

Esther Quaye

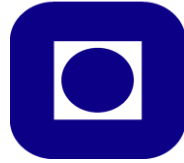
A Qualitative Study of the Everyday Life Experiences of Working Mothers and their Children in Accra, Ghana

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N T N U



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MANAGEMENT

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MASTER THESIS

**A Qualitative Study of the Everyday Life
Experiences of Working Mothers and their Children
in Accra, Ghana**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of
Philosophy degree in Human Development, Institute of Psychology, Norwegian
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May 2011

Author

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DECLARATION

I, Esther Quaye, declare that I handled this research work alone under the supervision of Berit Johannesen at the department of Psychology, NTNU and in accordance with NTNU's academic regulations.

Supervisor's signature.....

Student's signature.....

Date.....

Date.....

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MPhil degree at the Department of Psychology, NTNU

DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my parents, who regardless of their inability to get to where I am today, supported me with their last penny, encouragements, care and their love.

I would also dedicate this work to my husband, Ernest Odartey Wilson. I was uncertain whether to leave you and come to Norway because we had just gotten married. You encouraged me to go and that all will be well with me with your support. Today, this is the credit to you for your love and support.

And then to my daughter, Lois Naa Lamiley Aku Wilson, who understood me when I had to divide my attention to her and the Thesis. You had to share the early years of your life with this Thesis which sometimes shifted my attention from you. I really appreciate your understanding and I love you so much for that.

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ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory study which sought to know the everyday life experiences of working mothers in the financial sector of Accra, Ghana and their children. The hub of the study was to know how the family life looks like with the new demands of career women. Amongst the aims of the study was to investigate the working mothers' involvement in the everyday life of their children and how the children live their everyday lives with a working mother. A qualitative study, using a semi-structured interview guide was employed in gathering the data. The pattern of the questions that were asked was first, a narrative, followed by problem focused questions. Six pairs of families consisting of one mother working in the bank and one of her children were interviewed. The children were elementary school children within the age range of 10-12 years. The Qualitative Content Analysis was used in analysing the data. The results show that, the working mothers experience some form of stress in integrating their work and family roles. They expressed that, they mostly get home tired as a result of working throughout the day. A deep sense of motherhood was clear in their everyday routine, in that, they cared and thought of their children as it is expected of mothers. Their major challenge related to family life had to do with the amount of time they spend with their children which was reduced because of their work. It was also evident from the responses that, the working mothers needed and valued assistance with child care and domestic work because of their multiple roles.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In many parts of the world, the workforce has changed over the past decades with more mothers employed outside the home than before. Marcus-Newhall (2008) found in the U.S. Bureau of Labour statistics that, at present, about 71 percent of mothers are in the labour. A two-parent family with children and a stay-at-home mother; whose main role is to care for children is no longer the trend in American families and other families worldwide (Marcus-Newhall, 2008). According to Shultz (1990), “the shift of locus of employment in contemporary societies from families to firm is attributed to technological economics of scale in production and finance” (p. 457). That means women join the work force because more hands are needed on the job market. Other reason to the participation of women in the labour force has to do with changes in information and communication technologies (Lewis & Cooper, 1999). For instance, it was found that, more women are employed in telecommunication in the United States. Many families, especially low-income families, have no option to maternal employment because mothers work in order to have a good standard of living (Tan, 2008). More so, maternal employment enhances “maternal self-esteem, psychological well being and quality of attention to children’s needs” (Tan, 2008, p. 14). Women’s participation in the workforce is assumed to first benefit the entire family financially. This financial support to the family helps mothers to meet the needs of their children. However, these benefits cannot be generalized since the impact of maternal employment may differ in families. With this increase of parents in the work force, there is the need for working families to adapt to the new demands of work and family roles (ibid). When parents work, there is the need for families to determine how children will be cared for during working hours.

Despite the occurrence of dual earner families, society still expects to see the characteristics of the traditional family type where we have the breadwinning father and the stay-at-home mother (Marcus-Newhall, 2008). The society's expectation of the mother to focus primarily on the family rather than her career has been defined as the 'motherhood mandate'. According to Marcus-Newhall (2008), the motherhood mandate is "the ultimate form of femininity and should be the center of women's identities, leaving career aspirations as secondary aspect of identity" (p.85). According to the motherhood mandate, the best mothers must be available to their children and family. We can therefore assume from the mandate that, mother's participation in the labour force should not have any negative impact on the family especially on the children. Corsaro (2005) mentions that, the increase in mothers' participation in the labour force affects children's lives with regards to the contribution of the child in house work. According to him, work in the home changed for children but these changes were not necessarily negative. He made reference to some studies that, children help to put the house in order when both parents are working.

This increased participation of women in the labour force is also prevalent in Ghana. As regards the population census data in 2000, approximately 50% of Ghanaian women are in the labour force (Amu, 2006). Ghanaian women are part of the labour force because of the diverse changes in family structure and the economy in general. One aspect of social change is that; today's women have seen the importance of education and many are aiming high so as to get good jobs. Increasingly, mothers combine family and work and thus, have dual responsibilities. According to Yogev and Brett (1985), social change does not happen easily and lightly, that means, changes are propelled by some kind of factors in the society, for example, high cost of living.

1.1.1 The concept of social change and Ghana

In this study, social change is used with respect to changes in the Ghanaian society, family structure and family responsibilities. According to Macionis (1996), social change is the alteration in culture and social organization or arrangements over time. Changes come about as a result of development of cash crop, establishment of modern infrastructure, migration and urbanization, expansion of educational facilities and the introduction of new ideas and ways (Greenstreet, 1972). The Ghanaian society over decades now has also experienced different kinds of changes. Nukunya (2003) explains some of these changes in Ghana as a result of famine, floods and other natural disasters. In terms of politics, there has been a change of government from one party to another as well as change in political leadership. The year 1900 is seen as a baseline of change in Africa and this was when colonial rule started to influence African institutions (Nukunya, 2003). Today, diverse changes are a result of the changing economy where we have increase in migration, educational infrastructure and modernization in general (Salm & Falola, 2002).

There have been changes in the traditional Ghanaian family arrangement. According to Salm and Falola (2002), rural young men and women in the past lived and stayed together with their parents in the same family house, but this trend has changed. Ghanaians living in the urban centres perceive their fellow counterparts in the rural settings as not civilized enough and this idea has changed the minds of a lot of people to migrate to the urban centre. Moreover, the urban centre especially the city has a lot of industries, therefore, people move there in search of jobs. Salm and Falola (2002) add again that, traditional Ghanaian marriages have also changed. It is less strict in this modern time with respect to the customary practices in the past. In my tribe (Ga) for instance, taking hard liquor as part of the customary list for marriages is fading out.

Currently, a lot of families will prefer cash instead of taking drinks. This is so because, the hard liquor does not profit them so much, but the money could be used for something more profitable in the family. Although it is not a practice of all, gradually, a lot are embracing that idea and implementing it in their tribes.

The Ghanaian society has also changed due to an increased availability of educational infrastructure. Education in Ghana is now flexible for interested people to partake in. More private universities are springing up and this creates an opportunity for those who are unable to make it to the government funded universities. According to Salm and Falola (2002), education certainly impacts positively on the growth and development of children but it also leads to “changing concepts of family values and generational dynamics” (p. 143). For example, education enhances the independence of young men and women. In the past, elders were occupying top positions and were mainly the leaders in the rural centres because of their vast knowledge in the Ghanaian traditions and culture. However, formal knowledge has changed the status of the elders and educated youth are now part of community decision- making. Moreover, the change in economy and social organisation involves an increasingly high cost of living. In order for women to acquire a better standard of living in their families, they will resort to education. This formal education has changed the place of women in the Ghanaian society. Consequently, a lot of women are now part of the labour force.

As a result of the participation of women in the labour force, there is a change in the family structure. Salm and Falola (2002) found that in families where both husband and wife are working, the husband helps the wife with domestic work. Traditionally, domestic work is solely the responsibility of the wife but due to the changes in family structure, husbands are supporting their wives. Some husbands can decide to cook for their family in the absence of the wives,

hence, gender roles are also changing. Women who do not get support from their families employ house-helpers. From the traditional role to a multiple role, women now have a challenging family life. That notwithstanding, families where both parents are working have their own measures in place and that enables them to withstand the diversity of changes in Ghana.

Moreover, Ghanaian social life is also becoming lively with an increased accessibility of television in homes, computers, Radio and DSTV. Families now can sit together and watch television compared to the past where only well-off families owned television.

1.2 Rational for the study

Many research studies have been done in the area of working mothers and the family but most of them are done in the western cultures and with toddlers and preschoolers, for example, Hoffman (1974) on the topic: effects of maternal employment on the child. Little has been done in this area in Africa including Ghana. Furthermore, not much research has been done with middle childhood children. Again, the researcher has not seen any research looking at the everyday life experiences of children with working mothers in Ghana. I therefore wanted to contribute in this area in order to further a better understanding on the impact of mothers' involvement in the labour force on the family and the children's everyday lives in Accra, Ghana.

It is often claimed that, Ghanaian women working in the bank have very tight schedules. My own experience of working in the bank confirms this. I know for instance that; some women leave the office as late as 9 pm or get home as late as 9 pm. If a woman is also a mother, it is easy to see that this may affect her children and family life. I decided to use this study to know more about the family life of mothers working in the bank and how these mothers manage their families.

Another reason for carrying out this study was to know how traditional responsibilities of mother are carried out if they are overburdened with both family and work roles. Traditionally, women are expected to take care of the home and children while men are expected to work outside the home and be the sole bread winners to the family (Salm & Falola, 2002). The study will help me to know if these working mothers carry out their responsibilities on their own or with the help of others.

Also, I thought it was very important to know how working mothers in the banks manage their families with respect to their children, how they cope with challenges if there are and what mechanisms they employ to have a better family life. More so, it was also good to know the experiences of children with working mothers and the varieties of experience in the various families.

Following the above, these were my research aims and objectives:

Main objectives:

- To know the working mothers' views of their everyday life experiences with their children in Ghana.
- To find out the children's perception of their everyday life experiences with a working mother.
- To investigate the mothers' involvement in the everyday life of their children.
- To investigate how the children go about their daily routine without the mothers.

Specific objectives:

Specifically, I sought to know how the mothers get involved with their children's academic and social life, whether and where the mother's gets support for domestic work, how the mothers are able to control their children when they are at work and how the physical needs of children are met. More so, I wanted to know whether the mothers face some challenges being career women.

The results chapter will further explain and discuss these objectives in relation to the data.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

A lot of researches in the area of maternal employment and children's development have been made only with preschoolers and toddlers, for example, Hoffman (1974). The common sample domain of such research has been in some part of America and Europe; little has been made in Africa, particularly Ghana.

2.1 Review of Related Studies

Owing to the increasing nature of mother's participation in the labour force, several studies, especially in America, have been conducted in the area of work and family. Among the issues that have been looked at are; maternal employment and time with children, mothers' work life experiences, work-life integration, experiences of children of working parents and, work and family leisure. Much of work on 'work and family' issues focus on women, for example research by Hoffman and Youngblade (1999), Guendouzi (2006) and Grady and MacCarthy (2008), because women are not only primary caregivers but they also experience the phenomenon differently from men (Fine-Davis et al, 2004). In a study conducted by Grady and McCarthy (2008) on work – life integration and the experiences of professional working mother in Ireland, many themes emerged including self-perception and merging work and family life. Their findings showed that, working mothers exhibited a deep sense of motherhood in that; the mothers perceived their children as the number one priority. Although they perceived their work and career as highly significant, they also saw their family and children as the first priority. It was also evident in the study of Grady and MacCarthy (2008) that, the mothers place a high importance on their roles as mothers and performed those roles successfully. The mothers' understanding of motherhood enabled them to merge their family and work roles, however, the mothers attested to the fact that it becomes impossible to balance such without a proper

organization, coordination and dedication to the various tasks both at home and at work. They also found that, support from the partners/spouses was another component of the mothers' success in combining the work and family sphere. In addition, the findings further showed that, the husbands share some roles with their working wives. For instance, some husbands cook and clean to support their wives. Aside receiving support from the mothers' partner, other working mothers received support from outsiders and the support included domestic duties such as; cleaning, washing and ironing. In sum, the empirical study by Grady and MacCarthy (2008) showed that, success in combining work and family has to do with the use of individualized solutions which permitted working mothers to merge work and family life.

In another study by Peltola and Milkie (1999) in America, they examined the feelings about work and family balance and they found out that both the husband and the wife play a part in the roles at home although their performances differ in levels. The results of Peltola and Milkie's study showed that, wives performed from about half to most of the household work whereas husbands do some to about half of the housework. Using a sample of married employed women, they also found that, working women were unable to care for a sick child or relative because of their work responsibilities. From their point of view, the women reported this feeling because they felt it is their responsibility to care for a sick child. Moreover, they explained that sacrifices made in the family affected women in the sense that when women are not able to balance their family demands and work, they have a negative sense of their well-being. They reiterated that employed wives may have more hours of demands and responsibilities and the conflict from work overload reduces their success in balancing the work and family spheres.

Finn – Davies et al., (2004) in their study also found that, majority of working parents wanted to spend more time with their families. In a comparative study of four European countries, thus,

Finland, Denmark, Italy and France, they found that; wives wanted their partners to spend more time in the family because the wives spent comparatively more time on childcare activities and domestic work. Moreover, it was evident that, some working mothers got help with domestic work while others did not get any help. These roles played by the woman at home falls in line with the gendered perspective where women are homemakers (Eagly et al., 2004).

Another related study in the area of mothers' employment and children was by Hoffman and Youngblade (1999) who used elementary school children in America. They looked at the daily family lives of African American, Mexican American and Arab Americans children. They found that, some children stayed with their extended kin when they returned from school and the mother was not home. For these families with working mothers who relied on their kin for support with the day-to-day tasks of caring for children, it was advantageous having extended family members nearby. Some of the children reported that, their grandmother lived in the same household and the grandmother cooked the meals for the entire family. It was also evident in the study of Hoffman and Youngblade (1999) that, some children had their grandfather driving them to and from school every day. Similarly, Uttal (1999) found that, people preferred kin-based child care support because of their availability. Moreover, Jayakody et al., (1993) argues that, mothers who are satisfied with their families are less likely to receive help from outsiders in cases of child care support. Due to the proximity in residence of some extended relatives, parents prefer to use them to help run their daily tasks. Regarding children who went to their grandmother's house to wait for their parents to close from work, Hoffman and Youngblade (1999) found that, the children are even put to bed before the parents/mother come to pick them up. These grandparents spend the after-school-life with the children and provide them with regular care. Considering the roles played by the husband and wife, Hoffman and Youngblade

(1999) found that husbands or fathers are moderately more active in traditional female tasks and child care activities when mothers are employed. Adding to their findings, it was also clear that children of employed mothers help more in household tasks than children of full time homemakers.

