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Article:	**Super Momism and Mothers' Guilt: Experiences of Pakistani Working Women**
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ABSTRACT

This paper is drawn from the PhD dissertation of the first author. The larger study primarily focused on the mothering practices of Eastern supermoms following the contemporary ideology of new-momism. It also highlighted the emerging concept of transiting masculinities in Eastern societies and the effect of ruling relations between couples affecting women's self-identity in contextualized institutional settings. Through these objectives, we were able to understand the urban culture of new momism and working mothers' struggles to achieve the set normative standards of the perfect mother. In understanding this phenomenon in Pakistan and taking an interpretivist approach institutional ethnography (IE) was utilized as a method of inquiry to understand new-momism and its effect on women's self-identity by placing it in changing relations of ruling due to transformed masculinities. While the larger study yielded six themes; this paper focuses on one theme i.e. mother guilt and its impact on self-identity of the working women. The paper contributes to larger global discourses on new momism by presenting the experiences of Pakistani working mothers.

Keywords: Super-momism, Self-Identity, Mothers Guilt, Working Women, Qualitative Research

Introduction

Sociocultural norms and expectations of motherhood have changed due to increased labor force participation. Women often have to juggle the traditional responsibilities of childcare and housework with motherhood, even in the face of their professional development (Runswick-Cole, 2021). The aforementioned changes have led to the emergence of the supermom model, where employed mothers strive to fulfill the demands of the ideal mother, while simultaneously pursuing professional success (Olsen et al., 2015). Working women may be more stressed by societal expectations of child-focused practices and more emotionally and physically draining routines (Wittels et al., 2022). Creating an ideal working mother requires an understanding of social norm expectations, including the demands of motherhood and the demands of working within the profession (Marsh et al., 2020). Working mothers often appear to negotiate multiple conflicting roles to meet expectations from socially defined priorities. This struggle is further complicated by the unresponsiveness of men in supportive and caring roles, causing working mothers to adopt a supermom's lifestyle (Uzogara, 2015).

The supermom phenomenon, is an extension of a new- momism based on patriarchy and gender role divisions, increasing the pressure to live up to this ideal (Chapman & Gubi, 2019). New-momisim perpetuates the idea that women cannot achieve personal and professional success, emphasizing instead that they will sacrifice their careers for their children. The new momism encourages women to give up their jobs for the sake of their children rather than challenging the perception of their inability to succeed on a personal and professional level. This paradigm heavily emphasizes intensive mothering practices, which can increase stress levels, cause feelings of inadequacy, and make it difficult to balance work and family obligations. Women are expected by society to put caring obligations ahead of personal goals when they become mothers, which perpetuates old gender norms (Umamaheswar, 2020).

New Momism philosophy, which contends that one must give up one's work and prioritize one's children in order to be a good mother, fosters the stereotype that women cannot thrive in both fields (Pritchard & Kort- Butler, 2014). According to MacLeod et al. (2019), a woman must adhere to the model of new-momism by putting her children first, spending time, money, and energy on them, and frequently putting her own needs last. The argument around intense and alternative motherhood is aligned with the "mommy wars," which oversimplify the distinction between working and stay-at-home mothers (Levina & Lay, 2017). The social expectations and pressures mothers face to adopt specific role behaviors are emphasized in these arguments.

Working mothers feel guilty and ashamed because they think they are not living up to society's expectations and feel under pressure to do so (Sanner & Coleman, 2017). In addition, the way that new masculinities are developing in response to the new man's ideology and the way that fathers assuming traditional maternal responsibilities in the context of changing masculine roles and challenging established gender norms are contributing factors to this state of affairs (Garbuzova, 2021). This contemporary notion of new momism exerts immense pressure on working mothers to excel in all aspects of their lives, portraying the impression of excellence in both contradictory domains (Slobodin, 2018). Society's concept of motherhood expects women to sacrifice their very own interests and desires to play the role of a professional caregiver, juggling the responsibilities of professional duties (Uzogara, 2015).

These expectations are deeply embedded in cultural norms, reinforcing the concept that motherhood is an example of selflessness and the sole purpose of a woman (Slobodin, 2018).

Objectives

1. To explore the struggles of working women to become perfect mothers in the context of patriarchal social structure of Pakistan?

Research Question 1

1. How the changing roles of working mothers lead to feelings of guilt among them?
2. How do mothers overcome feelings of guilt?

