

Women's employment and the changing family pattern in Ankole Sub-region- Uganda

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Abstract: This study employed a case study design using phenomenological stances of qualitative research to collect data from three districts of Mbarara, Bushenyi and Kiruhura and the objective of the study was to find out how women's entrance in formal employment has contributed to changes in marriage and gender roles. Drawing from 17 interviews (with women activists, community development officers, probation officers, grade II magistrates, Gender based organisation managers, political leaders, religious leaders, local leaders) and 5 FGDs (with household heads, women in formal and informal employment), findings revealed that, women's employment leads to a shift in marriage. The findings further reveal that women's employment increases women's conflicting roles (the tripartite roles). The study concluded that, women's employment is significantly related to marriage and gender roles, increasing numbers of women in formal and informal employment has led to delays in marriage, child birth and increases in conflicting roles for women. Thus the study recommended that gender-responsive social protection systems should be adopted by all places of work, encourage and support institutions and all places of work to put provisions for day care centres and increase on maternity leave days.

Key words: Women's employment, marriage and gender roles.

I. INTRODUCTION

Globally, family patterns have been progressively changing due to industrialisation and many other reasons (Xu & Xue, 2016). In particular, most attributes of these changes have been premised on Women's employment (Magezi, 2018). Studies conducted by Magezi (2018), Zimmermann and Konietzka (2018) and Zaitseva, Bannykh, and Kostina (2019) indicate that women's employment in both developed and developing countries, has potential to influence marital and other relationships, assigned gender roles, social and emotional family ties. In the face of women employment, women's roles in a family change from women being mere chattels to become co-providers (Irungu & Sassa, 2017). The global changing family patterns in the face of women employment have been a subject of discussion for quite some time as to whether the objectives of women employment are positively perceived by society or not (Fulu & Miedema, 2016; Mammen & Paxson, 2000; Moghadam, 2004; Veen & Shakeel, 2019).

World over, Africa inclusive, there are contrary views among men and women concerning women employment (Slegh, Barker, Kimonyo, Ndolimana, & Bannerman, 2013). These divergent views are realised stemming from different perceptions towards marriages and assigned gender roles

which this paper focuses on (Bott & Spillius, 2014; Lindsey, 2015; Taghizadeh et al., 2017). One of the global objectives of women economic empowerment Africa inclusive, is about recognising women's rights as human rights and creating equal employment opportunities for both men and women (Assembly, 2010; Bird, 2018; Irungu & Sassa, 2017).

The study done by Kagugube (2017) while assessing the gender statistics in Uganda, however, shows an increasing rate of female headed households. In the recent house hold study by Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS, 2018)¹ there are 31% female headed households in Uganda. The likelihood of women to be divorced or separated is higher than that of men (11% versus 5%), or widowed (3% versus 0.3%) Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS, 2018)². There has been a growing societal concern in Ankole that women employment has to some extent contributed to a shift in marriage and gender roles (Hughes, Bolis, Fries, & Finigan, 2015; Irungu & Sassa, 2017). There is no significant indicator that links women employment to changes in marriage and gender roles. Therefore, this study investigated the implications of women employment towards the changing family pattern in the Ankole Sub-region.

Theoretical Review

The study is based on the liberal feminist theory of equality offered by the insights of Mary Wollstonecraft that were written in 1700s, John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill as they appealed for women's inclusion in public life (Mill, 2016; Stanton & Ladd, 2001; Wollstonecraft, 2014). The theory is supported by Family Development theory (FDT) improved by White and Rodgers (1973). The liberal feminist theory advocates for equality between men and women in terms of goals, wants, desires and achievements (Enyew & Mihrete, 2018). The theory is based on principles of liberty and equal opportunity. The liberal feminists focus on elimination of patriarchal policies and tendencies in order to allow women opportunities for education, economic participation and equal access to public domains through legislative reforms. Wollstonecraft asserts that women should equally join professions, earn income, gain rights to own property and office like men. Similarly, Mill (2016) argues

that the legal discrimination of one sex against the other is erroneous and a misconception among legislators. That is why Stanton (2007) examines that women's rights are human rights and that they have equal rights with men to participate in employment, earn wages or salaries and own property. This study used the liberal feminism theory to explain women economic empowerment in the context of the changing family pattern. The theory offers insights about how women are able to emerge out of subordination only if they are allowed entrance into public space (Tong, 1989). The liberal feminists focus on autonomy and provision of equal opportunities (Duman, 2012). The theory suggests equal employment opportunities, equal payment provisions (affirmative action) and rights to property ownership. This theory is relevant in this study because women economic empowerment is hinged on women's employment, earning of income and access to and control over productive resources. This is in line with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 4 and 5 of Uganda. Women economic empowerment is in line with Uganda's gender policy structural arrangement that focuses on equality between men and women. The theory presumes that families undergo changes due to individual developmental and societal needs. As such Minola, Brumana, Campopiano, Garrett, and Cassia (2016) argue that individuals need to adopt workable marriages because the roles of either a husband or a wife in a family may change depending on one's development in any career. FDT asserts that when an individual family member attains a career it may cause a change in profession which leads to changes in roles and marital relationships. The theory examines that families undergo continuous variations. Therefore, the theory presumes that family members need to adjust accordingly to accommodate changes undergone by their families.

