

The Impact of Homelife on Women's Career Prospects.

By

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'This Dissertation is my own original work. All assistance and references are quoted and acknowledged. I am also grateful for guidance given to me by my thesis supervisor Julie Byrne.'

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Abstract

'It was a woman who first proposed to me the metaphor, borrowed from industrial life, of the 'second shift'. She strongly resisted the idea that homemaking was a 'shift'. Her family was her life and she didn't want to reduce it to a job..... Despite herself her home life felt like a second shift. That was the real story and that was the real problem' (Hochschild and

Machung, 1990:07)

This dissertation is concerned with the role that housework and childminding play in the lives of working women. The focus lies mainly in the compromises that are made in order for women to progress in their chosen career paths while achieving satisfaction in their personal lives. This dissertation analyses the steps taken to implement equality between men and women's conditions of work and evaluates the successes and limitations of these steps.

A survey was carried out by the author of this dissertation in February 2000. This survey found that Irish women currently face conflict between their work and home lives. The issues that frequently arise when analysing this relationship are

- Household requirements
- Childcare
- The glass ceiling
- Atypical employment arrangements

Chapter One

Section 1.1

The history of Irish women in work and home:

Article 41.2 of the 1937 Irish constitution states that,

'By her life in the home the woman gives to the state a support by which the common good can be achieved. The state shall therefore endeavour to ensure that mothers will not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of her duties in the home',

This statement reinforces the rigid role behaviour that had been emphasised in Irish society throughout much of Ireland's history. While shocking now in current theory to comment on a woman's 'duties in the home', the context at the time allowed for such blatant discrimination.

Ireland as primarily an agricultural society did not see women's roles in the workplace change so dramatically as in other European countries until the twentieth century. However it is undeniably true that within the family women have consistently been economically dependent on men and as such have been assigned the principal bearer of domestic labour. Women's work in pre-industrial Ireland was generally hard physical labour and was a key element in upholding her family's survival especially if the family's plot of land was small. Luddy and Murphy (1984:98) describe women as being responsible for rearing pigs, children and poultry, all of which contributed to family income.

Dickson as cited in Daly (1997:12) points out that the main burden of dairying fell on women including labour intensive work such as churning. In times of difficulty a woman often supported her family through begging.

Women were responsible for work such as crafts trades e.g. textiles. These were tasks generally carried out in the home. Dairying was in fact the only type of agriculture that would provide sufficient year round wages for women. Harvesting and setting crops provided women with approximately six weeks labour. This harvesting was mainly carried out by young single women who did not have the responsibility of childcare.

Advances in methods of farming in the early years of the last century resulted in falling prices of farm produce and increases in the number of male labourers meant that by 1820 recruitment of women as farm labourers ceased. The only remaining women left on the farm were wives of farmers. The main reason given at the time for not hiring women was their need to breastfeed while working. Dickson (1993) also describes how expectant mothers labouring for long hours often fainted soon after returning to work.

(Daly, 1997:09-17)

Wives labour on the land, childrearing and housekeeping allowed their husbands to take up jobs locally or emigrate to work elsewhere. Wives whose husbands owned larger than average farms could raise pigs and hens for profit or barter for goods needed. Womens earnings could not allow them any standard of living with their children on their own, but often contributed over one third of the households income. On the death of her husband a labourer's

wife often through loss of property and employment was driven to prostitution or begging. (Daly, 1997:09-17)

In Urban areas the options of jobs available increased into areas of selling goods, domestic or personal services. Women controlled some businesses in large towns, however this was only in exceptional cases. Women were excluded from apprenticeships and in the event of unemployment levels increasing women were excluded from areas traditionally perceived as being predominantly a women's job. The 1841 census details three main sectors of female employment in which female employment predominated over male employment. These included textiles, domestic and agricultural sectors. (Daly, 1997:22-40)

Domestic servants tended to leave marriage until their late twenties as their marriage resulted in their employment being terminated. The textile industry did accept married women for employment and as such was the only commercial sector that allowed for this. In 1871 over one quarter of those working in the linen or cotton industries were married. (Daly 1997:22-40)

There was no maternity leave for women expecting children and a mothers return to work soon after childbirth often resulted in children falling sick on contaminated milk and their mothers suffering from physical complications such as infections. Many women did leave work after their first child was born although one in five Catholic wives and one in ten Protestant wives returned due to financial strains. When possible children rather than

their mothers were sent to work. Some chose less secure employment such as sewing and laundering that fitted in around their families and household demands. In Dublin and Cork wives of labourers relied heavily upon casual work in laundering and housecleaning. This trend continued well after world war one. (Daly 1997:22-40)

By 1911 forty eight percent of Irish working women were employed in manufacturing, most of these were employed in Derry and Belfast while most Dublin and Cork women worked in domestic service. This resulted in most women in the south leaving paid employment after they married while northern women were more likely to remain in work after marriage. Women accounted for one quarter of all those in professions. This was largely due to the increased importance of education, especially among middle class women who were afraid in some cases of never finding a rich husband. These professions evolved from what had always been a wife and homemakers responsibility, e.g. nursing. Upon marriage a nurse or teacher was required to resign from their position. Therefore women traditionally responsible for such activities as nursing and teaching were forced out of these occupations due to their marital status affecting their place in the industrial society. For those women that remained lack of role models and the constant expectation that they would marry and leave the occupation left them resigned to the lowest grade of occupations e.g. nurses not doctors. (Daly 1997:22-40)

Section 1.2

Irish women in work and home After 1922

MacCurtain and Donnacha (1984) estimate that in 1926 in the republic there were eighty women involved in agriculture for every twenty women not in agriculture. These figures exclude farmer's wives who if included would have greatly increased the numbers in agriculture. In the more industrialised northern counties most women worked outside the home in paid employment. During world war two increased numbers of married women joined the labour force to replace men who had gone to war. Again during the period 1961-1981 female participation rates dropped in the south while in the north they increased. It is during this period that demographic changes became apparent. (Daly 1997:41-51)

Sean Lemass came to power, his approach to economic development was a more open approach than any other leader that preceded him (Gunnigle et al, 1997:161/162). By 1975 the ratio of women in agriculture to non-agriculture was sixty:forty. The increased number of women in manufacturing and services sector should have resulted in married women staying in paid employment. This trend did not occur, the marriage bar put in place forced women to withdraw from work after marriage thereby effectively and legitimately removing large percentages of women from the workplace. Economic growth at that time encouraged couples to marry. As a

predominantly Catholic country family planning and contraception was frowned upon. This resulted in increased numbers of children as advances in medicine ensured that most children survived. The effect of such increases in marriages, childbirth's and the marriage bar combined was that once married few women returned to work. By 1981 over forty four percent of married women in the northern counties remained in paid employment while in the south that number was less than half that figure at only twenty percent. (Daly 1997:41-51).

