutu (.5%), Makongeni (.5%) and Ofafa (1.0%). These are some of the areas where most of the poor people live. One would therefore expect to find mothers without formal education in these areas because, with their lack of education, their chances of getting good jobs and hence living in better quarters are limited. As for the case of Makongeni one needs to note that it is an extensive estate and all manner of residents are represented. For instance, phases 9, 10, and 11 have many white-collar and managerial workers, whereas phases 4, 6 and 8 house all classes of people, including the lowly paid casual labourers in the adjacent factories on the Thika-Garissa Road. This explains why it was possible to come across respondents without formal education.

PRESENT OCCUPATION

A breakdown of the occupational structure of the mothers in the sample will help to indicate the employment opportunities available to mothers in Thika given the conditions of the economy, the educational distribution of the labour force, and the existing social and psychological norms. The distribution of respondents by present occupation is shown in Table 6. The table shows that mothers in Thika engage in various income-generating activities. It can rightly be assumed that this applies to other urban areas in Kenya. Most of the mothers interviewed were engaged in white-collar jobs (27%). The small traders (in other items apart from vegetables) were the second largest proportion of respondents (20.5%). The casual labourers were the fewest, forming only 3.5% of the respondents.

One would expect the percentage of mothers engaged in casual labour to be higher than the mere 3.5% of the total number of mothers in the sample. This expectation would arise specifically because Thika is an industrial town, and it would thus be expected that more mothers participate as industrial workers, either casual or permanent. The findings show that this may be a wrong conception.

The truth may be that it is the men who participate more in this kind of labour. If it is not the men, then perhaps it is mainly the women without children who engage in casual labour. What is to be underscored, however, is that at any event mothers can be found in any occupation provided the opportunities are available and open to them. Over and above, one fact has been

borne out quite clearly, that most of the mothers work full-time (93.5%). Only 6.5% of the mothers work part-time. Perhaps this has arisen because jobs that could be undertaken on a part-time basis are not easily available. This is a big contrast to the developed world where part-time jobs for the mothers have become an established norm.*

TABLE 6:

DISTRIBUTION BY PRESENT OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION	NO.	PERCENT
Small Trader (in vegetables)	16	8.0
Small Trader (in other items)	41	20.5
Casual Labourer	7	3.5
Business	27	13.5
Profession	29	14.5
White Collar	54	27.0
Other	26	13.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

* Numerous studies on working mothers in the West, e.g. Myrdal and Klein (1968) and Tentler (1979) discuss the issue of part-time employment for mothers. These studies indicate that part-time employment for mothers in the developed world is commonplace.

MOTHER'S INCOME

After examining the mothers' present occupations, one needs to look at the monthly income that they derive from these occupations. Table 7 shows the distribution of the respondents in terms of their monthly income.

TABLE 7:DISTRIBUTION BY MOTHER'S MONTHLY INCOME

Income (in KShs.)	No.	Percent
0 - 600	22	11.0
601 - 1200	49	24.5
1201 - 1800	33	16.5
1801 - 2400	33	16.5
2401 - 3000	36	18.0
3001 - 3600	8	4.0
3601 - 4200	7	3.5
4201 - 4800	1	.5
4801 - 5400	6	3.0
5401 - 6000	-	-
6001 - 6600	-	-
6601 - 7200	2	1.0
7201 - 7800	-	-
7801 - 8400	-	-
8401 and above	3	1.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

It is clear from the findings presented above that many of the mothers earn low incomes from their work outside the home. The largest proportion of them (24.5%) earn between KShs. 601 - 1200 per month. This amount is undeniably low under the present economic conditions with the costs of living increasing day by day. A general picture is that most of the mothers in the entire sample earn between KShs. 600 and 3000 per month. Looked at in realistic terms this money is barely enough to maintain a family. Only 1.5% of the mothers earn KShs. 8401 and above per month! Having discussed the main characteristics of the sample, the next section will focus on the major determinants of mothers' participation in work outside the home.

4.1.2 DETERMINANTS OF MOTHERS' PARTICIPATION IN WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

OVERVIEW

The extent to which employment opportunities are available to both men and women is determined largely by social and economic factors. The structure and climate within which mothers seek and find work is therefore, influenced by the national economic situation and the status of women in society. Some writers in the developed world have argued that in periods of chronic unemployment or underemployment, women workers are viewed as a threat, and their work is regarded as intruding on men's domain (Jaffe and Stewart, 1951; Klein, 1964). The situation in the less developed countries is rather different. In these, the primary factor is the framework of economic development and the ability of the government to create new employment opportunities.

In Africa generally, persistent cultural constraints on women's education and, therefore, on their employment tends to confine their contribution to economic life within very narrow limits. These are reinforced by the long standing auxiliary character of women's work and the traditional social attitude dictating their place in the world. Due to the prevailing traditional attitudes concerning the nature of women's "proper" work, women who are inclined towards being economically independent in the urban environment are suspiciously viewed by men. For instance, even when they are highly educated and working in professions, they are still considered sexually loose (Nyendwoha, 1969:178). Economic and cultural factors therefore tend to reinforce each other to the women's disadvantage. With this in mind, an attempt will be made to discuss the determinants of mothers' participation in the labour force in Thika town.

It is important to examine the factors that make mothers participate in the labour force because this helps in the assessment of the impact of this participation on their families. If, for instance, the dire need for cash to ensure the smooth running of the family forces them to work, it is possible to weigh the trade-offs between work outside the family and the care of the children. In this way one is likely to find out the extent to which work outside the home is both beneficial and detrimental to the family at the same time. The understanding of the dual effect of work on the family will therefore help in the formulation of policies that will greatly help families in offsetting the undesirable side effects of mothers' participation in the labour force.

REASONS FOR MOTHERS' PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE

The main reasons for the participation of mothers in work outside the home in Thika are provided in the table below (Table 8).

TABLE 8:REASONS FOR WORKING

Reason	No	Percent
Felt idle - wanted to be busy	8	4
Earn a living - to cater for family and other needs.	161	80.5
Formal education (Training)	18	9.0
No other breadwinner in the family	2	1.0
Independence e.g. from husband, and satisfaction of working.	11	5.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

The greatest single motive for mothers' participation in work outside the home according to the above table is the need to earn an income to support the family. 80.5% of all the respondents stated that they started working so as to maintain their families. The mother's work thus becomes a source of income with which to clothe, feed and educate the children, and cater for the other family needs. Some of the respondents added

that their husbands earned little to meet all the family needs. Others said that their husbands misuse their money, and they (mothers) must therefore work to help support the family. Boserup (1966) and Hirschman (1958) have argued that the large family size puts pressure on women in the LDCs to participate in the labour force to supplement low family income. The determination of the extent to which this assertion is correct is beyond the realm of this study. Mention need only be made of the tough and unpredictable urban conditions that necessitate the mother's participation in work for the family to get its daily requirements. It is of interest to note that only 19.5% of the mothers gave other reasons as the main driving force behind their working.

Formal education, with 9% of the mothers, is the other major reason for mothers' participation in the labour force. This category of mothers explained that after school they had to join active employment where they could apply directly the skills they had learnt in school. Some said that their education gave them a kind of career orientation, and this greatly influenced their decision to get involved in work outside the home. However, none of the respondents gave an explanation to the effect that they had gone through their early years of formal education with the awareness of the kind of occupation they intended to join in their adult lives.

It needs to be borne in mind that education induces mothers to seek employment, firstly, by increasing their desire to work. Most women on completing their formal education would feel the need to utilize the knowledge that they have learnt in school.

Secondly, education increases the probability of getting employed, especially in a labour market with high unemployment as is the case in many African countries. Finally, the mother's education may also increase her productivity in the labour market more than in the home, thus raising the opportunity cost of not working.

The 5.5% who stated that they started working because they desired to have their personal independence argued that when they work their ability to act without interference from either their husbands or anyone else is enhanced. This, they said, happens because they have the economic power. This corroborates with Nye and Berardo's discussion of the selective factor hypotheses (Nye and Berardo (1973)). The two authors have argued that a woman who earns part of the family income is more likely to oppose her husband's wishes or express her own displeasure. This argument is consistent with the findings of Veekes-Vagliani (1971) that wives who work become too 'head-strong' and independent.

It was mainly the married mothers who said that they started working because they felt idle. This group, constituting 4% of the respondents, saw in work an alternative to the drudgery of housework. An attempt to escape the boredom of the home made them desirous to move out of the home and be busy. Only 1% said that they started working because they were the sole breadwinners in the family. Of the two mothers who said this, one was a divorcee and the other a single mother. Both said that they had children to support, hence necessitating their active participation in the labour force.

Some differences are apparent between the reasons for mothers' engagement in work as given by the social scientists in the developed world and the reason found within the context of developing countries. The pioneer work by Myrdal and Klein (1968) points out that mothers go out to work because of the availability of household gadgets and domestic appliances which help to simplify domestic management. These, they claim, set more women free for employment. However, none of the mothers interviewed in this study gave this as one of her reasons for participating in the labour force. What does this show about the urban environment in Kenya? Clearly, the level of development where advanced technology has taken over part of the mother's job in the house has not been reached as yet. Indeed, a casual observer of the kind of domestic work performed in Thika households would see quite clearly that most of the activities require the direct attention of the mother. In most homes, electrical appliances as aids in cooking are yet to become common place. The ordinary kerosene stove seems to be widely used in almost every household. Jikos are also widely used. Thus the assertion by Myrdal and Klein (1968) seems not to apply significantly to the case of Thika. It is of course possible to come across homes using the modern appliances, but still these are not so developed as to be said to set women free for participation in the labour force. It also needs to be noted that in many developing countries another alternative is the engagement of cheap domestic help (for child care and other domestic chores) to enable the mothers to work freely outside the home.

Goode (1964) has elaborated on change in sex roles in Western societies where men have begun to help their wives in the

menial tasks of homemaking. This may enable women to participate in work outside the home. While this may be the case with some families, the Thika town case demonstrates that women's participation in the labour force may not be related to the husbands' performance of housework. Many families in urban Africa today still emphasise on the wife as the 'domestic head', and her expressive role (to use the Parsonian terminology) is still steadfastly upheld. This is in line with Epstein's argument that the woman's view of her rightful place does not change. She states:

Although women have pressed for admission to these spheres, once admitted they have expressed a clear preference for their own domain - the home. The home is their first concern, loyalty, and interest and it is, they agree, their place (Epstein, 1971:1).

There is the other reason given by F. Zweig (Myrdal and Klein, 1968:84) that some married women go out to work to earn extras. The reasons for working as given by the mothers in Thika town show clearly that there is not a single working mother whose decision to work sprang from the need to earn extras. It appears that no family in this town can be said to have attained a level of sufficiency in familial requirements that mothers would work for extras. Instead, in most families, some of the basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter are hardly adequately met. Thus the mother's participation in work is a mark of her determination to see her family attain its daily requirements fully.

Most mothers work for the provision of income for themselves and their families (Anker, 1985; Tentlet, 1979; Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1964). This has also been found to be consistent with

the mothers in Thika, with 80.5% of those interviewed saying that they went into work in order to support the family. 9% of the mothers interviewed attributed their participation in the labour force to formal education. This is in agreement with findings from studies carried out elsewhere (Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1964; Hicks, Hansen and Christie, 1983). Although this 9% may appear a small proportion, the influence of education can be gauged by a look at the mothers' occupation; 14.5% are in the professions and 27% are in white-collar jobs. Undoubtedly, these are people who have attained educational qualifications. In Africa, given that access to most jobs in the modern sector is open only to those who have some certification from the formal educational system, educational attainment is closely correlated with modern sector employment.

THE HUSBAND'S INFLUENCE ON THE WIFE'S DECISION TO WORK

Ogburn and Nimkoff (1964:505) state that the husband's positive attitude towards the wife's work influences her decision to combine the roles of housewife and mother, with that of a paid worker. The findings from this study to some extent support this assertion. The husband's influence on the wife's decision was judged by his approval or disapproval of the wife-mother's work. The findings indicate that most of the mothers work with the express approval of their husbands. 50.5% of the mothers said that their husbands approve of their working. It should however be understood that this approval does not touch on the initial decision to work by the wife. In most cases what happens is that a woman gets married while still working. It is therefore not the husband who normally initiates the wife into the work environment. His approval should thus be viewed as another way of asking whether the husband finds it right for the wife to work. The explanations on how the husbands influence the decision to work as given by the mothers are shown in Table 9:

TABLE 9:EXPLANATION OF HUSBAND'S INFLUENCE ON DECISION TO WORK

Explanation	No.	Percent
Does as the husband wants	23	11.5
Gives her encouragement and support in her work	58	29.0
Gives her the freedom to work on her own	20	10.0
Not applicable	99	49.5
Total	200	100.0

Only a small number of respondents (14%) said that their decision to work was not in any way influenced by their husband's approval. The explanations given by this category of respondents are shown in Table 10.