Parent's time with children has also been considered to be very important in the development of the child (Gauthier et al., 2004), hence, a number of researches have been conducted in that regard. In a data collected from New York, Utah, Louisiana and Wisconsin on two parents' families, Bryant and Zick (1996) investigated parent-child time and the mother's employment hours and found many interesting results. It was evident that, mothers spend more time caring for their younger children than fathers. The time mothers spent at home doing house chores and other private work also decreases as more time is used in her paid work. Their analysis showed that, mothers spent more time in food preparation, maintaining and cleaning the home with their female children while fathers spent more time with their male children shopping and taking care of their car. The subject of sex roles appears to be revealed in most of the activities they engaged in at home. Moreover, parental education had an impact in the time parents spent with their children. The results of Bryant and Zick (1996) suggested that, parents who are highly educated perceived greater benefits in spending time to care for their children than those with lower education. Children of educated parents are also considered to watch half an hour less television per week than children of less educated parents (Hofferth & Sandberg, 2004). Gauthier et al., (2004) investigated into time parents spend on child care activities in 16 industrialized countries including France, Norway, United States, United Kingdom, Sweden and Italy. They applied time-use data from the 16 countries from the early 1960's to test the assumption that, employed parents today spend less time with child care than parents in the past. Contrary to this

assumption, they saw an increase from 0.4 hours spent per day in the 1960's to 1.4 hours in 2000. However, this result came from parents with children under the age of 5 years. The results of Gauthier et al., (2004) also suggests that; fathers' increased participation in housework and child care comes as a result of the decrease in the time spent on paid work and the time spend on their personal activities like sleep. Moreover, the mothers' increase in time devoted to child care and house work is a result of the reduction of time used in paid work and for their personal activities. An activity like playing together with children was perceived to bring about an increase in time parents spent with their children. Although these studies have provided rich data regarding parent-child interaction and parent- child time use, it cannot be generalized especially to the African context because industrialized countries have different structures in place with regards to work and family issues. Also, the industrialized setting is different compared to the African setting. Moreover, Engle (1983) emphasises that, maternal time for children is reduced because of their participation in paid work. According to Engle (1983), this reduction of time may limit child care, food preparation, breastfeeding and other roles of a mother. Working becomes easier for mothers when there is an availability of an alternative care giver or there is an older sibling in the family to assume the responsibility of care giving (ibid). This study by Engle was conducted in Guatemala which is not an industrialized setting.

Regarding how working mothers play their roles as wives, Marcus-Newhall et al., (2008) express that, lower socioeconomic status white mothers who have more traditional attitude concerning sex roles have higher work stress. These mothers saw their traditional roles as very important to them despite their status and it was also necessary they perform them and that resulted in their high stress level. However, those with higher socioeconomic status coupled with their traditional sex role beliefs had a less stress level partly because they have less financial needs. More so,

some Latina mothers did not necessarily yield to the pressures of their traditionally expected sex roles. In one of the studies conducted by Herrera and Del Campo (1995), some Latina working mothers did not accept that they have to take sole responsibility for the maintenance of the household whiles working outside the home. They felt their husbands must help with the household tasks and also with childcare responsibilities since they were both working outside the home.

Although these studies were not from any African country, the findings are significant to know since it is related to my study. With the exception of Hoffman and Youngblade (1999) who used elementary school children, the other studies used children below the elementary school going age. That notwithstanding, their findings were important to know since their focus was on maternal employment and children.

There have been few studies done in the area of work and family in Ghana. I found no studies on the experience of everyday life of families with an employed mother. With regards to some of the literatures in the area of work and family; more was on the maternal employment and breastfeeding of children. Other studies have to do with mothers' employment with the informal sectors specifically trading and farming. In a study by Clark (1999) on Asante women in Ghana, she found that a good mother does not stay at home with children, but goes out and work hard for the children. Such women although they were traders, explained their financial responsibility to feed their children as a bond of motherhood in everyday life. This finding confirms the definition of mothering by Arendell (2000); "a social practice of nurturing and caring for a child" (p.1193). This finding also explicates the matrilineal system in Ghana where children inherit right and property through the mother's line (Takyi & Gyimah, 2007). The children are assumed as the mothers wealth and so they are cared for well. The Asante in Ghana are part of the matrilineal

organization and it is assumed that the mothers work hard having in mind the future of their children (Clark, 1999). She explains further that some children go to live with relatives basically to receive or provide child care, cook, run errands for the elderly, and also receive education from their relatives. From Clark's point of view, the maternal bond is achieved by a continual interaction with the child and that is what most Asante women try to exhibit. The results of this study are also relevant but the only problem has to do with the sample.

2.2 Conceptual framework

2.2.1 Parenting

Parenting encompasses several activities that parents engage in with or for their children (Brook-Gunn & Markman, 2005). According to Brook-Gunn and Markman (2005), parenting behaviours can be put into categories such as nurturance, discipline, teaching and monitoring. Practically, the most and the best parents can do for their children is to give them a reliable care and love, and a safe setting for their developmental potentials to unfold (Hoghughi, 2004). Hoghughi (2004) puts the child functioning areas into categories such as the provision of physical needs, intellectual and educational functioning, and social and emotional needs. Usually, it is the responsibility of the parents to ensure that the functional needs of the children are met to guarantee their development and survival in the society.

In addition to their basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter, parents are responsible for providing basic education to the child (Laird, 2011). Hoghughi (2004) further reiterated that, it is important for children to engage in activities that will enhance their acquisition of intellectual and educational skills since that will help them to understand situations and also solve problems effectively; hence, parents are to ensure this is done. Examples of activities that parents could engage their children in include; storytelling, having discussions and telling riddles. In providing

social care, parents are also to provide social atmosphere where the children will have the opportunity to integrate themselves with their peers and other significant adults (ibid). Hoghughi (2004) again added that, positive social care aims at helping children to integrate themselves both at home and in school and also take responsibility for their own self. By so doing, the children will value and give respect to others and also perform tasks successfully. The emotional needs of the child are also paramount to a healthy child's development. From Hoghughi's point of view, loving the child without any condition and giving the child respect as a person will generate a consistent positive interactive environment for the child which will enable him gain new experiences.

A very critical issue in parenting is the style that is adopted by the parents. Baumrind (1968) has identified three parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative and permissive parents. Authoritative parents encourage self-expression but also look forward to children conforming to being disciplined (Baumrind, 1968). Such parents expect their children to obey them and submit to their supervision. She also described authoritarians as parents who try to shape, control and evaluate the behaviours and attitudes of their children. According to Baumrind, permissive parents make few demands for household responsibility with little control. Their interaction with their children is also full of affection, kindness and an accepting mood (Baumrind, 1968; Baumrind, 1978).

2.2.2 Motherhood

When we talk about motherhood, it is precisely talking about women because universally, it is the woman who plays the role of a mother. Mothering and motherhood is socially constructed in the sense that, they are viewed as social interactions and relationships which are located in societal context (Arendell, 2000). Mothering is an ongoing process because it begins with

marrying, taking seed, waiting for it to fertilize, giving birth, lactating and finally raising the children up. This is how society also perceives motherhood. Children are first and foremost women's business. Whether we speak of paid or unpaid work, child work or childcare is the responsibility of mothers (Oakley, 1994). Arendell (2000) again defines mothering as the "social practices of nurturing and caring for dependent children" (p.1193). In constructing motherhood, mothers are seen as the main tool in the maintenance of family life (Guendouzi, 2006). It is often an assumption that the well-being of the child is dependent on continual access to the mother; therefore mothers are important to their families since child raising responsibilities are part of their role (Arendell, 1997). This point describes the motherhood mandate. The mandate explains that, mothers are responsible for meeting the needs of their children and family (Marcus-Newhall, 2008); therefore, sex roles have been clearly defined in this motherhood mandate. Working mothers must therefore strive to meet the traditionally assigned sex roles in order to fulfil their motherhood responsibilities. One of the challenges of working mothers as has been identified by Fine et al. (2004) is how they manage to facilitate their roles in a way so as to relieve them of the double burden of employment and domestic duties.

2.2.3 Childhood socialization

A child is someone who is not an adult and/or someone dependent on adults. Although children are dependent on their parents, they are entitled to their own rights according to the United Nation Convention on the Right of the child (Adrian, 2007). However, many adults do not accept the children's rights to participate in making decision about their future (ibid). Despite these varying views on the right of a child, it still makes sense to say that, a child has the right to be loved. That notwithstanding, acceptance of these right vary by society, class, ethnicity and economic disparities. In Ghanaian society for example, children from the ages of 8 years and

above are taught some duties at home and this makes them responsible. In addition to the child's right, the 1989 Children's Act also requires local authorities to, when making decision on a child's upbringing, give consideration to the welfare of the child (Archard 2006). According to Corsaro (1998), all children live in a society and they are like adults in the sense that, they are constrained by the rules of that society, by the social, economic, cultural and political contexts, by typical adult behaviour as well as that of their "significant others" (pg.319). Similarly, Percy-Smith (2010) adds that, children cannot live in isolation of their political, social and cultural context of their society. Therefore, children form part of their society and they are socialized in their society.

Childhood socialization is defined as a particular period in the life of a child when lasting social skills, personality attributes and social orientations and values are laid down (Maccoby, 1992). In the family, the child is socialized at the first critical years of the child's life (Lindsey, 1994). From Maccoby's point of view, other different settings and people including the school, teacher, peers in the neighbourhood and at play, all contribute to children's gender role socialization although the most important aspects of socialization take place in the family. It has been recognized by developmentalists that socialization practices must be in a way to bring children to some level of self-regulation with respect to social norms (Maccoby, 1992). Through the family, the child gains a sense of the self, learns about the culture and the language and also learns how to interact with parents and significant others in the family (Lindsey, 1994). Being born into a particular family affords a certain set of socialization experiences including where one lives, what one eats, what one wears, what kind of work one does and other experiences. As the child grows up, cultural elements like religion and ethnicity will also affect the child's living conditions and the life chances of the child (Arendell, 1997).

2.2.4 Work - family interface

The field of work and family has been greatly researched in the disciplines of industrial – organizational psychology and sociology. In the last several years, there has been immense global interest in issues of the work and family domain. This interest has been necessitated by fundamental changes in society including changes in sex and family roles. Traditionally, men assumed the role of ‘breadwinner’ and the women, the role of ‘homemaker’ and they were seen as independent systems (Grady & McCarthy, 2008). In most modern societies, there has been an increased acceptance of gender equality when it comes to working women (Duncan et al, 2003). According to Clark (1999), this increase in women’s participation in the labour force has changed the traditional roles of husbands and wives in dual career families. For instance, a husband can now assume the role of housekeeping and the wife becomes the breadwinner. Early research which was conducted in the work and family domain saw the two concepts as operating separately, but in the 1970’s researchers saw work and family as being dependent on one another (Clark, 1999). Thus, events at work can affect events at home and vice versa. An example of such an effect is the assumption of the spill over theory. Spill over is defined as “the extent to which participation in one domain (example, work) impacts participation in another domain (example, family), (Grzywaz et al., 2005, p. 28). As a result, workers report that, they carry the stress from work to the family (Zvonkovic et al., 2006). Regardless of their stress level at work, they engage in their routine patterns of evening activities as they spend some time in household labour (Zvonkovic et al., 2006). With these multiple roles, their time and energy is exhausted and that is why there can be spill over effect (Coverman, 1989). It is assumed that, the accommodation of dual demands of employment and parenting influences the family structure, interaction patterns and childrearing which in effect have some form of consequence for child outcomes (Hoffman & Youngblade, 1999).

From social constructionist perspectives, humans are seen as having ‘agency’. Thus, they have the ability to construct their work and family roles to some degree, as well as to change and reconstruct how they will perform their work and family lives (Daly, 2001 as cited in Zvonkovic, 2006, p. 145). This approach explains why some working mothers employ strategies to help balance their work and family lives. Some positions in the work place are more demanding than others. For instance, being a teller or a cashier in a Ghanaian bank is very demanding in the sense that you have to wait and balance the income and expenditure for the day before leaving the office. Such work roles can affect family life if there are no proper structures in place to keep the family life running. From this perspective, working women change and reconstruct their roles in the family so as to have a better family life.

2.3 The Ghanaian Family

According to Ardayfio-Schandorf (2006), the family in Ghana is the basic unit for production and consumption. It enforces cultural norms and makes sure laws are adhered to in the society. The family can also be described as a group of persons who are related, in which the older ones takes care of the younger ones (Ohene-Sakyi & Takyi, 2006). It is believed that when the older ones take care of the younger ones, the younger ones also grow to care for the older ones when they are incapacitated. In addition to this definition, the Ghanaian context refers to the family as people related by blood, marriage, adoption or fostering (Nukunya, 2003). In Ghana, people in higher positions are likely to help their family members get a job. This is however done by considering their relationship to them, either by blood, marriage or by other relations. Although most people practice this, other people stick to their principles and give jobs to those who deserve them. Moreover, the notion that African families are less stable is not a new observation (Takyi & Gyimah, 2007). The Ghanaian culture has always being modified to suit the populace

as we saw in the introduction. For instance, in marriage ceremonies, ‘irrelevant’ items that used to be in the marriage list are being taken out to make the ceremony simple and affordable (for example, buying beads for the wife to be). This development further explains the point made by Salm and Falola (2002) that, there has been a change in the Ghanaian family systems as cultures and customs are not static. Old cultures that serve no good purpose are being discarded and there is the adaptation and incorporation of new outside cultures that are seen to be of value to the nation. For example, the woman’s dual responsibility of housekeeping and working outside the home has been adapted into the Ghanaian family system.

2.3.1 Functions of the Ghanaian family

According to Nukunya (2003), there are three main functions of the family namely, procreation, socialization and economic co-operation.

i. Procreation

Procreation usually is made possible through marriages but that does not mean those who are not married do not have children. Marriage sets the legal basis for the family but families can also exist without marriages (Nukunya, 2003). In Ghana for instance, there are a lot of couples with children and they raise them together although they may not be married and may not be living together. Children are viewed as a form of human capital therefore parents make a lot of sacrifices in bearing and raising them (Shultz, 1973). Notably in poor countries, when children grow up, they also take up the responsibility of their parents by providing for them and contributing to their life, thus, the investments of parent in the lives of their children will be repaid when they grow old. Children are then seen as the poor man’s capital (Shultz, 1973).

ii. Socialization

Socialization as a function of the family entails the kind of training and the upbringing of children, which must be acceptable to the Ghanaian society. Nukunya (2003) explains that, the training is the responsibility of the parents but can sometimes be shouldered by the extended family or the older siblings of the children. In Ghana, it is also possible for a close relation like an aunt or uncle, to assume full responsibility for a particular child and this is what we term fostering (Nukunya, 2003). This responsibility involves the child leaving his or her biological parents and coming to stay with the foster parents. The child is trained, sheltered, fed and all needs are provided the child until he or she is fully grown enough to leave the foster parents. Nukunya reiterated that, some of these relationships can be very close and can even supersede that of the foster parents' own children. In some parts of Ghana, especially in the north, where we have the Gonjas and Dagombas, it is a tradition that children should at least spend some time in their lives with a relative (Nukunya, 2003). This practice has now been utilized in many other parts of Ghana aside the north.

iii. Economic co-operation

The family is measured as an economic unit because members contribute to make a living (Nukunya, 2003). In the nuclear family especially in the urban centres for instance, the husband and his wife work to pool their earned resources together for the betterment of their immediate family. Children in the urban centres are sometimes used as assistance in a family enterprise, they either do this after school or when school is on vacation. However in the rural areas, children help their parents to cultivate their farms.