Literature Review

Women's unprecedented entry into the labor force and men's failure to adapt to this has resulted in women's adoption of the supermom's model based on the ideology of new-momism. This phenomenon has changed the dynamics of motherhood and its practices (Peterson, et al., 2017). The working mother has to undergo a huge struggle to fulfil the normative standards of the perfect mother and to portray her self-identity in alignment with the perceptions of interpersonal relations as well as the cultural expectations concerning her role as a mother (Meeussen & Laar, 2018; Aarntzen,2020; Wiens, et al.2023).

Maternal guilt is the feeling that mothers are inadequate and that they can never do justice to their kids. "The full weight and burden of maternal guilt, that daily, nightly, hourly, Am I doing what is right? " is an intense concern. Do I go far enough? Do I go above and beyond? Maternal guilt can be related to "an unwavering profound sense of responsibility for their children's development, welfare, and health"(Collins, 2020). It has been seen that the phenomenon of mother's guilt is universally seen in all working mothers.

It is expected that working mothers must fulfil the social expectations of perfect motherhood. When women feel that their behavior differs from the set standards of motherhood mandate, they feel guilt, sadness, and disappointment (Oliver,2011). Women have to suffer from a paradoxical situation that is very hard to manage the roles that create very demanding and incompatible expectations. This ideology defines motherhood as an integral part of women's identity that includes caring of her children with intense emotional involvement, sacrificing and giving up her desires and interests. Due to this stereotypical demand of perfect mother women face a dilemma that appears irresolvable. If they dedicatedly follow their profession they are labelled as bad mothers by the society but if they, don't they may have to sacrifice their personal and professional growth (Leupp, 2019).

Mother's blame is also an extension of new-momism in which the mother is held responsible for her children's health, behavior, actions, and well-being (Leupp, 2019; Aarntzen,2020). Mothers are watched in formal and informal settings to be judged as perfect mothers. In the modern era, mothers surveil themselves and also other moms. Furthermore, in the case of working mothers the discrepancy between the actual-self based on motherhood struggles to balance work and motherhood, overburden, domestic load, multitasking and time constraints and the ideal self-based on perfect mother, professional goals, dreams about success and future aspirations, results in the development of mother's guilt and blame (Bozkur & Çığ,2022).

Working mothers are mostly guilty for not being able to propagate the intensive mothering ideology, when working mothers try to combine work with good mothering, they are most vulnerable to feelings of failure, anxiety, isolation, and guilt. This results in lowered self- esteem of a working woman as a mother leading to mother's guilt. A "good" mother must be physically there to meet her child's every need. Hence, the notion of a good mother in society is inherently incompatible with other responsibilities. Regardless of how skillfully a woman balances two or more responsibilities (for example, motherhood and job), if she disregards the motherhood mandate, she may experience guilt and contempt from colleagues, family, and others (Aarntzen, et al.2019).

Most working mothers use compensatory mechanisms or strategies to eliminate the feelings of guilt in them (Aarntzen, et al., 2019). The various compensations employed by working women demonstrate the nuanced ways in which they manage the problems associated with balancing their duties as mothers and workers. While these strategies may bring some relief, addressing the root causes of guilt necessitates more fundamental cultural changes, such as improving workplace norms and redefining society's expectations for women. Fostering an environment in which working women can manage their positions genuinely and without undue emotional burden necessitates understanding and accepting their experiences. (Martin, 2015; Aarntzen, et al., 2019).

Methodology

The data for this paper is drawn from a larger study that explored primarily mothering practices of eastern supermoms following the contemporary ideology of new-momism. However, in this paper we focus on feelings of guilt among working mothers and the desire to maintain a balance.

Method

This study utilized a method of inquiry introduced by Dorothy Smith called Institutional Ethnography (IE) (Smith, 1987). IE showcases her legacy of social theorizing presenting the standpoint of women 's personal experiences that aligns her call for activism (Oeur, 2023). It is considered as a strong approach in feminist research. It is widely used to understand how the institutional processes and structural forces shape individual's behavior in a society. It sheds light on the power relations which extend from dominant societal discourses and institutional forces in very unique way to vividly understand individual experiences (Chatters, 2000). Through the participants' responses an understanding regarding the relations of ruling extending from the modern paradigm of new-momism has been highlighted.