Table 10:WHY HUSBAND'S APPROVAL DOES NOT INFLUENCE THE DECISION TO WORK

Explanation	No	Percent
Would work even without his approval	11	5.5
Decision to work hers	10	5.0
Likes her work	3	1.5
Husband has negative effect on her work	4	2.0
Not applicable	172	86.0
Total	200	100.0

Mention need be made that influence should not be taken to imply that the husbands make the married mothers work. This has a direct bearing on the kind of atmosphere that the husbands create for their wives by their attitude.

The husband's attitude towards the wife-mother's work should be viewed against the background of whether or not a wife should work when her husband earns enough to provide for all the family needs. Of all the married women interviewed, only 21% said that they could stop working if their husbands earned enough to cater for all the family's needs. The other 43.5% said they would not stop working. Perhaps this can be interpreted to mean that the mothers would like to have that sense of security which makes them feel that they can stand on their own when the worst comes to the worst. For instance, in case of the husband passing away, the mother would like to have the assurance that, at least, she can perform her husband's breadwinner role effectively.

The other side of the argument is that in case of divorce or the husband losing his job, the mother would still manage to take care of her family. The large proportion of respondents (43.5%) saying that they would not leave their jobs even if the husband earns enough to provide all the family needs is an indication that something special or satisfying makes the mothers feel better when they work. The sense of contributing towards the family's well-being is a major factor in making mothers insist on working.

It is vital to pose the question as to whether the family can run smoothly provided the husband works. This would arise

since some of the respondents claimed that they would stop working if their husbands earned enough, while others said they would not. This question would help in establishing whether it is the husband's job instability and low income that make mothers insist on working, or whether it is their search for the satisfaction from work. This would call for a clear assessment of both work commitment and labour commitment on the part of the working mother. The married mothers' responses to the question whether their families can run smoothly provided their husbands work are tabulated below.

TABLE 11:

CAN YOUR FAMILY RUN SMOOTHLY PROVIDED YOUR HUSBAND WORKS?

Response	No.	Percent
Yes	41	20.5
No	88	44.0
Not applicable	71	35.5
Total	200	100.0

Basically, most of the mothers (44.0%) assert that their families would not run smoothly despite the husband's working. Only 20.5% of the mothers interviewed said that their families would have no problems without their working provided the husband was engaged in some work. This category of respondents gave their reasons for this stand as shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12:REASONS WHY THE FAMILY CAN RUN SMOOTHLY PROVIDED THE HUSBAND WORKS.

Reason	No.	Percent
Husband earns enough	22	11.0
Joint venture with husband	2	1.0
Husband earns little but can still manage	12	6.0
Used to run smoothly before	4	2.0
Not applicable	160	80.0
Total	200	100.0

As would be expected most of the mothers (11.0%) said that their husbands earn enough, thus their families can run smoothly even when they do not work. They said that their husbands get enough money from their jobs and can thus provide for all the family needs. Only 1.0% of the respondents said it would run smoothly because the husband's job is a joint venture between husband wife. The mothers who said this were mainly those engaged in business since these are in the main family businesses. The mothers thus felt that their non-participation in the family business, which in essence provides the proceeds from which the family maintains itself, may thus not affect the smooth running of the family since the withdrawal of their services would not necessarily affect the business.

The other category of mothers comprises those who view their husbands as being capable of managing to provide for the family despite the mother's non-participation in work outside the family. The mothers holding this opinion constituted 6.0% of the number of respondents interviewed and are an indication of some of the mothers' belief in the husbands' male task of caring for the family despite the fact that they may be earning little. Those whose husbands earn meagre salaries said that they (husbands) can use it carefully and thus manage to meet most of the family needs. In a sense this shows the mothers' conviction that their husbands have the capability of handling all familial problems so long as they work.

Those mothers who started working after staying for some time with their husbands felt that since the family used to run smoothly before they embarked on work outside the home, their stopping of work activity may not adversely affect the family. These mothers constituted 2.0% of the total number of respondents.

The foregoing discussion on the mothers' feeling that the family would run smoothly provided the husband works must be appraised with caution. Already it has been noted that 44.0% of the mothers felt that their families would not run smoothly. The reason for their feeling this way are shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13:REASONS FOR MOTHERS' FEELING THAT THE FAMILY WOULD NOT RUN SMOOTHLY

Reason	No.	Percent
Men are unreliable	10	5.0
Helps run the family with her income	36	18.0
Husband's low income/ job instability	43	21.5
Not applicable	111	55.5
Total	200	100.0

From the above table it is clear that most married mothers (21.5%) would refuse to leave their jobs because of their husbands' low income and job instability. They felt that it would not be safe and for the betterment of the family if they stopped working. They stated that there are times when their husbands do not earn anything. The wife's earning thus comes in handy to provide a means by which familial needs are met. Moreover, financial problems are managed and minimized through the joint efforts of man and wife. It is evident that in Thika, therefore, many heads of families do not earn enough to steer the family smoothly without the wife's financial assistance.

The 18.0% of the mothers who said that their income helps run the family explained that with the high cost of living their

contribution is vital. Some said that they contributed more to the fulfilment of household needs than their husbands. They also felt that they need not depend on the husband for certain needs as food and clothing for the children since the husbands have greater issues to attend to, such as house rent, purchase of furniture, and, for the affluent, maintenance of the family car.

The other reason given was the unreliability of men. 5% of the respondents gave this reason. When asked to elaborate, many mothers complained that the husband may earn enough to meet all family needs but instead of seeking to meet these, they misuse the money on 'useless' ventures (outside the family) or use it for drinking in total disregard of the family's welfare.

SATISFACTION IN WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

Much has already been said about the reasons for mothers' participation in the labour force and their occupational distribution. It is necessary to find out whether mothers engaged in either full-time or part-time work outside the home are satisfied with it. As pointed out earlier most mothers work out of economic necessity. If this then is the driving force behind their involvement in work, one would assume that even when the job may not be satisfying, the mother may still have to work due to economic pressure.

The level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with work is a result of a broad mix of economic, social and cultural factors, including the low rates of economic growth which limits the availability of better job opportunities for mothers. It therefore becomes crucial to ascertain the level of satisfaction

amongst mothers with respect to their work. This would greatly assist in formulating effective policies which would go a long way in creating a better working environment for the mothers and consequently improve the families' well-being. Without knowing exactly how far mothers are satisfied with their jobs, one would very easily blindly assume that mothers who work are satisfied. This, in effect, would be to the detriment of the working mothers' welfare which would be relegated to issues that are not of immediate concern.

Table 14 shows the mothers' levels of satisfaction in work in Thika town as per the sample used in this study.

TABLE 14:

SATISFACTION IN WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

<u>Level of Satisfaction</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Very satisfied	10	5.0
Satisfied	118	59.0
Neutral	8	4.0
Dissatisfied	59	29.5
Very dissatisfied	5	2.5
Total	200	100.0

The table shows that most mothers (59%) are satisfied with their work outside the home. It should, however, be borne in mind that the proportion of mothers reporting that they are very satisfied

(5.0%) is considerably small compared to those who claim to be satisfied. This may perhaps show that the level of satisfaction in work outside the home may not be so high. Such an assertion finds its support in the way mothers keep changing jobs whenever chances are available. This is indicative of the fact that it is actually very difficult for one to reach such a level as to say that her job is very satisfying. Those saying that they are dissatisfied constitute 30% of the total number of mothers in the sample. It is therefore significant that almost one-third of the mothers are dissatisfied. This implies that however dissatisfying their job may be, circumstances dictate the appropriate course of action, and they cannot therefore stop working as such withdrawal may have serious consequences on their families. The economic and socio-cultural milieu in which a family is established thus exerts subtle influences on the mothers level of satisfaction with her job outside the home.

The above discussion is a generalized account on satisfaction amongst working mothers. It is generalized in the sense that, apart from the levels of satisfaction, no other variables have been put into consideration. A pertinent question to raise is whether the mothers' levels of satisfaction vary across their respective socio-economic groups. Simple as this question may seem, it is difficult to answer since the mothers differ considerably amongst themselves. It is not sufficient to couch an explanation in terms of who is or is not satisfied since this may be thwarted by other factors many of which are latent and interwoven. It is therefore worth looking at certain socio-economic variables in order to get a fuller knowledge of the

factors that dictate the mother's level of satisfaction. Breakdown of satisfaction against other key variables will be provided and discussed in detail in the section on statistical analysis.

4.1.3 WORKING MOTHERS AND THE DIVISION OF LABOUR WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD

For many mothers employment opportunities are constrained by their responsibility for housework and child care. Thus, information on the allocation of household tasks in families of different sizes should help to explain the time available for income-earning activities amongst working mothers. Such information would help one identify mothers whose income-earning activities are so extensive that they may have a detrimental effect on the well-being of both the mothers and the children. Housework, of course, may be shared by a number of household members. This pattern of sharing should be investigated, both for the light it throws on the work burden that mothers carry and for the insights it provides into male, female, and child roles in the household.

Even given a greater desire or acceptance for more equality in the family, actual behaviour is less egalitarian than attitudes would suggest. Considerable research documents that despite the mothers' work outside the home, they still continue to assume the primary responsibility of housework and child care. Thus women continue to bear the primary responsibility for the more 'traditional' tasks, such as cleaning, cooking, washing clothes, and childcare (Bagoport and Bagoport, 1971). Vestiges of tradition remain, and the consequence for many married mothers

is that they continue to assume disproportionate responsibility for household tasks and the care of children in relation to their husbands. The data from Thika will help clarify the foregoing.

THE CHILDREN'S PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS

With the mothers' entry into the labour force new arrangements within the family are necessary to enable the family to adjust itself to the new role demands. This becomes a necessity because the mother's familial tasks have to be performed if the family is to run smoothly. The mother's responsibilities have therefore, to some extent, to be shifted to new incumbents. These may be the children, the maid, or the husband.

Since many of the husbands in Thika work outside the home, and may thus not be deeply affected by the new arrangement, this study first focuses on the influence of the mother's work on the manner in which children work within the home. Table 15 shows the response of the mothers to the question on whether or not their work influences the way the children work within the home.

TABLE 15:

DOES YOUR WORK INFLUENCE THE WAY YOUR CHILDREN WORK WITHIN THE HOME?

Response	No.	Percent
Yes	61	30.5
No	139	69.5
Total	200	100.0

As shown in Table 15 most of the mothers (69.5%) see their work as not directly influencing the way their children work within the home. Only 30.5% of the mothers viewed their work as influencing their children's performance of household tasks. Detailed explanations for the mothers' claim that their children's work within the home is not influenced by their work are contained in Table 16.

TABLE 16:

WHY MOTHERS' WORK DOES NOT INFLUENCE THE WAY CHILDREN WORK

Explanation	No	Percent
Children are too young to work/children concentrate on school work	82	41.0
Housegirl and/or relatives do most of the work	13	6.5
Children live away from home	7	3.7
Mother does most of the housework	24	12.0
Children are old enough/responsible hence free to work the way they want	13	6.5
Not applicable	61	30.5
Total	200	100.0

It is important to note that most of the mothers who said that their work does not influence the way their children work put forward the reason that their child(ren) are too young to work (41.0%). This illustrates that the 70% of mothers (Table 15) does not indicate that the mothers work does not affect the pattern of role allocation amongst the children. It must therefore be underscored that where children are old enough it is most likely that the mother's work will shape their performance of household tasks quite significantly. Of even greater importance is the point on the mother's performance of housework herself despite her work commitments outside the home. These mothers, constituting 12.0% of the total sample, find it better to perform the household tasks themselves, rather than delegate them to the children. This perhaps springs from their realization that the children may not do these duties perfectly, or the fear of overworking them.

As for the mothers who said that their work influences the way their children work, the following reasons were given for their assertion (Table 17).