Section 1.3

What evidence is there that women do both paid work and housework:

Murdock as cited in Haralambos and Holborn (1998:317-321) in his study of the family declares that no society has ever found a replacement for the nuclear family and the economic functions that it supports. The division of labour has meant that in every society whether hunter-gatherer or in modern times, that economic functions have been carried out and in doing so provide 'Rewarding Experiences' for the partners whom through working together 'Cement their union'. In Murdock's estimation the utility of the nuclear family makes it inevitable. In his study of over two hundred societies he had never found a replacement for the nuclear family, in which so many economic functions could be carried out. He doubted the possibility of finding a suitable alternative to its structure. Becker as cited in Hakim (1996:14) also upholds this notion seeing the sexual division of labour allowing for greater specialisation and thus therefore a mutually advantageous situation that is efficient and raises the productivity of the family members.

Morgan (Haralambos and Holsborn, 1998:322) described Murdock's Parsonian evaluation of nuclear family's structures undeniable precedence over all other forms as being a 'remarkably harmonious situation'. By suggesting the family's inevitability Murdock's views could be perceived as deterministic. His arguments ignore other forms of family structure that are increasingly more common, such as matrifocal families and as such devalues their existence. Becker develops his ideas to include his acceptance that

discrimination exists in the labour market and that husbands may exploit their wives. Becker also acknowledges that the sexual division of labour encourages wives to choose jobs that are less effort intensive and are compatible with domestic responsibilities. This division causes occupational segregation since wives will actively apply for jobs that are less demanding even if they are in full time work. These factors may according to Becker have influences on single men and women as well as married couples if they anticipate marriage and parenthood as most do. Murdock's theory on the division of labour in the nuclear family suggests that work is equally delegated and rewards both partners. This idealistic situation is unfortunately a rare phenomenon.

Delphy and Leonard (1996:75-105) maintain that women who are married do twice as much housework as their husbands, even if they are also in paid employment elsewhere. Hartman (1981) outlined women's role in the home, a housewife who does not work elsewhere will on average spend fifty to sixty hours working in the home and seventy hours if they also care for children. Their husbands on the other hand may spend eleven hours on housework and if they have children they will split these eleven hours between the two tasks: If his wife or partner has paid employment elsewhere she will spend less time on housework but still her overall workload increases substantially. In the event of her employment elsewhere, her husband may spend more time on household and childminding tasks. However, time given for these activities is usually very little, if not insignificant. Hochschild (1990:08/09) estimates that women carry out two of every three tasks in the home. Women are more likely to found 'Mothering the house', than

'Mothering the children' as their partners do. In total Hochschild holds that working women in dual career families spend approximately one extra month of twenty four hour days on household tasks. Bilton, Bonnett, Jones et al (1991:275) believe that less than three quarters of men participate in domestic work at all. Peter Worsley (1991).

Rapoport and Rapoport also recognise that women require organisational skills in two career households. Duties that must get done are generally remembered by the female partner thus therefore leaving her husband or partners mind free from household concerns to focus on external matters such as his career e.g. arranging parties and outing is usually seen as a woman's role. This could be perceived as a lingering characteristic of conventional marriages. These traditional relationships emphasised the wives role as domestic, helpful, accommodating, comforting and reinforced the value that a good wife controlled her emotions in order to support her husbands mental well being. (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976:47-62). Blunt (1999:27) acknowledges that it is not surprising that on average men who are married live longer than those who are not, whereas women who are not married live longer than those who are.

The second commission on the status of women (1993:118) discovered that Irish men were the least likely of all European men to take responsibility for household shopping, cleaning dishes, dressing children, cooking or cleaning. The domestic activity of men tends to evolve around 'helping' rather than 'sharing' tasks. As our population ages and is expected to do so more in

the future women are faced with the problem of eldercare that has firmly devolved upon them to take responsibility for.

Giddens (1997:319) states that many employers view women's careers being placed second to having children. It would be optimistic to believe that this was not the case today, that for many women to have career prospects and children is possible, evidence proves contrary to this widely held belief. Oakley as cited in Rapoport and Rapoport, (1976:47-62) questions the equal partnership in marriage, so long as her husband and society holds a child's mother solely responsible for their children. Giddens (1997:319) writes that the number of women accepting part time and temporary employment is a reflection of their partner's lack of willingness to accept prime responsibility for childrearing. Homans (1987) while realising that men and women ideally need equal opportunities at work most managers in his surveys acknowledged that domestic and childcare responsibilities took their toll on women's careers through 'large gaps in their work experience', training deficiencies and other factors. (Giddens, 1997:319/320)

Watson believes that women's links to home and work intermingle and can have a debilitating effect on one or both. According to Watson most girls look to the future of their work being interrupted by pregnancy, childrearing and partial employment to suit their domestic duties. Martin and Roberts (1984) studied over five thousand women and his results found that most based their education, training and job choices on the assumption that they

would be wives and mothers with many other responsibilities. (Watson, 1995:155-161)

Heath (1991) points to the unfairness of this situation, men may perceive marriage and career as complementary, for women this combination can prove antagonistic. Dilemmas produced include sacrificing one major element of living (marrying/bearing children or employment), in order to maximise the other. Alternatively they may carry out two tasks often poorly while their partner concentrates on one task often excelling in that area. Murdock's belief in the division of labour giving 'rewarding experiences' and the full utilisation of all functions could be true in most cases. Although who is being rewarded most and who is being overused can in the majority of cases be questioned.

Chapter Two

Section 2.1

Childcare

Chapman (1987:30/31) acknowledges that the most important factor for working women with children is flexibility. Part-time work, temporary work and job sharing are listed as viable options for employment. Chapman addresses the problem of childcare as being impossible for an individual without children to, 'Imagine the worry and sleepless nights that it causes most working women with children...' Chapman warns mothers,

'Don't imagine you will ever find a perfect childcare arrangement. It does not exist... assume that you will have to come to terms with the fact that you are going to have to live with this nightmare of compromise and guilt.'

This book's objectives are described as giving encouragement to women who wish to assess their lives and widen their horizons in a light-hearted and straightforward manner. It would be simple to dismiss this book's view of motherhood as not romanticised enough to be light-hearted. Would it be as simple to prove its statements unfounded?

