THE WORK/FAMILY EXPERIENCE IN THE INFORMAL LABOR MARKET: EVIDENCE FROM INFORMALLY EMPLOYED MOTHERS IN BRAZIL

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2018

Urbana, Illinois

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ABSTRACT

Among the most notable global trends in recent decades is the increase in the number of women in the paid workforce. Curiously, as women have moved into paid work, there has been no significant shift in how caregiving and household responsibilities are distributed in the home. As a result, working women—and particularly working mothers—have had to undertake dual work/family roles. A growing body of research seeks to understand working mothers' work/family experience; however, this literature is limited with respect to the methods used, populations studied, and country contexts explored. Very few studies have explored the work/family experience among women in low and middle-income countries, and still fewer have focused on low-income, racially-diverse working mothers in those countries. Furthermore, very little research from any country explores the work/family experience through a qualitative lens. In effort to address these gaps in the literature, this study explores the work/family experience as lived by low-income, Afro-Brazilian, informally employed mothers in the city of Salvador, Brazil. Using a phenomenological approach and Giorgi's descriptive analytical method, six themes with 21 sub-themes emerged from interviews with 24 mothers in Salvador. The study results suggest that for these mothers, the work/family experience is a difficult and precarious one, shaped by persistent micro and macro-societal biases at home and in the labor market. These biases manifest along four intersecting lines: gender, race, class, and motherhood status. Going forward in policy and practice, these biases must be challenged. The provision of quality, affordable care for all working mothers, and the equitable inclusion of informally employed mothers in the labor market are two pressing areas for intervention.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Jaci Saltzman, Yvette Castañeda, Liliana Aguayo, Tumani Malinga, Natássia Guedes, Beatriz Pérez, Ashley Sims, Alía Fierro, Sondra Schrieber—you are my Champaign family. Without your friendship, I'm not sure I would have made it through this process. Thank you.

Bruno: you are my rock. Thank you for being you.

Finally, to the mothers who shared their stories with me, I am forever grateful. They confided in me and shared their experiences with openness and trust. I can only hope to recount their stories as eloquently as they relayed them to me.

To the hardworking mothers and fathers of the world, especially mine.

Thank you, Mom and Dad.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Among the most notable global trends in recent decades is the increase of women in the paid workforce (Blair-Loy, Hochschild, Pugh, Williams, & Hartmann, 2015; Gammage, 2010; Hochschild, 1989, 1997; Mokomane, 2014b). The rising number of working women is particularly marked in low and middle-income countries (LMICs), and especially in Latin America, where 54 percent of women now hold remunerated employment, a 10 percent jump from just 15 years ago (Novta, Werner, & Wong, 2016). Curiously, as women have moved into the paid workforce, there has been no significant shift in how caregiving and household responsibilities are distributed in the home. Compared to the average man, the average woman today spends two to 10 times more time doing household chores and taking care of family members—even if she also holds a paid job (UN Women, 2015). As a result, working women— and particularly working mothers—have had to undertake dual work/family roles, in which they navigate the demands of both paid work in the labor market and unpaid family care in the home.

A growing body of research employs the *work/family framework* to explore intersections between work and family roles, and understand the impact of these intersections on mothers' well-being. One vein of literature under this framework, *work/family conflict*, posits that due to time conflicts and resource constraints, work and family roles are inherently at odds. This tension, in turn, negatively impacts working mothers' physical health, mental health, and relationships at home and at work (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Nilsen, Skipstein, & Demerouti, 2016; Westrupp et al., 2016; Young, 2015; Zhao, Settles, & Sheng, 2011). A second perspective, *work/family enrichment*, suggests that despite time impositions, work/family roles enhance one another, as holding multiple roles embeds an individual in diverse social networks, which yields

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emotional satisfaction and resources from multiple fronts (Baker et al., 2008; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006).

The increase in the number of working mothers is a global trend; however, work/family research has yet to reflect this diversity. Most work/family studies focus on the experiences of middle-class, white, working mothers in high-income, industrialized countries (Aryee, Fields, & Luk, 1999; Casper, Allen, & Poelmans, 2014; Mokomane, 2014a), with as much as 75 percent of work/family studies drawing on data from the United States (Casper, Bordeaux, Eby, Lockwood, & Lambert, 2007). Further, work/family research tends to focus on middle-class, professional women in formal, regulated enterprises and jobs. Relatively few studies explore the experience of low-income working mothers, and still fewer focus on working mothers in LMICs. These gaps in research have left unique experiences of work/family life in the Global South unexplored, particularly among low-income mothers (Mokomane, 2014b).

Among the most noteworthy omissions in the work/family literature is the oversight of mothers in LMICs who work in the informal labor market—the unregulated, undocumented, "off the books" segment of the labor force, which is characterized by low wages, precarious conditions, and a lack of protections and benefits (ILO, 2013). Although in the shadows, the informal labor market is not to be disregarded; across LMICs, up to 80 percent of the workforce is informally employed (ILO, 2012). Most informal workers are low-income women (ILO, 2013).

Statement of the Problem

In recent decades, an abundance of interdisciplinary research has explored the drivers and conditions of informal labor in LMICs, with several studies focusing explicitly on the experiences of informally employed women (e.g. Chen, 2012; Horn, 2010; ILO, 2013; Kabeer,

2008; Nilvarangkul et al., 2006; Rodin, McNeill, Vite-León, & Heymann, 2012). More recently, feminist economists have paved the way in demonstrating that unpaid care is a critical determinant of human well-being, and that gender-biased allocations of care reinforce inequality and stunt development, particularly in LMICs (Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2009; Donath, 2000; Folbre, 1995; Kabeer, 2008, 2011). Although synergetic, the informal labor and unpaid care literatures are rarely integrated, leaving much to be understood about the unique ways in which informally employed mothers navigate care. The work/family framework, an orientation that privileges the vantage point of working mothers, stands to link the unpaid care and informal labor literatures. Yet, this framework is not without its own gaps. Most work/family research draws on data from high-income countries, and focuses on the experiences of professional, middle-income, usually white women. Work/family research, therefore, remains narrow with regards to diversity, and stands to be informed by voices from the Global South.