TABLE 17:HOW THE MOTHER'S WORK INFLUENCES THE CHILDREN'S WORK

Explanation	No.	Percent
Children do more work at home	35	17.5
Elder children do most of the work	4	2.0
They do not work well due to lack of supervision	14	7.0
Perform tasks which are easy for them	8	4.0
Not applicable	139	69.5
Total	200	100.0

It appears from the table that the absence of the mother from the home makes the children do most of the work on their mother's behalf. Considering that 41.0% of the mothers who said that their work does not influence their children's work had young children who could not work in the home, it is only reasonable to suggest that at least for the mothers with older children, their work to a large extent influences their children's performance of household tasks. A large proportion of the mothers (17.5%) said that their children do more work now that the mother is not within the home. The lucky mothers with big children, constituting 2.0% of the total sample, have these children doing most of the housework. Some other mothers' (4.0%) allocate the easier household tasks to the children to help ease their work

burden. All these seem to be positive influences of the mother's work. However, there is also the point on the lack of supervision, with 7.0% of the mothers complaining of it as a negative influence. They pointed out that with the mother's absence children become irresponsible and may not work as perfectly and efficiently as they are supposed to.

A question may be posed on whether or not the mother's work experience, i.e. the period the mother has been working, influences the way children work in any way. This might arise as a result of a somewhat justifiable assumption that mothers who have worked for a long period of time are different from those who have just entered the labour force. The relationship between the number of years worked and children's performance of household tasks should therefore be investigated. Table 18 is a breakdown of the mother's work experience and children's work within the home.

TABLE 18:

MOTHER'S WORK EXPERIENCE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON CHILDREN'S
PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS:
(DOES YOUR WORK INFLUENCE THE WAY YOUR CHILDREN WORK?)

NUMBER OF YEARS WORKED

Response	0 - 1	2 - 3	4 - 5	6 - 7	8 - 9	10 - 11	12 & above	Total
Yes	5 (2.5)	5 (2.5)	8 (4.0)	4 (2.0)	7 (3.5)	9 (4.9)	23 (11.5)	61 (30.5)
No	27 (13.5)	30 (15.0)	17 (8.5)	11 (5.5)	16 (8.0)	17 (6.0)	26 (13.0)	139 (69.5)
Total	32 (16.0)	35 (17.5)	25 (12.5)	15 (7.5)	23 (11.5)	21 (10.5)	49 (24.5)	200 (100.0)

One may argue that the number of years that a mother has worked influences the way her children work within the household. However, the data shown in the table do not seem to suggest the existence of this kind of relationship. Perhaps the difference in the number of working years, while constituting in arithmetical terms a wide variation is socially and psychologically not much of a difference. In this particular case a Chi-square test was computed to check for the existence of any systematic relationship between the two variables - years of work and influence on children's work - with years of work being independent. A Chi-square of 15.57117 was found at .0163 level of significance with 6 degrees of freedom. This indicates the absence of any relationship between the two variables, hence the conclusion that the mother's work experience does not influence the way children work within the household.

Whether or not the children's work within the home is affected by the mother's participation in the labour force will depend on the family's situation, its economic potential, and the age of the children. First, a family with a mother who does not work far from home may not be affected in any way since she can manage to go home once in a while and perform her familial tasks on piecemeal basis. This also applies to self-employed mothers and those working part-time. Second, a family with the household head(s) earning a substantial income would mean the family's ability to hire a maid to perform the mother's duties when she is at work. As for the age of the children, families with young children would obviously not have any child performing any household tasks. If they are too young the mother's presence

within the home becomes a necessity.

ROLE ALLOCATION: DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES

It is important to make a detailed examination of the role allocation in the family in order to explain the salient points as to whether working mothers experience a kind of role overload. Such an examination will also help to de-mystify the sex role ideology already discussed in the literature review. It will also assist in illuminating the extent to which the father and children undertake tasks that are generally viewed as the mother's. The role of house girls and other relatives in running the family will also be grasped when a breakdown of domestic activities and those performing them is given. These will be discussed on the basis of whether the one undertaking a particular activity does it regularly, occasionally, or rarely.

Cooking

Generally, with a few exceptions, it is the mother's duty to cook for the family. This was reflected in the findings as 72.0%* of the mothers reported that they cook for their families regularly. This shows that it is the mothers primary duty to cook for her family. Moreover, in the case of some married

* All the percentage figures discussed in this section are in relation to the total sample (N = 200) although the not applicable cases may not be explained.

women, the husbands may refuse to take their meals if they are not prepared by the wife. 20.5% of the mothers cook occasionally, while only 7.5% of the mothers cook rarely. This may arise due to the mother's commitment at the work place, allowing her to cook for her family only once in a while.

Not surprisingly, none of the mothers interviewed said that their husbands cook regularly. This may be a reflection of the society's norm that the father is not supposed to cook unless the wife is not available to do the cooking. Only 5.5% of the married mothers had husbands who cook occasionally. 59% of the mothers said that their husbands rarely cook for the family. This category further explained that they could not imagine their husbands cooking since the husband's entry into the kitchen is restricted to occasions when he may be repairing household appliances.

None of the mothers reported that their sons cook for the family regularly. It appears that the child's sex is one of the determinants of the type of work he/she is supposed to do. Thus male children generally perform 'masculine' tasks, unless there are no children of the opposite sex to perform the 'feminine' duties. Over and above, the sons may be following the fathers' footsteps. Only 13.5% of the mothers said that their sons cook occasionally. There is an increase in number when it comes to rare cooking, with 42.5% of the mothers interviewed reporting that their male children cook rarely.

In the case of female children, 9.0% of the mothers said they regularly cook. 19.5% said that their female children assist

in cooking occasionally, while 23.0% said they assisted rarely. Compared to the male children it is clear that female children are more involved in cooking. It can therefore be concluded that cultural factors may affect the urban family in terms of the definition of sex roles; female children may be expected to help more in the mother's duties.

Only 4.5% of the mothers said that the grandparents assist in cooking regularly. The same proportion of mothers (4.5%) said that the grandparents assist occasionally. The larger proportion of the mothers (17.5%) reported that grandparents rarely assist in cooking. This may be explained by the fact that in many urban families the grandparents do not normally live within their children's families. They may come as visitors occasionally or when called upon due to lack of hired help to care for the children.

It is clear that in families with maids (a total of 107 families have maids), most of them cook regularly; 65.4% of the mothers said that their maids regularly do the cooking. Mothers with maids who cook occasionally constituted 25% of the families with maids. Only a mere 6.5% of the mothers had maids who rarely cook. This perhaps happens in cases where the maid is employed to care for the children specifically and do other minor household chores while the mother solely does the cooking. Moreover, there are mothers who would not like their husband's food to be prepared by the maid. Others simply do not believe that maids can prepare good food. They may have the belief that house girls are incapable of handling certain household appliances and it is thus safe to keep them away from them.

Some mothers reported that they are assisted in cooking by other relatives. 4.5% of the mothers had relatives who assisted them in cooking on a regular basis. 7.0% had relatives occasionally assisting in cooking and 35% had relatives rarely assisting. This is perhaps indicative of the urban families' conjugal tendency signifying the slow breakdown of the extended family.

Washing Clothes

The largest proportion of mothers (59.5%) regularly do the washing for the family. 34.5% occasionally do the washing, while only 6.0% perform this duty rarely. The figures clearly indicate that, like the other household activities, washing of clothes for the family is primarily the mother's duty. This may arise because the mother is most likely to be the most competent member in doing this task. Another explanation may be that the children are not old enough to do it. The maid, where available, may not do the washing properly and the mother therefore finds it wise to do it herself.

The father's case is completely different from the mother's. None of the mothers said that their husbands regularly do the washing of clothes. Only 4.0% of the mothers had husbands occasionally assisting, while 60.5% of the fathers rarely did the washing. This is a typical Parsonian dichotomy of 'instrumental' and 'expressive' task performance categories.

It is clear from the findings that the male children, like their fathers, do not normally wash clothes regularly. Only 0.5% of the mothers had male children regularly doing the washing of

clothes. Of the mothers with male children of age to do washing, only 20.5% said that their sons occasionally do it. The largest proportion of mothers (35.5%) said that their sons rarely perform this task. A general conclusion can be drawn that sons, like their fathers, rarely do feminine tasks. Therefore the work of the mother does not seem to make sons do more of household activities that are considered feminine.

As for the female children, 7.0% of the mothers said that their daughters regularly do the washing of clothes. This is a great contrast to the 0.5% reported in the case of male children. Mothers whose daughters wash occasionally constitute 25% of the mothers. Instead of the percentage for rare performance increasing as in the case of the sons (35.5%), the proportion of mothers with daughters who rarely do the washing goes down to 23.0%.

The grandparents' performance of the duty of washing clothes is minimal in all respects. The data show that 3.0% of the families had grandparents regularly doing the washing, 4.0% occasionally and 19.5% rarely. This perhaps shows the breakdown of kin support of the old days when grandparents used to play a major role in assisting their daughters in familial tasks. The 73.5% of the not applicable respondents are not only those families without grandparents but also families in which their help is not regarded as desirable. Instead they are seen as a burden and, hence, not urged to live among them.

As opposed to other activities like cooking which do not feature prominently, the findings from this study indicate

that many of the working mothers have the washing done by the maid. 34.5% have maids regularly doing the washing and 17.5% occasionally doing it. Only 1.5% of the mothers have maids who rarely do the washing. This is an indication that most of the maids are engaged in the washing of clothes assisted by the mother (59.0% of the mothers regularly do the washing). It appears therefore that washing of clothes is a regular duty for maids and mothers.

Other relatives also assist in washing clothes. 3.5% of the mothers interviewed have relatives regularly doing the washing, while 10% have relatives occasionally assisting, and 33% have this assistance by relatives given rarely. This rare assistance may be explained by the financial pressure the families may experience, in terms of food and general maintenance, in case relatives have to live with them. Thus, relatives may be viewed as a liability rather than an asset. Some families therefore prefer not to have their relatives' assistance.

Cleaning and Sweeping

The mother seems to be very much involved in every domestic activity. For general cleaning and sweeping, it is once again the mothers who mostly do it regularly (50.5%). 35% of them do it occasionally, while 15% undertake it rarely. The general picture that can be got from these data is that mothers are generally very much involved in this task.

Fathers do very little with regard to cleaning and sweeping. Only 0.5% of the respondents had husbands who do the cleaning. 2.5% have husbands who occasionally do it, and 61.5%,

the largest proportion, have husbands who rarely perform this task. This shows that the husbands share is minimal. Correspondingly, most of the mothers (38.0%) have male children rarely doing the cleaning and sweeping, while 17.5% have them occasionally doing it. Only 2.5% of the mothers said that their sons do the cleaning regularly. This is a very small proportion compared to those doing it rarely (38.0%) and it is an indication that male children hardly partake of this activity.

The mothers saying that their daughters do the cleaning regularly constitute 9.0% of the total number of mothers interviewed. This figure is much higher compared to that of male children (2.5%). 27% of the mothers said that their daughters occasionally do this task, while 21% have daughters who rarely do it. This rare performance is perhaps a result of the availability of maids to do the work or, at times, children may be spared the task because of their school work. They may also be too young to do it as perfectly as required.

As was the case with the other activities grandparents have a very minor role to play in the sweeping and general cleaning of the home. 3.5% of the families have grandparents regularly assisting in sweeping, the same proportion (3.5%) occasionally, whereas 19.5% rarely do it. Other relatives just like the case of the grandparents, do not seem to be very much involved in this task. The mothers with relatives regularly doing this task constitute only 4.0%. Those with them doing it occasionally form 9.0%, while 33.0% have them doing it rarely. The 54.0% of the not applicable category may be a reflection of the fact that relatives are rarely involved in familial tasks in the urban

areas.

The picture is different when it comes to the maid. It generally appears that cleaning is a major duty in the maid's life within the household with 42.5% of the mothers reporting that their maids regularly do the cleaning. 10% have maids doing it occasionally, and 1.0% rarely. A viable conclusion is that the task of cleaning and sweeping is generally the work of the mother and the maid.

Washing Dishes

Just like in other activities, the mother is greatly involved in washing dishes, with 50.0% of the mothers doing this on a regular basis. 35.0% do it occasionally, while 15.0% do it rarely. Those doing the washing of dishes on rare occasions may be those who heavily rely on house-girls or other relatives. None of the married mothers had husbands doing this activity regularly. It is important to note that whereas only 2.0% of husbands occasionally do this task, majority of the mothers (62.5%) have husbands who rarely perform it.

The male children also do the washing of dishes. They do this perhaps because their families do not have house-maids or the female children are not of age to do the task. Only 1.5% of the mothers had male children regularly washing dishes, 18.5% doing the washing occasionally, and 36.5% rarely. The 43.5% of the not applicable cases comprises of families without male children or those in which the male children are not of age to manage to do the washing.