Blunt (1999:26) outlines just some of the areas in which children have to be organised let alone looked after included in these are:

- ◆ Children need clothes and special food at different ages
- ◆ Children are frequently ill

- ◆ Children may have play groups/school
- ◆ Children go to schools that may start and finish at different times.
- ◆ Children have homework
- ◆ Children need to be dressed, cleaned and tidied.
- ◆ Children need packed lunches
- ◆ Children want their parents at school functions

Gunnigle, McMahon and Fitzgerald (1995:305-307) describe how participation rates of women in employment have greatly increased. More women than ever before are entering the workforce. By 1992 thirty percent of the labour force were married women, this number is steadily rising (U.N. fourth world report, 1994:80). Kate Figes (1994:77) points out that ninety percent of women have children. Paula Nicolson (1997:375) states that 'motherhood is a central aspect of most women's lives worldwide. In 1995 almost eighty percent of households in Ireland had children in their family unit (Durkan 1995: 03). Figes (1994:77) outlines how mothers as workers are often seen as working merely for pocket money. Cunningham (1995:85) refers to the President of the Irish Women workers Union, Rosaleen Bracken description of married women as workers, in 1983,

'Most married women do work for financial reasons, but there are an awful lot of women who work, not for financial reasons, but for social reasons, for they're bored in their homes and they want to meet people and so on and so forth, and I would like to think these ladies, with respect, should be able to find, or they should be helped to express themselves otherwise',

Again in the Irish Times, (16/11/1987:07) this view was further expanded on,

‘Most young girls would get married and they should not be used to deny young males future careers and thus become breadwinners in the community’

Yet in 1991 women in the U.K., forty three percent of whom were mothers contributed over one third of average household incomes i.e. approximately one hundred pounds of the average industrial wage estimated at two hundred and eighty two pounds. Increased numbers of women in the work place most of whom will have children, who contribute large sums of revenue and maintain a family’s economic viability are rewarded with insufficient childcare facilities needed to further their careers. (Figs, 1994:77/78)

Many households depend upon the mother’s wages to survive yet society doesn’t help her to work. The U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women (1994:85) acknowledges that Ireland has the lowest participation rate in the labour market for mothers with children under the age of ten in the E.U., but the third largest increase in participation, an increase from eighteen percent in 1985 to thirty percent in 1991. It was also found that half of the wage differential between men and women is attributable to career breaks needed by women to care for children. Nicolson (1997:388) believes that most mothers feel guilty due to ‘weathering the complicated and contradictory feelings provoked by maternal ambivalence’. Women are not complying with their ‘Maternal instincts’ weather real or imaginary in societies eyes if they

want to have it all. 'All' being a career and children, a situation achieved easily and acceptably by traditional breadwinners. A working mother's quality of life and health are frequently hampered by having to make childcare arrangements and work shorter or more unsociable working hours.(Paula Nicolson, 1997:393)

How much money can a woman expect to lose through becoming a mother? Dale and Joshi in 1992 researched on a European level the quantifiable effects of motherhood on female workers. In France as little as one percent of a woman's income is lost through having children, this figure rose to fifteen percent in Sweden and in Britain fifty seven percent of income is lost by women who become mothers. It is unlikely that Ireland would have fared much better than Britain as much of our childcare legislation and management styles are similar to those in Britain. (Figes, 1994:78/79)

Wickham (1997:146) in his study of part-time workers declares that,

'Irish managers are some of the most convinced of the benefits of part-time work. On this dimension also the British manager's enthusiasm is only exceeded by that of the Irish'

Those employed most often in part-time jobs included 'women with the responsibility for the care of young children'. Government policy making differs greatly among most European countries with Britain and Ireland being very similar e.g. maternity leave.

Britain allows fourteen weeks paid leave for expectant mothers. Ireland allows twelve weeks paid and four weeks unpaid leave. Following the birth post natal appointments are allowed for up to fourteen weeks after the birth. Time off is paid, however two weeks notice is required (Meenan, 1999:108) France allows sixteen weeks paid leave to have children and a further three years unpaid leave to rear children, and adjust to the physical and psychological changes involved. Italian mothers can expect five months paid leave and six months on thirty percent of their normal salary to have children. Should a woman decide to return to work within twelve months of childbirth they are entitled to two one hour breaks for breastfeeding and resting. The 'Pressure of returning to work and proving that nothing has changed can be enormous', especially for British and Irish women who are 'Barely home and used to hormonal chaos, breastfeeding and broken sleep before she has to decide whether or not to return to her former life. (Kate figes,1994:86)

It is apparent that decent childcare needs to be provided to allow working mothers achieve their optimum performance in the workplace. To date what steps or initiatives have taken place to bring this about. Houston (1997:205/206) outlines some of the options available for parents seeking private childcare. Included in these are,

- ◆ Sessional services: Provide planned preschool programmes for approximately three hours. Costs approximately twenty five pounds a week

- ◆ Full day care: Nursery/Creche, hours usually range from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.
Costs fifty to hundred pounds a week
- ◆ Childminder: mind child in family or minders home until the parents return from work. Costs approximately fifty pounds a week.
- ◆ Nanny/Aupair: stays in the family home. Cost varies depending on agency and availability.
- ◆ Babysitter: Sits with children, usually in the evenings. Costs approximately two pounds an hour.

The availability of such services can be lacking especially in certain regions where places can be scarce e.g. highly industrialised cities. The cost can be burdensome especially if there is more than one child to be cared for. The need for both child and minder to be fit and healthy enough to be minded or mind can often be the reason for an unplanned absence from work.

Alternatively companies can set up childminding facilities in the work place or offer financial relief from the burden of childcare. Facilities that can be offered include:

- ◆ Nurseries: Can be in the workplace or contracted out elsewhere. They can prove costly for the company e.g. Insurance/staffing. Planning for issues such as opening hours or who is more eligible or deserving of places can evoke staff dissatisfaction. Their main benefit is a reduction in absenteeism, as they often prove more reliable than private childcare arrangements.

- ◆ Childcare allowances: Can take the form of a cash allowance paid directly to the individual employee or a payment to a third party childcare fund. It may prove difficult for the company to decide how to calculate these payments so as they weight all staff equally or when to cease these payments e.g. when the child turns five.
- ◆ Voucher schemes: these are issued to an employee who presents them to their childcare provider. These can be redeemed or deposited into bank accounts. Ultimate responsibility for childcare arrangements still lies outside the company.
- ◆ After school care: Children are collected after school and cared for by staff employed by the organisation or others. Difficulties in organising which school and where can act as a deterrent for many organisations from implementing such schemes.
- ◆ Holiday playschemes: The company generally splits the cost of caring for children during the holidays placing them in camps arranged by the company. (IDS, 1990:08-26).