What is more, while studies on work/family experiences in LMICs are few and far between, the research that does exist tends to employ quantitative methods, such as time-use surveys (e.g. Floro & King, 2016) and broad labor force participation analyses (e.g. Sorj, 2004). Although these quantitative approaches document critical gender disparities in paid and unpaid work, by the nature of their design, such methods overlook qualitative differences in the ways in which informally employed mothers experience and navigate intersecting work/family roles. As a result, rich description of the complexity of the work/family experience, and ways in which working mothers cope with it, have been overlooked. Thus, missing from the literature are in-depth, qualitative analyses that explore working mothers' lived experience navigating work/family roles, in the context of the informal labor market in LMICs.

The oversight of informally employed mothers in LMICs in the literature is problematic for numerous reasons. On the most basic level, informally employed mothers comprise a substantial portion of the world's workforce. In LMICs, informal employment accounts for nearly half to over three-fourths of all non-agricultural employment, with women representing the greatest share of the informal labor force (ILO, 2012). Overlooking informally employed mothers' experiences therefore excludes a mass of women from the work/family discourse, which, at its core, aims to understand and address working mothers' needs.

Second, as ample international development and labor literature has demonstrated, informally employed women are among the world's most vulnerable workers. Informally employed women are the most likely of any worker to endure unsafe work conditions, be excluded from decision-making processes, and have limited access to fundamental protections and benefits (ILO, 2012, 2013; Kabeer, 2008; Markovic, 2009; Nilvarangkul et al., 2006). Among women, informally employed mothers are particularly marginalized. Over the last two decades, half of the countries across the world have adopted statutory work/family policies (e.g. paid maternity leave) (UNSD, 2015). Such policies, however, are almost exclusively extended to mothers working in the formal economy, whose jobs are regulated and protected by state institutions (Mokomane, 2012; Sorj, 2004; UNSD, 2015).

Where they exist, subsidized care services (e.g. public daycares) are extended to all women, regardless of their work status. However, state-sponsored solutions often fall short of meeting families' care needs—particularly in high-poverty communities in LMICs, where the demand for public services is high, but infrastructure and resources are often limited (Kabeer, 2011). Where public solutions fall short, some individual enterprises have stepped in to offer supportive policies, such as flex-time and breastfeeding at work programs (Kelly et al., 2014;

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Mokomane, 2012; Spitzmueller et al., 2016). These private solutions, however, tend to be provided in high-skill jobs—a select segment of the workforce for which few low-income, low-skill mothers are considered. Taken together, the policy landscape suggests that informally employed mothers are the least likely to have access to decent work and workplace protections, particularly those related to family care.

Third, by omitting the experiences of informally employed mothers from the work/family discourse, a narrow understanding of who working mothers are, and the resources they need in order to manage their work/family roles, has been set forth and reproduced. Most work/family research (and policies) tend to reflect a "typical" family structure, which, in actuality, represents a select, privileged segment of the labor market—i.e. middle-class, married mothers with children, who hold regularized, formal jobs (e.g. Cooklin et al., 2015; Griggs, Casper, & Eby, 2013; Hays, 1998; Hochschild, 1989; Hochschild, 1997; Meisenbach, 2010). However, family and work structures vary widely across cultures, countries, and socioeconomic groups, meaning that the work/family experience is not uniformly lived across people (Buzzanell, Waymer, Paz Tagle, & Liu, 2007; Mokomane, 2014a). In Latin America, for example, single-mother households are often the norm, and in many cultures across the region, boundaries of family structures are fluid, reaching beyond blood-relatives and immediate kin to include non-nuclear family relatives, and even friends and neighbors (Sorj, 2004). Further, diverse employment structures and conditions shape work/family experiences, and the bounds between work and family domains (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; England & Srivastava, 2013; Rodin et al., 2012; Zhang, Griffeth, & Fried, 2012). Mothers in "low-quality" employment often work non-standard and unpredictable hours, and may hold more than one job to make ends meet (Huston, 2014). Such work arrangements affect caregiving schedules, in turn shaping the ways in which working

mothers and their families respond to care (Griggs et al., 2013). Further, the ways in which boundaries and interactions between work and family domains are understood shape both mothers' responses to competing work/family demands, and the impact that these demands have on human well-being (e.g. Zhang et al., 2012).

The narrow conceptualization of the work/family experience has important implications for the design and implementation of policies and programs. Supportive work/family interventions should be founded on evidence that documents the challenges that working mothers face, and the resources needed to reconcile those challenges. However, programmatic solutions derived from a narrow understanding of who working mothers are may not be relevant for or responsive to diverse groups of women and their work/family needs. This is particularly important given the current global development agenda, by which countries have pledged to improve the livelihood of *all* women (Sustainable Development Goal 5), and provide decent work opportunities for *all* people (Sustainable Development Goal 8) by the year 2030 (UN Women, 2015; UNSD, 2015). This also implicates the current standard-setting agenda for inclusive employment, such as the International Labor Organization's push to formalize informal work (ILO, 2015b), which emphasizes the equitable inclusion of informal workers in the labor market and economy. Further, this speaks to national legislation targeting informal workers, such as Brazil's Constitutional Amendment 72/2013, which grants formal work protections to full-time domestic workers (Holmes & Scott, 2016).