2.3.2 Structure of the Ghanaian Family

Every individual is a member of two family systems; the nuclear and the extended. The nuclear family is defined as “man, his wife and the socially recognized children who they care for and bring up” (Hodes, 1985. p. 264). The extended family is seen as a collection of nuclear families and it comprises a woman, her husband, their children and their married daughters and sons with their children (Nukunya, 2003). This implies that, aunts and uncles, grandparents and cousins, all constitute the extended family. In Ghana, there are two main forms of kinship namely the matrilineal and the patrilineal systems. According to Takyi and Gyimah (2007), the matrilineal groups are those who inherit rights and properties through the mother’s line and those who inherit the same rights through the father’s line are the patrilineal group. The matrilineal system of descent as well as the patrilineal system guarantees family members significant support and benefits (Takyi & Dodoo, 2005). This kind of support may include valued resources like getting access to a land, support in child care and going back to live with your parents in cases of divorce for women.

Within the Ghanaian culture, families traditionally lived together, worked together, owned property jointly and took responsibilities for upbringing and enculturation of the younger children together (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2006). Although it is the sole responsibility of the biological parents to socialize and provide care to their children, the extended family members also help in this regard. These tasks of the nuclear family are not their tasks alone but the whole family’s as the family is seen as a crowd, in the Akan proverb, ‘Ebusua Ye Dom’(The family is a crowd), (Salm & Falola, 2002). For instance, the elderly in the family normally help with child-care services and also help with other functions (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2006). In Ghana, our culture demands that the privileged care for the less-privileged in the family (Mazrui, 1986). This

is normally done by taking in younger children of less- privileged family members and caring for them.

2.3.3 The child's responsibility to the family

In the Ghanaian social system, effort is made to ensure that each child is taught his/her place in the society from an early age. Duties are assigned these children in the home and among such is their contribution to the household tasks like fetching water, washing dishes, sweeping the compound, washing clothes and assisting mothers in the kitchen (Salm & Falola, 2002). Twum-Danso (2010) emphasizes that, children are socialized in a manner that will ensure that they know their place in the societal structure and do not go beyond their boundaries when interacting with their parents and other adults. Twum-Danso elaborated on four main positions on childhood construction: he saw childhood as a period of obedience and respect, childhood as never ending, childhood as a period of parental control and ownership and finally, childhood as a period of dependency. Childhood ends only when one assumes responsibility and can take care of oneself without the support of the parents. Childhood is a period of obedience since the child is normally under the authority of an elderly person, and so children are obliged to show respect. As it is the parent who bore the child, the child is under the control of the parent and he is ordered about by that parent. However, Twum-Danso (2010) added that, even though the child accepts the authority of his parents and other adults, he sometimes does not want to please them.

2.3.4 Religious life in Ghana

The Ghanaian society is a religious society in which there are different religious groups and organizations. As part of the religious groups in Ghana, there are Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus and others are traditionalists. The 2002 population census in Ghana indicates that,

Christians make up a percentage of 68.8, then 8.5% traditionalists, 15.9% Muslims and 6.9% has no religious affiliation (Ghana Statistical Services, population census 2000). It is believed that religious practice serves some personal and family needs (Opoku & Peil, 1994) and this is why most Ghanaians practice some form of religion in their various homes. Further, a lot of Ghanaians are influenced by the kind of religious faith and beliefs they have and these serve as a frame of reference to interpret their day-to-day events and happenings (Addai, 1999).

2.4 Women's Role and Function in the Family

Marriage is one of the social institutions which define the actual roles of a woman. Married women differ from unmarried women not only in terms of residence but also in terms of their social and economic roles both within their household and within the larger society (Warner et al., 1997). Thus, upon marriage, women find themselves in a new family circle which is her husband's family or the nuclear family where she takes up new roles and faces new challenges. Moser (1989) identified three roles of women namely reproductive, productive and communal. In the reproductive role, women are responsible for child bearing and child rearing. Childbirth is seen as a symbol of womanhood and also shows that the woman is normal (Warner et al., 1997, Ankomah, 1997). Women are also seen as secondary income earners and that explains their productive role. In rural areas, production takes the form of agricultural work and in the urban areas, women work in either the formal or informal sector.

2.5 Women's Role in the Household

Household are the "social units within which women and men are usually observed and studied" (Lloyd & Gage-Brandon, 1993, p.116). The Ghanaian culture or tradition has defined roles for both men and women. It is believed that the man is the head of the house whereas the woman is

required to keep the home, she cleans, cooks, washes clothes, bathes the children and care for the children (Amoakohene, 2004). She also makes sure the beds are neat, bedspread changed and washed, curtains are cleaned and she makes the home a 'complete one'. The man is seen as the one who bears the greatest responsibility of working for the economic needs of the family. In the past when women were house wives, playing these roles was not a problem at all but today it is in a way a problem since most families are no more a single earner family but dual earner families (Amoakohene, 2004).

2.6 Division of Household Labour

Miller and Garrison (1982) opined that, employed wives outside the home receive some form of support from their husbands in doing house chores than non employed wives and their employment status does not bring about role equality at home. This assertion was an affirmation of a research work like that of Berk & Berk (1979). This is so because, although the husband helps the wife, it is assumed that the wife still performs her specific traditional roles and that makes their roles unequal. According to Baxter (2002), the division of household labour is expected to be more equal when women's time in paid labour increase and their contribution to household income also increases. Baxter (2002) added that, the partner who contributes more with household income and spends more time with paid work is likely to bargain for a reduction in his/her contribution to house chores. These findings imply that, equal division comes in with equal responsibilities both at home and at work. In sharing responsibilities at home, some families would want to use their grown up children and they are also given specific roles to play to support their working parents (Corsaro, 2005).

The traditional household structure in Ghana is mostly based on male-headed unit of the extended families (Salm & Falola, 2002); however with the advent of social changes, there have

been changes in the structure of the household in Ghana and also in the pattern of sharing the work at home and sharing other responsibilities within it (Brown, 1994). Studies in the United States suggest that, the more fathers work, the less they are involved in housework and with their children (Broman, 1988). Broman (1988) moreover explains that, the division of household labour has vital implications for the quality of married life on married men and women. Research conducted on black Americans found that, the division of family roles into men and women roles is more typical of whites than blacks (Broman, 1988). In Ghanaian society for example, a man can take responsibility to cook for the family or even bathe the children in the family but this role played by the husband does not mean there is equal division of household tasks. Some researches also confirm that, wives who have supporting husbands when it comes to household chores have lower levels of stress or depression (Shamir, 1986).

2.7 Value for Education in Families

Ghana is perceived as a leader in Africa concerning education (Peil, 1995). Education is widely recognized as an investment and a gateway to modernity (Tansel, 1997) and this is perhaps why every parent wants the child to have the best of education. Those who have higher education are regarded as ‘eye openers’ to both their families and the society at large. Ghanaian parents also believe that, high academic achievement is profitable because of its future ramification. Peil (1995) found that, some parents who expect their children to attain university education have gotten the university education themselves. The educational level of parents is believed to play a positive role in the advancement of women. From a study by Aryeetey (2000), it was noted that women in Ghana from backgrounds where both parents are educated have achieved a higher educational and occupational status than those from a less educated family background. Looking at the gender gap in education, men or boys are seen to be enrolled more than the women and

women's desire for education is compromised by financial stress (Aryeetey, 2000). Over the years, there have been some socio - cultural constraints that hold women from being educated and such constraints are early marriages, teenage pregnancy and the lack of female role models in the society. Currently, women are advancing in education because it has been observed that before you rise, for instance, from a clerical position to an administrative or professional rank, you need a university diploma or degree (Peil, 1995). Again, Peil (1995) observed that education is the best way to get ahead in Ghana today.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodological approaches which were used for this study. The issues discussed in this chapter includes: justification for the use of the qualitative design, the sample size and characteristics, the sampling techniques used, the setting of the research, procedures and materials used to collect the data and finally, the data analysis method employed will be discussed in this part as well as the ethical issues considered during and after the field work.

3.1 The Social Constructionist Perspective

Social constructivism is one of the conceptual frameworks within the social sciences including psychology. Constructionists believe that knowledge is built through human understanding of nature and the self (Gergen, 2001). More specifically, we construct our understanding of the world through experiences within lived social context. For that reason, the acquisition of knowledge in the context of research is a subjective and transactional activity through which findings are created in the process of an interaction (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). How children are cared for and socialized in the family are all social processes. Even the ability to play a role in the family is learnt by getting exposed to things in the family. Parent – child interaction are also formed and maintained by the social interaction between the parent and the child. To gain knowledge of such processes, the researcher enters into interaction with the respondents. With this view in mind, I used a qualitative research design in the study because it gives researchers an opportunity of knowing lived experiences of respondents.

3.2 Research Design

Based on the premise that this study seeks to understand the everyday life of working mothers and their children in Ghana, an empirical study was important. This is because I must explore to know the individual views about their experience of everyday life, hence, the use of the

qualitative design. In qualitative research, emphasis is placed more on the way in which the individual interprets his or her social world (Bryman, 2008). More so, Smith (2008) explains that, in qualitative approach, effort is made to “understand a relatively small number of participants’ own frames of reference or view of the world” which was what I sought for in my study (p.2). Again, I used this approach because I wanted the respondents to feel free and express themselves in the topic for discussion and by this; there was no fixed responses to the questions that were asked. The mother and the child with the use of this design expressed their thoughts and feelings about their everyday life experiences.

3.2.1 Justifying the use of Qualitative interview

Qualitative interview is an important data collection tool used in qualitative research design. It is used in case studies, grounded theory and in ethnographies (Myers & Newman, 2007). Among the types of qualitative interviews are structured, unstructured or semi-structured interviews and group interviews (ibid). According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), a qualitative interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects’ point of view. The qualitative interview also gives details of the meaning of participant’s experiences and also uncovers their lived world experience (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It aims at deriving interpretations from what the respondents say (Warren, 2001). I therefore decided to use the qualitative interview because I wanted to have a better understanding of the everyday experiences of working mothers and their children in Ghana. This would be realized by how the respondents describe and make meaning of their everyday life.

3.2.2 The semi-structured interview guide

The main aim of the study was to know the everyday experiences of working mothers and their children. For this reason, I employed the use of a semi-structured interview guide to get the needed responses. From the view points of Myers and Newman (2007), the semi-structured interview makes room for invention since the script that will be used is partial. Although the researcher prepares the interview questions before hand, there is the need to makes amends during the interview section. Smith (2008) adds that, this kind of interview allows the researcher to engage in a discussion where earlier questions are modified in the light of the respondent's responses. From the explanations of Robson (2002), the interviewer in conducting a semi – structured interview will have an initial topic or questions in mind but at the same time be guided to some extent by the interviewee's responses. He elaborated more on the benefits of the semi – structured interview guide saying that, although the questions are prearranged, the interaction between the interviewer and the respondents can lead to modification of the interview questions. I modified and probed for further questions when it became necessary and that gave me a rich data. My respondents asked for clarity of questions when they did not understand me. Follow up questions were also incorporated along the interview sections and the respondents brought up issues I did not think about before the interview. An issue like the social network of the child was very important to know in addition to how the children were transported to school.

3.2.3 Observation

Aside the use of qualitative interviews, the researcher used observation technique to get contextual information for the interviews conducted. Thus, observation served as a supportive or supplementary method that complimented the information received through the interview (Robson, 2002). The researcher being in the homes of the respondents got additional information

about their everyday routines. The observation allowed the researcher to watch what the participants do as part of their daily activities aside listening to them (Robson, 2002). Hence, in trying to know what a child does after school, observation was a good method to have a definite answer. Flick (2009) explains that, observation helps the researcher to find out how something factually occurs or works. What I planned to do was to see what happens when the children returns from school. What is the experience like when the mothers are not home and the children return from school? Who takes care of the children after school and what other things do the children engages in when the mother has not returned from work? What is the experience like when the mother is also at home? However, I could not observe all the issues listed above. Some of the things I actually observed have been discussed on page 37. Flick (2009) added that seeing, hearing, feeling, and smelling are all incorporated in observation, therefore watching what happens at home validates the observational method I made.

3.3 Field Notes

Field notes are very important in the sense that non verbal clues have to be written down in order not to forget them during the write up of the thesis. They are taken whiles still in the field or immediately you leave the field in order to record key words and actions exposed by the respondents during the interview section (Flick, 2009). Flick (2009) also noted that, notes should be taken even if the interviews are tape recorded. During the observation, I made notes of what I watched so that I could incorporate it in my analysis and discussion. Flick (2009) confirms that the process of writing up is actually the first step in analyzing qualitative data. An example of what I wrote down was the interview environments and where the respondents were living. The notes I wrote down helped me to remember where the interviews took place, when it took place and who I interviewed at that particular time. In addition, my experience and some of the

challenges faced were noted. For instance, I noted which people were around during the various interviews.

3.4 Sampling Considerations

In choosing respondents for this study, I considered some important factors. First and foremost, Accra was chosen as the setting. Accra is the capital city and it is cosmopolitan in nature; the population is heterogeneous in terms of ethnic, gender, political and socio-economic background. Accra is also the hub of varied commercial activities and because of this many banks are strategically located in the city.

As part of the aims of this study, the respondents were to be drawn from women working in the bank and their children. This implied that, any woman in Accra who does not work in a bank is automatically not relevant for the study. Also, women working in the bank must have at least one child to fall within the range of possible participants. In addition, the researcher went further to look for mothers who had children between the age range of 10-12yrs and who stay with them. This range of children was considered because most research on working mothers and children have been conducted with mothers and their toddlers or preschoolers. Hence, this research accessed the views and perceptions of preadolescent children with working mothers in the bank. Children in this range were capable of formal thought processes according to Piaget's theory of cognitive development (Arlin, 1975), so the researcher was again assured of their ability to communicate their everyday experience to a good extent.

From the above consideration, it was comparatively necessary to use a purposive sampling method. The purposive sampling method is classified as a non probability sampling method. With non probability sampling, samples are not randomly selected and the result can only be

subjectively inferred to the population of interest from the sample (Field, 2009). According to Robson (2002), the rule of selection in purposive sampling is when the researcher uses his own judgement to achieve a particular interest. Here, the particular need of my research was granted after the data collection and these reasons explained above informed the researcher in choosing the right respondents for the study.

By the nature of the banking work, it was probable that there would be some difficulties getting the relevant respondents and so the issue of accessibility was considered. By accessibility, I was looking for those respondents who despite their busy schedules will agree to be interviewed on the date and time that will be mutually set. The researcher in order to access the respondents liaised with a friend on how to get them. This friend was chosen because he has lots of friends who work in a bank. He just approached some of them to know whether some fall within my category. Fortunately, he got all the possible participants I needed.

Another parameter which was considered was the language adopted for the interview; English. It is required in every qualitative research that a respondent is not hindered by any communication barrier while he/she is expressing his opinion on the subject of interest. English was adopted because that is the daily medium of communication in the profession of the respondents; therefore the researcher was assured an easy flow of communication during the interview.

3.4.1 Sample Size

A total of twelve respondents were used for this study. Thus, six pairs of families consisting of one mother working in the bank and one of her children. From the study, four out of the six mothers have finished their master's degree. The other two mothers' educational backgrounds were not mentioned during the study. Five out of the six mothers were in a two-parent family

system and the last mother was the only mother among the six mothers who lived with her mother and in a family house. She was also a single parent. All six mothers came from four different banks; Ecobank, National Investment Bank, HFC bank and Bank of Ghana Their positions at work varied from managerial positions, a cashier and a clerk.

All the children were in their elementary school stage and their ages ranged between 10-12 years. These children were all living with their respective parents during the time the interview was conducted. Out of the six children, four were males and two were females. They were all fluent in the English language.