Section 2.2

Glass ceiling

Maddock and Parkin (1994) study on female doctors revealed four reasons behind why female doctors do not succeed to higher ranks in medicine. Of these four factors three related especially to those female doctors who wished to have children. These included colleague's assumptions that motherhood would result in most female doctors working part-time. Anti social hours and conditions that work against childcare arrangements. 'Macho' culture that prevents their promotion and forces working mothers to become entirely like men except they have a lot less support services at home than men. Within hospitals they face obstacles such as prejudice, long training periods and long inflexible hours.

(Maddock, 1999: 76/77)

It is a popular trend to believe that what was once the glass ceiling is now shattering and that women's working lives are no longer tainted by macho work culture that prevailed ten years ago (Figs, 1994:47). If only this was true, unfortunately this is not the case especially for working mothers who fear that voiced grievance will give way to them being stereotyped as 'Whinging women'. Such grievances for women with children and partners include time restraints and problems coping in general with organisational constraints placed upon them.

Maddock (1999:78/79) explains that, 'The old boy network operates through a subtle system', female doctors for example are assumed due to family commitments not to want promotion to senior positions of responsibility. Single women on the other hand are victimised for not being married. One single childless doctor endured abuse from her colleagues for being 'too thin, too attractive, on drugs, difficult, unmarried and overqualified'. It would therefore not be unreasonable that within the medical profession women are perceived as either wives or juniors. Blunt (1999:193) describes how one woman upon her return to work following the birth of her first child felt, 'I lost a lot of confidence-I felt that some people viewed me as less reliable', her intelligence had been damaged during her maternity leave in the eyes of her colleagues.

Hidden ways of pushing mothers out of senior roles is to increase the minimum number of hours expected of workers, even if this does not fit easily with their written contracts. Increased emphasis in management theory on issues such as performance appraisals, flexibility and commitment have forced many employees into the habit of presenteeism, being in work while remaining unproductive.

Unfortunately flexibility as defined in the second commission on the status of women (1993:119) as a 'Mutual agreement at enterprise level of working arrangements which meet employees needs while providing for the effective operation of the enterprise', that would solve some of the problems facing working mothers such as time restrictions has to some extent been a

self defeating exercise. The competitive factor of showing commitment can cause mothers and partners with other family commitments to remain locked within a 'conspiracy of silence'. Blunt (1999:194) advice to working mothers is to,

“Never complain to your boss about how hard it is - it was your decision to have the baby - if you need to change things...always be professional and look your best - don't give people the chance to criticise you as a 'washed out new mother”.

Simpson (2000: 165) recognises that women with children must be ruthless with their time and are generally more determined than others not to stay back late after normal working hours have finished. This does not necessarily mean that they do less work than others but merely increase the speed at which they carry out tasks. Blunt (1999:195-199) offers solutions to working mothers to lead balanced lifestyles:

- ◆ Unnecessary coffee breaks or time spent gossiping can and should be sacrificed
- ◆ If you have to socialise in connection with your work, try to arrange to do this at times that suit you
- ◆ Put an end to certain luxuries or tasks that are time consuming.
- ◆ Organise your time and be prepared to delegate.

Before returning to work Blunt (1999:33) asks mothers thinking of returning to work to consider 'will colleagues and clients perceive you in a different way (better, worse)? Will this matter?'. While working equally hard or even more so than their colleagues they often feel guilty. One woman described her feelings at being unable to accept overtime 'I'm sure they all notice and think there she is off again' (Simpson, 2000: 162)

These women fear being seen as uncommitted to their work. Kate Figs (1994:55) justifiably believes that a woman should not have to endure punishment for being non-committed due to her children's reliance upon her. Men's feelings of being under threat by new forms of work practice has led some to indulge in actively creating an environment that will accompany the structure where women will not flourish. (Simpson 2000:163)

Methods of excluding women include arranging social occasions when women with children cannot attend. Arranging after work drinks for seven o'clock is hardly practical for women returning home to relieve childminders, cook meals and carry out other domestic tasks. Such social occasions often form a large part of understanding organisational politics and carrying on up the firm's promotional ladder. Therefore women with children become excluded from information and networking that could prove vital to their career progress. (Simpson 2000: 157-171)

Even companies such as Midland Bank who promote family friendly work practices have not yet seen the culture of long hours dented by flexible.

working hours (IDS 1990:12). The British national economic development office (1990:17/19) in their report on successful female managers emphasised the long hours, stress, entertaining and geographical mobility needed for women to succeed, this does not leave much hope for most working mothers careers.

It is within this environment outlined that women must make their progression in work. Cultures put in place by men have, 'Failed women because there are simply not enough women in positions of power' (Figs 1994:48). These cultures have instead enhanced and strengthened men's power to set norms and values in organisations that benefit them only. The result has been that for women they have to give all their energy exclusively to work or home to succeed. The result has been that for some women such as explained by Diane Oldfield, a store manager and working mother, they are left with a price to pay for success 'Whereas for men that compromise is never there'.(Figs,1994:57).

Section 2.3

Part -time work

The numbers of regular part time workers in 1992 was 103,900. Of this number seventy percent were female and seventy percent of those were married i.e. approximately 50911 part-time workers are married women (UN fourth world conference on women: national report of Ireland, 1994:82). This means that over half of all working mothers receive poorer pay, holidays, job security and protective legislation. Not only are there direct benefits reduced so too are their careers hindered. While managers make up approximately fourteen percent of the total workforce only two point three percent of those are part-time workers. Most part-time work available lies in factories, shift work and clerical work but there is very little part time work available for professional. (Buxton,1994: 224/225). As is the case with employees feeling the need to stay at work for more hours than necessary to show commitment therefore how can any part-time employee hope to achieve their full potential status within an organisation?

For those women who do take up the part-time work option problems often present themselves. Unpredictable work schedules may be put in place to discourage the part-time working mother. The role in which they return to may not have been reconstructed into a part-time job. This results in the employee becoming frustrated by working harder than before while receiving less pay or status. As described by one women,

'In theory I have Fridays off but they are a nightmare. Tense from the minute we wake up. I spend the whole day driving the children around and screaming instructions to the office into the car phone'

Another woman described the option of a four day week offered to her as,

'All hot air I know it would mean me working ridiculous hours.. On my four days and probably on the fifth as well'

It is apparent that part-time jobs in themselves are not supported by job designs, performance criteria and reward mechanisms that acknowledge part-time workers requirements. Since most part-time workers are mothers these needs are critical to their survival in the work place. (Buxton, 1994:226/227)