II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The variations in women's participation in the labour force, are due to young children in households (Besamusca, Tijdens, Keune, & Steinmetz, 2015; Contreras & Plaza, 2010; Spierings, Smits, & Verloo, 2010). In most cultures, women are considered the prime suppliers of household care needs, which increases with the presence of children (Maume, Sebastian, & Bardo, 2010; Moghadam, 2020). Empirical studies in developed countries generally find a negative relationship between fertility and women's labour force participation (Altuzarra, Gálvez-Gálvez, & González-Flores, 2019; Doren, 2019; Heintz, Kabeer, & Mahmud, 2018). In developing countries, there is less consistent evidence of a negative effect of the number of children on women's labour force participation (Agüero, Marks, & Raykar, 2020; Asongu, Efobi, Tanankem, & Osabuohien, 2020; de Jong, Smits, & Longwe, 2017). Although many studies find a negative relationship, Agüero et al. (2020) report an insignificant effect and Selwaness and Krafft (2020) even a positive effect of fertility on women's employment.

In the previous recessions in 2008 in United States, employment losses were much larger for men than for women

(Alon, Doepke, Olmstead-Rumsey, & Tertilt, 2020a). Yet, in the current recession caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, the opposite is true: unemployment is higher among women. In trying to analyse the causes and consequences of this phenomenon, Alon, Doepke, Olmstead-Rumsey, and Tertilt (2020c) argue that women have experienced sharp employment losses because their employment is concentrated in heavily affected sectors such as restaurants. Additionally, school and day care closures have increased childcare needs. The situation has increased women's unpaid care work and reduced on paid work. Using a quantitative macroeconomic model featuring heterogeneity, they analysed the repercussions of this trend in gender, marital status, childcare needs, and human capital. The quantitative analysis suggests that a pandemic recession will feature a strong transmission from employment to aggregate demand due to diminished within-household insurance, resulting in a widening of the gender wage gap throughout the recovery. This state of affairs contribute to the weakening of the gender norms that currently produce a lopsided distribution of the division of labour in home work and childcare (Alon, Doepke, Olmstead-Rumsey, & Tertilt, 2020b).

A related study was done in the United States and Germany showing that the labour market impacts of COVID-19 differed considerably across countries. It was found out that Employees in Germany, which has a well-established short-time work scheme, were substantially less likely to be affected by the crisis. Within countries, the impacts were highly unequal and exacerbate existing inequalities. Workers in alternative work arrangements and in occupations in which only a small share of tasks can be done from home were more likely to have reduced their hours, lost their jobs and suffered falls in earnings. Less educated workers and women were more affected by the crisis (Adams-Prassl, Boneva, Golin, & Rauh, 2020).

Brinton and Oh (2019), conducted a study in Asia about *Educated Women's Employment and Fertility*. It was revealed that highly educated women's likelihood of combining childrearing with continuous employment over the life course has increased. They provide that educated women and increase in fertility is less evident in many post-industrial countries characterized by very low fertility. Among such countries, Japan and Korea have exceptionally low proportions of women who remain employed after having children, despite aggressive government policies designed to encourage this. Brinton and Oh drew on over 160 in-depth interviews with highly educated Japanese and Korean men and women of childbearing age to uncover the central incompatibilities between married women's employment and childrearing. Individuals' narratives revealed how labour market structure and workplace norms contribute to a highly gendered household division of labour, leading many married women to either forsake employment or to consider having only one child.

A study of women workers in export manufacturing jobs in the Philippines done by Kabeer (2005) and McIlwaine (2019), found that most women earned at least as much as - and many earned more than - the legal minimum wage. They also enjoyed more benefits than in alternative forms of employment. Results showed that the employed women had the opportunity to delay marriage and childbirth, and the scope for personal independence and self-determination that comes with relatively high wages and relatively stable employment as compared to women in informal economy (Kabeer, 2005; McIlwaine, 2019). These findings are consistent with those of Krafft and Assaad (2020) who conducted a study about *Factors Enabling and Constraining Marriage in Middle East and North Africa*. Their findings reveal that women's employment is endogenous to the timing of the marriage decision and once endogeneity is taken into account, they confirm that public sector employment substantially increases the hazard of marriage in Philippines, Middle East and North Africa. They further found that, from a perspective of speeding up marriage, it may be worthwhile for young women to remain in the unemployment state longer if that leads to obtaining a higher quality job.

Albanesi (2019), conducted a study in the United States about *The Role of Women's Employment*. He focused on the impact of changing trends in female labour supply on productivity. He found that the growth in women's labour supply and relative productivity added substantially from the early 1980s. Results also show that the lower cyclical of female hours and their growing share can account for a large fraction of the reduced cyclical of aggregate hours during the great moderation, as well as the decline in the correlation between average labour productivity and hours. Finally, results show that the discontinued growth in female labour supply starting in the 1990s played a substantial role in the jobless recoveries following the 1990-1991, 2001 and 2007-2009 recessions. Moreover, it depressed aggregate hours, output growth and male wages during the late 1990s and mid 2000s expansions. These results suggest that continued growth in female employment since the early 1990s would have significantly improved economic performance in the United States. A very big step towards women economic empowerment.

A similar study in United States was done by Fukui, Nakamura, and Steinsson (2018) and findings show that business cycle recoveries have slowed in recent decades. They attribute the slowdown entirely to female employment: as women's employment rates converged towards men's over the course of the past half-century, the growth rate of female employment slowed. Using a general equilibrium model of the female convergence process featuring home production, the cross-sectional crowding out estimate provides a powerful diagnostic statistic for aggregate crowding out. Their model implies that at least 70% of the slowdown in recent business cycle recoveries can be explained by female convergence. This implies that women employment towards economic empowerment is dependent on the available businesses that women have interests, skills, knowledge and passion on.