3.5 Procedure

The first and foremost step in the research was to prepare interview guides for the mothers and their children. The guide for the children's interview was piloted on my nephew to see if the questions were clear and understandable. During the piloting, I tape recorded to also test my recorder to see how efficient it was. Most of the questions were clear, only few were reframed to make them easy to understand. The questions took the form of a narrative and then problem focused. The narrative part requested the participants to describe a typical weekday. This question went for both the child and the mother. The problem focused questions for both mother and child covered areas like house chores duties, academic work, social life, and ways of getting support at home. Additional questions for the mothers were about their experiences and their challenges in the new demands of work and family life. Also, the children were asked question about the challenges they faces. During the interview section, follow-up questions were asked based on the responses of the respondents to help understand what they said better as well as acquire more information for the study.

3.6 Interview Process

As planned, I used the second week of my arrival in Ghana to visit the respondents to fix a suitable date, place and time for their respective interviews. The mothers were the first point of contact and I made a call to arrange for a first visit. I met four of them in their various offices and two outside of the office and we agreed on a day and time for the interview. Some of them were able to stick to the plan and others had to reschedule the date on phone when they realized they had other engagements. One of the mothers on my first visit asked me to interview her right away because she scarcely made time in the office for other things which I did.

The six families did not follow the same sequence in interviewing. In family 1, both the mother and the child were interviewed the same day and in their house. The day of the interview was a holiday where the mother had some free time. Both parents as well as the child's older siblings were present during the child's interview. In addition, the child's grandmother's house-help was also present. The parents were in the living room while I interviewed the child in the dining room. Although there was a distance between the rooms, they could hear our discussion.

In family 2, the mother and the child were interviewed the same day. Their interview was done at 6 pm when the mother had closed from work. I interviewed the mother followed by the son. During the child's interview, his private teacher, cousins and grandmother were all present. The same people were present during the mother's interview.

In family 3, the mother was interviewed in her office and the child was interviewed at home. Their interviews were on different week days. During the child's interview, his younger sibling, the father and their house help were at home. Also, the mother shares her office with a colleague and that colleague was present during her interview.

With family 4, both mother and child were interviewed in the mother's work place, but on different week days. The mother's interview was in her own office while the child's was done in the work place canteen where the interview was interrupted by some of the mother's working colleagues.

Again in family 5, I interviewed the mother and the child the same day and in their house. During the child's interview, the mother and the child's older sister were at home but were not close to where we had the interview. During the mother's interview, the children were in their room.

In family 6 which is the last family, the mother and the child were interviewed at the mother's work place the same day. The child's interview took place in the work place canteen. It was quiet and not many people were around during the interview. The mother's interview was done in a colleague's office which was empty.

All the interviews were recorded and were played back to see if all the answers were clear. The duration of each interview lasted between 12-15 minutes. Those who chose to be interviewed in their offices felt that, there would not be time to meet at home since they had busy schedules and got home very late.

3.7 Data Transcription

When all the interviews were done, transcription of the interviews started in Ghana before returning to Norway. I transcribed 8 interviews before arriving in Norway. I transcribed some on days I had no interview appointments and the others when I had finished with all the interviews. The word –for - word transcription format was used and almost every single word used by the

respondents was documented. When I had finished transcribing, I had a total of 35 pages of transcribed data.

3.8 Materials

During the process of interviewing, I had my recorder on to capture every single word that was used by the respondent. Although some of the words did not come out clearly when I listened to the recorder after completing the interviews, about 98% were audible. I also made my observation at the various homes I visited and these observations were noted in an exercise book. I also made use of a pen and the consent form which will be discussed under ethical considerations. The main material was the semi-structured interview guide which facilitated the interview process.

3.9 Observation at Home during Interview

Observation was done when I went to the houses of the respondents to interview them. As stated earlier, I went to four of the house of the families to interview them. Out of the four families, one of the interviews and observation took place in the evening at 6pm when the mother had closed from work and the other two took place during the weekend when the mothers had a free time. The last one took place in the afternoon on a weekday when the mother was not home. I observed the home environment and the people who live in there. With the interview at 6pm, my observation was that, the house was full of nieces and nephews and the grandmother of the child. There was also the private teacher who was waiting to teach the child after my interview. In order not to forget about the additional information I had during the interview/observation, I quickly put them down on paper. This information enriched my data and gave me information that I had not thought off. The second observation was on Saturday in the afternoon where only the mother and the older sibling of the child were present. What I observed here was that there

were a lot of equipments at home to make the children comfortable to stay indoors and the mother was a bit strict on the children. With the next observation which also took place on Saturday, both parents were home with the other two siblings of the child. The eldest child who was a male was busily washing some things in the house and there was also another lady who was cleaning the surroundings of the house. According to the mother, she is the child's grandmother's helper.

3.10 Data Analysis

I used the qualitative content analysis to work with the data. Content Analysis is a way laypersons describe and explain aspects of their world (Robson, 2002). It is also a research technique commonly used in analysing qualitative text data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Text data can be obtained from surveys, interviews, observations or from focus groups. In a research using qualitative content analysis, the focus is on the features of language used in the communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). I sought to use content analysis in analysing the data because by using it, my understanding of the experiences of working mothers and their children in Ghana will be increased (Krippendorf, 2004). Using content Analysis will also help me to interpret the meaning of what the respondents say, thus, the content of the text to the context of the respondents (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Here, the context of the respondents is the combination of work and family roles in the Ghanaian context. According to Krippendorf (2004), the text which is produced by the respondent is supposed to have meaning to the researcher, therefore the reading of the text, the use of the text within a social context, and the analysis of the text portrays an important feature in content analysis. I did a subjective interpretation of the content and that helped to organise the data into codes or themes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

3.11 Analytical Approach

As a novice researcher, I decided to read thoroughly to have a better understanding of how to apply content analysis in my research analysis. Content analysis also involves “coding participants’ open-ended talk into closed categories which summarizes and systematizes the data” (Wilkinson, 2008, p.198). To do this, I read and re-read the data till I could remember most of the answers the participants gave. Re-reading the data was also done so that I could grasp every detail of the conversation I had with the participants and also allow the data to be part of me. After reading through the data for some time, I made initial notes of my impression of the whole data. This initial notes writing enabled me to come out with the emerging themes or categories. The approach I used in putting my data into categories has been defined by Hsieh and Shannon (2005) as conventional content analysis. These authors defined conventional content analysis as a type of analysis where coding categories are derived directly from the text data. The themes I used were directly got from the data and that confirms the conventional content analysis. Also with the conventional approach, relevant theories or other research findings are addressed in the discussion section of the study (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

3.12 Validity and Reliability (Dependability) in qualitative design

Validity and reliability are two main factors that a qualitative researcher must be concerned with in designing a study, analyzing results and ensuring quality of the study (Golafshani, 2003). Although some qualitative researchers see these concepts not to be applicable in qualitative research designs, they make use of related terms. For instance, Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.300) uses the term ‘dependability’ in qualitative research which directly corresponds to the notion of ‘reliability’ in quantitative research (cited in Golafshani, 2003). They also made use of ‘trustworthiness’ in explaining validity and reliability in qualitative research. Reliability is

defined by Joppa (2000) as “the extent to which results are consistent overtime” and validity is the degree to which “a research measures what it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are” (cited in Golafshani, 2003, p. 3 & 4). Validity in qualitative research has to do with the research or study being accurate, correct or true (Robson, 2002). This means, in trying to achieve validity in a study, it must be trusted by all those who read it. This trust can be obtained when clear reasons are given to the findings of the study. Field (2009) further added that, providing a clear and detailed description of how we collect our data increases the validity in a study. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), a research is reliable if someone else can fully depend on it, thus, one is convinced about the findings and can pay attention to it (cited in Golafshani, 2003).

In my study, trustworthiness is seen from how the data was collected. My data can also be depended on since I made a detailed description of how the interviews and observation were conducted. Again, because I took the precise procedure in collecting the data, thus, choosing the right sample with the right design, using a research guide for the data collection and having an analytical process to arrive at a clear findings, makes the study trustworthy. Hence, the research possesses the attributes of validity and reliability.

3.13 Ethical Considerations

In every scientific research, ethical norms and values must be adhered to. First and foremost, ethical approval was very important since my research delved into the personal lives of the participants. Permission was sought from the Norwegian Social Science Service (NSD) and Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research in Ghana. The authorization I received from

these two committees gave me a step further to conduct my research. Some of the ethical principles which I applied in my study are explained below;

3.13.1 The Principle of Informed Consent

This principle states that participants should be given as much information for them to make an informed decision whether they want to be part of the study or not (Bryman, 2008). I gave the participants the full description of the nature and purpose of the study and this informed their decision to be part of the research or withdraw (Gilbert, 2001). The participants completely gave their consent by signing a consent form I prepared for them to sign. The form clearly stated the research topic, the purpose of the study and a brief description of the researcher. The form also emphasized the confidentiality of participants and clearly stated that, the results of the interview will only be used for academic purposes. Two different forms were made, one for the mother and one for the child. Since the children were under the authority of their parents, there were portions on the child's form for the mother to sign and another part for the child to sign. The mothers' signatures on the children's consent forms showed their approval for me to interview their children. This awareness was made before the actual interview began. Sarantakos (2005) explains that, the researcher in informing the participants about the study, must be honest about his intentions and I was honest to my respondents in my study. Since I went to the homes of the informants to observe what happens, there was the need to disclose my identity by telling the respondents where I was coming from and why I was in their homes. Sarantakos (2005) emphasized again that, in an observational research, the observer should disclose his identity and the real intentions about the research.

3.13.2 Principle of Confidentiality and Privacy

Privacy and confidentiality were assured the participants after describing the study to them. Participants were made aware that, the responses are going to be used to write my thesis and after which the data will be destroyed. They were also told that, the data will bear no names on them and that kept their responses confidential. It will be impossible for someone to take any of my data and know who gave me that response. According to Gilbert (2001), privacy is protected by how one keeps control of the information he receives and decides on what information to release and what not to. Confidentiality will also be upheld by destroying the tapes after the thesis is written.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Brief description of the six families

The descriptions are based on the information given by the mothers and their children, in addition to my own observation when I visited their homes.

Family one

This family is a two parent family and both parents are working. The mother is working in the bank and the father is a teacher. There are four children in this family, three girls and one adopted boy. From my own observation, the boy is around 13 or 14 years. The last girl whom I interviewed is 10 years and the second one is 11 years. The age of the oldest girl is unknown to me. From the interview with the mother, she gave me the impression that she depended on the extended family for support in taking care of the children. In this family, mother's sisters, her mother and father give her support to take care of the children. The mothers' sister prepares breakfast for her children and sends it to them in school. The mother herself does not have time to do that in the mornings. This family live in a schools compound (they live in a Bungalow type of house) and the school is about 10 minutes of driving from where the mother's parents live as well as from the children's school. The mother's work place is about 45 minutes drive from home but when there is traffic, it can take about 2 hours to get there. Mother normally gets home by 6.30 pm and she explains that she is always tired when she gets home. The mother has almost finished with her master's degree. She was in the process of writing her thesis. The mother did not make me aware of her sister's residence so I cannot tell whether she lives close to this family or not.

Family two

This family happens to be a single parent family but from the mother's narrations, she does not feel single because she lives in her family house. In her apartment, she lives with her mother as well as her nieces and nephews. Some of her sisters and cousins live in a different apartment in the same house. The mother has just one child; a 12 year old boy. In addition she has taken two of her sister's children to be dependent on her. I am not quite sure whether the parents of her dependants were also living in the same family house or living in a different apartment. I saw one of the nieces who will approximately be 8 years. It is very common in the Ghanaian family system to live with your nephews and nieces and they become your dependents. This point was explained under the functions of the Ghanaian family in chapter two; some children live with their foster parents and those parents are responsible for bringing them up. A lot of families have their nephews and nieces living with them including my family. Although they get support from the family, they also provide help to the mother in the family.

The mother's mother takes care of the children when they come back from school. In addition, the mother has made provision for the children with a part-time teacher. The mother's occupation entails a lot of work such that she sometimes goes on a business trip and leaves the children with her mother. The mother in this family has obtained her master's degree two years ago. The children's school is a bit far from their house, about 20minutes drive. The mother normally drops them before going to work and for this reason, they leave home as early as 6: 15 am. The children return home all by themselves because the mother will be at work when school closes. The location of their house is in the city centre and that makes it easy to get transportation back home. The mother's office is also about an hour drive from where they live.

Family three

This family is also a two parent family with two children. The eldest boy who was the one I interviewed is 11 years and the little one is a girl but I am not sure of her age. Both parents are working and in addition, the father is in school to have his master's degree. The mother has recently finished with her master's degree. They have a house-help who assists them with house chores. When the children return from school the house-help attends to them and provides them with food. There is also a part-time teacher for the elder child. This family is unique in my sample in the sense that everyone is busy with him or herself. There is not much togetherness in this family. From my impression, they don't really do things together so the child I interviewed has an independent life. According to the child, when he wakes up, he stays in his room and watches television till the other family members are awake. Also, he reads his story book when he is alone. The father is supportive when it comes to taking care of the children and both mother and father share responsibilities in this family. Sometimes he drops the children at school and sometimes the mother does that. He also bathes the children in the mornings before they go to school. This family lives in a residential area and in this neighbourhood you don't normally see a lot of people around. The child has two friends in this neighbourhood. The school is not close to their house but there is a school bus that comes around to pick them up and take them to school every morning. The mothers work is also not close to their house.

Family four

This core family consists of two parents with one 10 year old boy. The father who lives with the child is not the child's biological parent but he calls him father. The mother, father, and the child live together with the mother's 20 year old nephew. The father demonstrates his care to the child by taking him out for fun. According to the boy, he can share his problems with the father. The nephew assists the mother in taking care of the child and also taking care of house chores. The

child refers to this cousin as his brother. When the child returns from school, it is the nephew (or brother) who takes care of him and provides him with food. The mother's work is very involving so she comes home very tired and she is not able to have dinner with her family. She sometimes does not eat dinner at all as she narrates in her interview. In this family they sometimes watch television and play football together. Mother is used to the nature of her work and family life although she wishes it could be a bit flexible so she could have more time with the family. They live in a developing area which is neither close to the mother's work nor the child's school. The mother sometimes drives to work and so she normally drops the child in school. When she does not feel like driving, she and her son join the work (staff) bus which drops the child on the way to his school.

Family five

This is also a two parent family where both parents are working. There are two children in this family and both are girls. The first girl is about 15 years and the second girl turned 13 years the same month I interviewed her. When the children are at home alone, the elder sister acts as an overseer. It is a private family in the sense that they do not want to associate with the neighbourhood. Their area is a quiet place although it is not an estate. They once lived with a house help who took their private affairs out to the neighbourhood so they vowed not to trust anyone in the neighbourhood. That notwithstanding, the mother relies on other people who are not relatives to help clean and perform other house chores. The husband is also supportive and they share responsibilities together. They enjoy a good social life together as a family by travelling far (outside the city) to spend their vacations. The family is close to one another and has a good relationship together. Mother is still in school reading for her master's degree but because of the way the family life is structured, her study does not affect the family life. The

parents are academically focused in that they have two private teachers for the child I interviewed. Their house is neither close to the children's school nor the mother's work. It takes approximately 20 minutes drive to reach the child's school and about 35 minutes to reach the mother's work.