These include practical work arrangements that allow for reduced hours, career breaks in the event of crisis and fairness of applying part-time work principals. Fairness while it may in management theory motivate employees evidently does not apply to part-time workers especially mothers. Firms need not go to any great length to ensure that the part-time option is feasible. One woman who after the birth of her child decided to return to work from 10pm until 4am was denied an assistant. Eventually she was working nearly twelve hours a day. She voiced her grievances and was informed by the firm that they only wanted her to return if she could single handed get all the work done in those shortened hours. Not surprisingly the woman resigned. Therefore it remains the women's duty to compress five days work into three

or four days with out allowing these arrangements impinge on their sanity or homelife. (Buxton, 1994:229)

Women in lower grades of the organisation are more likely to have part-time work made available to them and as such will have difficulty climbing the promotional ladder. O'Reilly and Fagan (1998:06) acknowledge that more highly qualified women usually remain in full time work continuously through motherhood than those with less education. It is believed that this is possibly induced by higher aspirations due to better education and higher paid jobs. Buxton on the other hand believes it is due to fewer options for part-time or job sharing within the higher levels of the organisational structure, e.g. A female manager in 'Oddbins' asked to return to work on a part-time basis following maternity leave. She was offered a part-time sales assistant job on a salary of nine thousand pounds per annum. An advertising manager for 'women and home' magazine asked for her job to be restructured to part-time hours after she returned from maternity leave. Soon after she returned to work she was dismissed. (Buxton, 1994:225-227)

While paying lipservice to family friendly work practices many organisations are restraining the careers of mothers. A firm while expressly supporting part-time work for parents can implicitly hinder their prospects. The means to do so vary from not reducing workloads, sidelining women aged between twenty five and thirty five, described by one Boots director as being 'Basically uneconomic', into poorer positions easing the transition into part-time employment if they become mothers. Work schedules can be made

awkward or even impossible, or simply indulging in a policy of not promoting part time workers.

The result is that women with children suffer from underachieving while working through very difficult circumstances. Women who are childless suffer also from the dilemmas of sacrificing a job for children or vice versa.

Chapter Three

Section 3.1

Methodology

The survey carried out by the author of this dissertation was applied to one hundred part-time students who attend the National College of Ireland courses in management studies. This group was chosen to reflect obstacles placed in the paths of working mothers and wives. The aim of the survey was to fully represent the views of all women on this issue, however due to the multiple varieties of life patterns chosen by women the survey results were limited.

Of the seventy-eight questionnaires returned twenty were to be used as a sample population. To be included in this sample the following characteristics were required of the respondents. They needed to,

- Be married/ cohabiting
- Have children
- Be employed at some level in the management hierarchy.
- Hold positions of full-time employment

Thus therefore the author is aware of possible bias toward other women not included in the management hierarchy. Vokins (1993:47) determined that female managers generally have a strong sense of identity and are confident individuals, these attributes he believed were not equally applicable to the general female labour force. Therefore those managers surveyed may have experienced different patterns in their careers than those women in the general workforce.

Pilot Study

A pilot study of five women chosen at random was conducted in order to ensure that ambiguity was avoided and clarity ensured in applying the questionnaire. This led to a number of revisions to the original questionnaire.

Survey Procedure

One hundred women were approached within the college over two evenings. Upon completion of the survey they were collected or returned for further analysis.

Response Rate

Of the one hundred questionnaires handed out to the evening students, seventy-eight were returned or collected. This gives a response rate to the questionnaire of seventy eight percent. The high response rate is possibly due to the personal handing out and collection of the questionnaires.

Section 3.2

The purpose of questions contained in the questionner

Questions one to six are mainly biographical

Question One

Determine the marital status of the sample.

Question Two

Assess the management grade of those being questioned.

Question Three

Ensure that those being questionned have children.

Question four

Determine the age of those being surveyed.

Question Five

Assess if those being questionned work full time.

Question Six

The geographical origins of those being sampled may offer some indications of differences prevalent in these regions.

Questions seven to thirteen are primarily to assess the effects of having children on the sample population's career

Question Seven

Assess the number of children as average to those sampled in the biographical questions above

Question Eight

Assess the ages of children in relation to their mother's biographical statistics.

Question Nine

Analyse the use of specific childcare arrangements.

Question Ten

Rate the satisfaction of working mothers with childcare services available.

Question Eleven

Assess the frequency of employer's financial aid in childcare arrangements

Question Twelve

Assess who plays a role in overall childcare.

Question Thirteen

Assess who assumes main responsibility for childcare.

Questions fourteen to twenty primarily focus on household tasks carried out and the effects of atypical work practices.

Question Fourteen

Establish who carries out tasks required to maintain the household's daily functioning.

Question Fifteen (A)

Assess if marriage has had an affect on the sample population's careers.

Question Fifteen (B)

Assess if having children has had an affect on the sample populations career prospects.

Question Sixteen

Assess any noticeable differences of women with children's treatment at work.

Question Seventeen

Assess the attractiveness of alternatives to fulltime work to married women or mothers.

Question Eighteen

Assess the likelihood of the sample populations partners/husbands considering atypical employment.

Question Nineteen

Establish the possible effects of atypical work hours on the sample population.

Question Twenty

Assess the fairness applied by employers when offering atypical employment.

The final section of the questionner allows the sample population an opportunity to offer further information on their work and home lives.

Section 3.3

Results of the Questionnaire

Question One

Fourteen of those surveyed were married.

Six of those surveyed co-habited.

Question Two

Ten of those surveyed held supervisory positions.

Ten of those surveyed held middle management positions.

Question Three

As a prerequisite for inclusion in the survey the entire sample had children under the age of eighteen.

Question Four

The representation of each age group was as follows,

<u>Range</u>	<u>No's within that age range</u>
25-30	Three
30-40	Nine
40-50	Five
50-60	Three

Question Five

All of those included in the survey work full-time.

Question Six

The representation of those surveyed in geographical terms was as follows

<u>Region</u>	<u>No's that live in those regions</u>
A Big City	Four

<u>Region</u>	<u>No's that live in those regions</u>
A Small city/Town	Three
A Country village	Two
A Farm/ Home in the country	One
The Suburbs/Outskirts of a big city	Ten

Question Seven

The number of children in each family was as follows,

<u>No's of children</u>	<u>Families</u>
One	Five
Two	Six
Three	Three
Four	Three
More than four	Three

Question Eight

The ages of those children were as follows,

<u>Range</u>	<u>No's of children within that range</u>
0-3	Five
3-5	Ten
5-10	Eight
10-15	Five
15-18	Six

Question Nine

None of those children in the survey attend workplace childminding facilities or afterschool playgroups. The following outlines the prevalence of those other services provided,

<u>Service</u>	<u>No's of Children attending those services</u>
Childminder	Nine
Playschool	Seven
Family Member	Five
Nursery/Crèche	Three

Question Ten

The rating of those childminding facilities was as follows,

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Rating</u>
Expense	High
Reliability	Fair-High
Quality	Fair

Question Eleven

One of the twenty included in the survey received financial relief from their employers. This relief took the form of vouchers.