The female children participate more than their male counterparts, with 9% of the mothers having them do the washing of dishes regularly, 27.0% occasionally, and 20% rarely. It is worth comparing the regular performance for both male and female children. While only 1.5% of the female children perform this task regularly, 9.0% of the female children do it on a regular basis. The grandparents are not very much involved in this activity with 3.0% doing it regularly, 2.5% occasionally and 21.0% rarely. The 73.5% of the not applicable cases consist of families without grandparents and families whose grandparents may be living away from them.

Care of Children

As may be expected, the responsibility for the care of the children primarily falls on the mothers. Most of the mothers (61.0%) interviewed said that they undertake the care of their children regularly. This situation is understandable in the light of the fact that after birth, and for many months before child care duties can be delegated to anybody else, it is the mother who nurtures the child. 30.5% of the mothers said that they do child care duties occasionally and 8.5% of them rarely. These two categories of mothers comprise the mothers with children who are old enough to be under the care of anybody else (and not the mother) and those who are of school going age.

That the duty of caring for the children is not the father's is shown by the mothers' response; 1.0% had fathers doing this duty regularly, 11.5% occasionally and 51.5% rarely. The male children do not also share very much in this task, with .5% of

the mothers having sons doing it regularly, 13.5% occasionally, and 42.5% rarely. The female children have a slightly greater share of the duty of caring for their younger kids. 7.0% of the mothers have female children who care for the children regularly, 21.0% occasionally, and 25.0% rarely. Many of the mothers with maids (44.0%) had these housemaids caring for children regularly. The share of this responsibility by grandparents and other relatives is small and therefore not worth explication.

AN INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY

The discussion of the performance of domestic activities can help in identifying the sources that guide the portrayal of a role in certain directions. Three sources identifiable in this study are situational demands, personality, and intruding roles. In addition, role performance of the family members occurring in specific interactions are worked out through a process of role negotiation with role partners. These four sources operate to give direction to role enactment within the wider range of expectations in the family associated with the role category.

Situational Demands

Sarbin and Allen (1969) have noted that many situations call for a specific kind of role performance. They have called the elements of the situation that influence this performance role demands. In recognition that the demands are not associated with role categories or positions, but rather with situations, the term situational demands will be applied in this study. Enactment of the same role by different performers in many different kinds of situations is the issue because each different situation has its own demands.

Situational demands are illustrated in this investigation by the father's performance of some of the domestic activities that are specifically regarded as the mother's duties. For instance 5.5% of the mothers had husbands who occasionally cook for the family. They also share widely in other activities. The same is true of the male children who were to complete the feminine tasks. The other situational demand is with regard to

the mother who, though engaged in work outside the home, is forced by situational circumstances beyond her control to do most of the household duties on a regular basis. Thus all members share in the performance of identical duties, suggesting that the family setting produces situational demands that guide the members' performance of these activities.

Personality and Role Skills

A second source directing role enactment stems from the personality characteristics and the skills of the actor. How one enacts the role is affected by his aptitudes for it, his self concept, his attitudes, his needs, and his role identity i.e. the way he likes to think of himself being and acting. In this study, it has been found that mothers, since they have the personality and role skills, are more involved in household duty performance than the fathers and male children. The mothers' performance of various domestic activities is shown in the table 19.

TABLE 19:
MOTHER'S PERFORMANCE OF DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES:
PERFORMANCE

Activity	Regularly	Occasionally	Rarely	Total
Cooking	144 (72.0)	41 (20.5)	15 (7.5)	200 (100.0)
Washing Clothes	119 (59.5)	69 (34.5)	12 (6.0)	200 (100.0)
Sweeping/ Cleaning	100 (50.0)	70 (35.0)	30 (15.0)	200 (100.0)
Washing dishes	100 (50.0)	74 (37.0)	26 (13.0)	200 (100.0)
Care of Children	122 (61.0)	61 (30.5)	17 (8.5)	200 (100.0)

The table shows clearly that mothers perform most of these activities regularly. This can be contrasted with the fathers' performance which indicates that most of them perform these duties rarely.

A similar situation is evident in the case of the female children's performance of these duties. Quite clearly their performance rate is much higher than that of male children. This is shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20:

CHILDREN'S PERFORMANCE OF DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES:PERFORMANCE

Activity	Regularly	Occasionally	Rarely	N/A	Total
1. Female					
Cooking	18 (9.0)	39 (19.5)	53 (26.5)	90 (45.0)	200 (100.0)
Washing Clothes	14 (7.0)	50 (25.0)	46 (23.0)	90 (45.0)	200 (100.0)
Sweeping/ Cleaning	18 (9.0)	54 (27.0)	42 (21.0)	86 (43.0)	200 (100.0)
Washing dishes	18 (9.0)	54 (27.0)	40 (20.0)	88 (44.0)	200 (100.0)
Care of Children	14 (7.0)	42 (21.0)	50 (25.0)	94 (47.0)	200 (100.0)
2. Male					
Cooking	0	27 (13.5)	85 (42.5)	88 (44.0)	200 (100.0)
Washing dishes	1 (0.5)	41 (20.5)	71 (35.5)	87 (43.5)	200 (100.0)
Sweeping/ Cleaning	5 (2.5)	35 (17.5)	76 (38.0)	84 (42.0)	200 (100.0)
Washing dishes	3 (1.5)	37 (18.5)	73 (36.5)	87 (43.5)	200 (100.0)
Care of Children	1 (0.5)	27 (13.5)	85 (42.5)	87 (43.5)	200 (100.0)

No doubt there is greater involvement on the part of the female children in the performance of domestic activities. This is greatly influenced by their personality and role skills which they have learned in the process of socialization.

Intruding Roles

A third source of direction lies within the system of roles itself. The mother's behaviour is rarely, if ever, influenced by one role alone. She simultaneously occupies a number of role categories. The same is true of all the other family members. While one role usually will be more dominant in a given situation than other roles, these other roles may influence role enactment to some extent. This is exemplified in this study by the father's performance of domestic duties.

The fact that mothers in this study work outside the home is another clear evidence of intruding roles, with the roles of worker and mother intruding upon each other. The same can be said of the male children's performance of many of the domestic activities that are branded feminine.

Role Negotiation

A fourth direction stems from the process of role negotiation or bargaining (Goode, 1960). The working mother and the other family members who are her role partners can be thought of as working out through negotiation, either direct or indirect. Role negotiation in the family occurs where the limits of the roles are so broad as to leave unspecified the particular nature of role performances. The roles of husband and wife are

culturally prescribed only in terms of broad limits. Partners rarely agree on all aspects of their roles, and often the personality, aptitudes, skills, or role identities of one or both partners are not entirely suited to the role of husband or wife. Thus situational demands often interfere with role performance, and other roles (such as careers) often intrude. Hence, the husband may also share in the domestic activities. However, the husband's share in these activities has been shown to be minimal. This shows the continuity of traditional sex role performance even in the urban setting where mothers work outside the home, an indication that there has been little change.

Role Overload

A question worth being addressed is whether the working mothers may be experiencing a kind of work overload as a result of their working outside the home. The work overload of the mother can be ascertained by examining the frequency of her performance of the various domestic activities. This should be done by first noting that the performance of domestic activities is part and parcel of the performance of work outside the home. This becomes necessary because the nature of the work overload cannot be fully assessed if the factor of outside work is not included. The domestic activities and the frequency with which mothers perform them are shown in Table 19.

That mothers mainly perform all the duties regularly is quite evident from the table. In all the activities listed the Proportion of mothers performing them regularly ranges from 50% to 72.0%. The proportion becomes smaller when it comes to occasionally, and even smaller in the case of rare

performance (7.5% to 13.0%). Added to this regular performance of household chores are the other routine activities in her participation in the labour force. To make this point clear an examination of the husbands'* performance can be considered alongside that of the mothers. A distinct difference is evident in that in all activities the fathers' regular performance ranges from 0.5% to 1.0%. Instead of this proportion becoming smaller as was the case with the mothers, it steadily increases to between 51.5% to 59.0% at the rare performance level. No doubt therefore that mothers are often overworked as they struggle to fulfil their domestic role obligations and their obligations in work outside the home.

* It should be noted that the use of husbands' performance here is for illustrative purposes since not all the mothers in the sample are married.

4.2 FAMILIAL PROBLEMS

4.2.1 CHILD CARE

Any substantive discussion of the family in relation to working mothers should not leave out the crucial issue of the problems encountered in child care. A number of problems usually arise as a result of the mother's engagement in work outside the home, but none is so negative towards family welfare as the lack of adequate child care arrangements. Many mothers express a preference for caring for their children on their own, but the force of circumstances compels them to seek alternative arrangements. The mothers have therefore to deal with the problem of childcare as need and circumstances dictate.

In the first place, the mother's participation in the labour force has brought about a considerable reduction in the time that the mother can conveniently dedicate to her children. In most cases, the nature of the mother's work demands that she leaves home in the morning, only to return in the evening. This implies that the children who are not yet old enough to be in school seldom get the mother's care, something that they badly require. Some mothers may not even manage to see their children in the morning because they leave for work before the kids are out of bed.

Secondly, there is no doubt that children generally receive the best care and attention from the mothers. Therefore, some alternative strategies employed in childcare may not be ideal - such as leaving younger children in the care of older ones, or

leaving them unattended, often with tragic results. One may thus rightly assume that children without the mother's presence at home scarcely receive adequate care from whoever is left in charge of them. Cases of irresponsible housegirls' mistreatment of their employers' children have become commonplace. The continued absence of the mother from home has meant that a significant number of mothers cannot manage to devote all their attention to caring for their children. It may therefore be argued that it is because mothers work that the problems experienced in child care have taken firm root in many urban families. The problems encountered by working mothers in Thika with regard to child care will be discussed in detail in this section, together with highlights on how the mothers manage to cope with these problems.

It is not correct to postulate that generally all working mothers encounter problems in taking care of their children. Some may, on the contrary, experience a reduction in many of these problems as a result of their engagement in work outside the home. It is therefore essential to find out, from the outset, how widespread child care problems are in urban families. This information was gathered by asking the mothers whether they experienced any problems in child care. Their response to the question yielded the results shown in Table 21.

TABLE 21:

DO YOU ENCOUNTER ANY PROBLEMS IN TAKING CARE OF YOUR CHILDREN?

Response	No.	Percent
Yes	141	70.5
No	59	29.5
Total	200	100.0

From the table it is clear that most of the mothers experience childcare problems, with 70.5% of the respondents reporting that they encounter problems. These arise mainly because their work commitment outside the home may not allow them to care for their children themselves. Only 29.5% of the mothers said that they do not encounter any problems. Although this is a negligible proportion compared to the 70.5% saying that they encounter problems, it is nevertheless a clear testimony that any generalized assumption that all working mothers encounter childcare problems is a misrepresentation of the real life situation. The 30% of the mothers is indicative of the fact that a certain section of the working mothers derive benefits from work that go a long way in helping them solve their child care problems.

Firstly, the proceeds from the gainful employment of the mother may be used for the engagement of the children. This may not appear to be a rather strong argument

given that even in homes where child care problems are experienced, there are people employed to care for the children. A case can be made for this argument in that some of the mothers may be the lucky few who may have responsible housegirls capable of doing all the necessary duties related to child care. Moreover, mothers who work may be better placed to give better pay and better living conditions, and this may directly influence the quality of child care that these housegirls provide. This kind of arrangement, where housegirls are shown utmost care and concern by their employers, may also deter them from leaving employment at short notice or without notice. This is best exemplified by cases where maids leave their employers with the complaints that they are mistreated and lowly paid.

Secondly, the mother's employment may also enhance her ability to take her children to kindergartens or nursery schools. This may be a direct result of their ability to earn money with which to pay the required fees in these institutions. Some of these mothers may even view these institutions as a positive influence on their children, providing them with experiences and peer contact they would miss by staying at home.

The foregoing discussion may tend to imply that child care problems cannot generally arise provided the mother earns enough to pay for alternative child care arrangements. This may not always be the case. The 70.5% of the respondents who said that they experience problems in taking care of their children are not in the main the lowest paid workers, meaning that a direct relationship between the amount of money earned and a reduction in child care problems does not exist in all families.

On being asked the problems they face in taking care of their children, the mothers gave the problems as tabulated in Table 22:

TABLE 22:

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

Problem	No.	Percent
Nobody to leave kid(s) with	75	37.5
Breastfeeding while at work	5	2.5
Child mistreatment by maid	8	4.0
Meagre income-insufficient for child care	25	12.5
Sickness (children)	11	5.5
Unreliable housemaids	11	5.5
Taking children to workplace	2	1.0
Sending children to school	4	2.0
Not applicable	59	29.5
Total	200	100.0

Table 22 shows that the most common problem that mothers face is lack of someone with whom to leave the children. Most (37.5%) of the mothers complained about this problem. This proportion is followed, in order of magnitude, by those with insufficient income to pay for child care (12.5%), those with unreliable housemaids (5.5%), those whose housemaids mistreat the children (4.0%) and those with young children requiring to be breastfed

(2.5%). A long way behind come mothers who have to take their children to school (2.0%) and those who take their children with them to the workplace (1.0%).