Participants

Participants for this study were selected from the working couples from Islamabad and Rawalpindi cities of Pakistan. A total of 30 couples (60 participants were interviewed). Using convenient sampling method those participants were selected who were willing to interact with researchers several times. In this paper the views of the mothers are included to make our claim. Semi structured interview guide was used to collect data. The interviews were taken in-person and lasted approximately 55-60 minutes. Participants expressed their opinions and experiences about their day-to-day challenges as working mothers. The mothers and fathers were interviewed separately.

Analysis

The qualitative data gathered through in-depth interviews was analyzed using thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clark (2006) to understand how institutions organize and shape human life. (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The data was first transcribed, coded rigorously and themes were generated inductively (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Ethical consideration

All ethical protocols were followed while conducting this study and writing up this paper. Consent of the participants was sought before the interviews and they were informed about their right to withdraw at any point or to reduce to answer any questions. Moreover, anonymity and confidentiality are kept throughout the study to protect their concerns for sharing private information about their personal life and relationship with the spouse. Pseudonyms and places have been used to protect their privacy (Mardani et al., 2019). Since the couples were all well educated and employed, the transcribed interviews were shared with them with the request to add or delete material they wished. This process of member checking improved the validity of the research (Laryeafio ,2023).

Findings of the Study

Theme 1: Mothers' Guilt

The findings of this study explore the phenomenon of mother's guilt among working mothers. Mother's Guilt is basically a socially triggered feeling of negative self-judgment. It is influenced by cultural norms and societal expectations related to traditional gender roles in strict patriarchal context. Mothers are highly valued as primary care takers and nurturers in many Eastern cultures, where this idea is thoroughly engrained. Working mothers who want to work outside the home may feel guilty about it because they think they are breaking established norms and are negatively judged by society. The belief that moms should put their motherhood responsibilities ahead of their career aspirations frequently makes this guilt worse.

An ongoing feeling of inadequate performance and internal conflict could arise from the pressure to accomplish both tasks perfectly. They are susceptible to adopting super-momism due to their internal drive to be the ideal mother while upholding their professional integrity. In a patriarchal environment, this leaves them with no other option than to place the blame on their own decision to work. Mother guilt or blame is instigated in them by the inconsistencies in both roles.

Further, this guilt could be exacerbated by the absence of comprehensive support networks, like easily available childcare and family-friendly workplace regulations. Because of this, working women in Eastern nations could find it difficult to balance their professional goals with ingrained cultural expectations, which adds to the complicated emotional terrain of "mother's guilt".

In the current study 96% of the women (28/30) clearly mentioned the guilt they face every day they go to work. As Hina mentions this in the following way.

> "I think I have learned to live with this guilt. I always feel this regret in me that my work related responsibilities badly impact my children's wellbeing. Now they are grownups but sometimes I feel it so badly that I just want to reverse the time and make sure that I don't secede to work. But the time is gone and I can just regret it (Hina)."

The excerpt from Hina evidently explains the amount of guilt in her about her choice to work. She is regretting her decision of doing a job due to its detrimental impact on her children's life. Mother's guilt or blame was also stated by a Kiran as, "The issue here is that

you will anyway get that guilt if you're a female there is a difference between female and male workers (Kiran)."

Here, Kiran draws attention to the distinctions between the working relationships of men and women with regard to childcare and the workplace. Women workers become aware of the subtle differences between their existence and the decisions they have made for themselves because of the hidden pressures to conform to the roles that are ingrained in them through macro and micro processes. The socially and culturally placed duties on them are by default sexually oriented, rendering women workers realizing the borderline differences between her existence and the choice she has made for herself.

Another mom narrated this as follows,

"The stay-at-home mothers are thought to be less perfect. But we as working mothers cannot get away with this because there is a stigma attached to us in the society that on one side if we are doing so much efforts on our own development or studies or career then we are supposed to invest more time on our children and our children should be the reflection of our own perfection. Even if they lose some pace in their class or their studies get affected due to our job then the mother is again blamed for not giving attention to the child. This definitely makes me guilty (Rabia)."