Question Twelve

All of those included in the survey felt that both they and their husbands/ partners played a role in the care of their children. Of the other possible contributors to childcare the following was established.

<u>Contributors</u>	<u>No's that felt they play a role in childcare</u>
Employer	One
Relatives	Seven
Friends	Eight
Neighbours	Three

Question Thirteen

None of those surveyed viewed their husband/ partner as carrying the main responsibility for childcare,

Twelve of those surveyed viewed themselves as carrying the main burden of childcare.

Eight of those surveyed saw the responsibility as shared between both themselves and their partner

Question Fourteen

The breakdown of tasks carried out between husband/partner and wife was as follows

<u>Tasks</u>	<u>I Do</u>	<u>My Partner/Husband</u>
DIY	Six	Seventeen
Cooking	Eighteen	Ten

<u>Tasks</u>	<u>I Do</u>	<u>My Partner/ Husband</u>
Cleaning Dishes	Nineteen	Eight
Cleaning Clothes	Seventeen	Five
General Tidying	Seventeen	Ten
Dressing Children	Twenty	One
Errands	Eleven	Sixteen
Shopping	Fifteen	Twelve

Question Fifteen (A)

Eight of those surveyed felt that their marriage had affected their careers.

Eleven of those surveyed felt that their marriage had no affect on their careers.

Three of those surveyed did not answer this question.

Question Fifteen (B)

Fifteen of those included in the survey felt that children had affected their careers.

Five felt that children did not affect their career.

Question Sixteen

(I) Eight

(II) Eight

(III) Nine

(IV) Seven

(V) Eight

(VI) Seven

Question Seventeen

Eight of those surveyed would not consider working atypical employment forms.

Twelve of those surveyed would consider working atypical forms of employment. The forms of work considered were part-time, flexi-time and job-sharing.

Question Eighteen

Five of the women surveyed had partners/husbands who had considered atypical employment. The other fifteen women had partners/ husbands who would not consider working atypical hours.

Question Nineteen

The affect of possibly taking atypical employment on those surveyed careers was estimated by them as follows,

<u>Affect</u>	<u>No's of women that saw this</u>
Positive	One
Negative	Nine
Indifferent	Nine

One woman did not respond to this question.

Question Twenty

The benefits and disadvantages of taking atypical hours was outlined as

<u>Benefits,</u>	<u>Numbers affected</u>
Reduced workload	Six
Increased time spent at home/with children	Eleven

Disadvantage	Numbers affected
Same workload reduced into a smaller time frame	Ten

Chapter Four

Section 4.1

The effects of marital status on working wives/ partners

The majority of those surveyed claimed that their marital status had no impact on their careers. This was true in the cases of both those respondents that were married and those that were co-habiting. This self-appraisal does not coincide with the disparities between tasks carried out within those marriages or relationships. While not as labourise in nature as in the past women are still expected to carry out the main tasks in ensuring the functioning of the home. Though not as effort intensive as in the past modern homes often have a greater number of tasks to be done in them and to a much higher standard than was previously ever expected e.g. vacuum cleaning.

Rapoport and Rapoport's (1978) assertion that remnants of conventional marriages still remain in dual career families can be seen in the breakdown of tasks between the two partners. Only one manager surveyed received 'help' in dressing their three children. The only task in which male participation prevailed over their partners/ spouses was in the area of DIY. This task is generally an infrequent job to be attended to. DIY also offers options for creativity and self-fulfillment in a finished product e.g. a redesigned room. Those more tedious and mundane tasks are left to those surveyed. Over eighty five percent of managers claim to cook, clean dishes/ clothes, tidy and dress children on a regular basis. It is also clear that mens self-perception is more in a 'helping', rather than a 'sharing' role. Only two of the tasks listed were predominantly male orientated, DIY and errands. Thus

therefore on their return home from fulltime employment these women face into a 'second shift', not afforded to the traditional breadwinner,

Perhaps not intentionally setting out to inhibit the careers of those managers surveyed their partners/ husbands certainly viewed their relevant work status' as unequal. Sixty percent of those managers surveyed considered atypical employment as an option to accommodate work and home responsibilities together comfortably. Their partners/ spouses eagerness for such arrangements in their own working lives waned significantly from their own. Seventy five percent of husbands/partners of managers surveyed would not consider atypical employment.

In effect women's careers are taking second place to their partners. As outlined by Fige's (1990) a wives work is viewed as supplementary and money earned by women is calculated as pocket money. Rosaleen Brackens stereotype of working mothers/ wives as working for social reasons could also explain men's reluctance to consider, let alone accept atypical hours.

It could be argued that the increased propensity of women to consider working hours other than those considered normal over their partners/ husbands is a reflection on women's objective choices to opt for irregular employment to benefit both herself and her family. This suggestion may not sit easily with the apparent lack of willingness on mens part to assume on to themselves the full burden of childcare within the family. Sixty percent of those women surveyed viewed childcare as mainly in their sphere of

responsibility, forty percent of those surveyed viewed childcare as a shared responsibility. None of those surveyed viewed their partner/ husband as the main childcarer.

Beckers (1996) proposal that the sexual division of labour has lead wives to choose employment that is potentially less effort intensive and is more compatible with their domestic duties is obvious in the surveys results on atypical employment. Childcare and household tasks are taking their toll on womens time and energy, as seen through their willingness to accept alternatives to full time work even to the detriment of their careers.

Murdocks (1998) view of marriage offering working mothers/ wives 'rewarding experiences' as seen in the light of the division of those daily burdensome experiences cast significant shadows over the suitability of marriage/ cohabiting relationships to those women wishing to pursue their own career development.

Section 4.2

The Glass ceiling

The main reason given for children affecting their careers were deemed by respondents to the survey to be,

1. Being perceived as on holidays when on maternity leave.
2. Being sidelined into jobs that offer little chance of promotion.
3. Being criticised for not working beyond normal hours when childcare obligations necessitated that they leave work.
4. Missing out on information relevant to their jobs through not attending social occasions.

Over forty percent of those surveyed believed that they were affected by the problems listed above. It is clear that working mothers are feeling left out of important networking circles or have been made to feel less committed to their jobs due to having children

There is a fear felt by those women surveyed of being perceived as less credible or as 'whinging women' if they discuss difficulties in raising children and managing their careers. While being stereotyped as 'washed out new mothers', these managers have to direct their energies in three directions, home, children and paid employment. Instead of being rewarded for their efforts they are punished through the subtleties of the 'glass ceiling'.