A study conducted in German by Ehrlich, Mohring and Drobnic about; *The impact of family care on women's Employment*, shows that previous research has shown that women providing family care tend to decrease paid work. They took the opposite perspective and examined how current and previous family care tasks influence women's likelihood to (re-) enter employment or to increase working hours. Using German Socio-Economic Panel data, they applied Cox shared frailty regression modelling to analyse transitions (1) into paid work and (2) from part-time to full-time work among women aged 25–59. The results indicated that in the German policy context, part-time working women providing extensive family care have a lower propensity to increase working hours. When family care ends, the likelihood that part-time working women change to full-time does not increase. Homemaking women's likelihood of entering the workforce is not influenced by either current or previous family care tasks (Ehrlich, Möhring, & Drobnic, 2020).

Similarly Kelle (2020) studied an ageing population and increased participation by women in the labour force, the relationship between unpaid care and the availability of women to the labour force is gaining in importance as an issue. The study assessed the impact of unpaid care on transitions into employment by women aged between 45 and 59 years. Using the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) from the years 2001–2014 he estimated Cox regression models for 6,201 employed women. The results indicated that women with higher caring responsibilities and women with lower caring responsibilities are heterogeneous in terms of the socio-economic characteristics that they exhibit: higher-intensity care providers tend to have a lower level of educational attainment and a weaker attachment to the labour force than women with less-intensive caring responsibilities. Furthermore, while women with more-intensive caring roles are highly likely to exit the labour market altogether, female carers with less-intensive roles seem to be able to combine work and care better. It is pertinent therefore to provide more affordable institutional and professional care services, especially for low- and medium-income families.

Ferragina (2019) conducted a study in developed countries and his findings show that during the past two decades, the debate over the relation between family policy and women's employment in high-income countries has grown in prominence. Nevertheless, the evidence proposed in different disciplines that is sociology, politics, economics and demography remain scattered and fragmented. He addressed the gap by discussing whether family policy regimes are converging and how different policies influence women's employment outcomes in high-income countries. The main findings were summarized as follows: family policy regimes ('Primary Caregiver Strategy', 'Choice Strategy', 'Primary Earner Strategy', 'Earning Carer Strategy', 'Mediterranean Model') continues to shape women's employment outcomes despite some process of convergence towards the Earning Carer Strategy; the shortage of childcare and the absence of maternal leave curtail women's employment; long parental

leave seems to put a brake to women's employment; unconditional child benefits and joint couple's taxation negatively influence women's employment but support horizontal redistribution; policies and collective attitudes interact, influencing women's behaviour in the labour market; and the effect of policies is moderated/magnified by individual socio-economic characteristics, that is, skills, class, education, income, ethnicity and marital status.

A study conducted in France by Etilé and Plessz (2018) investigated the extent to which labour-market changes explain the decline in the time spent home cooking by married women in France between 1985 and 2010. Using time use data and Oaxaca-Blinder decompositions, findings show that rising women's employment and observed wages together account for about 60% of the fall in the time married women spent cooking. A semi-parametric matching technique was used to construct an implicit wage rate, to reflect the change in labour-market incentives that individuals face. The rise in women's implicit wages explains no more than 20% of the decline in their cooking time, while the wage of their partner has no effect. Changing labour-market incentives are thus far from being the main driver of the decline in home-cooking. Findings also provide evidence that home cooking continues to be structured by the gendered social norm of the proper family meal. While France and Plessz used a quantitative approach of data analysis, this study adopts a qualitative approach of data analysis to study the employment of women and how it contributes to changes in gender roles.

Dhanaraj and Mahabare (2019) and Sowmya and Vidya (2017) in their studies done in India, show that joint family affects non-farm employment for married women in rural areas. Sowmya and Vidya (2017) estimated basing on a longitudinal survey of over 27000 women conducted in 2005 and 2012. Using the conditional logistic regression and instrumental variable approach, suggest that living in a joint family lower married women's non-farm employment by more than 10 percentage points. The adverse impact is higher for younger women, for women from families with higher social status, and for those residing in Northern India. Evidence suggests that women with higher education levels are not constrained from cultural and traditional norms that lower women's decision-making power and mobility in a joint family. An increased education level is likely to raise women's earning capacity as well as the quality of jobs which may help in lowering family pressure against work. The results suggest that public policies that encourage higher education, improving job accessibility along with affordable childcare, especially for women with less education will raise non-farm employment for women living in a joint family.

The affiliation amidst women's employment and the jeopardy of divorce is both multifaceted and contentious. The marital mutuality view contends that the advantages to marriage for a couple lessen when both are employed, therefore, women's employment threatens marriage. In contrast, the economic opportunity hypothesis asserts that female labour force

participation does not intrinsically weaken marriage, but gives women resources that they can use to leave unsatisfactory marriages. Here Schoen, Astone, Kim, Rothert, and Standish (2002) used two waves of the *National Survey of Families and Households* to conduct the first large-scale empirical test of those conflicting claims. Their results provide clear evidence that, at the individual level, women's employment does not destabilize happy marriages but increases the risk of disruption in unhappy marriages.

Barsoum (2019) while studying; *Women, Work and Family: Educated Women's Employment Decisions and Social Policies in Egypt*, employed a qualitative analysis of the torrent of challenges that educated married and unmarried women face as they venture into the labour market in Egypt. Findings showed that social policies continue to fail married women with children with the limited provision of affordable childcare facilities. There is also renewed interest in the discussion of women-friendly workplace policies, facilitating flexible hours or possibilities of leave and childcare support. Moreover, the poverty of research in this area hampers the possibilities of an informed policy debate on these policies and their impact on women's economic participation (Barsoum, 2019).