It has been shown that the greatest problem in relation to child care is lack of housemaids. This problem arises because maids are rare to get in urban areas. Some mothers argued that even when there is enough money to pay for child care, the ayahs may not be readily available. Many mothers also stress the need of getting housegirls they can trust, and this is not always possible. The idea of seeking the best may thus apparently explain in part the reasons behind the persistence of the problem. The problem is aggravated by the lack of kin support where child care was a joint venture for all members of the extended family. Help may come by in way of relatives staying for a while amongst the families of the working mothers, but this is not a decisive solution to the problem since at one time the relatives will need to return home.

The problem of irresponsible housemaids (5.5%) is another major problem. Irresponsibility on the part of the housegirl is manifested by habitual carelessness, particularly in cases where maids have caused 'domestic' accidents like house fires, leading to injury or death of children. In other cases the maids may neglect the children and roam around the estates talking to their counterparts in the neighbouring quarters. Others deliberately refuse to prepare food for the children when the mother is away. Even when they prepare the food, they may fail to feed the children and eat the food themselves.

Despite the fact that these problems are wide ranging and sometimes insurmountable, the working mothers have attempted to find some viable solutions to them. However, most of these problems are recurrent in nature and their total elimination may not be possible. Table 23 shows the alternatives open to the mothers in their bid to counter child care problems.

TABLE 23:

SOLUTIONS TO CHILDCARE PROBLEMS

Solution	No.	Percent
Keep changing maids	15	7.5
Works near home	7	3.5
Takes kid(s) to work place	18	9.0
Leave children with neighbours	32	16.0
Fails to go to work	29	14.5
Shares the task with husband	14	7.0
Limit working hours	21	10.5
Younger kid(s) left under care of others	5	2.5
Not applicable	59	29.5
Total	200	100.0

Table 23 indicates that with the mother working, the parents have to resort to a wide variety of child care arrangements. This is partly because day care of good quality is costly and usually

difficult to find and partly because there is considerable variation in what families consider desirable. In each of these families, deciding who, if anyone, they trust to take over the role of substitute parent to their child is an important family issue. Preferences aside, many of the families are forced to combine a series of alternatives.

With regard to the problem of irresponsible house maids, some mothers (7.5%) prefer to keep changing them, because they can hardly get anyone sufficiently responsible to be left alone with their children and their house. Some other mothers (3.5%) prefer to work near the home so that they can take care of the children, while others (9.0%) take the children to the work place. This arrangement involves combining work with child care.

Most of the mothers (16.0%) prefer to leave the children with relatives or neighbours. Though these families rely on close neighbours and relatives to help with the child care, this does not involve the exchange of money. There are some mothers (14.5%) who are forced by circumstances to fail to report to work in order to take care of the children. This mostly happens when a child suddenly falls sick or when the maid decides to leave her employment without notice. This explains why some employers prefer to have male employees because they are considered to be more stable workers.

There are some other working mothers (10.5%) who limit their hours of work to allow them to take care of their children. This involves reporting to work late and leaving the work place early. This category of mothers deal with flexible working hours that permit a mother to be at home once in a while to look

after their children. Older children of school age may be left to fend for themselves after school, and also to take care of their younger children (2.5%).

In families where both parents work outside the home, there has been some effort to reallocate the child care task between mother and father (7.0%), although traditional roles as wives and mothers, husbands and fathers, seem extremely tenacious. In general, given the abundance of counter-pressures to equal task sharing - whether they be social or psychological - which naturally accompany any attempt to break with a long-established tradition of the division of responsibility widely shared in the society, the wife is pretty much left to take what help she can get.

The problems that working mothers face in taking care of their children have already been outlined and discussed, and their attendant solutions explained. The availability of maids appears crucial, and it is thus necessary to address the issue of paid domestic help more specifically. When asked whether they paid for child care, 53.5% of the mothers said they did, while 46.5% did not pay for it. As expected therefore most of the working mothers depend on hired help to care for their children. The amount paid for child care varies from KShs. 200 to over KShs. 500 as shown in table 24.

TABLE 24AMOUNT PAID FOR CHILD CARE

Amount (in Kshs.)	No.	Percent
Does not pay	93	46.5
Under 300	36	18.0
301 - 400	55	27.5
401 - 500	13	6.5
Over 500	3	1.5
Total	200	100.0

Table 24 shows that most of the mothers (27.5%) pay between Kshs. 301 to KShs. 400 for child care. The highest amount paid for domestic child care is KShs. 650. On the whole therefore, it appears that not much is paid to the maid. This happens perhaps because the maids get their meals and accommodation within the household. In addition, they may receive tokens in the form of old clothes and shoes to boost their working morale and make them feel an integral part of the family. The low pay for the maid is also a result of the fact that salaries earned by mothers are relatively low.

It may be assumed that the mother's working experience i.e. number of years worked, is related to whether or not she encounters any problems in child care. Such an assumption would follow from the idea of associating mothers who have worked for

long with the ability to undertake their child care tasks without problems. It is therefore necessary to find out whether this relationship exists. Table 25 is a cross-tabulation of the mothers' working experience and whether or not they experience any problems in taking care of the children.

TABLE 25:

MOTHER'S WORK EXPERIENCE AND PROBLEMS IN CHILD CARE

(DO YOU ENCOUNTER ANY PROBLEMS IN TAKING CARE OF YOUR CHILDREN?)

NUMBER OF YEARS WORKED

Response	0 - 1	2 - 5	6 - 9	10 & above	Total
Yes	20	42	31	48	141
No	12	18	7	22	59
Total	32	60	38	70	200

<u>CHI-SQUARE</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE</u>
3.26	3	0.05

In the above case, a chi-square test was computed to find out if there exists a relationship between years of work and problems in child care. A chi-square of 3.26 was found at 0.05 level of significance with 3 degrees of freedom. This shows that no relationship exists between years of work and child care problems.

4.2.2 ROLE STRAIN AND CONFLICT

Working mothers generally experience difficulties in performing their role of mothers and workers. When they attempt to perform their role in a manner that minimizes strain, they may fail to do so either because their role partners are dissatisfied or because certain features of the role system produce difficulties. On the level of the individual mother's personality, strain involves conflicting tendencies to act and feelings of inadequacy, guilt, embarrassment and need frustration.

Expectations associated with roles in a social system vary in clarity and in the degree of consensus among actors. Clarity is mainly a function of the explicitness and specificity of expectations. Newly developed roles, like the combination of the role of mother and worker, often lack clarity and thereby lead to role strain.

There are several types of disagreement on role expectations which may become overt expressions of role strain. Lack of consensus on the role of wife in our society is a good example especially in the case of a husband holding traditional views of inequality. The working mothers in this study indicated that disagreements on the mother's participation in work outside the home may occur. For instance, there may be lack of agreement on whether being a wife should require a woman to forgo employment. When asked whether their husbands approve of their working outside the home, 3.5% of the married mothers said they do not.

These mothers are bound to experience a bit of strain arising from the feeling that they are working contrary to their husbands' wishes. Over and above, a husband may disagree with his wife in believing that part-time employment is permissible, but full-time is not.

Husband and wife may also disagree in believing that a wife should only be employed in case of economic necessity. They may bring about strain if the wife insists on working even when the family has enough resources to survive without her work. For instance, the 43.5% of the married mothers who said they would not stop working despite their husbands' capability to meet all the family needs may experience strain and conflict.

Conflicting and Competing Expectations

Another source of role strain and conflict lies in conflicting or competing expectations that make up a role. Such conflict or competition may pertain to expectations regarding the mothers responsibility for her children. This is manifested when the mother cannot adequately honour both expectations of home and work because of limitations of time and energy.

Role strain on the part of the working mother indicates that her work may negatively affect the children. When asked whether their work negatively affected their relationship to the children, 51.0% of the mothers said that it does. This is an indication that to a large extent the mother's work negatively affects the children. The mothers who said that their work negatively affects their children gave the reasons for their assertion as shown in Table 26.

TABLE 26NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE MOTHER'S WORK IN RELATION TO THE CHILDREN

Explanation	No.	Percent
Lack of time to be with them (neglect)	71	35.5
Children are overworked	9	4.5
Children become irresponsible	15	7.5
Children do not like housegirl (unhappy)	7	3.5
Not applicable	98	49.0
Total	200	100.0

The table shows the mother's inability to perform her duties in relation to the children. The greatest problem appears to be the lack of time to be with the children and care for them, with the result that mothers neglect their children. Many of the mothers (35.5%) reported experiencing this problem. Since the working mother occupies a number of positions at one time, she is normally unable to carry out her household tasks, and this leads to the problem of overworking the children. Some 4.5% of the mothers said they encountered this difficulty. Because the mother occupies a number of positions, her behaviour is consequently subject to a number of sets of expectations. Some of these may be in conflict or competition. Thus mothers suffer

strain over allocating time between their role as mothers and their role as workers. Whereas a majority of mothers may indicate that they prefer to spend most of their time with their family or friends, the employers expect them to devote most of their time in their work outside the home.

An examination of three roles, those of wife, mother, and employee, would disclose that the roles of wife and mother would contain many more common expectations than either would have with the role of employee. It would be expected that a woman who occupies the roles of wife and mother would experience less conflict between roles than if she were to occupy, say, the roles of wife, mother, and employee. In the latter case she would be under considerably greater strain because of the greater incompatibility of these roles. Moreover, her conflict would be accentuated if her husband held traditional expectations for the role of wife and mother.

Conflict and Strain in the Husband - Wife Relationship

The negative effects of work on the family are not confined to the mother/child relationship. The married mothers also experience problems in as far as their relationship to their husbands is concerned. The findings from this study indicate that there are problems of conflict and strain that are directly traceable to the mothers' work outside the home. Of the mothers interviewed, 21.0%* said that their work has negative effects on their relationship to their husbands. The mothers who said that work has negative effects in this respect gave their problems as shown in Table 27.

*This percentage figure is a proportion of the total sample (N= 200).

TABLE 27:PROBLEMS IN THE HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP

Problems	No.	Percent
Disagreement over money earned	4	2.0
Lack of time to be with the husband	30	15.0
Forced by husband to work	6	3.0
Husband misuses salary because wife can provide for family needs	2	1.0
Not applicable	158	79.0
Total	200	100.0

It appears from the table that most of the married mothers (15.0%) experience the problem of lack of time to be with their husbands. Some of them explained that they come from work late and this leads to quarrels between the husband and wife. This makes some of the husbands insist on their wives to stop working. Their refusal leads to serious conflict between husband and wife. Other mothers simply complained of missing their husbands. There are some mothers (3.0%) who complained that their husbands force them to work against their will. This category of mothers argued that there are times they are unable to cope with the work the way the husbands want. Cases of husbands misusing their money are also evident, with 1.0% of the married mothers saying that

their husbands do not use their money to cater for the family needs. Such husbands may insist on knowing exactly how their wives use their money. This leads to disagreement over how much money the wives earn and how they are supposed to use it. This is a manifestation of conflict between husband and wife, and 2.0% of the mothers interviewed complained of this problem.

Role Strain in the Performance of Familial Duties

Working mothers experience role strain in their performance of familial tasks. This kind of role strain, like the others already discussed, is a result of the incompatibility between the roles of a mother and a worker. The performance of familial tasks will be examined to find out how far problems in carrying them out can be attributed to the mother's work outside the home. That work has negative effects on the family is illustrated by the 56.5% of the mothers who said that they experience problems due to their working outside the home. The negative effects of work that these mothers experience are shown in Table 28.

TABLE 28PROBLEMS IN THE PERFORMANCE OF FAMILIAL DUTIES

Problems	No.	Percent
Some duties not performed/ neglected	42	21.0
Some duties not done properly	21	10.5
Mother gets overworked/ poor health	42	21.0
Duties delegated - Done badly	8	4.0
Not applicable	87	43.5
Total	200	100.0

Table 28 shows that most of the mothers (56.5%) experience problems in their performance of familial duties, with the highest proportions recorded for the problem of some duties not getting performed at all (21.0%) and the mother getting overworked and thus negatively affecting her health (21.0%). The mothers explained that there are some duties that are neglected because they are unable to do them due to their commitments at their places of work. The mothers who complained of getting overworked emphasised that there are times they fall sick but still have to perform the household chores.