Kiran is an example of a working woman who is able to very intelligently navigate her position as an educated working mother in our social milieu. Here is again a very powerful distinction made by her related to the societal expectations placed on working mothers in comparison to stay-at-home mothers. Even if the children of stay-at-home mothers also go through the same shortcomings and problems, they can easily get away with it without having a feeling of deep guilt. This social leverage is related to her being a conformist. However, the working mother would take the whole blame on herself regarding their studies and results due to her deviant role. She points out the stigma attached to working moms due to their deviance from the socially proscribed role. As they are supposed to be superwomen, their children should also be the symbol or reflection of their perfection, because a slight deviation from this perfect standard can be highlighted by society due to her involvement in her own development rather than the development of her children, which is at that moment the most crucial task that she cannot ignore. The feeling of guilt is related to the imbalance between work and family. The lack of attentive parenting in the case of working mothers due to overload of job and family related duties can cause behavioral issues in children for which the working mother blames herself.

Moreover, 65% of the women in the current data set also narrated during the interview that along with other moments one of the significant moments that triggers guilt in them is when their child is not feeling well and they have to leave the child with someone at home. Marium also pointed out as follows,

"When my child is sick specially at that time my guilt gets triggered but I also feel the guilt in me when due to my busy routine I am unable to attend to her needs properly. Sometimes I blame myself for not giving enough time to her and sometimes I regret the choice of work as it comes with multiple responsibilities that make a woman weak from inside as a mother (Marium)."

In a same vein, Sania similarly declared that,

"My mommy guilt is on its highest when I have to leave my sick son with the babysitter with a very heavy heart. Because sometimes taking a leave from the office is not possible (Sania)."

Sometimes women also regret and feel guilty if they are unable to cook food for their children, as another working mother Tazmeen narrated,

"But now my job is very demanding so I am not able to cook for my kids. I have to take care of so many things, I get really tired and I don't find some extra time to take rest or take care for myself. I'm also trying to find a good cook for my kids but no one has been arranged for them that's why sometimes I really feel guilty that I'm not able to give them proper food. This creates mother's blame in me (Tazmeen)."

In the similar context Ayesha also narrated,

"My boys are growing up and they normally like me to cook food for them. When I am unable to cook for them due to busy work schedule, I really feel guilty (Ayesha)."

Another working mother, Fouzia, narrated that

"Mother's guilt is very natural in working women, but my weak point is my children's results. If they don't perform well in school, I blame myself for not putting in enough effort. Once I was called to their school, and their teacher, who was herself a working woman, criticized me for my negligence about their studies. This made me realize that I needed to put in more effort to improve their results (Fouzia).

The societal standard of perfection demands a mother to become a superwoman who is the combo of a high-class chef, a doctor, an expert teacher, a psychologist, and what not for their children. The unmet able standards of perfection from a mother who regularly demands acts of altruism where she must be ready to give up everything that is significant for her internal well-being creates a sense of guilt. Moreover, society is not ready to realise the human element of her potential, her physical vulnerability to exhaustion, and the emotional instability that she can face due to failing to create an accurate balance related to all her desired roles and identities. Saba highlights this in the following way,

"The social norms that society holds for working mothers are incredibly cruel and challenging to completely follow. She is incapable of embodying every role and expectation that society has of her. There are times when I truly struggle with it, such as when I get home from work and can't relax because I have a list of things that need to be done to avoid the guilt of being outside half of the day away from my children (Saba)."

Saba's narration reflected the experiences of around 23 of the 30 women. All women discussed how much work needed to be done after returning from job. Seventy percent of the women discussed the emotional distress and tiredness they experience as a result of juggling two roles at once. Having a lot of responsibilities demands a great deal of commitment in addition to physical and mental toughness. Some of the women, in their struggle to achieve the ideal standing of both roles, adopt the supermom's model of life style. This lifestyle carries the disadvantage of losing time for their own internal tranquility. Saba also mentioned that she can't relax and unwind and simply shifts into the other role (motherhood) in order to avoid internal guilt and blame as a mother.

In addition, Tania stated,

"I think the biggest challenge I face is regarding time management. Sometimes, I feel torn between work responsibilities and my motherhood. Sometimes I want to spend time with my kids but the work deadlines make it impossible. I really feel a big guilt in my heart when I am unable to manage time (Tania)."

Majority of the working mothers feel that they are neglecting their children. Moreover, the failure to manage their time well leads to feelings of guilt and remorse among working women, who need to master time management skills to strike a healthy balance between job and motherhood. Time constraints at work prevented Tania from achieving her goal of spending more time with her kids. Because this guilt leaves women in a state of self-doubt and self-blame, poor time management can be harmful to women's mental health.