Family six

The last family is a two parent family with three children. The boy I interviewed is 11 years and he happens to be the last born, so the older siblings help the mother to care for him. His sister (2nd child) is around 14 years. The oldest child is also a girl but I did not meet her. The family has no help from outsiders; the mother manages everything at home with the support of her children. They are a religious family in the sense that, they attend church and also practice the religion at home together with the children. Every morning, they organize a family devotion before the day starts. Although the other families also go to church, they do not practice the religion at home as a daily routine. Both parents share the responsibility in helping the children with their studies. Also, the older sibling sometimes plays the role of the parents by attending to the little brother's school meetings. The family members do things together and are close to each other since they spend much time together in the father's car. One difference between this family and the other ones is that; the mother did not mention the role the father also plays at home with the exception of assisting the children with their home work.

4.2 Main findings

4.2.1 Stress

The theme stress came about from the responses given when the mothers described their experiences in combining their work and family roles. The kind of stress mothers experienced

has been categorized into two main sub themes, that is, work-family stress and parenting stress. The mothers in the study had different experiences in trying to combine their work and family roles as they all perceived their responsibilities as mothers to be very important to them.

4.2.1.1 Work-family stress

This theme basically discusses how the mothers perceived their work and family life. When some of the mothers were asked about their experiences of mothering and their career, they described it as very stressful and tiring. These expressions were due to the routines of their everyday life because they are supposed to wake up latest by 4:30 am and get the children ready for school so that they can also get to work on time. Accra is a very busy place with heavy traffic in the mornings. If a person is not able to leave home early for work, that person is likely to be late and that is why most of the mothers have to leave home by 6:15/6:30 am. Mothers 1, 2, 4 and 6 attested to the fact that work and family life was stressful. This is what mother 1 says:

“very stressful, very stressful, right from the time I get into that office ... till the time I decide to take my bag, I work throughout, work, work, work, work, work”

This response was in relation to her experience as a mother and a career woman. From what she says, it implies that her work is demanding and that is why she works throughout till it is time for her to close. Also, her experience as a career woman is stressful. As a mother, she also has some responsibilities at home and that is why she perceives some form of stress as she combines the two roles. Due to the double burden of employment and domestic responsibilities, working mothers have to have a well organized structure to facilitate those roles to reduce their stress (Fine at al., 2004). When she used to be in school, she was getting home around 9 pm but now that she is only writing her thesis, she goes home straight from work. Even with the change in

time in getting home, she still perceives her work and family life to be stressful. Maybe the writing of her thesis increases her stress since she has other things to do at home.

For mother 4, the magnitude of her stress was heavier compared to what mothers 1, 2 and 6 experienced. She illustrated:

“I can say it’s not easy at all, because sometimes you need to give the child the necessary attention all the time but because you work in the bank and you don’t close early, you get home tired and you go to meet the child sleeping..., this schedule everybody will go and leave you here because I key the last voucher”

This mother feels her work does not allow her to fully play her role as a mother. She values the importance of having more time with the child but she is unable to do that because her schedule at work does not permit her to get home early enough to be with the child before he sleeps. As it has been identified by Arendell (2000), the well being of children depends on their access to their mother and that could explain why the mother wants to give the child the needed attention. Moreover, in Ghanaian society, children are the business of mothers (Salm & Falola, 2002) and that is why the mother sees the combination of her work and family roles as difficult. She is a data entry clerk and that was the nature of her work. Unlike the mother in family 1 who works throughout till it is time for her to leave the office, this mother cannot leave until she enters the last payment voucher for the day. Moreover, it was evident from the mother’s response that her eating habit was affected with the nature of her work. For instance, she says:

“Normally when I get home, I don’t even eat because sometimes I get home late and the day I feel I want to eat, I take my lunch here and that will be all”

The earliest time banker's close in Ghana is around 5pm. From 5pm, there is normally huge traffic situation since a lot of people may have also closed and they are going home. Because of the stress some of these mothers go through, they forfeit their supper and most importantly, they are not able to eat dinner with their families. The mother affirms this point from the earlier response she gave' she cannot get full time for her family. This few quotes points out some effect of the mothers' employment on their family life and themselves.

In addition, mothers 2 and 6 also saw the combination of their work and family roles to be difficult especially if there is no help from anywhere. Mother 2 also added by saying:

“basically it is tiresome if you don't have any one to help you, had it not been my mum, then I would have to find a house help to help taking care of them since I will be in the office when they come home”

This mother also perceives her dual responsibility to be strenuous but for her, she gets a lot of support from her mother. This tells the importance of social support in families where the mother is part of the work force because her mother relieves her of some of her duties and responsibilities. In the same light, mother 6 also expresses that work and family roles without support is difficult. She voices:

“It's very difficult, especially when you don't have a house help and I have never been with a house help”

This mother also emphasizes the need for support in combining her work and family responsibilities. Although she speaks of not having a helper, she sees the experience to be difficult without support with house work. The traffic situation in Accra is mostly heavy after work and that could also contribute to the stress working mothers go through.

4.2.1.1 Parenting stress

This sub theme is also part of the experiences some of the mothers who were interviewed expressed. Parenting stress was an aversive feeling that came as a result of the parents' roles played in the home. It is defined by Deater-Deckard (1998) as negative feelings towards the self and towards the child or children and these feelings are directly credited to the demands of parenthood coupled with work. Some of the mothers felt bad about the amount of time they gave their children. For instance, mother 2 expresses:

“I think I have to make more time for them now that I have completed my coursemake more room for them, to interact more with them than I normally do”

This is basically what the mother thinks she was lacking and she is trying to provide that to the children. She feels she has to interact more with the children. Interacting more with the child is essential since parent time with their children is considered to be very important to their development (Gauthier et al., 2004). Again, the mother in family 1 displaces her stress on her children when she returns from work. According to her:

“I end up apologizing all the time to my children because I extend the stress that I go through on them. Sometimes it is..., they need attention and I cannot afford. Instead of looking for a nice way to tell them, I get angry and yell at them which is not the best”

This displacement of the mothers stress on her children illustrates what Clark (1999) emphasizes, that events at work can sometimes affect events at home and vice versa. The mother explains that the dual responsibilities sometimes make it difficult for her to give the children the needed attention and this sometimes affects her relationship to them. According to Deater-Deckard (1998), her behaviour can be interpreted as a psychological reaction to the demands of being a

parent. She feels guilty about the way she sometimes behaves towards the children when they need her but she attributes it to her tight routine and everyday experiences. This illustration elucidates the stress some mothers go through when combining their work and family responsibilities. In addition to what mother says, the child also complains about the parent's behaviour as a result of the stress they experience. She says:

“Something like student companion to learn with ...but the next time if you ask them, they will tell you what thing? Is like they have forgotten about it and you feel sad”

Student companion is a book used in the primary and secondary school (high school). From the response of the child, it seems her parent promised to buy her the book and they forgot about their promise. Both parents are engaged with work and their work demands are likely the cause of their forgetfulness to their promises. Furthermore, mother 4 also expressed her feelings to her demands of parenthood by saying:

“...you go home to meet the child sleeping and sometimes I feel it is not all that good but what do you do, you have to cope like that”

She sees her responsibility as a mother to be more of being together with the child and not coming home to meet the child sleeping. Child care is the responsibility of the mothers (Oakley, 1994) and that might explain the negative feeling the mother has towards her role as a mother. The mother seems not happy with this situation and this quote affirms the point made by Peltola and Milkie (1999) that, when mothers are not able to balance their family demands and work, they have a negative sense of their well-being. Because of the nature of her work and the high cost of living in Ghana, her only option was to cope with the situation.

4.2.2 Parental involvement in childcare

Despite the kind of stress some mothers experience as a result of their participation in the labour force, it was evident from the responses given that they were involved in the family life as well as in the affairs of their children. Although the fathers were not interviewed, the responses also depicted that they were involved with childrearing.

4.2.2.1 Traditional responsibilities of parents

Traditionally in the Ghanaian society, mothers are homemakers and fathers are breadwinners (Nukunya, 2003, Salm & Falola, 2002). Regardless of the mothers' participation in the labour force, they managed to discharge their roles as mothers. For instance, in Ghanaian society, it is the role of mothers to ensure that their children have taken their bathes, eaten and are ready for school. The mother in family 1 explains:

“I make sure the children have taken their bathe, their breakfast is ready..., they have done everything, their uniforms are ironed and I leave for work...”

This is a typical responsibility of a mother and from her response; she is able to take care of them in spite of her busy schedules. Accepting this as her responsibility is a custom in Ghanaian society. In the same manner, mothers 3 and 6 were able to perform their traditional roles. Mother 3 added:

“Basically what I do is, I wake up in the morning, get the children ready...”

And finally, mother 6 also said:

“I wake up around 4 am, then I go to the kitchen, I put water on the stove for the children to bath, then I go back to wake them up ... after that we come back to the kitchen for their breakfast”

Although these mothers saw some difficulty in combining their dual responsibilities, they did not refuse to perform the expected traditional roles. Some studies have confirmed the practices of these mothers saying that, although there are new roles for both men and women, the old ones still remains (Broman, 1988) and that is exactly what pertains in these families in Ghana.

As part of parental responsibilities, they are also responsible for educating their children. Most of the mothers expressed concern about their children's academic accomplishments. Due to the fact that they themselves were pursuing higher education, it was their desire that their children do well when it comes to their academics. It has been observed that parents with high socioeconomic status, such as more years in school, get more involved in their children's education, and also participate more in their children's school activities, compared to those with a lower number school years (Feuerstein, 2000). To show how family 1 gets involve with their children's studies, mother says:

“With their academic work yes, their father didn't do French, I did French so they bring their French assignment to me and then I take them through. Their father is a pure science man so they will take all their maths and science issues to him, Social studies because I did political science and social work so once a while they bring it to me and we go through. It's a sort of shared responsibility”

For this family, the parents get involve in their children's academics depending on their competence with a particular subject. This kind of role sharing will in effect help the children to do better in their studies since the right person will help with that subject at home. Mother 2 who lives with her mother, nieces and nephews, also got involved with the academic work of her child. She says:

“Academics, I am always on them. I at times go to the school to ask how they are faring and then I ask the teacher who see daily through their school, studies and homework. When the teacher is not around they call on me to help or their cousins to help them do their homework if the teacher is not around”

From her explanations, she makes extra effort to find out how the child is doing by visiting the child’s school. She has also made provision for a private teacher to help the children with their studies. Adding up to the parental involvement, mother 4 illustrates how she gets involve:

“I always take his books like the home work”, I will have to take the books and when we are, and I do that mostly in the car when we are coming, and I check on him too. One of the French teachers, he likes him so much. I have confided so much in the teacher that when there is anything, I call the teacher to find out how he is doing”

This mother perceives getting involved in her child’s academic work as part of her responsibility and for that reason; she tries to make use of the little opportunity she gets. She shows her concern about her child’s education by calling the teacher to find out how the child is doing in school. Aside the provision of a private teacher to the child in family 5, the mother explains that, it is a requirement from the child’s school to be involved in their academics. These are her words:

“The school insists that you go over your child’s work and see to it that everything is okay. They are very particular about hand writing, yes. And then you append your signature”

The fact that schools require parents to be involved illustrates how important education is in Ghanaian society. This involvement of the parents will enable them to know how the children are

performing in school and they can be contacted when there is a problem in school. Child 5 attests to the fact that her parents are involved, she says:

“Every time they always come, they always come when we have a school meeting. Sometimes when my mother is busy, my father comes and when my father too is busy my mother comes”

From my observation, the parents in this family seem to be very much concerned with their children’s school work. The mother from my opinion is an authoritarian and a disciplinarian. This was seen in the way she spoke to the child while I was with them at home. On the interview day, the child was asked to take her bath before the scheduled time for the interview. Unfortunately, I got to their house before she went to the bathroom. When the mother realized that, she started questioning her. Her tone was strict and she was a little angry with the child’s attitude. According to Ford & Wright (1998), having parents who are authoritarian and disciplinarian are more involved in the family and have children who excel more in their academics. The mother in her narrations made me aware that, the child I interviewed was one of the best in her school. This fact could be attributed to their involvement in her academics and the kind of training she receives from them.

When it comes to the parents’ involvement in the social life of the child, it was not very consistent as some mothers explained. This may be due to their dual responsibility as most of them saw the combination of the multiple roles to be stressful. Even with that, their responses indicate that, they make the effort to go out with the children. Mother 1 says:

“...but once a while we go out. We drive all the way to Aburi, Akosombo and things like that”

Travelling together with the children shows how the parents in this family got involved in the social life of their children. Although it is not often, it is at least considered in the family and this will contribute to the well-being of the children. Mother 2 also added by saying:

“...then their social life, I don’t normally take them out but when they get me, mum we have to go to Mr. Bigs, we have to go to wherever if I make time for them”

The mother’s response shows that, although she hardly makes time to go out with them, she does it once in a while. Further to this point, the child in family 6 responded by saying:

“I don’t go out that much... we go to a friend’s party or my grandfather’s birthday or going to buy fuel. That is the only time I get to have fun”

This statement means that, parties are important to the child since that is the only time the parents will go out with him.

4.2.3 Socialization of the child

Socialization is used as a theme to mean the way children are brought up with regard to the kind of training they receive from their parents. Parents, especially mothers are responsible for the socialization of children in Ghanaian society (Nukunya, 2003; Boakye-Boaten, 2010). Most parents want their children to exhibit good morals and characters; hence, they are not allowed much freedom on their own. From the interview responses from the children, about 2/3 reported they were not allowed to visit their friends. Some Ghanaian parents normally believe that, friends do not help in the upbringing of their children and so they try to limit the freedom of the children to visit friends in their homes. In response to whether the child is allowed to visit her friends, child 1 said:

“Friends in their house, I have never visited a friend in the house before”

From her tone, you notice that her parents dislike that idea and that also explains why her parents prefer she goes to her grandparents house after school. Her parents are strict when it comes to going out to visit her friends. In finding out whether it was the children’s own choice not to visit their friends, child 2 responded by saying:

“I am not allowed. My parents don’t allow me to visit”

From the brief description already given about this family, the child has a private teacher who comes home to help him with studies. It is possible that the parents wanted him to use most of his time for his books and not for visiting friend. It is my impression that, this way of training is what most educated parents will do because they believe in the saying, “bad company corrupts good manners”. For example, my elder brother does not allow his children to visit their friends on their own. He feels the friends can destroy the good morals his children have developed and that is why he has to be satisfied with the kind of people his children mingles with. He will prefer to go out with them when he has time. However, some parents in Ghana allow their children to visit their friends.

Furthermore, most of the children in Ghana have been trained to greet adults they come into contact with them to show a sign of respect. Salm and Falola (2002) are of the opinion that giving morals and ethical instruction to the child satisfies the community, therefore, some parents do that. For instance, in family 3, the child had learned the practice of greeting those older than him. Child 3 says:

“When I wake up, I go and greet my parents... When I go to the class and I am fortunate my teacher is there, I greet him, when he is not there, I say hello to my friends”

He added:

“On Saturday ..., when they wake up, then I go and greet...”

In Ghanaian society, greeting is a very important part of customs (Salm & Falola, 2002) Children are identified as disrespectful if they do not know how to greet an older person. This illustrates the point made by Boakye-Boaten (2010) that; children are socialized through the various institutional structures to enable them attain the societal cultural behaviours.