Finally, with regards to methods, the preference for quantitative approaches in the literature has left important aspects of the work/family experience unexplored. Quantitative methods prevalent in the literature, such as time-use surveys, document important gender disparities in the home and the labor market. However, such methods, by the nature of their

design, are unable to unpack the complex emotions, behaviors, and relationships that underlie the experience of balancing work and family roles. However, this knowledge is imperative to uncover, as it would shed light on working mothers' needs, and inform the development of responsive interventions to support them and their families.

Given the sheer size of the informal labor market, the vulnerability of informally employed mothers, and the growing interest at national and international levels to improve the well-being of working mothers as well as informally employed women, there is a clear need to understand the work/family experience among informally employed mothers in LMICs. Moreover, the limited qualitative knowledge of informally employed mothers' work/family experience calls for an open, in-depth qualitative inquiry, which lends itself to understanding the complexity of the work/family experience as these mothers live it every day.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the work/family experience as lived by informally employed mothers in LMICs. Central to the inquiry are practical concerns over how informally employed mothers understand their work/family experience, the ways in which they manage it, and how they believe it shapes their and their families' well-being. The present inquiry also aims to shed light on critical points for intervention, and identify what resources (if any) might help informally employed mothers to better navigate their work/family demands. To this end, the intended audience of this study includes practitioners, policymakers, and applied researchers, who are involved in developing programmatic and policy interventions, which aim to improve the well-being of working mothers and their families, and of informal women laborers in LMICs.

To understand the work/family experience as lived by informally employed mothers, this study takes a phenomenological approach to the research. This is an open, inductive, qualitative approach, which aims to understand people's perceptions, perspectives, and understandings of a particular experience—a *phenomenon*. In the applied social sciences and helping fields such as social work, phenomenological studies are particularly valuable, as it addresses those "whose practice would be enhanced by understanding how individuals live through and make sense of a particular experience" (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007, p. 1377). Thus, given the intended audience, phenomenology is a particularly well-suited approach.

In the present study, the phenomenon of interest is informally employed mothers' work/family experience—i.e. the intersection between paid work and unpaid family care roles. This phenomenon is explored in one specific LMIC context: the city of Salvador, Brazil.

The Context of Salvador, Brazil

Salvador, Brazil is an optimal location for the present study, given its socioeconomic, demographic, cultural, and labor market contexts. Salvador is the capital city of the Northeastern state of Bahia, and, with a population of nearly 3 million inhabitants, is Brazil's fourth-largest city. Aside from being one of the country's most populous urban areas, Salvador is also one of the most unequal. Brazil hosts one of the highest rates of income inequality in the world, with a national GINI Index of 51.3 percent (World Bank, 2017). Poverty is concentrated in specific regions, namely the Northeast where Salvador lies, and among specific populations, namely Afro-Brazilian women (IBGE, 2016). Salvador has the largest Afro-Brazilian population in the country, and over 80 percent of population of the state of Bahia identifies as black or mixed-race (*preto* or *pardo*) (IBGE, 2013).

Ample evidence demonstrates that poverty, gender, and race are deeply intertwined in Brazil (Gomes, 2017). About 20 percent of the state of Bahia's population lives in poverty or extreme poverty, with the highest rate of poverty registering among Afro-Brazilian women (IBGE, 2013). Recent data from the city of Salvador suggests that Afro-Brazilian female heads-of-household are 1.3 times more likely than their white female counterparts to be poor or extremely poor (Gomes, 2017). Further, young, female, Afro-Brazilian heads-of-household between the ages of 18 to 24, with low education are among the most likely of all demographic groups to live in poverty or extreme poverty (Gomes, 2017). Together, these trends suggest that young, single, Afro-Brazilian mothers with low levels of education are among the most socioeconomically marginalized in Brazil.

Many scholars argue that these present-day inequalities are rooted in Brazil's colonial past, in which men (typically wealthy, white men of European descent) controlled the country's resources and social institutions (Goldstein, 1999; Gomes, 2017; Williamson, 2015). Goldstein (1999) argues that gender and racial discrimination are inherently tied in Brazil, and that power dynamics rooted in colonial social structures have long objectified Afro-Brazilian women's sexuality, reaffirming a system of racialized, feminized poverty.

> [Although] mixed-race or black women (or idealized representations of such women)…are appreciated for their beauty and sensuality, the majority of low-income mixed-race and black women [in Brazil] are barred from economic and social mobility. They are trapped at the bottom of several hierarchies at once-including that of race/color and class. (Goldstein, 1999, p. 568)

Ample research suggests that although the myth of "racial democracy" is still widespread in post-colonial Brazil, racial discrimination remains pervasive, with one of the most pronounced manifestations being the marginalization of Afro-Brazilian women in the labor market (Arcand

& d'Hombres, 2004; Ramos, 2011; Silva, Carvalho, & Neri, 2006). Previous research from Brazil has found that even when human capital factors (e.g. education) are held constant, gender is the primary determinant of wage and sector disparities in the labor market in Brazil (Madalozzo, 2010; Sorj, 2004). When race is brought into the equation, inequalities are even more pronounced: wage disparities are most extreme between Afro-Brazilian women and white men, with Afro-Brazilian women being the most disadvantaged in the labor market in terms of wages earned (Silva et al., 2006).