In the study of *Dynamics of Family Formation and Women's work in African countries of North, East and Middle*, Krafft and Selwaness explored the dynamic relationship between family creation and women's employment, a formerly uncharted area of female labour force involvement in Africa. They studied Tunisia, Egypt and Jordan, leveraging unique retrospective data on work, marriage, child bearing and child rearing. The time variation allowed them to evaluation separate hazard models for the duration of different labour statuses. This paper examines three sets of outcomes: (1) time length in different labour market conditions and exact kinds of work, (2) period in non-employment, and (3) period in employment. Discoveries revealed that foreseeing marriage and childbearing are strongly related with women's employment outcomes. Non-employment is an fascinating state, particularly after marriage (Selwaness & Krafft, 2020).

Today there are declines in fertility rates both in low and middle income countries, the time women devote to childbearing and rearing has been reduced (Karra, Canning, & Wilde, 2017). This shift has been described as one of the positive consequences of the demographic transition, as it opens opportunities for women to pursue employment opportunities that were previously constrained by the demands of bearing and raising children (de Jong et al., 2017). Bongaarts, Blanc, and McCarthy (2019) estimated the numbers of children residing at home (with their mother) for women in 58 countries in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa. Then they examined the association between women's employment and having children at home. Finally, they assessed trends over recent decades in the relationship between employment and childbearing, and differences in this relationship by mother's

occupation. They found a negative association between women's employment and having children at home; this association varies substantially by world region, age of child, and mother's occupation.

The growing numbers of women in labour force are critical to economic growth in most developing countries (Jayachandran, 2020). However cultural norms constraint women's participation and success in the labour market in developing countries (Tandrayen-Ragoobur, 2020). Idowu and Owoeye (2019) examine that gender norms influence the relationship between economic development and female employment, as well as how gender norms vary substantially across societies at the same level of economic development. Many specific gender-related cultural norms constrain women's employment in different work specifics. The resultant effect has a negative influence on marital relationship and children as well within different societies (Jayachandran, 2020).

Women's engagement in productive work is more often known as routine, less visible and less valued than that of men (Nawaz & McLaren, 2016). In nearly all societies, both patriarchy and women's engagement in homochirality afford men greater opportunities in leadership, professional specialisations, "clean work" and higher earning capacities (Delaney & Macdonald, 2018). Reproductive work is mostly performed by women and it is usually non-monetised, hidden and discursively cast as not "real work" (Delaney & Macdonald, 2018). In community activities, women most often volunteer their time to hands-on manual activities, such as visiting the infirmed, fundraising, cooking or cleaning, compared to men's community activities, which are more often political and figure-heading (Moreno & Shaw, 2018). All in all, the productive, reproductive and community activities of women are more often laborious, underrated and can even be hazardous to health and life.

III. METHODOLOGY

A case study and narratives were employed to articulate lived experiences and perceptions of men and women. In this case, phenomenological qualitative approach was used. A case study design is an approach that allows an in-depth investigation of a phenomenon within its context (Yin, 1994). A case study design helped to collect, verify and synthesize evidence from the past in order to establish facts about the research questions (Kothari, 2004). In this regard, the experiences, feelings and beliefs about how a family was perceived, were explored through narratives in relation to how the past nature of family informs the contemporary family in the context of the changing family pattern. This was got through asking questions about how the traditional families in Ankole were structured in terms of marriage and gender roles, and how the structure has changed today. The phenomenological approach was very significant in this study since it holds a description of peoples culture, customs habits and beliefs (Standing, 2009; Weaver & Olson, 2006). More strategically, a case study was chosen, because it attempts to build holistic understandings through the development of

rapport and trust. The goal is 'authenticity' and a richness and depth in understanding that goes beyond what is generally possible in large-scale survey research (Zina O'Leary 2017). The study of women employment and the changing marriage and gender roles was a typical example of a case study whose main goal was to establish the authenticity found in the claim. However, a case study design can be expensive for the researcher during data collection. Some participants are hard to get, other may limit the amount of information required as well as emotional costs on both the researcher and the participants (Zina O'Leary 2017). To overcome such instances, the researcher determined his participants in a timely manner and created a rapport in advance which limited occurrences that might affect data collection.

Phenomenology approach helped to explore individual's experiences within the cultural context and to describe and interpret cultural patterns within the social group respectively. Phenomenological approach was applied on all participants in order to describe their lived experiences and interpret each participant's perception towards the cultural setting under study.

Sample size determination and sampling method

Sample size is an account of individual participants or observations in any inquiry, such as a public opinion or interviews on a given phenomenon (Baker, Edwards, & Doidge, 2012; Roy, Zvonkovic, Goldberg, Sharp, & LaRossa, 2015). From each district the researcher conducted a Focus group discussion (FGD) comprising of 8-12 members with household heads, women in formal and informal employment. This made a total of 5 FGDs. The researcher also conducted 17 interviews with women activists, religious leaders, district probation officers, Community development officers, political leaders, local leaders and technocrats (Family court, Gender based NGOs). The sample size was determined at appoint of saturation where there was no new information being obtained from further data collection (Saunders et al., 2018).

Data Analysis

Thematic data analysis of qualitative data for the three objectives of the study was done. Each piece of work- answer in the interview guide was read through thoroughly to identify themes where they belonged. Creswell (2014) recommended that the information should be placed under different themes and sub themes which are given codes.

In this analysis, the audio recordings were transcribed verbatim, regardless of how intelligible the transcript was when it was read back. Lines of text were numbered. Once the transcription was complete, the researcher read it while listening to the recording in order to correct any spelling or other errors; anonymize the transcript so that the participant cannot be identified from anything that is said (for example names, places, significant events), insert notations for pauses, laughter, looks of discomfort; insert any punctuation, such as commas and full stops. Dealing with the transcription of a focus group was slightly challenging because multiple voices

were involved. One way of transcribing to make simple was to “tag” each voice (for example case 1, case 2). In addition, the study used 2 facilitators whose respective roles was helpful in making sense of the data. While one facilitator guided participants through the topic, the other made notes about context under the study while recording.