Some mothers (10.5%) complained of their inability to do some of the household tasks properly. At times they do not get enough time to do these and are therefore forced to use the limited time available to make sure they perform all the duties. This results in poor performance of the tasks. Those mothers who have to delegate their duties to housemaids or other people (4.0%) argued that some of the duties are done badly because of the lack of supervision. The conclusion that can be drawn from this discussion is that many of the problems experienced by mothers in their performance of familial duties are directly or indirectly attributable to the mothers' work outside the home.

The problems in the performance of familial duties associated with work outside the home have already been discussed. There is need to further know whether the working mothers are satisfied with their performance of familial duties. This inquiry would be prompted by the conviction that, at least because of the nature of their work, incompatibility between housework and paid employment are bound to arise, with the consequent dissatisfaction of the mother in her performance of familial duties. Moreover, the findings from this study have indicated various negative effects which the mothers attributed to the fact that they work outside the home. These negative effects are indications of structural strain between the work outside the home and household commitments. They depict the extent of structural incompatibility between the two spheres of work and home.

To ascertain the level of satisfaction with the work, mothers, the mothers in the sample were asked to indicate how far

they felt satisfied in their performance of familial duties. Their responses to this question are shown in Table 29.

TABLE 29:

SATISFACTION IN HOUSEWORK

Level of Satisfaction	No.	Percent
Very satisfied	53	26.5
Satisfied	90	45.0
Neutral	41	20.5
Dissatisfied	12	6.0
Very Dissatisfied	4	2.0
Total	200	100.0

The table shows that most of the mothers are satisfied or very satisfied with their work. This indicates that although mothers experience a lot of problems in the performance of familial duties as shown in Table 28, they still derive some satisfaction from their work. That some mothers (6.0%) reported feeling dissatisfied with their duties is an indication of an underlying problem, with its roots in the work place. Over and above, another 2.0% of the mothers reported feeling very dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction shows that because of their commitments in the work place, some mothers are unable to cope up with their household responsibilities. This results in poor performance of their duties and at times complete failure to

perform such duties. This makes them feel dissatisfied with their work within the home.

The Extent of Role Strain Among Working Mothers

The familial problems already discussed are indicative of the strain and conflict that working mothers experience in their lives. The conflict and strain usually arise because the mother has to reconcile the two different areas - work and family - in a bid to ensure that both are run smoothly. In order to find out the magnitude of role strain among working mothers, a question was posed to them on how often they encounter difficulties in meeting the demands of the two roles of mother and worker. Their responses are tabulated below (Table 30).

TABLE 30

DIFFICULTIES IN MEETING DEMAND OF TWO ROLES

Frequency of Difficulties	No.	Percent
Never	50	25.0
Rarely	41	20.5
Occasionally	16	8.0
Often	31	15.5
Always	62	31.0
Total	200	100.0

Table 30 shows that many of the working mothers encounter difficulties in meeting the demands of the two roles. The highest proportion recorded (31.0%) consists of mothers who always face these difficulties. They are followed by the mothers experiencing no difficulties, constituting 25.0% of the total number of mothers in the sample. They are followed, in order of numerical importance, by those experiencing difficulties rarely (20.5%), often (15/5%) and occasionally (8.0%). A general conclusion that can be drawn from the data is that many working mothers frequently experience role strain in their attempts at meeting the demands of their dual role.

Reduction of Strain and Conflict

In the foregoing discussion on the negative effects of work, it should be noted that there are some mothers whose work, the mothers themselves feel, does not have any negative effects on their relationship to their children, their relationship to their husbands, or the performance of their familial duties. This happens because the family bears certain features that serve to reduce strain resulting from conflicting role expectations. These features include certain structural aspects of the family system. The reasons that the mothers experiencing no problems gave for the lack of conflict and strain can be taken rightly to be the mechanisms that mothers employ for the reduction of strain and conflict. These will be discussed briefly below.

The mothers who said that they experience no negative effects in their relationship to their children argued that their

work, though demanding, still affords them time to be with their children. Some said that they at times take their children with them to the work place and this ensures continuous mother-child contact throughout the working day. Mention need be made that these are probably mothers who are self-employed and are therefore in work situations where the rules of the work place do not bar the mother from bringing her child along. Another mechanism that mothers employ is to send their children to live with relatives away from home, or to enrol them in boarding schools. This rids them of the daily responsibility of having to look after the children. Other mothers are lucky to have children who are old enough to take care of themselves. In a family, a mother's role may technically be enacted by anyone. The practice is normally to choose either the maid, husband, elder children, or a relative to care for the children. This prevents the mother from occupying many role categories and helps reduce role conflict.

In their relationship to their husbands, the married mothers experiencing no problems said that their husbands do not complain of their working because they work with their direct approval. Some husbands even receive financial help from their wives from time to time. Moreover, there are some mothers who are the sole breadwinners and therefore have to work to support the family. Some married mothers further explained that though they may have a lot of work to do, they still can cope with both the work and their duty to their husbands. That implies that no problems may be experienced in the husband-wife relationship.

The category of mothers not experiencing any problem in their performance of familial duties said that their children are old enough to assist in household duties. Others seek the assistance of a housegirl or relative. Those mothers with small children argued that, although the small children may demand a lot of attention, the mother has more time at her disposal to carry out her other familial duties. The self-employed mothers, may also have no problems due to the flexibility of their working time, allowing them to attend to their household chores any time they deem necessary. They therefore perform their duties in order of priority. Role obligations in their case are arranged in a hierarchy. They recognize that certain obligations take precedence over others, and that where obligations have equal priorities, strain arises. But if obligations associated with one role category take precedence, little strain arises.

The work experience outside the home has also taught some mothers how to handle familial duties. They can thus manage to meet the demands of both the familial role obligations and those of the work place. At times it may involve waking up early so as to have enough time to do most of the household duties before embarking on work outside the home. This demonstrates that when a mother is exposed to role strain, in addition to the resources available to her through participation in the labour force, she has at her command certain individual processes that reduce role strain. A mother may therefore sometimes adjust to conflicting expectations by restructuring the situation by waking up early to perform some of the duties which may otherwise go undone.

CHAPTER FIVEHYPOTHESES TESTING

In this Chapter the hypotheses formulated earlier in Chapter Two will be tested. This will be done by crosstabulating the independent variables with the dependent variables. The main statistical techniques in testing these hypotheses include the chi-square and the gamma. These two will be discussed briefly below.

The Chi-Square (X^2)

The Chi-square is a test of statistical significance. It is also used in determining whether a systematic relationship exists between two variables. It is calculated by summing over all cells the squared residuals divided by the expected frequencies. The statistic X^2 is defined by the formula:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

where O stands for the observed frequency in each cell, and E is the expected frequency. The calculated chi-square is compared to the critical points of the theoretical chi-square distribution to produce an estimate of how likely (or unlikely) this calculated value is if the two variables under consideration are in fact independent.

Gamma

Gamma is a coefficient used for measuring the direction and strength of association between two variables. It is a

symmetrical statistic, based on the number of same-order pairs or concordant pairs (P) and the number of different-order pairs or discordant pairs (Q). The coefficient is defined by the formula:

$$\text{Gamma} = \frac{P - Q}{P + Q}$$

In the formula, the number of concordant pairs (P) minus the number of discordant pairs (Q) is divided by the total number of united pairs (P + Q).

Gamma can achieve a value of +1 or -1. A value of +1 shows a perfect positive relationship, an indication that the dependent variable can be predicted on the basis of the independent variable without any error. A value of -1 indicates a perfect negative relationship. A gamma of zero reflects that there is nothing to be gained by using the independent variable to predict the dependent variable.

Apart from the chi-square and gamma, other statistical measures such as lambda, Somers' D and Eta will also be used in some cases.

(1) Relationship between the husband's income/alternative means of livelihood and participation in work outside the home

Hypothesis: That in urban families mothers work out of economic necessity. Thus married mothers whose husbands earn less, participate more in work outside the home; they would participate less if their husbands earn enough to meet all the family needs.

For single mothers an alternative means of livelihood would reduce their participation in work outside the home.

The assumption made here is that the higher the husband's income the less the wife will be inclined to participate in work outside the home. This implies that the husband's high income considerably reduces the family's economic necessity and therefore allows the wife to stop working without any adverse effects on the family. The mother's willingness to stop working will be taken to mean reduced participation in income-earning activities. The data used for the examination of this part of the hypothesis are presented in Table 31.

TABLE 31:

CAN YOU STOP WORKING IF YOUR HUSBAND EARNS ENOUGH TO TAKE CARE OF ALL THE FAMILY NEEDS?

HUSBAND'S INCOME (IN KSHS).

Response	Under 600	601-1800	1801-3600	3601-5400	5401 & above	Row Total
Yes	4	21	10	2	5	42
No	1	6	31	26	23	87
Column Total	5	27	41	28	28	129

CHI-SQUARE

38.9

4

0.05

The hypothesis is supported. A chi-square of 38.9 was found at 0.05 level of significance with 4 degrees of freedom. This shows that there is a definite relationship between the husband's income and the married mother's participation in work outside the home.

It can be concluded that mothers whose husbands earn little work out of economic necessity. They feel that if their husbands earn enough to take care of all the family needs, they would quit working and concentrate on their families. The little they earn is a great contribution in running the family. Although these findings must be interpreted cautiously, one is inclined to believe that if these mothers had husbands earning sufficient income they would definitely be more willing to leave their income-earning activities outside the home.

Another argument can be advanced in favour of the hypothesis, that mothers whose husbands earn higher incomes are inclined not to like the idea of leaving their jobs because their participation in the labour force is possibly not as a result of economic necessity. Some may have attained some formal educational qualifications and hence their feeling that they need to work to utilize their skills. The desire for work stems from their quest for personal satisfaction and the need to actualize their potential.

The second part of the hypothesis states that if single mothers had an alternative means of livelihood their participative in work outside the home would be reduced. Table

32 shows the single* mothers and their response to the question on whether they would stop working if they had an alternative means of livelihood.

TABLE 32:

WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO STOP WORKING IF YOU HAD OTHER MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD APART FROM WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME?

MARITAL STATUS

Response	Single	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	Total
Yes	43	6	4	4	57(80.3)
No	12	0	2	0	14(19.7)
Total	55	6	6	4	71(100.0)

(N = 71)

An examination of the responses lends evidence to the plausibility of the hypothesis. The data show that most of the single mothers (80.3%) would be willing to leave their work outside the home if they had an alternative means of livelihood. Only 20% of them did not express their willingness to leave their jobs given that an alternative was available. The hypothesis is therefore supported. It appears that most of these mothers just have to work to support their families.

*The term single mothers has been used in the entire thesis in reference to single mothers (never married) and widowed women.

A viable conclusion for the entire hypothesis is that married mothers whose husbands earn little and single mothers generally participate in work outside the home due to economic necessity. An improvement on the husband's earnings or an alternative means of livelihood (for the single mothers) would lead to a reduction in participation in work outside home. The hypothesis is further supported by the fact that most of them started working to earn a living, directly implying the factor of economic necessity.

(ii) Relationship between the number of children within the household and role strain

Hypothesis: That role strain among working mothers is related to the number of children within the household. Mothers with many children at home experience greater role strain than those with fewer children.

The first step in testing this hypothesis involved the crosstabulation of the responses to the question on whether or not the mothers experience any major difficulties in meeting the demands of their two roles and the number of children within the household. This is shown in Table 33:

TABLE 33:

DO YOU EXPERIENCE ANY DIFFICULTIES IN MEETING THE
DEMANDS OF YOUR TWO ROLES?

RESPONSE

<u>No. of children</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Tow Total</u>
0 - 1	25	24	49
2 - 3	43	47	90
4 - 5	28	23	51
6 & above	5	5	10
Column Total	101	99	200

CHI-SQUARED.F.SIGNIFICANCE

0.486

3

0.05

The data show that no relationship exists between the number of children and the mothers' experience of major difficulties and meeting the demands of their two roles.

In testing for the intensity of strain, the
children staying at home was cross-classified with frequency of

the occurrence of difficulties in meeting the demands of the two roles of mother and worker. The data are presented in the table below, together with the necessary statistical analysis (Table 34).