Gender and race disparities are even more pronounced in the informal labor market. Although the rate of female labor force participation has increased faster than in most other countries, tripling since the 1960s to almost 50 percent today (Chioda, 2016), the informal economy remains a major source of employment, particularly for low-income women of color. Nationally, over 40 percent of non-agricultural employment in Brazil is informal (ILO, 2013). However, 49.6 percent of black and mixed-race workers are informally employed, versus 36 percent of white workers (IBGE, 2013). In Salvador, women's informal employment registers at 40 percent, one of the highest rates in the country (IBGE, 2013). Formal employment in Brazil is qualified by an employee working with a *carteira assinada* (signed work card), a state-issued document, which catalogs an employee's formal work history (e.g. employers; wages) and provides access to employment benefits and protections (e.g. unemployment insurance; social security). Informal employment in Brazil, therefore, is qualified by working without a *carteira assinada* (signed work card). Afro-Brazilian women are the most likely to work without a *carteira assinada*—i.e. the mostly likely to be informally employed

Over the last decade, both informality and poverty were on the decline, bolstered by increasing education attainment (de Holanda Barbosa Filho, 2013), and a series of inclusive

socioeconomic policies (Hellman, 2015). However, after several years of economic growth and declining poverty, the country again fell into recession in 2014. In response to a shrinking formal employment sector, the informal labor market again expanded (IBGE, 2017). Today, informal employment and poverty are on the rise, the effects of which are exacerbated by a recent reduction in public spending and an elimination of social programs, particularly in the health, education, and care sectors (ECLAC, 2017). These reductions have most affected low-income communities of color.

Despite these setbacks, important legislation protecting informal workers has been adopted in recent years in Brazil, with various policies directly targeting informally employed women. In practice, however, the impact and enforcement of such legislation are questionable. For example, the 2013 Constitutional Amendment 72/2013 granted domestic workers the same rights as other formal workers, extending national pension coverage and entitlement to a signed work card to domestic workers (Holmes & Scott, 2016). This is an important legislation for informally employed women, given that Brazil employs one of the highest numbers of domestic workers in the world, and that almost all domestic workers (upwards of 83 percent) are low-income women, most of whom are women of color (ILO, 2013, 2016a).

Despite the adoption of such legislation, domestic workers' contribution to national pension schemes remains 15 to 20 percentage points lower than all other employed women who contribute (ILO, 2016a). Further, domestic workers are only considered to be in a formal employment relationship if they work more than two days a week (ILO, 2016a). This suggests that some domestic workers' formality status—and, by extension, workplace benefits and rights—is incomplete. What is more, although formal status and protection has been extended to

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full-time domestic workers, other female-dominated segments of the informal labor market (e.g. home-based work) have yet to be brought into formalization schemes (Holmes & Scott, 2016).

Across all sectors of the labor market in Brazil, informally employed *mothers* are particularly marginalized. Brazilian national legislation extends myriad benefits to working mothers, including:

> 120 days of maternity leave, job security for the pregnant employee as of confirmation of the pregnancy until five months after birth, plus the right to a crèche [daycare] for working mothers with a child up to six months of age. (Sorj, 2004, p. 2)

These benefits, however, are only extended to women whose jobs provide formal labor contracts (Sorj, 2004). Thus, in Brazil, as in most other LMICs, informally employed mothers are altogether excluded from statutory work/family services, protections, and rights. This, in turn, has profound effects on their well-being and work/family life.

Significance of the Study

This study is well-positioned to contribute to both academic literature, and to policy and practice discourse. First, with regards to the literature, this study integrates and expands three unique veins of research—informal labor studies, unpaid care research, and the work/family framework. It does so by exploring informally employed mothers' work/family experience, an area of research not yet well understood. More specifically, the study builds on the informal labor and unpaid care literatures by applying the work/family framework, an orientation explicitly designed to understand mothers' work/family demands.

Further, this study diversifies the work/family literature by expanding the conceptualization of work/family roles beyond the bounds of the formal labor market in high-income, industrialized countries, to include perspectives from informally employed women in

the Global South. This is a meaningful contribution, given that the informal labor market is a primary source of employment for most of the world's low-income women, yet remains absent in mainstream work/family discourse and policy (Kabeer, 2008). This knowledge is also relevant to current global and national development agendas, and is necessary for informing the design of interventions that aim to meet the needs of diverse working mothers—particularly the most vulnerably employed.

This study also makes important methodological contributions. Currently, most studies using the work/family framework, as well as most unpaid care and informal labor studies, draw heavily on quantitative methods (e.g. Allen et al., 2014; Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2009; Cooklin et al., 2015; Esquivel, 2009; Floro & King, 2016; Gammage, 2010; Mokomane, Masson, & Ross, 2014). Lacking in the literature are qualitative studies that aim to directly draw out, understand, and interrogate mothers' lived experiences of balancing paid work and unpaid care, with almost no research exploring this relationship in the informal labor market in LMICs. Helping to address this gap, the present study employs a qualitative approach not yet explored in the literature base—phenomenology. This approach stands to inform current literature and policy discourse by identifying the complex tensions and challenges that informally employed mothers navigate, and shed light on the ways in which these mothers reconcile them.

The case of Salvador, Brazil will also expand current literature by setting forth experiences of working women who navigate multiple and complex layers of marginalization— racial, economic, gender-based, and geographic. Voices from diverse contexts are limited in the work/family research, and while there is some representation from Asia (e.g. Lee-Peng, Lok-Sin, & Wei-Hin, 2016; Zhang et al., 2012) and, to a much lesser extent, Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Mokomane, 2014b), work/family studies from Latin America are nearly absent in the literature.

Particularly few studies reflect the experiences of low-income women of color from this region. Exploring the work/family interface in Salvador, Brazil, where family and work structures challenge many mainstream work/family norms, will expand the existing literature base and bring new meaning to the understanding of the work/family experience.

In addition to the substantive and methodological elements, this study makes a final unique contribution to the literature—the social work perspective. Rooted in the objective of social justice, which advocates for the eradication of social inequalities and injustices faced by the most-marginalized populations; and the strengths-based approach, which emphasizes and aims to reinforce individuals' innate strengths, capabilities, and self-determination, the social work perspective is distinct from fields more commonly represented in the work/family and informal labor literatures (e.g. economics; organizational studies and management). With regards to the present study, the social work perspective is particularly sensitive to identifying the multiple, intersecting layers of marginalization that informally employed mothers in Salvador face every day. The social work perspective is also well-positioned to set forth bottom-up recommendations for policy and practice, which are derived from the mothers' own understanding of their lived experience. With roots in the strengths-based perspective, such recommendations will inherently aim to build on the mothers' existing strengths and capabilities.