Society punishes working mothers for denying her unsubstantiated 'maternal instincts' and suspends her the right to have it 'all' as based on certain criteria. A common debate is 'when is it satisfactory for a mother to

join the paid workforce?' what is not so topical is when is it not appropriate for society to put their standard onto another individual rights.

This guilt imposed upon women through 'Maternal ambivalence' has been incorporated into organisations and has been manipulated to effectively exclude working mothers from senior management. Employers seeking to maintain the macho status quo may do so unnoticed through 'the old boys network'. Working mothers are vulnerable within such networks due to their intermingling ties to both home and paid work. Maddocks (1999) believe that women are assumed not to want promotion can be seen in the surveys results as none of those surveyed were in senior management.

Evidence of recent developments in Human Resource Management theory having a negative impact on working mothers is apparent. Sixty percent of supervisors surveyed felt targeted for criticism due to their inability to increase their hours of work due to childcare arrangements. The need for increased flexibility has been abused to suit male employee's moreso, than female employees. Some employers as an opportunity to impress on staff the need for increased working time have misconstrued flexibility's definition. This diverges from the original purpose of flexibility, as it has not been mutually agreeable to both parties in that it does not position itself in line with working mothers quality of life or career prospects

Section 4.3

Atypical Employment

In addressing this issue it must be remembered that in general less than three percent of managers are employed on a part-time basis. Of those surveyed all worked in a full-time employment, hence they could only speculate on the effects of taking up atypical employment. This evidence corroborates Buxton's belief that most part-time work lies in clerical work and to a lesser extent in professional or senior management. Supervisors surveyed viewed part-time work or job-sharing more positively than middle managers who only considered part-time work as viable. The most pertinent question raised therefore is why are middle managers less in favour of atypical employment than supervisors.

Blunt's (1990) suggestion that women feel locked within a 'conspiracy of silence', has to some extent contributed to a lack of part-time work being made available at middle management level. Of those middle managers surveyed the response yielded most frequently to how having children affected their careers, was the need they felt to avoid conversations on their children or family arrangements with colleagues or management. These unspoken issues or problems could be resolved through increased part-time work being made available to parents of young children. As family issues remain eliminated from organisational concerns and women feel the need to suppress conversations on the point of family arrangements a consistency of negativity has developed towards establishing managerial part time employment opportunities.

Employers are guilty of placing working mothers in positions previously male dominated and treating them both equally within the same merit system. While equality is a quality held commonly in high esteem, the merit system applied makes the process entirely or mainly dysfunctional. The chances of a woman's success are limited in these circumstances due to unequal vantage points. Women biologically and socially are tied more so, to their children than their husbands/ partners and as discovered previously are lumbered with the main role of 'mothering the house'.

This has led some unwise employers to develop what is commonly named the 'Mummy Path' (Auster, 1996:355/356). This career path differs from the normal career path in that it allows working mother's work reduced hours for less pay and managerial prospects. This could be deemed unscrupulous legally as its implications on equality legislation are far reaching. Perhaps more important is the effect of such a system on working mothers with fewer role models in high levels of management. Women in positions of power and influence as outlined by Figs (1990) may become rare if not extinct.

A more equitable approach as suggested by Buxton (1994) would be the application of fair job design, performance criterion and reward mechanisms to managers part-time job options. This would ensure that time given for tasks and the number of tasks allotted matched accordingly. The frustration evoked by working more vigorously than when working fulltime

could therefore be eliminated. Increased or sustained job satisfaction on the part of working mothers and the productivity induced by more effective work practices would be a convincing argument for the increased usage of part-time work for middle managers.

Section 4.4

Childcare

Watson's (1995) belief that most girls look to their future careers being interrupted by pregnancy, childrearing and partial employment to suit their domestic burdens is upheld by the surveys results. Seventy five percent of managers felt that having children affected their careers, although most of those were supervisors. Eighty percent of supervisors took full responsibility for childcare solely upon themselves. Supervisors found childcare more expensive than middle managers. Supervisors are also less likely to employ childminders or receive help in the care of their children from either the community or at organisational level.

Childcare arrangements that are already in place are proving expensive. With the average number of children being two the costs can often outweigh women's career ambitions. Full day care from eight am. until six pm., or a childminder for two children costs approximately one hundred pounds. Figs (1990) estimates that on average working mothers earn one hundred pounds a week. If those working mothers employed full time within the management hierarchy find childcare expensive, it can be assumed that ordinary staff would find the costs unbearable or extremely limiting.

The reliability of childcare was deemed by those managers surveyed to be fair to high. Managers that employed the services of private childcare facilities e.g. childminders, found childcare reliability fair. Those that relied on family members rated their reliability higher on the Likert scale. This is

reflective of the need for both the childminder and child to be fit to care or be cared for, in order to ensure a working mothers attendance at work. The higher reliability of family members could be due to their increased numbers, rather than relying on just one childminder there may be several family members available. Family members are likely to be more flexible and accomodating than private childcare arrangements e.g. an extra hour of childcare to a grandparent or aunt may be encouraged or go unnoticed. As stated by Houston (1997) these results may simply point to regional disparities. The majority of those surveyed live in big cities or the suburbs. Dublin's increasing suburban sprawl and heightened industrialisation may mean that private childcare is limited and less reliable than in other regions.

Chapmans (1998) warnings of living 'This nightmare of compromise and guilt' seems an increasing reality in working mothers lives in relation to their views on the quality of childcare. The majority of those managers surveyed viewed the quality of childcare as at best fair. This could reflect high standards of those mothers surveyed. Alternatively this result is a reflection of poor practice within Irish childcare establishments and by childcare practitioners. Although working mothers have no faith in the quality of childcare that exists, they are still prepared to place their children ion these facilities.

One could certainly poise the question, why is this the case? Only one manager received financial relief from their employer for childcare. Vouchers were given to the manager. Therefore childcare arrangements ultimately lay outside the company. None of those managers surveyed had their children

placed in workplace childcare services. This may indicate that employers are unaware of benefits resulting from on site or off site childcare facilities e.g. reduced stress and increased productivity as the strain of childcare is removed from working parents. Another explanation could be the initial capital investment and on going current expenditure required to provide such services have discouraged employers from establishing these facilities.

The cost of losing experienced staff and managers due to a lack of affordable and reliable childcare services could over a long period of time result in a haemorrhage of skills from the organisation. The impact of not providing such facilities for staff could prove demoralising especially for women without children who see their role as temporary in the organisation until their careers are 'interrupted by pregnancy'. It could also be the case that Irish employers have made such services available but have done so inadequately by placing them beyond employee's financial abilities or by limiting places. This is unlikely however as in the event of such facilities being established managers generally benefit the most from the initiative.