The decision to continue working after becoming a mother may be the sole cause of a mother's guilt, rather than just poor time management and an unbalanced role. Even though they were flawlessly balancing everything, their choice of work made them guilty because they did not prioritize their socially and culturally defined duty. Another working mother Sania also stated that,

"Being a doctor, I have a very tough work routine, and my daughter is very young. I always feel guilty that maybe I am not putting in enough effort to bring her up, and I don't feel like a good mother because when I return from work, I am not as energetic as other stay-at-home women are. I miss spending more time with her. Sometimes I think that it is better to quit for her, but then I feel like my own parents have invested a lot of effort in me to see me as a doctor (Sania)."

Working mothers have given variety of viewpoints regarding the phenomenon of guilt and shame while some women talked about finding peace in associating their identity directly with motherhood while for others their career was also seen as important to feel fulfilled and successful. As a result of the shifting trends in workplace and family working women have established multiple preferences and priorities. The current theme depicted that working mothers face challenging contradiction between their deeply rooted gendered belief and their experiential identities whereby their identity extends from both motherhood and career. The pressure exerted by the cultural expectations of perfect motherhood in the context of career and professional aspirations working mothers find themselves stuck in a contending narrative called new-momism, where they are seen as self- sacrificing and place the needs of their children first.

Theme 2: Strategies to Eradicate Mother's Guilt and Blame

The analysis of current research points towards some coping strategies used by working mothers to eliminate and counter their mothers' blame and guilt including; Spending money on the children and identity negotiation. It was found that working mothers reduce their feelings of guilt by investing money earned on bettering their children's lifestyles, negotiating their identities, seeking support from social networks to keep from considering quitting their jobs, and pushing themselves to the brink of exhaustion in order to feel like the ideal mother. Thirty participants mentioned that they tried to overcome guilt by spending money on their children. 11 out of 30 mothers mentioned that they like to spend the money they earn on the luxuries, education and improving the life style of their children. Marium mentioned that to deal with the guilt and the mother's blame in her she takes her children out for shopping or plan an outing or also takes them out on dinners to compensate her absence, she stated,

"I think a lot of times we as a working mother go extra miles in order to satisfy our kids so just to deal with this guilt I take my kids out for shopping and if you analyze this we as children were not given these kind of luxuries, But every weekend I plan something for my kids I take them to the park or some dinner or play area or we go for a hike but I know deep down that this is a way of compensating me not being there (Marium)."

She stated the she goes extra miles to satisfy her children for being away from them due to her work. To beat the guilt in her for ignoring the socially defined duty she takes them to shopping, for dinners, tries to take them to park, for hiking etc. She also mentioned that working mothers replace quantity time by quality time due to their work. Marium is self-aware woman and knows that all these extra miles are travelled to eradicate the sense of mother's guilt or blame. Hence the bigger part of the money she earns is used for improving the life style of her children.

Similar narrations also came from Kiran as she mentioned,

"There is societal pressure, and a big chunk of that has gone away when I started actively contributing towards the well-being of my kids and raised family life style. If I am going for work, then it must materialize in some change. And in our society I think ultimately what I bring to the table matters the most. If you are financially contributing in the family, then that negativity or that criticism from the society subdues somehow. It is not an instant process or an overnight process but it takes time so overtime things get better (Kiran)."

Kiran is very vocal about the fact that the societal pressure of adhering to motherhood also mitigates when women earn a good amount of money due to their job. Kiran further mentioned that her income raised the family's lifestyle, which also served as approval of her role shift. The negative criticism is also subdued due to her participation in the core responsibilities of the family, resulting in raising the family status. However, she mentions that this achievement needs time, and with time, as she becomes more and more financially stable and starts spending for the well-being and status of the family, her role shift becomes a norm rather than a deviation.

Tazmeen and Khushbaht also explicitly gave examples of their efforts to spend extravagantly on their families especially children to overcome the guilt of being away from them. This included spending on the kids' meals, toys, stationary or whatever made them happy. As one said; "*The internal guilt of working women allows her to go for expensive compensation for her children, and this results in temporary relief from that feeling of guilt. (Tazmeen).* Likewise, Kushbakht stated; Through spending my money, I compensate the guilt that I have neglected my kids due to job (Khushbakht)." Rabia explained her perspective as follow;

"I try to compensate if I feel like I have neglected my kids. So I bribe them and my financial security plays a big role in it. For example, if I am not able to do things according to their demand, we negotiate that on the weekend I'll take you out for lunch and for shopping etc (Rabia)."