TABLE 34:

NUMBER OF CHILDREN STAYING HOME AND FREQUENCY OF DIFFICULTIES
IN MEETING DEMANDS OF TWO ROLES

FREQUENCY OF DIFFICULTIES

No. of Children	Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Always	Row Total
0 - 1	6	5	2	9	27	49
2 - 3	27	17	6	16	24	90
4 and above	17	19	8	6	11	61
Column Total	50	41	16	31	62	200
<u>Chi-Square</u>			<u>D.F.</u>			<u>Significance</u>
32.635			8			.0012

<u>Statistic</u>	<u>Symmetric</u>	<u>With Children Dependent</u>	<u>With Difficulties Dependent</u>
Lambda	.06452	.04545	.07971
Uncertainty Coefficient	.05999	.06806	.05363
Somers' D	-.24310	-.22745	-.26106
Eta		.33363	.32084

<u>Statistic</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Cramer's V	.23239	
Contingency Coefficient	.37339	
Kendall's Tau B	-.24368	.0000
Kendall's Tau C	-.23320	.0000
Pearson's R	-.29391	.0000
Gamma	-.33397	

The data show that there is a fairly strong inverse relationship between the number of children staying at home and the frequency of difficulties in meeting the demands of two roles. The hypothesis is therefore not supported. Instead of increasing the difficulties in meeting the demands of the two roles for the mother, the greater number of children at home may, on the contrary, help reduce the mother's problems in performing the two. The children may help the mother in doing some of the duties that she cannot manage to do, considerably lessening the mother's work.

(iii) Relationship between work experience and the intensity of role strain

Hypothesis: That work experience influences the intensity of role strain among mothers. Those mothers who have worked for many years experience less role strain than those who have worked for a shorter period of time.

In establishing whether there is a causal relationship between work experience and the intensity of role strain, the period the mother has been engaged in work outside the home will be examined in relation to the frequency of difficulties in meeting the demands of the two roles of mother and worker. Data for the analysis of this relationship are presented in Table 35.

TABLE 35:**WORK EXPERIENCE BY DIFFICULTIES IN MEETING DEMANDS OF TWO ROLES****FREQUENCY OF DIFFICULTIES**

<u>Work experience (in years)</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely</u>	<u>Ocassionally</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Always</u>	<u>Row Total</u>
0 - 3	3	0	2	8	54	67
4 - 7	2	0	12	23	3	40
8 - 11	3	38	2	0	1	44
12 & above	42	3	0	0	4	49
<u>Column Total</u>	50	41	16	31	62	200

Chi-square

355.587

D.F.

12

Significance

0.05

There appears to be no difficulty in evaluating the above data since the relationship is quite evident. There is a strong relationship between work experience and difficulties in meeting demands of two roles. Those subjects having fewer years of work are more likely to experience greater role strain. When one

starts out to interpret such a result, he raises a distinctive set of questions. Basically one may ask: Why is there a relationship between work experience and role strain? What links them together? The more experienced mothers are more likely to have learned how to combine both roles. Because of their longer experience in performing the two roles, they can afford to comfortably run the two spheres, home and work, without any serious problems. Those who have worked for a shorter period encounter problems in trying to accommodate their mother role to their role as workers outside the home. They may possibly accumulate experience with time and this is correspondingly accompanied by a decrease in role strain. The hypothesis is therefore supported.

(iv) Relationship between the mother's income and the intensity of role strain

Hypothesis: That the mother's income is related to the intensity of role strain that she experiences.

Data for the examination of this hypothesis are presented in Table 36 below.

TABLE 36:MOTHER'S INCOME BY ROLE STRAINFrequency of Difficulties

Mother's Income (KShs)	Never	Rarely	Occasion- ally	Often	Always	Row Total
Under 1800	20	17	8	16	43	104
1801 & above	30	24	8	15	19	96
Column Total	50	41	16	31	62	200

Chi-square

13.14

D.F.

4

Significance

0.05

According to the data no strong relationship is evident between the mother's income and the intensity of role strain. The hypothesis is therefore not supported. It is clear that

mother's earning more income do not experience less difficulties in meeting demands of their two roles than those earning less. Though it could be argued that those earning more are advantaged in that they can hire someone to do some of their work, one needs to note that those to be hired are not always available. Increased income may therefore do very little in reducing role strain.

(v) Relationship between housework satisfaction and the number of children within the home

Hypothesis: That housework satisfaction is related to the number of children living within the home. Satisfaction in housework lessens with the increase in the number of children living within the home.

The relevant data for the analysis of this hypothesis are shown in Table 37.

TABLE 37:**NUMBER OF CHILDREN STAYING HOME BY SATISFACTION IN HOUSEWORK****SATISFACTION IN HOUSEWORK**

<u>No of children staying Home</u>	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Very Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Row Total</u>
0 - 1	48	0	1	0	0	49 24.5
2 - 3	2	86	1	0	1	90 45.0
4 - 5	3	3	39	3	3	51 25.5
6 & above	0	1	0	9	0	10 5.0
<u>Column Total</u>	53 26.5	90 45.0	41 20.5	12 6.0	4 2.0	200 100.0

Chi-square

454.45544

D.F.

12

Significance

.0000

<u>Statistic</u>	<u>Symmetric</u>	<u>With No. of children</u>	<u>With Satis- faction</u>
		<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Dependent</u>
Lambda	.85000	.86364	.83636
Uncertainty Coefficient	.73841	.76329	.71510
Somers' D	.86716	.85996	.87447
Eta		.89532	.84705

<u>Statistic</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Cramer's V	.87030	
Contingency Coefficient	.83331	
Kendall's Tau B	.86719	.0000
Kendall's Tau C	.78113	.0000
Pearson's R	.84629	.0000
Gamma	.92282	

A strong relationship exists between the mother's housework satisfaction and the number of children within the home as shown by the above data. The hypothesis is supported in that satisfaction is shown to lessen with the increase in the number of children living within the home. Those mothers with more children at home are less satisfied in housework than those with fewer children. An explanation can be sought for this phenomenon. Many children at home imply that the mother has more to do in terms of caring for them. For instance, she has more clothes to clean, more dishes to clean, more food to cook, etc.

It may be assumed that mothers with more children at home can be assisted in some of their housework by the children. However, this is not always true. The fact is that many children at home tend to undo some of the work the mother does. For example, the house may require to be cleaned several times a day since children often bring dirt into it as they play around. This means that the mother has more to do in the house, and will seldom perform some of her duties in the house to perfection since the children are, to some extent, a hindrance. Moreover, some of the children may demand her direct attention, forcing her to neglect some of her household responsibilities. Furthermore, the chances for the necessity of her direct attention are more likely to increase as the number of children increases. The mother's satisfaction in housework is therefore strongly influenced by the number of children within the home.

(vi) Relationship between the mother's monthly income and the extent to which the family is negatively affected by the mother's work outside the home

Hypothesis: That the mother's monthly income influences the extent to which the family is negatively affected by the mother's work outside the home. Thus negative effects are associated with those families with mothers earning low monthly incomes. Those with mothers earning higher incomes experience little or no negative effect.

Data for the testing of this hypothesis are presented in Table 38.

TABLE 38:

MOTHER'S MONTHLY INCOME BY NEGATIVE EFFECTS

(WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME HAS NEGATIVE EFFECTS?)

MOTHER'S MONTHLY INCOME (IN KSHS.)

Response	Under 600	601-1800	1801-3600	3601-5400	5401 & above	Row Total
Yes	11	50	48	8	0	117
No	11	32	29	6	5	83
Column Total	22	82	77	14	5	200

<u>Chi-square</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance</u>
5.1816	4	0.05

Upon examining the data, it can be observed that no systematic relationship exists between the mother's monthly income and the negative effects of work on the family. The hypothesis therefore is not supported. It may therefore be concluded that the lack of any negative effects of the mother's work in some families cannot be attributed to the

monthly income. Other factors may well explain the existence of negative effects.

In the above analyses, economic necessity has been found to be an important influence on the mother's decision to work outside the home. The intensity of role strain among working mothers has been found to be related to the mothers' work experience. The findings indicate that mothers who have worked for a long time experience less role strain than those who have worked for a shorter period. The hypothesis on the relationship between housework satisfaction and the number of children within the household has also been supported, with the data showing that mothers with many children at home are less satisfied with housework. No relationship has been found to exist between the intensity of role strain and the number of children within the home. Somewhat surprisingly, the intensity of role strain was not found to be influenced by the mother's income.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The concern of this study has been to analyze the implications for the family when mothers work outside the home. Three key issues were addressed by the study: What are the reasons for the mother's participation in the urban labour market? How far does the mother's work outside the home relate to role conflict and strain in the family? What social and economic implications does the family face as a result of the mother's work? Underlying these questions is a fundamental question about the impact of the mother's participation in the labour force on the children. Rather than provide a detailed step-by-step summary of the study, this chapter will try to focus directly on these questions, in the light of the earlier discussion.

In Chapter One the study has revealed the dearth of knowledge on working mothers and the implications for the family in the developing countries. The weaknesses and inadequacies of the previous studies on the family have also been identified by an extensive review of the literature on working mothers. The study has argued for the need of carrying out studies on working mothers within the Kenyan environment.

The discussion in Chapter Four has shown that most of the working mothers in Thika are generally young, and have attained Form 3-4 level of education. The mothers are engaged in a variety of income-generating activities, with most of them being

white-collar workers and small traders. The mothers' engagement in these activities shows that the legitimacy of women's participation in the world of work has now been, to some extent, accepted. It has been recognized that the family's living standards depend in a large measure on the parents' ability to earn. It would, therefore, obviously be in the general interest of the family to make better use of the mother's ability to work, provided this could be done without causing serious damage to other family aspects.

The major reason for the participation of mothers in the labour force has been found to be the need to earn an income to support the family. Although factors such as formal education and the question of independence from the husband also account for the mother's desire to work, it has been revealed that the need for a source of income with which to clothe, feed and educate the children, and cater for other family needs is the major driving force behind the mother's participation in work outside the home.

As regards the division of labour within the household the study has shown that little has changed with regard to the husband's participation in domestic activities. The husband's primary commitment is to his job. The entire responsibility for housework and child care, to a large extent, lies on the mother despite her other commitments in the labour market. A man's concentration on paid employment reflects a basic sexual division of labour in society whereby men are responsible for paid work and women for domestic work. However, the participation of some fathers in routine child care has made a tremendous difference in

the ability and willingness of many mothers to leave home and join the labour force. The mothers work has also been shown to have little influence on the division of labour amongst the children.

The fact that mothers shoulder the responsibility for domestic chores and at the same time take part in income-generating activities has made mothers experience a lot of role strain and conflict. Conflict and strain is evident in the mother's inability to perform her duties in relation to child care. The husband-wife relationship has also been shown to be negatively affected, resulting in disagreements between husband and wife. The study has found out that the intensity of role strain among working mothers is closely related to the mother's work experience. Mothers who have worked for many years have learnt to accommodate their two roles and, therefore, do not experience a lot of strain. Intensity of role strain is not, however, influenced by the number of children within the household. It is also not influenced by the mother's income.

This study has indicated that there has been an increase in the number of working mothers but little has changed with regard to their traditional roles as mothers. Thus every employed mother is faced with the task of defining the relationship between her work and family in her life. The mother has to ensure that the demands of her work are fitted into the family requirements; any outside work that she engages in has to be adjusted to fit her primary commitment to her family. It needs to be noted, however, that the complications introduced by superimposing working life on family life still persist.

While role strain and conflict have been singled out as major problems among working mothers, a few critical observations on child care arrangements cannot be ignored. Whereas care of children in Kenya traditionally was a home based, maternal function, in recent years child caring has changed drastically from the exclusive one-to-one relationship of mother and child. Numerous caretakers, both within the home and in institutions such as nursery schools, now share the child caring role with the parents and other relatives. Growing up with working parents means for most children growing up with multiple caretakers.

Economic and value considerations inevitably enter into the type of care selected, as does the age of the child and the availability and quality of specific programmes and caretakers within any one family's social and community network. The amount and extent of parental ingenuity and creativeness are extraordinary, with parents sometimes selecting complicated work schedules in order to provide significant portion of childcare themselves. Because of the diffuse nature of a working mother's responsibilities for her children, children must be looked after at the same time as other activities are performed. As a consequence of this temporal merging, the children may disrupt their mother's other activities, which spoils the mother's enjoyment of these activities and may generate resentment towards the children themselves.

The foregoing discussion has made it clear that working mothers and their families encounter various problems as a result of their participation in the labour force.

indicates that there is need for changing our family structure so as to recognize the working mother's positive contribution to the well-being of the family. The restructuring of the family would involve change in the domestic division of labour which has been highlighted as a problematic bottleneck in the change process.