Once all of the research interviews were transcribed and checked, it was time to begin coding. Coding was done with the use of NVivo software and termed as nodes. All Nodes were collected in a codebook and some codes serve as Parent Nodes and others as Child Nodes. The nodes were queried since NVivo returns a set of fragments (with coding stripes) so that the researcher gets an overview of all instances where themes have been discussed. Therefore, the findings were organized for presentation, each theme became the heading of a section in this report. Underneath each theme was code, examples from the transcripts and the researcher’s own interpretation of what the themes mean were presented.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Finding out the implication of women employment towards the changing family pattern

Response rate

As an indicator of the comprehensiveness and rigour of study findings, a researcher checked the response rate (Odiya, 2009). Response rate (RR) is the ratio of the number of usable questionnaires to those sent out. Morton, Bandara, Robinson and Carr (2012) defined response rate as the total number of participants who were interviewed divided by the total number who were eligible. In a related way, response rate is defined as the total number of completed interviews divided by the total number of participants with whom contact was made (or the number of all possible who were interviewed). Response rate is an important factor in determining the quality of the study (Krishnan & Poulouse, 2016). The response rate for this study is indicated in the table below.

Response rate by category of respondents

Stratum	Number targeted	Actual number participated	Response rate (%)
Political leaders	3	3	100.0%
Community Development officers (CDOs)	3	3	100.0%
Women Activists	3	2	83.3%
Probation officers	3	3	100.0%
Religious leaders	3	3	100.0%
Technocrats (Family court-grade II magistrates and Gender based organisation Managers)	4	4	100%
Household heads	24	20	83.3%
Women in formal employment	24	18	75%
Women in informal employment	24	20	83.3%
Total	91	76	84%

Source: Primary Data

The table above shows that the overall response rate was high at 84%. The high response rate suggests that the majority of the participants were interested in the study. In addition, this implies that the study findings represent views and opinions of a large number of the targeted participants are representative of the views of the targeted participants and can therefore, be based on to draw generalizations on the scope and status of women employment and the changing family pattern. This inference is supported by the observations of Morton et al. (2012) that studies with higher response say at 70% of the sample are often more accurate than those with much lower response rates, say 50%. Krishnan and Poulouse (2016) also observed that high response rates indicate larger data samples and higher statistical power, leading to a greater probability that the sample is representative of a population. This improves acceptance and credibility of the research findings amongst key stakeholders. A higher response rate was therefore an indicator that the participants in the study were interested in the study hence providing a possibility that the findings generated are representative of their objective opinions.

Bio data of respondents

Case No	Category	Gender	Age	Academic Qualification	Years in Marriage	Religious Background
1	Religious Leaders	Male	50	Master’s Degree	30	Anglican
2	Political Leader	Female	54	Bachelors	32	Anglican
3	Religious Leaders	Male	50	PhD	27	Anglican
4	Woman Activist	Female	65	Bachelor’s Degree, LDC & Honorary Doctorate	33	Anglican
5	Grade II Magistrate	Male	40	Diploma	7	Catholic
6	Political Leader	Female	52	Bachelor’s Degree	29	Catholic

7	Grade II Magistrate	Male	48	Bachelor's Degree +LDC	18	Anglican
8	Probation Officer	Male	58	Bachelor's Degree	38	Catholic
9	Manager gender-based organisation	female	50	Bachelor's degree	51	Moslem
10	Manager gender-based organisation	Female	33	Master's Degree	Single Mother	Anglican
11	Religious leader	Male	32	Certificate	4	Muslim
12	Religious Leader	Male	30	Diploma	8	Muslim
13	Local leader	Male	57	Certificate	30	Catholic
14	Woman activist	Female	35	Master's Degree	Single mother	Catholic
15	Women activist	Female	63	Master's Degree	36	Anglican
16	Local leader	Female	42	Diploma	17	Anglican
17	CDO	Male	52	Bachelor's degree	27	Anglican
18	FGD A (household heads)		25-44			Anglicans, Muslims & Catholics
19	FGD B (women in informal employment)		18-44			Anglicans, Muslims Catholics
20	FGD C (women in formal employment)		30-65			Anglicans, Muslims & Catholics
21	FGD D (women in informal employment)	45-65				Anglicans, Muslims & Catholics
22	FGD E (household heads)	45-65				Anglicans, Muslims & Catholics

Employment of women and CFPs

Participants noted that Women's employment has significantly led to the social and economic development. Participants showed that women's employment benefits families in many ways. However, they indicate that those ways have led to changes within their family settings in Ankole Sub-region. They further state that women's employment helps to close gender gaps through equal employment rights and opportunities regardless of gender which spear-heads national development. Most married women employed both in formal and informal sectors are challenged by working conditions which have negative effects on their families compared to the unmarried women. It was revealed that the majority married women perform multiple roles regardless of their working status resort. The majority married women accede to performing the multiple roles in order to keep their jobs and families as well. They are more involved in decision making and planning for their families; can buy and control resources and can play a more active role in family affairs. However, Participants portray that some women face domestic violence as they try to fulfil the job demands. Below are their responses; -

Women's entrance in formal and informal employment and changes in marriage and gender roles.