Overview of the Dissertation

The study proceeds as follows. Chapter Two introduces the theoretical orientation guiding this study—the work/family framework and its foundational theory, multiple role theory—and reviews the relevant literature related to informally employed mothers' work/family experience. Chapter Three sets forth the study methodology, and Chapter Four presents the

study results. Finally, Chapter Five concludes with a discussion of the results and implications

for practice, policy, and research.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, the literature relevant to informally employed mothers' work/family experience is reviewed. This review brings into conversation three veins of literature: unpaid care, informal labor, and the work/family framework (see Table 1). To begin, the research on unpaid care is considered, with emphasis placed on working mothers' provision of care. Next, the work/family framework is set forth, and the relevant literature is reviewed. The framework is then applied to the informal labor literature. Gaps in the literature are considered at length, and in response to the gaps, the research question for the present study is presented.

Unpaid Care and the Working Mother

The increase in women's labor force participation over the last 40 years is noteworthy, as today, more women than ever hold a paid job (ILO, 2016b). The increase in the number of women working for pay is a global trend, yet the greatest gains have been in low and middle-income countries (LMICs) (Novta & Wong, 2017). Latin America hosts the most marked increase in the number of working women, with women's labor force participation rising from 44 percent of all working-age women in 1990, to 54 percent in 2014 (Novta & Wong, 2017).[1]

Despite these gains, women's well-being lags far behind that of men, particularly in the world of work. On the global average, women's wages register at 24 percent those of men, a figure that rises with increases in national gender imparity (UN Women, 2015). In addition to earning markedly lower wages, women are also more likely than men to work longer hours, earn subsistence wages, and have their work go altogether uncompensated (Kabeer, 2011). Women

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[1] Here, female labor force participation (FLFP) estimates do not distinguish between formal and informal employment; i.e. both formal and informal employment are included in FLFP estimations. See Novta and Wong (2017) further discussion.

Table 2.1 Overview of literature considered.

Body of Literature	Area/Field	Focus	Contributions	Limitations
Unpaid Care	Feminist economics; international development; sociology.	Gender-biased effects of unpaid family care on women, their well-being, and their economic and labor market opportunities.	Sets forth links between family care and women's labor market opportunities. Inherently feminist; privileges women's perspectives and demonstrates gender disparities. Focuses on LMICs.	Skewed towards quantitative methods, which overlook women's lived experience. The experience of motherhood (distinct from "care") is assumed rather than drawn out. Informal labor is often implicit, but, with a few exceptions, is rarely the focus of the inquiry.
Informal Labor	Labor market studies; development economics; sociology.	Experiences, causes, and effects of informal labor on men and women, primarily in LMICs.	Privileges the experience of low-income, marginalized, informal workers. Many studies focus explicitly on women. Focuses on LMICs. Methodologically diverse.	Little consideration of motherhood, or of working mothers' lived experience. Unpaid care may be peripherally discussed, but is rarely a central focus. The interface between work and family is overlooked.
Work/Family Framework	Psychology; family studies; organizational studies and management.	The interface between work and family roles; the effects of work/family roles on the well-being of working mothers and their families.	Sets forth a focused framework explicitly designed to examine the interface between work and family roles. Privileges the perspective of working mothers.	Focused almost entirely on high-income countries and on professional women. LMICs rarely considered. Informal labor not yet considered. Methodologically homogenous; prevalence of quantitative methods.

are also more apt than men to hold jobs that offer limited opportunities for advancement, and involuntarily assume part-time paid work (Gregory & Connolly, 2008; Kabeer et al., 2013).

Ample research suggests that gender disparities in the labor force are both exacerbated by and a result of the disproportionate amount of unpaid care work that women take on (Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2009; Folbre, 1995; UN Women, 2015; UNSD, 2015). Across the globe, women work an extra two to 10 hours a day taking care of family and doing household chores (UN Women, 2015). Although the world's average working woman will earn *at best* half the income of the average man across her lifetime, she will work at least *double* the total hours each day, when unpaid housework and family caregiving are taken into account (UN Women, 2015).

Given some slight changes in policy and household-level practices, in almost all societies, care work remains embedded in a male breadwinner/female caregiver ideology, in which caring for the family falls within the "woman's domain" (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Kabeer, 2011). As Kabeer (2008) argues,

> The ideology of the male breadwinner—and its correlate, the female dependent or secondary earner—continues to justify men's privileged access to jobs and higher earnings, regardless of the actual significance of women's economic contributions and the importance of their role in household livelihoods… Given the importance of women's contributions to the economy of poor households, this has implications for the well-being and security of everyone in these households. (p. 321)

Recent empirical research documents how this plays out in LMICs. Research from Brazil and across Latin America suggests that such gender-disparate relationships are manifestations of the social norm of *machismo*, in which men's behavior is expected to be hyper-masculine and domineering, while women's behavior should be self-sacrificing and submissive (Baldwin & DeSouza, 2001). These norms, in turn, shape who does what in the home, and the impact of this

allocation on well-being. Drawing on time-use survey data from Guatemala, for example, Gammage (2010) found that due to gender-biased allocations of unpaid care and housework, women are more likely than men to be both "income poor" (with total household income per hour for women registering at 45 to 48 percent that of men) as well as "time poor" (i.e. have less time for rest and recreational activities). Similar disparities due to gendered allocations of time spent on care have been documented in South Africa (Mokomane et al., 2014) and Argentina (Esquivel, 2009), among other countries.