To deal satisfactorily with this kind of change - to reconstruct and manage new forms of family structure with a feeling of equity and satisfaction - new structures of relationships between husbands and wives, and between families with working mothers and work organizations can be developed. This is likely to involve the fostering of flexible work arrangements of various kinds in work organizations and educating men on the benefits of their wives' participation in the labour force. This would allow for the possibility that the husband would be more willing to share in child care and other domestic chores. The result of this kind of arrangement would be to facilitate maternal labour force participation and therefore make the mothers working more lucrative for the family.

There are certainly many barriers that have to be overcome to establish such a family orientation where there is equity in the husband/wife relationship. However, this study has shown that there are not only barriers, since some men share the responsibility for domestic duties. This is a sign that things may, after all, get better for those who choose to depart from the traditional sex role differentiation between husband and wife.

Apart from work organizations adopting flexible work arrangements to allow working mothers meet their double role,

effective forms of preschool programmes can also be established. This would involve the establishment of more nursery schools and, if possible, other short-term institutional programmes which children would attend for part of the day, several days a week. Parents would enroll their children in these programmes because they anticipate educational and socialization benefits for the child, and because they would get more time to participate in other activities outside the home.

In conclusion, this study makes no pretence of having exhausted the various issues relating to working mothers and the implications for the family. For instance, with regard to the effect of the mothers work on the children, no control group was used, hence we do not know about the children whose mothers do not work outside the home. However, the focus of the study was not the comparison between children of working mothers and children of housewives, rather the focus was on the range and nature of the dynamics of the mother's work outside the home and its effects on various aspects of the family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Anker, R., "Comparative Survey," in Bodrova, V., and Anker, R. (Eds), Working Women in Socialist Countries: The Fertility connection, International Labour Organisation, 1985.
2. Becker, H., and Barnes, H.E., Social Thought from Lore to Science, Washington: Harren Press, 1952.
3. Berlin, I., Karl Marx: His Life and Environment, London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
4. Blood, R.O., and Wolfe, D.M., Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living, Glencoe: Free Press, 1960.
5. Bodrova, V., and Anker, R. (Eds), Working Women in Socialist Countries: The Fertility Connection, Geneva: ILO, 1985.
6. Boserup, E., The Conditions of Agricultural Growth, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966.
7. Bossard, J.H.S., The Sociology of Child Development, New York: Harper and Brothers Inc., 1954.
8. Bunster, B., "Market Sellers in Lima, Peru: Talking About Work," in Buvinic, M., et al (Eds), Women and Poverty in The Third World, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1983.

9. Case Study of Sites and Services Schemes in Kenya: Lesson from Dandora and Thika, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), Nairobi, 1987.
10. Charlton, S.E.M., Women in Third World Development, London: Westview Press, 1984.
11. Cramer, J.C., "Fertility and Female Employment: Problems of Causal Direction," American Sociological Review 45 (April 1980): Pp. 167-90.
12. Comte, A., A General View of Positivism, Stanford: Academic Reprints, 1953.
13. Danish Assistance to Physical Planning in Thika Municipality: An Evaluation Report, DANIDA, Copenhagen, Denmark, March, 1986.
14. DeLancey, V., "Wage Earner and Mother: Compatibility of Roles on a Cameroon Plantation," in Ware, H.(Ed.), Women, Education, and Modernization of the Family in West Africa, Canberra: Australian National University, 1981.
15. Engels, F., The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985.
16. Epstein, C.F. Women's Place, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971.

17. Goode, W.J., The Family, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964.
18. Goode, W.J., "Norm Commitment and Conformity to Role-Status Obligations," American Journal of Sociology, 1960, 66, 246-258.
19. Heer, D.M., "Dominance and the Working wife", in Goode, W.J. (Ed.), Readings on the Family and Society, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.
20. Hicks, M.W., et al, "Dual Career/Dual Work Families: A Systems Approach," in Macklin, E.D., and Rubin, R.H. (Eds), Contemporary Families and Alternative Life Styles, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983.
21. Hirschman, A.O. The Strategy of Economic Development, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.
22. Jaffe, A., and Stewart, C., Mandpower Resources and Utilization: Principles of the Working Force, Wiley, N.Y., 1951.
23. Karanja, W., "Women and Work," in Ware, H. (Ed.), Women Education, and Modernization of the Family in West Africa, Canberra: Australian National University, 1981.

24. Kessler, R.C., and McRae, J.A., "The Effect of Wives' employment on the Mental Health of Married Men and Women," American sociological Review 47 (April 1982) Pp. 216-227.
25. King, E., and Evanson, R.E., "Time Allocation and Home Production in Philippine Rural Households," in Buvinic, M., et al (Eds), Women and Poverty in the Third World, Baltimore and London: The Hopkins University Press, 1983.
26. Kirkpatrick, C., The Family as Process and Institution, New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1963.
27. Klein, V., "Industrialization and Changing Roles of Women," Current Sociology, 12:1, 1963-64.
28. Koziara, K.S., et al (Eds.), Working women: Past, Present, Future, Washington: The Bureau of National Affairs Inc., 1987.
29. Little, K., African Women in Towns, London: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
30. Lukes, S., Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work, London: Allen Lane, 1973.

31. Middleton, J., "Kenya: Administration and change in African Life 1912-45", in Harlow, V., et al (Eds), History of East Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1965, Pp. 333 - 393.
32. Mitzman, A., The Iron Cage: An Historical Interpretation of Max Weber, New York: Knopf, 1970.
33. Moore, K.A., and Hofferth, S.L., "Women and their Children" in Smith, R., (Ed.), The Subtle Revolution: Women at Work, Washington: Urban Institute, 1979.
34. Myrdal, A., and Klein, V., Women's Two Roles: Home and Work, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1968.
35. Nye, F.I., and Berardo, F.M., The Family: Its Structure and Interaction, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1973.
36. Nye, F.I., and Hoffman, L.W., The Employed Mother in America, Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963.
37. Nyendwoha, E.S., "Uganda: Women's Role in the Development of Tropical and Subtropical Countries," Brussels, Report on the Thirty-first meeting of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations, 1969.

38. Obbo, C., African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence, London: Zed Press, 1980.
39. Ogburn, W.F., and Nimkoff, M.F., A Handbook of Sociology, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1964.
40. Oppenheimer, V.K., Work and the Family: A Study in Social Demography, New York: Academic Press 1982.
41. Parsons, T., The Social System, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1967.
42. Parsons, T., and Bales, R.F. (Eds.), Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1968.
43. Peterson, L.R., and Maynard, J.L., "Income, Equity, and Housekeeping Role Expectations," Pacific Sociological Review 24 (Jan. 1981).
44. Popkin, M.B., "Rural Women, Work, and Child Welfare in the Phillipines," in Buvinic, M., et al (Eds), Women and Poverty in the Third World, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1983.
45. Procter, P., et al, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Essex: Longman Ltd., 1978.

46. Rallings, E.M., and Nye, F.I., "Wife-Mother Employment, Family, and Society," in Burr, W.R. et al (Eds.), Contemporary Theories About the Family, New York: The Free Press, 1979.
47. Republic of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, Urban Labour Force Survey 1986, Nairobi: Ministry of Planning and National Development, 1988.
48. Roy, P., "Maternal Employment and Adolescent Roles: Rural-Urban differentials," in Goode, W.J. (Ed), Readings on the Family and Society, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.
49. Sarbin, T.R., and Allen, V.L., "Role Theory", in Lindzey, G. and Aronson, E. (Eds), The Handbook of Social Psychology, Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1969.
50. Schwendinger, J.H., "Sociology's Founding Father's: Sexist to a Man", Journal of Marriage and the Family (1971) 23.
51. Smith, R., (Ed.), The Subtle Revolution: women at Work, Washington: Urban Institute, 1979.
52. Swainson, N., The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya 1918 - 1977, London: Heinemann, 1980.

53. Tentler, L.W., Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States 1900-1930, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
54. Voydanoff, P., "Women's Work, Family and Health," in Koziara, K.S., et al (Eds), Working women: Past, Present, Future, Washington: The Bureau of National Affairs Inc., 1987.
55. Wallman, S., Social Anthropology of Work, London: Academic Press Inc., 1979.
56. Weekes-Vagliani, W., Family Life and Structure in Southern Cameroon, Paris: Development Centre of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1976.
57. Wrigley, C.C., "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life 1902 - 1945," in Harlow, V. et al (Eds), History of East Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1965, Pp. 209 - 264.
58. Young, M., and Wilmont, P., The Symmetrical Family, New York: Penguin Books, 1977.

APPENDIXUNIVERSITY OF NAIROBIDEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGYINTERVIEW SCHEDULEWORKING MOTHERS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FAMILY: THE CASE
OF THIKA

Good day. I am a student at the University of Nairobi, and I am carrying out a study on working mothers and the implications for the family in Thika town. Your help by providing information pertaining to this study will be greatly appreciated. All information you give me will be kept strictly confidential.

This study has the approval of the Office of the President.

Sample No. ----- Date: -----

Research Site: -----

1. How old are you? Write exact age -----
and the code.

1. 15 - 19

6. 40 - 44

2. 20 - 24

7. 45 - 49

3. 25 - 29

8. 50 - 54

4. 35 - 39

9. 55 - 59

5. 35 - 39

10. 60 and over

2. What level of education did you complete?

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1. None | 6. Form 5 - 6 |
| 2. St. 1 - 4 | 7. Over Form 6 |
| 3. Std. 5 - 8 | 8. Adult Education |
| 4. Form 1 - 2 | 9. Technical Training |
| 5. Form 3 - 4 | 10. University |
| | 11. Other |

3. Are you

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Single (never married) | 4. Separated |
| 2. Married | 5. Widowed |
| 3. Divorced? | |

4. Do you work outside the home?

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Yes ----- | 2. No ----- |
|--------------|-------------|

5. What is your present occupation? State clearly and the code: -----

1. Small trader in vegetables
2. Small trader in other items (specify: -----)
3. Casual labourer (not employed permanently)
4. Business - shop operator, or wholesale trader
5. Profession - teacher, policeman, nurse, doctor
6. White-collar - Clerk, typist, office worker, etc.
7. Other (Specify: -----)

6. Do you work?

1. Part-time or 2. Full - time?

7. What is your monthly income? -----

8. When did you start working? -----

9. Why did you start working?

10. Would you be willing to stop working if you had other means of livelihood apart from work outside the home?

1. Yes ----- 2. No -----

If the husband is alive and they are not divorced fill in question 11 to 18.

11. What is your husband's occupation? Specify: -----

12. What is your husband's income per month? -----

13. Does your husband approve of your working outside the home?

1. Yes ----- 2. No -----

14. Does his approval influence your decision to work?

1. Yes ----- 2. No. -----

15. If Yes/No, explain:

16. Can your family run smoothly without your earning provided your husband works?

1. Yes ----- 2. No -----

17. If Yes/No, why?

18. Would you stop working if your husband earns enough to take care of all the family needs?

1. Yes ----- 2. No -----

21. Now from the information you have given, I see you have
-----number of children.

Boys: -----

Girls: -----

22. Do you encounter any problems in taking care of your
children?

1. Yes ----- 2. No. -----

23. If yes, what problems?

24. How do you deal with these problems?

25. Do you pay for child care?

1. Yes ----- 2. No -----

26. How much? -----

27. ROLE ALLOCATIONCHILDREN

	Mother			Father			Male			Female			Grand parents			Maid ser- vant			Other rela- tives		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Domestic Activities																					

- Cooking

- Washing
Clothes- Sweeping/
Cleaning- Washing
dishes- Care of
Children

1. Regularly

2. Occasionally

3. Rarely

28. Are you satisfied with housework?

1. Very satisfied

2. Satisfied

3. Neutral

4. Dissatisfied

5. Very dissatisfied.

ROLE STRAIN

29 (i) Do you encounter any major difficulties in meeting the demands of your two roles?

1. Yes -----

2. No -----

29 (ii) How often do you encounter difficulties in meeting the demands of your two roles as a mother and as a worker outside the home?

1. Never

2. Rarely

3. Occasionally

4. Often

5. Always

30. Does your work influence the way your children work within the home?

1. Yes -----

2. No -----

31. If yes, how?

32. If no, why not?

33. Are you satisfied with your work outside the home?

- 1. Very satisfied
- 2. Satisfied
- 3. Neutral
- 4. Dissatisfied
- 5. Very dissatisfied

34. Would you say that your work outside the home has negative effects?

- 1. Yes -----
- 2. No -----

35. If yes/no, explain with regard to:-

(i) Your relationship to your children

(ii) Your performance of familial duties

(iii) Your relationship to your husband

(iv) Other