Women's entrance in labour force has led to a shift in marriage and gender roles. Women's movement from

domestic circles to public spheres, has had an effect on fertility rates. Currently, there is a decline in the tradition of producing many children for security reasons. Besides, the work place demands and requirements have left women with little time for giving birth to many children because they difficult to care for them. This is confirmed by a woman activist who quotes that;

"Today, there are very few employed women who are married can give birth to many children. Today employment requirements constrain women from giving birth to many children. There are no day care centres at places of work and even maternity days are few particularly those in formal employment. Women get frustrated when they go to work and leave their very young babies at home because some workplaces do not allow women workers to work with their children. Eventually such women end up producing two or three children and they stop at that in order to secure their jobs" (woman activist, case 4).

Related to the woman activist views, is the idea of the religious leader who assert that some girls reach an extent to delay marriage because they want to keep their jobs. As such, this is what he has to say;

"Do you know that some organisations do not prefer employing married women? Some young girls even delay marriage to keep their jobs. Today they even grow up to the age of 30 before they are married but trying to keep their jobs."

By the way even us parents we tell our daughters to first get jobs after school before they marry” (religious leader, case 12).

It can be interpreted that; women are now moving from the private domains joining the public to put to use their acquired knowledge and skills. According to the findings, most places of work are not gender sensitive. Much as work places focus on gender equality, equity is not taken care of. Most work place policies have limited provisions for women’s reproductive roles which challenges women as workers and mothers. The demands and requirements for many jobs have led to a shift in age at marriage and now girls postpone marriage to keep their jobs. Even when they marry, majority are challenged by multiple roles. The political leader therefore has this to say;

“Now do you realise that as women increase in labour force participation especially those in formal employment, they substitute child care roles with hired labour or day care centres? Most employed married women by the way find it a challenge today to do domestic caring roles alongside their jobs. Do you know that some even take their children to their parents so as to secure sometime for their jobs? Women are battling with many things really” (political leader, case 2).

The views of the political leader are similar to those of the local leader and the community development officer who also assert that;

“What I am sure of is that majority women in informal jobs decide to carry their children and go to work with them. Try to move around streets where food stuffs are sold in the evening, you will find mothers with children and those with young babies breastfeeding them” (local leader, case 16).

“It’s true that, we have many women joining labour market today. Yet, you cannot tell a woman to stay home with or without children to take care of. The challenge is that majority of them are in informal sectors and you know with informal sector, there is very little to earn and some are not paid in time or not paid at all” (community development officer, case 17).

From the findings, it can be interpreted that child care roles are delegated; most married women in formal and informal employment find it difficult to attend to their children alongside work. Therefore, in most cases those women ask their parents to assist them or hire labour or day care centres to do the child care role on their behalf. It is unfortunate that there are usually low earnings from informal employment and the difference is not enough for those women to hire labour or day care centres. Therefore, such women resort to working with their children. In most cases, some organisations hesitate to employ young married women and if one is lucky to get a job then it means sacrificing a lot to the extent of experiencing marital conflicts. The probation officer, a key informant thus, had this to say;

“Today, some men promise better job opportunities to some women on condition that they sleep with them. That is why when a woman has a good job and good working relations with her boss the husband will think that the boss sleeps with the wife. You will always find such a couple with marital issues as long as the woman tries to fulfil job requirements effectively” (probation officer, case 8).

The views of the key informant are related to those generated from a FGD where a member asserted that;

“For me I cannot cook just because my wife is at work. She should come and cook for me. Why did I marry her? She is the one who knows how to cook, for me while I was growing up, my parents never taught me how to cook. Boys would even be chased from the kitchen. So how do I start? But for me I tell her to leave the job and keep home or else I chase her and marry another one” ...they all laugh (FGD D).

According to the results, it can be interpreted that gender stereotypes are still a challenge to equal employment opportunities. The deep roots of patriarchy act as a hinderance to women’s progress both in homes and places of work. However, a few men accept that women need space and independence and are willing to offer assistance to ensure family stability in the face of women economic empowerment. Interviews held with key respondents, that is grade II magistrates, have the following to say;

“I cannot forget to tell you that in some cases especially in town some men look for jobs for their wives. Others even secure businesses for their wives and they have good marital relationships, they determine how to run their family and life goes not well. For me I enjoy my wife working because if she keeps at home, she becomes a burden to me” (grade II magistrate, case 5).

“The job that my wife does is too demanding. She goes to work very early in the morning and comes back very late in the evening. I take our children to school in the morning and pick them, help them in doing their homework, ensure that they bathe, eat and drink. Sometimes, I find it necessary to do it so that my wife does not break” (grade II magistrate, case 7).

From the analysis, the results above can be interpreted that women’s employment has positive results towards their families and it increases women’s autonomy. More so, some men in urban areas are willing to take up domestic roles especially where their wives are not which is an indicator of a shift in gender roles.

Women’s triple roles

Un like women who were previously married (divorced or widowed) and those that never married, married women who are employed were found to be the most category battling with triple roles and unhappy marriages. Views generated from an interview with a key informant and from FGD below reveal as follows;

“As married women continue to join labour markets, majority still have to perform the assigned gender roles either with or without assistance from their husbands. By the way do you know that some women will just keep quiet, do the domestic chores even when they feel tired after their paid work because they know that if they complain of being tired, their husbands are likely to stop them from going to work? Women keep quiet over many issues related to multiple roles” (woman activist, case 15).

“By the way, it is not just only running or doing multiple roles, some men especially in rural areas even beat up their wives just for no reason; you find a man complaining that the wife delays from work (moreover from weeding like the neighbour’s plantation to get money for running the family) and that she cooks bad food. Such a man is always at the bar and every time he comes home, he is drunk” FGD D).