Turning to Brazil, recent time-use analyses suggest that it is not only gender that shapes time allocated to care, but also race. Ramos (2011) found that the number of women who spend time reconciling unpaid care and housework at home is double that of men, but across women, Afro-Brazilian are more likely than white women to take on unpaid family work in their own home. As Ramos found, from 1996 to 2008, 43.3 to 46.1 percent of men in Brazil took on domestic chores in the home, versus 91.4 to 88.1 percent of women. When race was taken into account, Afro-Brazilian women registered, on average, 2.5 percentage points above white women, with the widest gap in the number of women reconciling unpaid household tasks registering in later years at a 4 percent difference (86.2 percent of white women versus 90.2 percent of Afro-Brazilian women). These trends suggest that in Brazil, gender gaps may be inching towards change (albeit with massive gaps to reconcile), but gender-racial disparities remain persistent, and may even be on the rise. These trends also suggest that white women in Brazil are more likely to access services to help provide care. Such services are most often in the form of hiring domestic workers—low-paying, physically demanding labor, which, in Brazil, is almost entirely assumed by Afro-Brazilian women (ILO, 2013, 2016b).

Exacerbating the gender disparities in time spent on care, recent global demographic shifts are changing both the nature of care demands and family structures. These shifts, in turn, add more pressure on families—especially mothers—to meet family care needs (Bianchi, Folbre, & Wolf, 2012). Worldwide, the number of single-mother households increased over the last generation, meaning that more women are providing care without help from a partner (Bianchi et al., 2012; Sorj, 2004). In Brazil, for example, the number of single-mother households increased drastically since the 1980s, particularly in low-income households (Sorj, 2004). This has reduced the number of potential caregivers in the home, and imposed added stress on mothers as well as other female family members (e.g. sisters, aunts, grandmothers) to step in and help provide care (Sorj, 2004).

In addition, the world's aging population is living longer, forcing families to meet new types of care needs for elder kin (Bianchi et al., 2012). And while fertility rates have declined over the last three decades, children are still of course being born, with fertility rates remaining high among certain populations (e.g. in LMICs, among low-income adolescents) (WHO, 2014). These trends underscore the continued, yet diversified, need for caregiving solutions, especially for vulnerable populations (WHO, 2014).

Exacerbating these precarious conditions, increasing global inequality over the last decade has destabilized incomes, with the most extreme income volatility registering in LMICs (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Mokomane, 2014a). Weakened currencies, patterns of inflation, and contracting formal labor markets have squeezed households' capacity to meet care demands, especially in homes headed by low-income mothers (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Folbre & Wright, 2012). Meeting care demands is most onerous for women in low-quality jobs, who face acute

time and resource constraints due to their low wages, lack of work-related benefits, and limited schedule flexibility (Bianchi et al., 2012; Mokomane, 2014b).

With less time and fewer financial resources, low-income mothers in precarious jobs often find it difficult to secure affordable and adequate care for their loved ones (Folbre & Wright, 2012; Griggs et al., 2013; Huston, 2014; Mokomane, 2014b). Oftentimes, affordable care providers are not readily available in low-income neighborhoods, and even if they are, transportation to caregiver sites may be inaccessible or unreliable (Huston, 2014). To reconcile the care gap, low-income working mothers may be forced to turn to less-optimal care solutions, such as enlisting an older child or another (typically female) family member to help, or leaving the dependent on his or her own—options which may compromise dependents' safety and security as well as the quality of care provided (Mokomane, 2014a; Wolf, McCoy, & Godfrey, 2016).

Together, the literature and demographic trends suggest that despite the rise in the number of women holding paid employment, unpaid care work continues to be disproportionately allocated along gender lines. The gender-biased allocation of care, combined with an increase in the number of women holding a paid job, has led women to assume the dual role of paid worker/unpaid caregiver, in which mothers take care of the family and home, *and* hold a paid job in the labor market (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Hays, 1998; Hochschild, 1989, 1997). The dual role is particularly onerous for low-income women in LMICs.

Multiple Role Theory and the Work/Family Framework

Multiple Role Theory

Multiple role theory and its derivative, the *work family framework*, have been employed in various studies to understand work/family roles. Multiple role theory seeks to understand the

multidimensional nature of individuals' lives by breaking down their different social roles, and exploring the ways in which the roles interact (Pavalko & Woodbury, 2000). As the theory suggests, social roles (e.g. parent; worker; spouse) come with socially-constructed functions, expectations, and behaviors, which are embedded in, and reinforced by, larger social systems, interpersonal relationships, and the self (Biddle, 1979). The ways in which an individual's social roles intersect affect his or her well-being, in positive or in negative ways (Goode, 1960; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Sieber, 1974).

Multiple role theorists tend to take on one of two distinct viewpoints in explaining the intersections and effects of holding multiple roles. On one hand is the *role strain hypothesis*, a scarcity theory which states that people have limited time, energy, and resources to expend, thus holding multiple roles leads to stress, strain, and instability (Goode, 1960). The *role accumulation perspective*, on the other hand, posits that the benefits derived from holding multiple roles outweigh the stress, due to the additive and buffering effects that each role provides (Sieber, 1974). Both perspectives assume that an individual's multiple social roles interact; however, the perspectives differ in explanations of how, why, and what are the effects. To this end, the strain perspective assumes that a "wide, distracting, and sometimes conflicting array of role obligations" yields an overall negative experience of intersecting social roles (Goode, 1960, p. 485), while the accumulation approach emphasizes the ways in which "experiences in one role improve the quality of life in the other role," to in turn yield an overall positive dual role experience (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006, p. 73).