4.2.3.1 Children’s involvement in domestic work

As part of the socialization processes in Ghana, children are involved in domestic work at home. Their involvement builds their sense of responsibility and will contribute in making them responsible adults in the future. Almost all the children spoke about their involvement in domestic work. As early as 7 years, children in Ghana are made to be involved in household chores. Tasks such as cleaning, and washing cups and plates after using them, are introduced to the child at an early age. For children between 10 and 12 years, if they are not involved in house chores, it will be perceived that, the parents are not training them well. This ideology makes parents teach their children some basic chores at home. Child 1 says:

“On Saturdays, when I wake up, I go and sweep the compound, after sweeping the compound, I wash the car and then...”

This quote shows that, she has been taught these duties at home and that is why she is able to perform them. This is a 10year old girl but she happens to be involved with some gendered stereotype roles such as washing of their car. She was the youngest among her siblings, but she seemed to be involved with many things that go on at home. With reference to what the mother

said during her interview, this child is not happy when she is not called to come and help in the kitchen. Her mother (referring to her and the other siblings) says:

“...but they love to help. This morning we had a small quarrel because I was cooking and I did not call her. She was upset I did not call her to come and play a role in the cooking. Well, they enjoy doing house chores, go and wash dishes, quickly they want to go and wash dishes, that kind of, so the children in a way help”

With this kind of training, children are involved with domestic work and this could lessen the mothers stress level at home. The children’s contribution to house chores in this family attests to the findings of Hoffman and Youngblade (1999) where children of employed mothers helped with household tasks. At her age, she has acquired an understanding of her gendered specific roles in domestic chores (Salm & Falola, 2002) and that may be why she got upset when she was not called to help in the cooking. The same child added:

“I iron my clothes, I wash but when I finish washing, it goes inside the washing machine”

This quote indicates that, the child is still under training and that is why she is not able to wash perfectly. This discussion reminds me of the training I had in my childhood days. Normally, I washed clothes with my mum and what we did was, I washed the things first and then she washed them again a second time. She gave the clothes a final touch before drying them. This is the way some Ghanaian children are normally trained to take up responsibility, by getting involved in the act. Child 3 was also involved in domestic work. According to him:

“I sweep the hall, corridor and the rooms. I do it when I am on vacations. Today I mopped”

This boy was the eldest child in his family and his quotes tells that he is hard working. Despite his sex he has been trained to clean the house and that also shows that he has been given a responsibility. His mother added to what he does by saying:

“Because the eldest one is supposed to wash his plate when he is done with food but ...”

This illustrates the way mothers train their children in Ghana and I do remember very well that I had the same training when I was young. Finally, with the kind of training the children receives from their parents, they are able to take up responsibilities at home. In family 5, there was no house help and the children were supposed to take care of themselves because that is the way the mother had trained them. Child 5, a girl, explains:

“When I get back home, my mum will have already done stew and is already in the freezer so when she is not around, we take it and we prepare our own rice and anything we want to eat with it”

This quote shows that they have been taught how to cook and that is why the mother can leave them alone without any trouble. She added to what she does at home by saying:

“We clean and sweep around the house”

As stated at the beginning of this section, if children within my study age range are unable to sweep, their parents will be perceived as not giving them proper training and that can affect the future of the children.

4.2.4 Religion in Ghana

Ghanaians are very religious and a lot of people interpret their life and events that happen to them from their religious faith and beliefs. Children from their childhood are taught these

religious beliefs and practices, and that becomes part of them as they grow up. According to Salm and Falola (2002), religion is part of Ghanaian culture and it will be difficult to separate it from the Ghanaian way of life. Regarding my interviews, some of the parents were very religious and the degree of their religious life varies from the way they practice it. In comparing family 6 to the other families for example, they seem to be the most religious of all the families. In describing a typical day's routine, mother 6 said:

“We have our morning devotion for some few minutes...”

This is their everyday life style. What this normally entails is to pray, read a portion of the Bible to encourage the children and teach the children how to pray. Such practices help the children in the sense that they get to know some basic principles of life. The parents' expectations are that as the children learn some morals from the Bible, they live by them and also become very obedient to their parents. For mother 4, her belief is that, God is the one who keeps her children from any form of danger since she is in the office most of the time. She says:

“ I have all the time being praying for them, at least when they are going somewhere which will not benefit them, then the Lord should have his own way”

She also believes in prayer as most Ghanaian Christians are prayerful, therefore, she prays for her children in her absence. She finds her faith and hope in God, so she trusts that God will keep her children safe. She demonstrates some form of concern and thoughtfulness to her children by her prayers. Thus, her religiosity is to benefit her family as Opoku and Peil (1994) emphasize that, religion serves some personal and family needs. For families 1, 2, and 3, it was also evident that they were religious as they described their weekends during the interview. They attend church on Sundays and sometimes during the week days. Child 2 says:

“On Sundays, I go to church with my grandmother...”

This point illustrates the fact that the Christian doctrine is introduced to the children at a tender age. In Ghana, when a person does not attend church often on Sundays, he or she is not regarded as someone who practices the Christian religion. Moreover, a lot of Ghanaians seek protection from God (the supreme God) because of their belief in witchcraft and evil spirits (Salm & Falola, 2002) and this explains why some are very committed to their Christian practices.

4.2.5 Sex role differences

Although it is the responsibility of the wives to take care of the children, the husbands could assume that responsibility depending on the family situation. As it has been explained, among the causes of sex role differences are the society’s acceptance of what men and women do and also the prevailing circumstances (Eagly et al., 2000). In dual earner families like those in my sample, mothers regardless of their participation in the work force were supposed to play their homemaker role in addition to their work role as that is the tradition. Some wives were fortunate to have some of their tasks taken by their husbands. For instance, mother 1 point out:

“Sometimes I am most of the time, I am not able to prepare super. He prepares his own super to eat”

He performs the role of the mother because of the changes in the family structure and the work demands of his wife. He does that to help the working wife with some of her traditional roles. This support from the husband is similar to the findings of Grady and MacCarthy (2008) where the husbands helped their working wives with cooking, cleaning and ironing. In the Ghanaian setting, although it is not a prohibition to perform such a role, in cases where you over do them, you are likely to be given names such as “Kojobesea”, which literally means, man-woman.

This contribution of the husband relieves the mother of some responsibilities and reduces her stress level because her work results in her coming home often tired. The support from the spouse also enables the working mother to balance her work and family roles. Again, we see in family 4 that a male does some house work. As it has already been described, the mother's nephew has sole responsibility of cooking for the family everyday in the week since the mother even comes home to meet her son sometimes sleeping. The mother affirms this by saying:

“During the weekends, I do it but in the weekdays my nephews does it”

Living with a relative is mostly a practice in Ghanaian society (Nukunya, 2003) and this is exactly what we see in family 4. In this family, the parents were the foster parents to the nephew and that is why he could assume full responsibilities at home. When the mother was asked who cleans and wash at home, she responded by saying:

“I told you my nephew does those things”

Due to the mother's tight schedule with work, the nephew performs most of the tasks traditionally taken care of by the mother. This is not out of place in Ghana since the foster parents often assume full responsibility in taking care of nieces and nephews. Regardless of what the nephew does to help the mother at home both on weekdays and weekends, the mother explains that she also cooks during the weekends. This is a confirmation of what Ardayfio-Schandorf (2006) say; it is expected that the woman performs household chores regardless of whether she is occupied by formal work outside the home or not. The mother's child made me aware that the nephew does almost everything at home, meaning what the mother does is little compared to that of the nephew. That notwithstanding, the mother tries to perform her role in

spite of her double work. It was also evident that the husband in family 3 assumed some of the roles of the wife in the mornings. This is what Mother 3 says about the husband:

“He sees to they getting ready because when I do that, they have the chance to say it’s too hard, don’t scrub here and it waste time”

With this quote, we see the husband performing some traditionally accepted role of the wife. Clearly, he helps so that they can leave for work on time. This difference in sex roles is a result of the social changes in Ghanaian society and the circumstances prevailing in this particular family. I find support for this interpretation in Salm and Falola (2002) who found that; husbands help with domestic chores in cases where both husband and wife are working (see also Eagly et al., 2000). From my observation, fathers are stricter than mothers in Ghanaian society and most children like it when they are with their mothers because they can misbehave and will not be punished. When the father is around, children are very careful with what they do because the least mistake they make, they may be beaten. The children in this family see their mother to be soft and because of that, they play around with her if she has to bathe them and that will delay them in the morning. This probably explains why the father had to perform some roles of the mother. Child 6, who is a male, further says:

“...I help my mother to prepare food”

By tradition, girls are supposed to help in food preparation and not boys but we see the opposite in this family. With respect to the changes in the family structure in Ghana, it will help when the young males in the family are also taught the opposite sex’ role since today’s women in Ghana are not only homemakers but also work outside the home.

4.2.6 Family social support

The mothers were asked where they get support to do tasks like, child care, cooking, washing and cleaning the house, assisting the children with school work, shopping and managing the home in general. Support was regarded as a very important element for these families because of the work they do. It is very necessary because most of the mothers leave the house very early for work and come home late. Both single and dual parent families saw the need for support with their family roles. When they return from work, they are normally tired after a long day at work and would want to get help to run the evening routines at home. The strategy they adapted was to cook their soups and sauces to last for a week or two and then in the evenings, they cook something simple to eat with them. In my data, support can be classified into two main groups: relative and non relative support.

4.2.6.1 Support from relatives

Ghanaians are collectivists and most families would like to stick to their cultural values and practices. For this reason, they would want to use their parents more when it comes to child care. Some also make use of other relatives not specifically their parents because they are all from the same family tree. Uttal (1999) argues that, relatives are used for support based on 3 main reasons namely cultural, structural and integrative. From my data, the cultural and structural reasons of Uttal perfectly hold but in addition to these two, proximity was also a factor. For family 1, the extended family members were very supportive with the daily upkeep of the family life. Both parents perceive themselves as very busy with their various works outside the home and that necessitated the use of some family members for child care and family support. Mother 1 said:

“...so my parents have been of great help including my sisters. Should we have problem with car, my father will come and pick them up. So for support, my people have been very”, “... so the

arrangement I have made is that my elder sister who is a caterer prepares their food and sends it to them in school”

Ghanaians collectivist ideology generates a strong family tie and that is what we see in this family. Relationship with members in the family is very important since it can affect individual development (Salm & Falola, 2002) and this is why members in a family (extended) help each other for the betterment of the society at large. The mother in this family feels that, the children will get the best care and attention from her own siblings and parents and that is why she prefers they go there after school. Moreover, since that is where she was socialized, it seemed okay to have the same form of socialization for her children. This affirms the cultural reasons given by Uttal (1999) that, the same cultural norms, values and practices are going to be indoctrinated in these children. Uttal (1999) explains it as a way of responding to structural constraints. Such structural constraints can be limited economic resources. It does not cost much to use relatives for child care as compared to using a commercial child care arrangement like a paid house help. This family may have chosen to use their relatives because of their availability and low-cost. More so, they are dependable and reliable. Using grandparents for support in this family is similar to the findings of Hoffman and Youngblade (1999) in chapter 2. Again in family 2, the mother used her relatives for support with her everyday life routines. She says:

“when they come home, they meet their grandmother at home who takes care of their lunch or whatever, Had it not been my mum, then I would have to find a house help to help in taking care of them since I will be in the office when they come from school”

Her tie to her mum allows her to use her for family support. From her response, her mum is a secondary care giver. She entrusts some of her roles to her because, families in Ghana

traditionally can live together and jointly take responsibility of enculturation and upbringing of younger ones together (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2006). In addition to what the mother says, she added:

“My sisters and then my nieces and my nephews take care of them”

This description of her support explains how Ghanaian culture is collective. This family involves a lot of the extended relatives for support and that simplifies how Salm and Falola (2002) describes the Ghanaian family, ‘Ebusua Ye Dom’ meaning the family is a crowd. Ghanaians are much dependent on one another for support especially when they live together such as this family. The proximity to the access of the family members makes it easy for this mother to use them. Also, we saw from the section that came before this that, the mother in family 4 received some support from her nephew. Child 4 in answering the question of who washes for him, said:

“My brother washes them for me”

The nephew is regarded as a brother by the child and because they live together in the same house, he happens to offer both child care and domestic help to the mother. For structural reasons, she will not pay the nephew for the help because; he is also catered for in return. In sum, the use of relative care is positively associated to the belief that, parents should be caring for their own children (Uttal, 1999); therefore if a mother uses her own parents or relatives, she is assured of proper care to her children.

4.2.6.2 Support from non relatives

Some working parents may also use non relatives because of reasons like distant residence of their extended family members, extended family members having busy schedules or simply because they are not comfortable with relative care and support. In family 3 for example, the

mother gets support from her house help in performing domestic and child care work. From my observation, the house help is the one who normally stays at home to receive the children from school. She also keeps watch over the house in the absence of the parents. When the mother was asked where she gets support from, she narrates:

“I have a helper and so she will help me prepare everything”.... so depending on what they want to eat, then we can just with the help of my house help, they have something ready to eat and em...”

This point explains that, the helper is very important to her in the sense that, there will be no one to provide food for the children when the mother is gone to work and the children return from school. The strategy of this mother is not different from the others when it comes to cooking. She also cooks during the weekend but she cooks a lot to last them for 2 weeks. With the help of her helper, she prepares her sauces and soups and the helper only cooks something to go with the sauce during the weekdays. According to her, she uses this strategy in order that she could make time for herself and her family during the week she does not cook. With my personal observation, the helper will be someone between the ages of 18-20 years. Furthermore, looking at the nature of the banking job, mother 5 also depended on some people for support. She has people ranging from a watchman, garden tillers, cleaners, and those who iron their clothes for them. She seemed very satisfied with the kind of help she gets from them and that is why she uses them. According to her, she used to have a house help who was living with her under the same roof but she failed her. She took their private issues to the neighbourhood and so she decided in agreement with her children not to go in for another one. The children agreed because they were ready to also take up some responsibilities for themselves, for instance heating food to

eat. Those people who assist her with the house work come when they are needed. The mother says:

“I have a gentleman who comes around here and he acts as a watchman during the day and he sometimes comes indoors to wash around. I have somebody who washes and irons and go away”

She clearly explains in this point that most of the household responsibilities are carried out by outsiders. In Grady and MacCarthy’s (2008) study, they also found that some working mothers received support from outsiders in handling their domestic work and this quote from the mother confirms their findings. This act of going to people’s houses to wash their dirty clothes is now a job for the less privileged in Ghana. In the past, this did not exist but due to the changes in society, a lot of people are embracing it.