The above views, the researcher interprets that those women who never married and those that were previously married (divorced or widowed) are at liberty to handle the triple as they wish compared to married women. The views can be further interpreted that even when women join labour force, most men continue to become less productive. Moreover, married women especially those in rural areas have to ensure that they maintain good marital relationship so that their husband do not stop them from doing paid work. The findings below from the FGD confirm the case;

“For me let me tell you my story, I sell second hand clothes in the evening. I pay school fees for my children; I buy them food and clothes. My husband just comes home to eat and sleep. He is always at the bar. Sometimes I feel I should disappear with my children but I am worried that my children in future will blame me for taking them away from their father” (FGD D).

Findings from the FGD are similar to those got from an interview with the key informant who had this to say;

“You will agree with me that these days you find many young men in trading centres seated on verandas of many shops, others watching and betting sports. Do you ever ask yourself where their wives are? The women to such men are always working. Women today have too much to do and if they do not do them then many families especially of low-income class in Ankole will get challenges” (local leader, case 16).

From the above findings, it can be interpreted that majority women have quickly taken up men’s roles while most men are still hesitant to take on women’s roles. This means that most married women are increasingly getting burdened with triple roles. It can further be interpreted that women’s continuous involvement in formal and informal employment has led to a shift in the traditional family setting particularly those related to marriage and gender roles. Key informants, women activists in cases 4 and 15 had this to say;

“I recall one time I had gone for a workshop in Kenya, I left my husband at home with the children and the maid. I came back after a week but I found everything mixed up; the

children’s finger nails had grown longer, bathrooms smelling and the whole house was mixed up. I remember that I did not rest at all but just started on with cleaning” (woman activist, case 4).

“There is no better way to say it but majority women whether in urban or rural, whether in formal or informal employment are overburdened. I do not think there is a time when my husband has ever bathed a child at home. He is always away and he comes late. Not because he is at work but he is just hanging outside with his friends. By the time he reaches home, all of us in the house are already asleep” (woman activist, case 15).

The taking up men’s roles by women indicates a shift in gender roles. This means that the assigned traditional roles for men are now being done by women even when women still perform their own. This means that the possibilities are very high that in the near future, sustainability of most families’ in Ankole sub-region will be dependent on a woman.

V. DISCUSSION

Women’s entrance into formal and informal employment and changes in marriage and gender roles

Women’s formal employment in this thesis is understood as women having established working agreement which includes salaries, wages, health benefits, work hours and days. While informal employment is understood as women being hired to do work without established agreement (Bonnet, Vanek, & Chen, 2019; Simuchimba, Chansa, Banda, Simuchimba, & Beyene, 2020). Findings revealed that there are increasing numbers of women joining the labour market but the majority of them are in informal employment. Further investigations show that there is a big wage gap in informal employment and that is where most of the women are dominant. Women’s own experiences in marriage and gender roles in the face of joining the labour market is a bit complex. Ankole being a patriarchal society, patriarchal tendencies challenge the full participation of women in the labour market considering women’s key roles are traditionally within the families. Hence most married women show that they have a burden of the tripartite roles.

Findings from the FGDs with women in formal employment revealed that there are increasing numbers of women joining the labour market. The findings indicate that conditions at work especially for women in formal employment are in most cases not favourable for their family needs. This was confirmed through an in-depth interview with a key informant from the women rights activist group who revealed that some organisations hesitate to employ pregnant or breastfeeding mothers. Further investigations through an interview revealed that most of the organisations do not have provisions for day care centres and that maternity leave days are few. Findings generally show that women in formal employment find it challenging to produce children, perform the child-caring roles and sustain their jobs at the same time. This study recommends family planning methods to enable married women some time to be more productive at their places of

work. This idea is consistent with those of Selwaness and Krafft (2020) who studied the dynamics of family formation and women's work in trying to find out what facilitates and hinders female employment. It was revealed that marital status is strongly associated with women's employment outcomes. This is similar to the liberal feminist ideology of women moving away from domestic spheres to join the public sector for paid work. The more women engage in formal employment the more they realise that it takes more commitment to do child caring roles and to fulfil the paid work requirements. The majority have resorted to smaller families. A smaller family results in a manageable population size which is key to a quality population that contributes to the achievement of sustainable development goals.

Further findings from the community development officers revealed that some women delay marriage and childbirth to keep their jobs. They show that some jobs are very competitive; they are not easy to get and can easily be lost. Deeper investigations during interviews revealed that some parents today advise their daughters to get jobs first after acquiring education qualifications before they can get married. This study, therefore, emphasizes that getting a job first should be a key priority for most women and marriage can come later. This view is consistent with McIlwaine (2019) idea when he studied fringes or frontiers to assess gender and export-oriented development. Results from McIlwaine's study show that employed women have an opportunity to delay marriage and childbirth; they enjoy the scope of personal independence and self-determination that comes with high wages and stable employment. This is consistent with the liberal feminist's principle of women's autonomy in employment options. A woman's stable employment of her choice results in high productivity which is key to economic growth and development.

Results from the FGDs conducted with women in informal employment revealed that some women especially those in informal employment in most cases decide to work with their children. Findings continued to show that in most cases you find some women in urban areas breastfeeding their children while selling food items along the streets during evening hours. The FGDs findings further showed that even in rural areas, the majority of the women are dominant in weeding plantations for the well to do families. However, some women with non-school going age children in most cases do the work with their children. This was confirmed by one of the key informants among the local leaders who revealed that child care roles were and still are women's responsibility. During the interview, the key informant showed that combining child care roles with employment demands are complex for most of the women within families in Ankole Sub-region.