Spending the earned money on the wellbeing and improving the lifestyle of the children is very rewarding for mothers as a strategy to deal with guilt. In the current study, 11/30 mothers also mentioned that spending money not only eliminates the feeling of stress and guilt

caused by the imbalance between roles and the perception of neglecting children but also makes them satisfied and happy, and deep inside them, they themselves feel it as a way to show their love and affection for the kids. However, the amount mothers spend on their children is a multifaceted aspect that may vary according to the age, gender, and class of the children and the mother herself.

Discussion & Conclusion

The study found that mothers' guilt and blame along with creating self-discrepancy and loss of ideal self-concept were present among the working mothers. The findings also suggest that working women developed this internal feeling of guilt due to the imbalance between their work and child care responsibilities. The majority of working women who were interviewed narrated that they have experienced mother's guilt or blame whenever they felt that their job or work schedule prevented them from fulfilling their obligations as a mother.

The paper found that most working mothers were susceptible to adopting super-momism due to their internal drive to be the ideal mother while maintaining their professional integrity. These findings are consistent with Wallworth (2018) who highlighted the contemporary ideology of motherhood is the sites of both love and conflict, empowerment and oppression and working mothers are evaluated "to have it all". Similar findings are reported by Bozkur & Çığ (2022), who state that the inability to meet the set standards of new-momism leads to the development of guilt in working mothers. (Bozkur & Çığ, 2022). Furthermore, Collins (2020) also reported the similar findings that intensive mothering ideology in working mothers generated feelings of guilt because the good mothering is never good enough and the juggling between work and motherhood creates dilemma of guilt in women.

The current study found that Mother's guilt or blame is instigated in them by the perceived inconsistencies in both roles. Most mothers felt that their choice of work contradicts with their role as a mother. Likewise, the findings of Peterson, et.al (2017) accentuate that new-momism generates maternal guilt because working mothers want to be a good parent and their concern to meet the needs of their child and provide them with full attention is the major pressure on them (Peterson, et al.2017). Meeussen & Laar (2018) have also recorded that this pressure to meet the set standards of perfection causes working mothers to experience guilt and stress at regular basis. According to Aarntnez et al. (2019) working mothers are more vulnerable to guilt and psychological distress in comparison to working fathers. Furthermore, they found that the notion of perfect motherhood is incompatible with what it means to be a successful professional (Aarntzen, et al.2019).

This investigation revealed that mother guilt could be exacerbated by the absence of comprehensive support networks, easily available childcare and family-friendly workplace regulations. These findings are consistent with the findings of Arendell (2000) who also indicated that highest level of stress has been found in mothers who are employed and have young children and are handling childcare and rearing mostly alone (Arendell,2000).

This paper also unveiled that working women who opt to work but yet priorities motherhood feels more at ease in both roles. Their major identity is motherhood, and they do not view their professional career or the workplace as goals to be pursued; rather, they view them as normal aspects of life that can be sacrificed in order to fulfil their primary duty. These findings are similar to Collins (2020) who reported that| "maternal guilt is a disciplining

apparatus whereby Guilt may restrict the choices women make about their careers and families and force working women to conform to gender stereotypes by prioritizing caregiving over work." (Collins, 2020).

Recommendations

In light of the findings, the paper recommends a more balanced approach to mothering and work for maintaining work life balance among women. The social support networks can reduce employed mothers' work family conflict. Quality childcare at workplaces can reduce some of the stress women go through. Women's participation in the economic domain must be acknowledged at the societal level and their work should be acknowledged. The role of fathers as care givers can play a key role in this. Fathers' participation in child care should be encouraged and paternal leaves should be initiated. Sharing and balancing the house hold duties between partners can foster a positive environment of gender equality hence reducing the disproportionate burden of duties on the working mother. For materializing this, the process of socialization and the role of family should be restructured. Socialization patterns within the family must promote sharing and balancing of tasks between genders and should create a conducive atmosphere of flexible gender roles.

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