4.2.7 Family life

This theme basically entails whether and how the family members spend time together. There is a wise saying that, a family that plays together stays together. When members in the family interact more with each other, there is the probability that they become very close to each other. Watching television together, going to the cinema or any entertainment centre together, playing games together and sharing quality time together, all help in building a good family life. Such activities performed in the family together are also believed to reduce family tension (Orthner, 1975). Having family leisure is good for individual family members as well as for family development (Harrington, 2001). Child 1 says:

“Oh, cracking jokes a lot, telling stories, we have our turns, when my father finishes telling his story, my mother too will tell and I will also tell my story. We go in turns”

This is what the child says she enjoys doing together with her parents and this binds the family together the more. According to Orthner and Mancini (1991), family leisure facilitates family interaction and bonding and that is exactly what we see in this family. Despite the parents work schedules and stress, they are able to make some time for the children and that is a sign of a good family relationship. On some weekends, mother 1 says:

“Sometimes I go to the market very early and so I go with them. We come back, they eat and go to their piano lab and I take care of cooking, when they come back, we eat, watch television together, chat a little, sometimes we walk, we walk from one side of the street to the other. We have just eaten so we don’t want to go to bed early, that’s it. Sundays yes, we wake up, we go to church, come back from church, we watch television a little and then they do their homework”

The mother in her description expresses a sense of togetherness. She uses the term ‘we’ to tell how they do things together. Looking at the nature of the mothers’ work and how she describes her experience, she still makes some time for her family. According to Godbey (1999), domestic leisure helps family members establish and maintain their relationship with one another. In Family 4, the members could also come together to entertain themselves. The child explains:

“Watching T.V and playing football”

This was in response to what he enjoyed doing together with the parent. This statement tells that the family plays together. The children in families 5 and 6 also enjoyed watching football together in their families. This is what child 5 says she enjoyed doing together with her parents:

“Watching football, going out, sometimes we go to cape coast for vacation”

And child 6 also added:

“Watching football and discussing things like football, sometimes politics”

That means, television served as a good channel for some families to have good time together. Aside watching television together in family 6, the child also explains that, there are times that they have family discussions. Members in this family are mostly together since they leave home together and return together. The above quote also informs us of how the family is together. Moving out of the house to eat outside the home is another way some people live their lives. For instance, in family 5, mother says:

“There are days that when Kukua was in school, when their father picks them, they go for lunch..., we try to spend a lot of time with them”

This expression shows that both parents are involved in the family life. It also informs us that the family does not always spend time together at home. They also spend some time together as a family when their father takes them out for lunch. Such an opportunity will enable the children to interact more with their parents and share their problems with them.

4.2.8 Controlling children

The theme ‘control’ expresses the way the parents wanted to mould and shape the lives of their children at the same time as they were working and could not be at home when their children returned home. Some of the mothers felt that, the children should be at the right place and do the right things in their absence. For example, mother 1 says:

“...so I can’t watch them come home and walk to people’s houses, that I may not be able to control, so the best is for them to go to school close to my parents house and when they have closed, they just walk there”

This mother felt that, the children needed to be with the right kind of people in order for them to have the training she wanted. She does not like the idea of her child being with people she may not be comfortable with. As it is part of Ghanaian culture, the elderly in the family contributes in the socialization process of the young children in the family (Salm & Falola, 2002) and that is exactly what we see in this family. The mother feels the children will be controlled when they are in her parent's house. In addition, the mother in family 3 employed another strategy in controlling her children in her absence. She says:

“Because we are not around to supervise, he will prefer to watch television so we found him a teacher”

The children in the family comes home to meet the house help but the mother felt they needed a person with a higher authority to supervise them and that is why the child had a teacher at home. In Ghana, private teachers are employed to come home to teach children. This practice in a way keeps the children at home and prevents them from using their time for things not beneficial to both parents and themselves. Although the house help was supporting, it is assumed she cannot control what the children will do when they return home. In Ghana, children in families with house helps sometimes disrespect them because they see them to be coming from poor families. This could explain why the mother needed someone else to get the children occupied and also serve as a means of control to them. Lastly on this point, the mother in family 5 says:

“I have all these things here, the piano, DSTV, computer and anything to keep them in doors”

This mother just wanted the children to stay indoors and not to mingle with the neighbours. She felt that, the children will be safe when they isolate themselves and live an independent life in their neighbourhood. Piano, DSTV and computers are things that will catch the children's

attention and occupy them. Some Ghanaian children move out of their houses to centres with these items just to play and some mothers are not happy with that. Currently in Ghana, we have a lot of video game centres and it is made purposely for children. When children close from school, some of them in their school uniforms go to these centres and play. They may play there till late evening and this is why some parents prefer to provide some of these things at home to keep their children indoors. Getting these items at home was one of the mother's strategies. In addition, this child had a private teacher who came twice in a week to teach her at home. Also, Accra is such that, there are a lot of street children around every neighbourhood and when you raise your children loosely, there is the likelihood that they will befriend these street children and form bad company with them. This is why every parent is very careful with the kind of training and the control measures they put in place for their children.

4.2.9 Challenges

Both the mothers and their children faced some form of challenge in relation to the mothers work. Working in a bank entails making a lot of sacrifices to yourself and your family and this is why most of the mothers saw time to their family and children as a challenge. From the interview with the parents, it was obvious that some of the mothers saw time to their children as their challenge. Mothers 1, 2, 4 and 6 explain why time was a challenge but for mothers 3 and 5, they were used to their everyday routine. For instance, mother 1 says:

“Time, time, time for my children is one of the things I am not getting”

She complains here about not making time for her children. From the description the mother made concerning their weekend routines, it was clear that she is able to take a walk sometimes with the children and also sit together with them to watch television. But in spite of this, she still

feels she needed more time for the children. Mother 2 also responded to the question about the challenges she faces in combining professional and domestic work by saying:

“Not having much time for them especially the redenomination exercise....so most of the time, I am out of the house”

This mother also saw the importance of making time to her children. In her further explanation to this point, she added that the redenomination exercise took away some of her time to her children. During the redenomination exercise, people working in the bank had a lot of work because new notes (currency) were being introduced into the system. She felt that, this particular period took away some of her time she could have spent with her children.

Likewise, mother 4 says:

“Challenges, challenges, ahaha (laughs) they are many. As I told you, you can't have time for your family, full time for your family, they don't have much of you. You also don't have time to be checking them when something is going wrong”

This mother laughed at the question before she responded. It could mean that she laughed because her challenges were many. She feels she does not have much time to supervise the child since she is most of the time at work. From her initial quotation under the heading ‘work-family stress’, she sometimes do not eat when she gets home. This point could explain why she said she cannot have full time for her family. Probably, they are not able to eat together as a family in the evenings. Her work keeps her from performing some of her motherly tasks such as supervising and controlling her children. In Ghana, some of the people working in the bank have to be in the office on weekends depending on their work load. Others who are free on weekends also have their own private issues to handle in addition to their work and family responsibilities. Therefore,

from the mothers' responses, their work decreases the time they would have loved to spend with their family and children. The next mother, mother 6 also answers to the question about her challenges:

“In fact, I would have wished to have more time for them, especially when it comes to their books and things like that but the challenges are that, it is not possible to get time for them”

From her statement, she needed more time to teach her children. She thinks it not possible because she normally comes from work tired. Before the mother accounted for her challenges, she made this earlier quote:

“That is not often done because of the nature of my job. You see they get so tired that even they sleep in the car before we get home”

This was in response to whether she makes time to teach the children. She already described her experience as difficult and that is why she considers her time for her children to be less. In addition to the challenge of time the mothers expresses, the children in family 6 were affected with the nature of their mother's job. What is normally done in this family is that, in the mornings, the father will drive the children and their mother to school and the work place respectively before he will also go to his work. This family seems to have developed a certain shared experience with regards to their transportation to work and school and back again. I have heard and seen similar arrangements made by some families in Ghana. In the case of this family, after the children have closed from school, their father goes back to pick them up and then they all go to their mothers office to wait for her to close before they all go back home. Due to this arrangement, the children end up spending almost all their day outside of the home. From the mother's response, they get stressed out because of the everyday routine. Although this

arrangement did not help the children, especially with the time they get back home, it was also a very good means for the family to stay together. This togetherness will possibly contribute to the parent-child relationship. Moreover, child 1 was also affected. She explains:

“In school, because people know that as bankers, they don’t come home early so they try to bully me with it. They start telling me that my mother doesn’t have time for me and that when she doesn’t have time for me, it is not good so I should try to tell her to stay home”

The child’s class mates also perceive mothers working in the bank to have less time for their children. The school children also see the importance of time to the child and that is why they try to intimidate the child. Again, the class mates also showed some concern to the child when they asked her to tell her mother to stay home. This according to the child is her problem and we see from the quotation that her emotion is sometimes affected by what the classmates say to her. In additions, child 1 says:

“When I go to my grand mum’s house and ... even if I make small mistake they start laughing at me and I feel bad...”

From this quote, it seems the child is not happy when she goes to the grandparent’s house after school, however, that was the control measure her parents wanted to use while they are at work. She described this as her challenge but for her parents, they were okay with such arrangement.

4.2.10 Caring for the child

From the interviews with the children, some of their responses describe how both parents were caring to them. This theme explains what the children said about what is provided them by their parents and also how they are cared for when they are sick. All the children in my study did not provide the same answer to demonstrate their parent’s sense of care. What cuts across their

answers was that, their parents provided what they needed. For instance, child 1 says her parents are important to her because:

“... because number one, they gave birth to me and two, they care for me not like any other person, they are extraordinary to me”

Her expression of this point shows how she values her parents care to her. Using the word ‘extraordinary’ even adds to the way she values what her parents does for her. She sees their care as amazing to her and also appreciates the fact that they gave birth to her. This quotation could also mean she respects them for who they are. In confirming the magnitude of care this child receives from her parents, she added:

“Hmm, hahahahah (laugh), they provide my....., the instruments I use in school like pencil, pen etc”

This informs us of how the child’s parents care about her studies, by providing the things she will need for school. Aside making provision for her physical needs, the parents to child 1 also demonstrate their care to the child when she is sick.

“I remember when I was sick, I was lying in the chair and couldn’t do anything and then my parents came and sit by me. The next day I didn’t go to school, my mother sent me to her work place and we went to the hospital. I feel like both of them cares for me”

From her statement, she sees both parents to be caring. Her parents show some emotional attachment to her when she is sick and such affection can even help her to recover quickly. Parents, as we have been discussing, are responsible for their children’s well-being (Salm & Falola, 2002) and that is what the mother demonstrates to her sick child here. Although, mother1

describes her schedule at work to be very stressful, she puts her children first to work when they are sick. From the child's narration, the mother cares for her by sending her to the hospital and also to her workplace. This practice of the mother confirms the construction of motherhood as a practice of nurturing and caring for a dependent child (Arendell, 2000). In addition to how the parents showed their care to their children, child 2 says:

“My parents pay my fees and when I need something, I go and tell them and they buy it for me”

This illustration adds to the point made by child 1 that, the parents provided what she needed. The quotation also confirms that the parents are responsible by paying the child's fees. Normally in Ghana, parents who do not pay their children's fees are perceived as irresponsible. They become irresponsible when they do not make any effort to show that they want to pay. Some parents will have to work hard to be able to pay the fees of their children and that also shows their care to them. Child 2 further points it out that, his requests are granted.

“Cloths, shoes, bags, books and all items I need for school”

These are some of the things he made mention of. As we already know from the beginning, the child's mother is a single parent but from the child's expressions, she is able to care for him. Even when he is sick, he says:

“My mother normally takes me to the hospital”

Despite the mother's work schedule, she also makes time to take the child to the hospital as was seen in family 1. We can assume that, she has her child at heart and that is why she does not allow her mother (child's grandmother) or her siblings to take the child to the hospital when he is sick. She feels at that crucial point, the child will need her most and that is why she takes up that

responsibility. Her attitude to her sick child affirms the motherhood mandate; making her career her second priority to her family. Both child 1 and 2 have expressed what their parents do to contribute to their education. Child 3 was not far from their point. He added in the same light by saying:

“Without my parents, I can’t go to school and what I want to become in future, I won’t have it”

Child 3 as well valued the education he is receiving from his parents. From what he says, it seems he is appreciating his parents for the care he is receiving from them. The quote above explains why he sees his parents to be important to him. In addition, he says:

“Pens, pencils, erasers, rulers, sharpeners, bags, socks, shoes and everything”

These are some of the things he listed that the parents provided. He uses the word ‘everything’ to mean almost everything is provided. From the explanations of the child, he has his own room, furnished with a television and this may perhaps confirm that almost everything is provided for him. Similar to what child 3 says, child 4 also affirms:

“Everything I tell them, they do it for me, they give me money for school”

The last two families, thus, family 5 and 6 also expressed similar provision and care. They reiterated that everything was provided them including what they needed for school. A point to note was from child 5:

“When I am sick in school, my mum comes to pick me to the hospital and she takes days off to take care of me”

This point is similar to what child 1 also expressed. This practice of the mother illustrates taking care of the sick child as a mother’s responsibility. Because she respects her role as a mother, she

goes to the extent of taking some days off from work to care for the sick child. These caring practices of the mothers are their expected roles in Ghanaian culture (Amoakohene, 2004). Moreover, this practice of the mother confirms the findings of Grady and MacCarthy (2008) where working mothers in their study saw their family and children as their first priority.

CHAPTER 5: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Overview

This study delved into the everyday life experience of working mothers and their children in Ghana. The researcher wanted to know what the family life was like in homes with a working mother. The objectives of the study were to know the mothers' perceptions of their everyday experiences with their children, to know the children's perception of having a working mother, how the mothers get involved in the affairs of their children and how the children manages their everyday life without the mother. Questions for the interview were based on areas like the social life of the mother and the child, parental involvement in the child's academics, how the needs of the child were catered for, and where and how the parents get support in caring for their children. The results of the interview also indicated how the family life looks, the way mothers manage their work and family roles, the social life of the family, the kind of social support the family receives, how parents get involved with the children's academics, how the children are socialized, controlled and cared for in the various families.

According to Hayes and Kamerman (1983), the growth and development of children is shaped by their everyday experiences. The everyday experiences of children of working parents includes, the things children do, the places they go, the people they interact with, how their needs are met, how they get loved and many more. Evidence from the data suggested that the children from the different families had their personal unique experiences due to the differences in the family structure and organization. Some of the children from their expressions had a close interaction with their parents while others had less interaction with their parents. For instance, in family 1 and 6, the children were closer to their parents. Those families with less interaction were as a result of the busy nature of the mothers' work. Some of the mothers confirmed that,

their work gave them little time to interact and be with their families. Even in the mist of these challenges, they were able to maintain their duties as mothers. It was surprising to know that, despite the mothers' busy schedules, they put their families first. I got surprised because I thought their busy schedules will not allow them. Some took days off from work to care for their sick children even though they could leave them with their relatives. Others made time to take their children to the hospital themselves. This caring attitude of the mothers will help the children to develop positively (Hoghughi, 2004).

Controlling and supervising children was very important to the mothers and so they employed specific means to do it. Mothers in the various families in one way or the other demonstrated some form of control over the children since they were mostly not at home to monitor and supervise what the children will do. However, their means of control differed from one mother to the other. Some of the mothers used their extended kin to supervise and monitor the children's after school life; (for example, families 1, 2, and 4). In one of the families; (family 6), the children had to go to their mothers' office and wait for her to close before they could all go home. From the results, it was evident that one of the mothers expressed not having control over the things her child does as her challenge. She wished she could be at home when the child returns from school so that she could monitor the child's movement and correct him when he does wrong things. Unfortunately, her job did not allow her to accomplish her wish. Based on the control mechanisms these parents employed, it appears there were some effects on the children. For example, in the results section (page 77), we found that child 1 did not like going to her grandparents' house after school, nevertheless, that was the means her parents could ensure she received some form of supervision and control after school. The mother used her parents so that, the child can be socialized with the right kind of values and norms. In addition to the point of

controlling the child, the mother in family 3 noticed that in her absence, her child preferred to watch more television than studying and so she got him a private teacher at home. Her concern was how to supervise the child with his studies in her absence. She indicated that; the teacher is not only there to teach but also to supervise what the child will prefer to do when he returns from school. Consequently, private teachers can play some supervisory role in families where both parents are working. Moreover, mother 5 in controlling her children exhibited some form of strictness. She was more of an authoritarian mother, therefore she expected her children to obey her commands. According to Ford & Wright (1998), having parents who are authoritarian and disciplinarian are more involved in the family and have children who excel more in academics. This view of Ford and Wright was what I observed in this family. Because of the mothers committed involvement in her child's studies, the child happened to be one of the best students in her school.