The above findings communicate a highly gendered division of labour and this study recommends sharing child care roles among parents because such working conditions are not favourable to both the working mothers and the health of their children. Consistent with the research done by Brinton and Oh

(2019) about women's employment and fertility, their findings revealed that in households where there is a highly gendered division of labour, married women either forsake their employment or consider giving birth to only one child. The decision to consider giving birth to only one child is in line with the liberal feminist principle of autonomy within marriage which leads to a happy family that contributes to a peaceful nation.

Important to note is that during FGDs with women in formal employment the findings generated showed that some of the men offer help to care for their children especially where a wife has a job that is too demanding. Deeper investigations revealed that some of the men ensure that their children are taken to school, given food, bathed and given assistance to complete their homework. However, findings show that this usually happens where the couple's marital relationship is good and that if the relationship is not good it may raise conflicts. This study emphasized open communication and negotiations about childcaring roles between married couples. It is pertinent that both men and women get involved in paid work and share household roles accordingly for family sustainability. This is in line with the family development theory and the African feminist ideology propounded by Semidele Dosekun and Naemeka. It is also in agreement with what Schoen et al. (2002) found out when they studied women's employment, marital happiness and divorce. Their findings reveal that women's involvement in the labour force does not destabilize marital relationships but increases the jeopardy of a disturbance where the marital relationship is not good. A good marital relationship gives children an optimistic and protected lifestyle, transmits into life commitment, factual love and gives improved standards of living. This gives rise to a stable society culminating into a stable nation.

Women's triple roles

Women's triple roles in this study are treated as women's productive, reproductive and public roles (Choiryah, Ratrie, Putri, & Prasetyo, 2020). Findings from FGDs with both women in formal and informal employment revealed that both married and single women involved in labour force participation suffer the burden of tripartite roles. Participants showed that while some single mothers (widowed and divorced) express that they perform all roles single-handed, the married ones showed that most of their husbands are always hesitant to help with reproductive roles.

The findings from the FGDs are similar to those generated from one of the key informants from the political leaders. The key informant revealed that most of the women still perform the productive roles that include child care and domestic errands obligatory to ensure the upkeep and reproduction of effort concerning the continuity of the family alone. These findings from the FGDs and the key informants concur with those of Nawaz & McLaren, 2016; Delaney & Macdonald, 2018, who argue that women's triple roles are always laborious, underrated and can even be hazardous to their health and life. Therefore, women's tripartite roles are not

autonomous entities but they relate and are practically integrated. The family development theory places that family members must share domestic chores to sustain families considering that most families everywhere are changing. This study emphasises family cohesion, proper handling of and sharing domestic roles within families to avoid misguiding family members. Additionally, in the case of married couples, there is a need to be flexible because more family changes may yet take place due to modernisation.

Results from the FGDs with women both in formal and informal employment revealed that some of the men both in rural and in urban areas tend to become less productive as their wives join the labour force. Further investigations revealed that some of the men are becoming less productive is an increasing trend among some families in the Ankole Sub-region. For that matter, further findings revealed that the burden of paying school fees, medical bills, buying clothes, food and other child care needs in most cases rests on the woman and in some cases the man may be aggressive. Further investigations through the FGDs showed that in most cases such women think about leaving their husbands with their children since there is nothing to gain from their husbands. Nonetheless, more investigations exposed that in most cases such women worry about being blamed by their children in future for making them fatherless. Similar to the views from FGDs are the results generated from a local leader, one of the key informants. It was shown that in most cases such men are abusive and difficult to stay with. The key informant revealed that for purposes of children's convenience some of the married women decide to endure the torture from their husbands. This is in line with Tandrayen-Ragoobur (2020) findings when he studied intimate partner violence and women's labour force participation. His findings revealed that women's involvement in the labour force makes some men less productive and violent. This is against the family development theory principle of changing gender roles and the liberal feminists' ideology that promotes women's freedom from oppression. This study emphasises sensitization campaigns to deal with the inferiority complex among the less productive men and to make them aware that the involvement of their wives in the labour force should not be an excuse to neglect their responsibilities.

Related to the above, findings from the FGDs with household heads revealed that, as most women get involved in paid work, some of their husbands spend their time in leisure and gambling. The household heads exposed that in some cases the wives of such men work hard both at home and away from home so that their husbands should not stop them from working. This was confirmed by a local leader, one of the key informants who said that some young married men decide to spend much of their time watching and betting sports; spending money that they have not earned and relying on gambling to make money. This view is similar to what Hannaford and Foley (2015) examined when they studied negotiating love and marriage concluding that a good man is hard to find. Hannaford and Foley revealed that since women

were not allowed to work outside the home in the past days, some of them today perceive it as a privilege to be allowed by their husbands to work outside their homes. Hannaford and Foley conclude that from the paid work, most women work hard to complete domestic chores so that their husbands do not stop them from going to work outside their homes. This is unfair and against women's human rights which are a priority to all developing countries. This study emphasises attaining fairness between married women and married men through an inclusive thoughtful approach to deal with women's oppression. Developing suitable approaches to eradicate such unfairness is pertinent to achieving national development.

VI. CONCLUSION

According to the findings, this study concluded that, women's employment is significantly related to marriage and gender roles. The increasing numbers of women in formal and informal employment has led to delays in marriage, delays in child birth and increases in conflicting roles for women.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The increased women's employment opportunities much as it inexorably delays marriage and child birth and escalates the conflict of roles; is something should be critically embraced.

The delays in marriage and child birth should not be more than 35 years of age. This is because child birth after 35 has gynaecological complications. Also, the issue of conflicting roles can be minimized through role delegation and mere supervision since the empowered woman has the potential to pay off the workers.

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