The Work/Family Framework

Rooted in multiple role theory, the work/family framework has been used in a number of studies to explore working mothers' work/family roles (e.g. Carlson et al., 2011; Cooklin et al.,

2015; Pavalko & Woodbury, 2000; Vercruyssen & Van de Putte, 2013; Westrupp et al., 2016).

Guided by the two veins of multiple role theory, two opposing work/family perspectives underlie the work/family framework, with those being *work/family conflict* and *work/family enhancement*.[2] Given that relatively little is known about informally employed mothers in LMICs, and that the present study aims to take an open, inductive approach to understanding their lived experience, both work/family perspectives are considered in the following review.

Prior to the review, it should be noted that the body of work/family research is vast and spans many disciplines; however, it remains surprisingly narrow in scope, drawing primarily on survey data gathered in high-income countries in the Global North (e.g. the United States, Canada, Australia). Further, this body of research tends to focus on the experiences of middle-class working mothers, who hold professional employment in the formal sector (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Cooklin et al., 2015; Westrupp et al., 2016; Young, 2015). Despite its homogeneity, the work/family framework is nevertheless relevant to the present study, in that the framework privileges the vantage point of working mothers, exploring the work/family experience as they live and understand it every day. Thus, while the following review of work/family literature draws primarily on studies from high-income countries, the framework is applicable to diverse work/family contexts, including that of informally employed mothers in Brazil.

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[2] It is worth mentioning that work/family research is related to, but distinct from, another area of literature: work/life research. The latter is a broader body of research, which addresses the interface between work roles and other social dimensions (e.g. civil society roles). Although working women certainly engage in social roles outside of work and family, work and family domains are the center of human activity for most people, particularly working mothers (Mokomane, 2014a). As such, the present study deliberately focuses on the work/family literature, which highlights the work/family experience and privileges the perspectives of working mothers.

Work/Family Conflict

Stemming from the role strain hypothesis (Goode, 1960), *work/family conflict* suggests that due to competing time, resource, and effort demands, work and family roles are inherently at odds, and that this tension, in turn, negatively affects working mothers' well-being (Allen et al., 2000; Allen et al., 2014; Carnes, 2017; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Vercruyssen & Van de Putte, 2013). As this perspective suggests, "participation in the work role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family role," or vice-versa (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). The competing tasks and demands that work and family roles each impose inevitably cause strain and overload (Bar & Jarus, 2015; Carnes, 2017; Goode, 1960), which, in turn, leads to conflict and tension between a working mother and her environment (Allen et al., 2000; Allen et al., 2014; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Ultimately, the strain on time, resources, and effort, as well as external self-imposed pressures to satisfactorily fulfill each role, negatively impact multiple dimensions of working mothers' well-being, e.g. mental health, physical health, and social relationships (Allen et al., 2000; Cho & Tay, 2016; Hays, 1998).

Work/family conflict is bi-directional in nature, meaning that conflict may arise in result of work-to-family or family-to-work incongruences (Lee-Peng et al., 2016; Zhao et al., 2011). For example, late work hours may reduce the amount of time a working mother has at home (work-to-family conflict), or a sick child may keep a mother from going to work (family-to-work conflict). Although work/family conflict is bi-directional, research suggests that work roles are more likely to interfere with family roles than vice versa (Mokomane, 2014a). Regardless of the direction, mothers are more likely than fathers to reconcile both types of work/family conflict when it arises, due to the unequal distribution of family responsibilities imposed on mothers in

most households (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Hochschild, 1989; Nilsen et al., 2016; Vercruyssen &
Van de Putte, 2013; Westrupp et al., 2016).

As the work/family conflict literature argues, mothers' experience with intersecting roles
tends to be characterized by high stress, poor health, and strained personal relationships at home
and at work (Allen et al., 2000; Allen et al., 2014; Griggs et al., 2013; Kelly et al., 2014; Zhao et
al., 2011). Competing family and employment demands strain a mother's time, resources, and
energy, which leads to high anxiety (Vercruyssen & Van de Putte, 2013; Westrupp et al., 2016),
low satisfaction in life and at work (Zhang et al., 2012), and fatigue, burnout, and exhaustion
(Nilsen et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2012). Incongruences between work and family roles impose
various kinds of stress, including work stress, household stress, parental stress, and overall
general stress (Vercruyssen & Van de Putte, 2013). Work/family conflict may also encourage
unhealthy behaviors such as erratic sleep patterns (Nelson, Kushlev, & Lyubomirsky, 2014) and
the intake of unhealthy foods (Bauer, Hearst, Escoto, Berge, & Neumark-Sztainer, 2012), which
together, compromise overall physical health (Carlson et al., 2011).

Data from Australia and the United States suggest that at the social-relational level,
work/family conflict impedes family cohesion and healthy parenting practices (Cooklin et al.,
2015), and strains spousal relationships (Carnes, 2017). Compared to married working non-
parents, marital satisfaction among married working parents tends to decline after children's
birth, a result of parental fatigue, financial strain, and disagreement on childrearing practices and
allocation (Nelson et al., 2014). That said, what is understood to be a conflicting work/family
experience varies with cultural context. For example, contrary to prevalent findings in Anglo-
descent countries (e.g. the United States, Canada, Australia), Zhang et al. (2012) found that
among professional managers in China, work-to-family conflict *enhances* work-related outcomes

(e.g. affective commitment to employers) rather than diminishes them. The authors attributed this effect to divergent cultural understandings of work-to-family conflict, in which Chinese managers see work-imposed conflict as an inevitable part of work that must be tolerated, as work is ultimately essential for the well-being of the family.

Ample research suggests that navigating care responsibilities shapes women's work/family roles in ways that it does not for men (Bar & Jarus, 2015; Correll, Benard, & In, 2007; Westrupp et al., 2016). Drawing on a sample of working parents in the United States, Zhao et al. (2011) found that working mothers tend to spend more time than working fathers on childrearing and household chores. Further, an increase in family care demands significantly interferes with mothers' work lives, which in turn leads to decreased job satisfaction. For fathers, however, an increase in family demands has no significant impact on job satisfaction or work patterns.