Findings by the UN Conference On Women (1994) that increasing numbers of Irish mothers with children under the age of ten or less are entering the workforce are ascertained here as eighty five percent of those managers surveyed had children under the age of ten. It is not coincidental that eighty five percent of managers found that having children negatively affected their careers. If employers persist in ignoring the debilitating impact of

childcare and work arrangements have on each other then women's careers will continue to suffer.

The reluctance on the part of husbands/ partners of those managers surveyed to assume responsibility for childcare coupled with shorter maternity leave than any other European country has left Irish mothers at a disadvantage in the paid workforce. Societal pressures also give an added set back to a working mothers career success as they may be seen as 'denying young males future careers'. These three elements of a working mothers life paid employment, society and her marital status in effect use Irish mothers as surplus sources of convenient labour, bearers of social and moral peace of mind and as carriers of the home making role. Yet when childcare is necessary, instead of lightening the burden on women these same factors effectively turn their backs on the subject. They do so by silencing working mothers grievances being voiced or by blaming the situation on a mothers inability to cope with work demands e.g. the needs of those surveyed to avoid discussing children to show job commitment. Therefore adding increased credibility to the stereotype of 'Washed out new mother'.

For women to function at higher levels in the management hierarchy childcare needs to be viewed as a family, organisational and community activity. It is no longer practicable to envision childcare as a job that nature handed down to women especially in todays industrialised society. This popular notion of women being pivotal in childcare to continue only serves to exploit womens careers and quality of life.

Section 4.5

Conclusion

Throughout Ireland's history women have played an important role in sustaining both the nuclear family and work practices adopted. Much of this work has not been documented by historians and to this extent has become part of an invisible past. The main beneficiaries of this work have been women's husbands, children and the state. Reliance upon women to cope effectively in any circumstance has led to a stability for those around them and an undue importance being placed upon their home making role in order to maintain the status quo.

As established in this dissertation women's burdens are increasing as they struggle to perform their dual functions. Unless addressed, these burdens will persist in undermining the significance of women's careers. How much longer can women be expected to assume full responsibility for their homes, children and careers while neither their employers, husbands/ partners or state seem willing to participate? As seen already in Ireland women are choosing to have children at a later age or are choosing not to have children at all.

Should this trend continue into this century as is already occurring drastic demographic changes will result. With a reduced population both industry and society are putting themselves at risk of eliminating themselves. From a long term focus this alone should motivate those factors in society currently working against wives/ mother's to proactively encourage and facilitate families. From a more human perspective society--

needs to reflect on their treatment to date of wives and mothers in both the workforce and at home. Their deliberations should conclude that a woman's family and work ought to, in the future, complement each other and avoid antagonising each other as they do at present.

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Appendix

Figure 1.1.

Please note that any information acquired through the application of this survey is confidential and is purely for the purposes of dissertation work. Please tick the appropriate box or circle the appropriate word.

Q1

Please indicate your marital status

- Single
- Married
- Co-Habiting
- Divorced
- Widowed

Q2

Are you currently working in any of the following areas

- Supervisory Management
- Middle Management
- Senior Management

Q3

Do you have children or dependents under the age of eighteen

- Yes
- No

Q4

To what age group do you belong

- 20-25
- 25-30
- 30-40
- 40-50
- 50-60
- 60+

Q5

Do you work full time

- Yes
- No

IF your answer is no please outline the form that your work takes (e.g. job share) _____

Q6

Would you describe the place where you live as,

- A Big City
- The Suburbs/Outskirts of A Big City
- A Small City or Town
- A Country Village
- A Farm or Home in the Country

Please answer questions seven to thirteen if you have children/dependents

under the age of eighteen

Q7

How many children do you have

- One
- Two
- Three
- Four
- More than four

Q8

What age(s) are your children, Please tick more than once if appropriate e.g. if you have two children ages two please tick two boxes beside 0-3.

Ages Between Number of children

- 0-3
- 3-5
- 5-10
- 10-15
- 15-18

Q9

Do your children go to any of the following to be cared for, if more than one of your children is in any of these services please tick more than once

- Playschool
 - Nursery/ Creche
 - Childminder
 - After school Playgroup
 - Workplace Childminding Facilities
 - Family Member
-

Q10

How would you rate these services in terms of

	Low			Fair			High	
Expense 9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Reliability 9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Quality 9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Q11

Do you receive any financial relief from your employer for childminding costs

- Yes
No

If yes please indicate the method of this payment e.g.
cash _____

Q12

Who do you feel plays a role in the care of your children (Please tick more than one if required)

- I Do
My Partner/ Husband
My Employer
Relatives
Friends
Neighbours

Q13

Who carries the main responsibility of childcare

- My Partner/ Husband
I Do
Childcare is a shared responsibility

Q14

Who routinely carries out the following tasks in the household/ family

Tasks	Me	My Partner
DIY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cooking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Washing Dishes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Washing Clothes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
General Tidying	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Dressing Children
Errands
Shopping

Q15 (A)

Do you feel that your marital status has affected your career prospects

Yes
No

Q15 (B)

Do you feel that having children has affected your career prospects

Yes
No

If the answer given to question 15(B) is yes please answer question sixteen

Q16

Do you feel you may, (Please tick boxes if in agreement with the following statements)

- (i) Have been sidelined into jobs that offer little chance of promotion due to other commitments at home.
- (ii) Have felt the need to avoid discussing children in order to show commitment to your career and not your family.
- (iii) Have been perceived as "*on holiday*" while on maternity leave.
- (iv) Have found that the need to mirror your male colleagues career paths has put you under pressure to appear fully committed to your job, reducing time spent with your family.
- (v) Have been criticised for not working above the norm hours due to childcare obligations.
- (vi) Have missed out on opportunities or important information needed to move up the promotional ladder through not attending work arranged social occasions due to lack of childcare facilities.

Q17

Have you ever considered working atypical (Other than normal) hours to accommodate childcare/ household tasks

Yes

No

IF the answer to this question is yes please specify the form of atypical employment you considered _____

Q18

Has your partner/ husband ever considered working atypical hours

Yes

No

Q19

Do you think that taking these hours would have resulted in one of the following effects on your career (Please tick the appropriate box)

Positive

Negative

Indifferent

Q20

Would working atypical hours have resulted in ,

(i) Reduced workload.

(ii) Increased time spent at home or with your children.

(iii) The same workload reduced into a smaller time frame.

If you have any other comments to make on the above topics please feel free to do so,

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I would like to thank you for your time in completing this questionnaire