Regarding the mothers involvement in the children's academic work, most of them were involved in spite of their tight work schedules. Peil (1995) found in his study that parents are normally involved in their children's education if they themselves have attained a university education and this seems to hold for my study as well. About 2/3 of the mothers had obtained their masters degree and they were much involved in their children academics. Some of them were more involved than others. For example in family 5, both parents were more involved than in the other families. Some also made use of the child's older sibling when they are not able to attend to the child's school meetings. From the results, it was clear that the mothers did not give excuses to be involved because of the nature of their jobs. They use the little opportunity they have to help their children with studies. Just as we noticed in families 4 and 6, the mothers used the opportunity they made in their cars to teach their children. This strategy is very excellent

because it informs us of the efforts working mothers are putting in place to help their children with their studies despite their multiple roles. It also appears that, the various families' social life was not consistent since most of them complained of not having enough time for themselves and their families. With the exception of mother 5 who portrayed her family to have a good social life, the others seldom go out with their children due to the nature of their work. These other mothers did not ignore the value of having a social life; they tried to make the best use of the little time they have with their families.

It was also evident that most of the mothers perceived the combination of their work and family roles as being stressful and tiring. Except for adding to the family income which indisputably benefited the children, it was also disadvantageous regarding the quality of time children got from their mothers. The stress some of the mothers engaged in resulted in a kind of conflict which is time based. According to Greenhaus and Beutell (1985), time based conflict arises when time pressure associated with ones membership in one role makes it difficult to comply with expectations arising from another role. In this study, mother 1 was unable to meet her children's expectation because her demands at work seem huge and that could be the reason why she is sometimes forgetful. We also saw that she even displaces her stress on her children sometimes. It is a fact that the time mothers spent on their work role could not be spent on the activities within the home. Even with the magnitude of the mothers' stress, the responses from both the mothers and children showed that they were able to care for their children as it was their duty. They took responsibility in their children's feeding, clothing and in their general well-being as mothers are expected to do in Ghanaian society.

Finally, the issue of gender role playing was significant in some of the families. Some of the household tasks were performed by the expected sex while others were carried by the opposite

sex. For instance, we noticed in family 1 that the husband supported her wife with her duties at home. By the time the wife got home from work, it was too late for her to prepare supper and so he prepares his own supper to eat. This act of cooking became necessary because of the nature of the mothers work. However, performing it shows how understanding the husband is to the wife's dual roles. Again, we saw that the involvement of children in domestic work was gender based. Most of the girls were playing their gendered specific roles like cleaning, sweeping, and washing although some shifted a little from their gender roles. Child 1 who was a female illustrated that, sometimes she washes the car at home. This role is specifically a male's role but there was a shift in the sexes. These examples explain the dynamic of some changes in Ghanaian society.

From my study, it was also evident that some of the results confirm some of the findings in studies conducted in western cultures. For example, the study of Hoffman and Youngblade (1999), where fathers were seen to play some traditional female tasks when mothers are employed outside the home was manifested in my study. In addition, Bryant and Zick (1996) also confirm that, working mothers spent some time caring for their children. This care includes provision of food and washing of clothes.

5.2 Limitations of the study

There are a number of limitations in this study. First and foremost, the study used a small number of participants. Thus, it is not possible to make generalizations of the findings. Moreover, these groups of people were from a specific working organization and they had different job demands. Again, the mothers had different experiences based on the structure and organization of their everyday life, hence generalizing these findings is not possible.

Secondly, though the study employed the use of observational method to collect additional data, the results obtained through this method were limited. This is because, the researcher was unable to visit all the houses of the families due to the various plans the mothers had. In Ghana, some parents do not like it when you want to visit their homes in their absence and without any elderly person in the house. This could explain why some of the mothers wanted me to interview their children in their offices. Even with the families I visited, I did not have ample time with them because the parents had other business to attend to.

Thirdly, from my observation, I also noticed that the children were trying to put up good responses to the questions asked. This bias had to do with the presence of some parents who were around during the interviewing. For those who were just with the researcher, they also tried to put up very good behaviour during the interview. Others were a bit shy because their parents were around, that might have influenced the answers they wanted to give.

Another practical challenge I faced had to do with the setting of the children's interview. Because of the nature of the mothers' job, some of the interviews had to be conducted in the mothers' work place due to the fact that the mothers wanted to be present when I conducted the interview. The problem was that, the place of the interview was not conducive. We had to use their canteen where we had some interruptions during the interview section. Some of the staff members came in to wash their hands, plates and did other things. The children might have been carried away with what they wanted to say because of the presence of a third person. This possibly might affect the richness of the data collected.

5.3 Strengths of the study

Despite these limitations there were a number of strengths in the study. Among them is that; the study is unique in the sense that; nothing of such has been conducted in Ghana. Most of the studies in the area have been conducted on mothers with preschoolers and toddler, for instance the study of Gauthier et al., (2004), but my study gave room for the preadolescents to express their views about their mothers' employment and their everyday life. At least, these children can let their mothers know if they have a problem with their jobs but toddlers and preschoolers are not mature enough to express their worries. Therefore, the study is useful because we have something new on maternal employment in Ghana.

The study was also beneficial in the sense that, it has provided additional information to what I already know on the everyday life of mothers and their families in the bank in Ghana. My knowledge scope in the area has been broadened and that has motivated me to carry out further research on such families. Although some of the assumptions of people about such families were true from the findings, additional information was derived from the study.

More so, it was very useful to conduct the study in the capital city; Accra. This is so because; the study has contributed to specific knowledge about the families' situation in the capital. Also, it has provided a better understanding of working mothers in Accra, specifically working mothers in the Bank. This knowledge can later be used in comparison across other regions in Ghana and also across other types of work.

In addition, the study interviewed both mothers and children unlike in other studies where only the views of the mothers were collected. This was done in order for the researcher to have further information concerning the everyday life of such families. Their contributions to the family situation increased the findings of the study.

Also, using this age group (10-12 years) made the study a unique one since there is no such study in Ghana. Again, children in this age range are able to express themselves well; hence, they were able to provide the needed responses. The information from these children can also be used to compare other responses of children in a related study using a different age group.

Finally, the study was useful because the researcher combined interviews and observations. Even though the observations did not bring a lot of information, it added some extra information to the findings.

5.4 Suggestions for future research

I recommend that future studies should be made with only specific positions in the bank. By so doing, researchers will be able to know if all the mothers with the same position experience the same stress and have similar family life. Thus, such a study will provide us with a better understanding of the everyday life of such mothers and their children.

Also, future studies can change the methodological approach I used, a combination of qualitative and quantitative (survey) method could be used in order to have a larger sample. This could increase generalization.

5.5 Conclusion

Society expects mothering to be at the core of women's identity (refer to the motherhood mandate in the introduction). Now, women join the work force and this creates the dual roles that they are facing. From the findings, it was clear that working mothers experienced some form of stress in their dual roles. Despite their demanding jobs, they got involved in the affairs of their children and made provision for their children to cope when they are not at home. The mothers employed some strategies in order to help balance their work and family lives. For instance, as it

is expected by society that mothers provide food for the home, the mothers in my study cooked a lot of foods to last for a week or more. This style of managing the home was due to the fact that they returned home late after work. Moreover, the mothers took responsibility in caring for their children regardless of the difficulties they faced in combining their work and family role. They demonstrated their care by ensuring the children have clean clothes to wear, by providing food and attending to them when they are sick. These efforts of the mother's satisfy what society expects of them. However, this motherhood mandate is a challenge working mothers have to cope with because; their participation in the workforce is assumed to contribute to the needs of the family.

Children are not left alone at home when the mother is working outside the home. Working mothers make provision for their children to have some form of supervision and control in their absence. With the mothers' organization of their everyday life, the children are able to cope when the mother is absent. Although societal changes have made mothers to be career women, they are still able to play a vital role in the socialization and the upbringing of their children.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHILDREN

Narrative

1. Could you please describe an ordinary week day in your life, from the moment you wake up until the time you go to sleep.

Problem focused Questions

Social

1. How is a typical weekend like? Do you go out to have fun?
2. Who are the most important people in your life at the moment? What makes you think so?
3. What do you enjoy doing together with your parents/ siblings?
4. How often do your friends visit you at home? How often do you also visit them?

Physical

5. Do you wear the same school uniform every day? How often do you change?
6. Who fix your uniform and other clothes when it gets torn? Who does washing of your clothes?

Academics

7. Do you have a lot of home work every day?
8. Is there a routine regarding when to do your home works in the day? Where do you get support from? Do you have private studies home?
9. Do you enjoy some subject more than others in school? Why?
10. Can you tell what items your parents provide you for school?
11. How often do your parents attend special school meetings? E.g. speech day, PTA, parent-teacher meetings.
12. Do your parents visit the school of your younger or older siblings?

House chores

13. What do you do to help at home? For instance cooking, cleaning of dishes, washing of clothes, cleaning your room and ironing.

Others

14. What happens when you are sick or get hurts?

15. Who do you share your problems and worries with? Why that person?

16. What are some of the challenges you face in life.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MOTHERS

Demographic questions

1. Is your family a single parent family or two parent family?
2. How many children do you have?
3. What is your position at work?

Narrative

1. Could you please describe a typical week day with your child/children?
2. What is the experience like in working and childrearing?
3. How do you keep your daily routines going? Which activity are you trying to encourage or change?

Problem focused

1. Do you feel your family is happy having a working mother?
2. To what extent do you feel your work affects the time you spend or devote to your family?
How do you think your children see it?
3. How is the daily upkeep of the family carried out? For example, cooking, cleaning and other house chores.
4. What have you expected your child/children to do to help at home?
5. In what way do you come in to your children's academic and social life?
6. What are some of the challenges you face being a working mother and a family woman?

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Norwegian University of Science and technology

Informed consent form

RESEARCH TOPIC - A Qualitative study of the Everyday Life Experiences of working mothers and their Elementary School children in Accra, Ghana.

I hereby invite you to partake in a research study about the everyday life experiences of children with their working mothers.

This study is being conducted by Esther Quaye, a student of NTNU studying Mphil in Human Development.

Purpose of Study

The main purpose of this study is to explore the everyday life of children with working mothers in Accra, Ghana. The focus will be on the daily and weekly routines of the child as well as on the social relations. Practical matters such as school work, household chores and the social life of the child will be of interest and the child's opinions and preferences in this regard will be sought.

In addition, the mother's experience of child rearing and working will be laid bare from this study. Information will be sought from her both about her own everyday life being a working mother and about the everyday life of the child.

The number of people in this study including you is a pair of four (4) parent families, that is, the child and the mother.

The procedure for this study will be interviewing and observation. If you are a mother, you will be asked a series of open-ended questions about the routines surrounding the everyday life of your child. If you are a child, you will be asked some open – ended questions about your experiences of everyday life and having a working mother. As the researcher, I will also spend some time with you at home to have an idea of the routines and the chores of your everyday life.

During the time I spend with you, I will also take notes of my observations. The interviews will be tape recorded and afterwards transcribed to have the correct responses. The recorded

responses or your personal data will be destroyed after the analysis is made and the thesis completed.

The information I will get from you will only be used for the purpose for which it was collected, that is, to write my thesis which is a requirement to complete my masters program. Hopefully, the thesis will be completed by 22nd August, 2011.

Confidentiality

The researcher will keep your information confidential. The interview tapes will have numbers and carry no names. This consent forms which you have to sign with your names will have no connection with the tapes and it will be destroyed after the analysis is made and the thesis completed.

If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without any penalty. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is complete, your data would be returned to you or destroyed. Your data would also be destroyed upon your request if you withdraw from the study after the data collection is completed.

Benefits

The information that will be collected will be of immense help to both the researcher and the respondents. To you the mother, the responses from the child can be used to shape the daily routines and the everyday life of the family, to have a more enjoyable family. More so, policy makers can use the findings to enact policies in my study area to help everyone. Finally, this study will give you the child an idea on how research is conducted if this is your first time participating.

Risk

Although this study is a risk free one, the researcher will do her best to prevent or minimize any risk if there be any in the course of the study.

Contact information

For further questions and clarity, you may contact the researcher, Esther Quaye. She is a student of NTNU, psychology department. Phone-004747618973, e-mail-estyqueen24@yahoo.com

This research has sought for approval from the IRB of Noguchi. For further questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact Noguchi IRB chairman (Rev. Dr. Ayete-Nyampong) on 0208152360.

Participant’s consent

In view of the above exposition on the study, I give my consent to participate in this research. I will take a copy of this form for future records.

Mother’s consent

Participant’s name

Participant’s signature Date.....

Consent for my child’s participation

Mother’s signature Date.....

Child’s consent

I agree to be part of this research studies.

Child’s signature Date.....

Name of person obtaining consent.....

Signature of person obtaining consent.....

APPENDIX D: ETHICAL CLEARANCE, GHANA

NOGUCHI MEMORIAL INSTITUTE FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

(UNIVERSITY OF GHANA)

Phone: +(233) 21 500374 /501178
Fax: +(233) 21 502182
Email: Director@noguchi.mimcom.org
Telex No: 2556 UGL GH



P.O. Box LG581
Legon
Ghana

My Ref. No: DF.22

27th July, 2010

Your Ref. No:

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

FEDERALWIDE ASSURANCE FWA 00001824

IRB 0001276

NMIMR-IRB CPN 061 /09-10

IORG 0000908

On 27th July, 2010, the Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research (NMIMR) Institutional Review Board (IRB), approved your protocol titled:

TITLE OF PROTOCOL : **A Qualitative study of the everyday life Experience of elementary school children and their working mothers in Ghana**

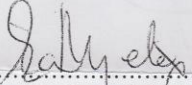
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR : **Esther Quaye (MPhil Student)**

Please note that a final review report must be submitted to the Board at the completion of the study. Your research records may be audited at any time during or after the implementation.

Any modification of this research project must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to implementation.

Please report all serious adverse events related to this study to NMIMR-IRB within seven days verbally and fourteen days in writing.

This certificate is valid till 26th July, 2011. You are to submit annual reports for continuing review.

Signature of Chairman: 

Rev. Dr. Samuel Ayete-Nyampong
(NMIMR – IRB, Chairman)

cc: Professor Alexander K. Nyarko
Director, Noguchi Memorial Institute
for Medical Research, University of Ghana, Legon

APPENDIX E: ETHICAL CLEARANCE, (NSD)-NORWAY

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES



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www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Vår dato: 04.06.2010

Vår ref: 24194 / 2 / LMR

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

KVITTERING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 12.04.2010. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

24194	<i>Elementary school children and their working mothers in Accra, Ghana: A Qualitative study of their experience of everyday life.</i>
Behandlingsansvarlig	NTNU, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Berit Overå Johannesen
Student	Esther Quaye

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

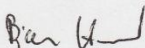
Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, vedlagte prosjektvurdering - kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven/-helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

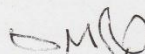
Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 22.08.2011, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen


Bjørn Henrichsen


Linn-Merethe Rød

Kontaktperson: Linn-Merethe Rød tlf: 55 58 89 11
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Esther Quaye, Herman Krags veg 42-61, 7050 TRONDHEIM