Other research echoes such gender disparities. In an analysis of parents' experience with work/family conflict in the United States, Hill (2005) found that compared to working mothers, working fathers tend to experience less work/family conflict, lower stress, and higher family, marital, and life satisfaction. In her study of gender identity among married female breadwinners in the United States, Meisenbach (2010) found that mothers often feel pressure, stress, and guilt, which was likened to the expectation that breadwinner mothers must provide financially while continuing to be dedicated, reliable mothers.

Conflict between work and family roles affects mothers' emotional well-being; yet it also affects their opportunities in the labor market, as it shapes the duration and type of paid employment undertaken (Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2009). For instance, mothers are more likely than fathers to involuntarily hold part-time employment due to work/care schedule conflicts

(Gregory & Connolly, 2008). Mothers are also more likely to be penalized by employers for family conflicts (Correll et al., 2007), and be "crowded out" of the labor market after care-related leave (Carlson et al., 2011)**.**

Conflicts between work and family also shape working mothers' wages and working conditions. In a laboratory experiment of employer discrimination against parent and non-parent job applicants, Correll et al. (2007) found that working mothers tend to be ranked the lowest in terms of competence and qualifications, offered the lowest wages, and held to the most rigid performance and punctuality standards. Fathers, however, are not penalized in the workplace for tending to care—in fact, they are *rewarded* for it. As the experiment found, managers tend to rate fathers significantly higher than mothers and non-fathers for deserved wages and job qualification, and hold fathers to the most relaxed performance and punctuality standards, allowing them to adjust their schedules as needed to tend to care.

Ample evidence suggests that the average working mother is at a disadvantage compared to the average working father. Yet, it is low-income working mothers who bear the greatest weight of work/family conflict (Griggs et al., 2013; Huston, 2014). Low-income mothers often have a higher dependent-to-wage earner ratio, and tend to hold low-skill employment in low-paying industries (e.g. food preparation; basic services; paid care work) (Folbre & Wright, 2012). As a result, they may be forced to hold more than one job to make ends meet (Folbre & Wright, 2012; Huston, 2014). Further, low-wage employment is often arranged as shift-work, or scheduled during off-hours (e.g. early mornings or nights). Working non-standard hours may conflict with caregiving schedules, particularly for school-age children (Griggs et al., 2013).

Very little work/family research has deliberately drawn out racial disparities or explored intersections between race, gender, and class (Blair-Loy et al., 2015); however, ample research

demonstrates that low-income women of color are more likely than white, higher-income women to endure precarious work conditions and be paid lower wages (ILO, 2016b). Further, the conditions of such employment—such as long work hours, inflexible schedules, and the lack of benefits—tend to be associated with negative work-related outcomes, including frequent turnover, low job satisfaction, and high stress and anxiety (Cooklin et al., 2015; Huston, 2014).

A small handful of studies have taken such findings a step further, exploring mechanisms of work/family conflict as lived by women of diverse racial and economic groups. For example, in their exploration of the impact of sexual harassment on work/family conflict in South Africa, Masson and Ross (2012) argue that the emotional distress and physical harm that women who are sexually harassed at work spills over into personal and family life, and that working-class Black women are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment on the job, due to post-Apartheid, patriarchal cultural belief systems, which continue to discriminate people based on their race, class, and gender.

Work/Family Enhancement

While most work/family literature focuses on the negative aspects of intersecting work/family roles, a smaller vein of research, *work/family enhancement*, has sought to explore the positive characteristics of intersecting work/family roles. Stemming from role accumulation theory (Sieber, 1974), the work/family enhancement approach suggests that despite time, energy, and resource constraints, engaging in both employment and family roles has an overall positive impact on a working mother's well-being (Aryee, Srinivas, & Tan, 2005; Cooklin et al., 2015; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Lee-Peng et al., 2016). As the perspective posits, negative experiences associated with one role are balanced out or buffered by the other role (Cho & Tay, 2016; Lee-Peng et al., 2016), as positive experiences and resources gained in one domain

compensate for negative experiences and resource deficits experienced in the other (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; McNall, Nicklin, & Masuda, 2010). Moreover, each social role embeds the working mother in a distinct social network, which diversifies her potential sources of resources and emotional gratification (McNall et al., 2010; Sieber, 1974).

The resources to which a working mother may gain access are varied, and stem from multiple domains. These include family resources (e.g. partner intimacy; social support), work resources (e.g. regularized work hours; job rewards; benefits; support from supervisors and the work organization), and individual resources (e.g. education; positive maternal behavior; self-esteem) (Allen et al., 2014; Zhou & Buehler, 2016). These resources may be transferred between roles directly (e.g. time management skills learned at work are applied to family life) or indirectly (e.g. positive experiences at home increases enthusiasm, which spills over into work life) (McNall et al., 2010).

When work/family roles are in accord, well-being improves in myriad ways: sleep patterns regularize, overall physical health improves, stress and anxiety decrease, and work and life satisfaction increase (Cho & Tay, 2016; Cooklin et al., 2015; McNall et al., 2010; A. Williams, Franche, Ibrahim, Mustard, & Layton, 2006). Research suggests that working mothers with more resources and support are better equipped to manage work and family roles, and in turn enjoy a more positive work/family interface (McNall et al., 2010). For instance, among working mothers in the United States, Zhou and Buehler (2016) found that job rewards, employment benefits, higher maternal education, and positive maternal behaviors promote an enriching work/family experience. Other studies suggest that supportive family relationships enhance work/family experiences. Drawing on a sample of formal-sector professionals in India, Aryee et al. (2005) found that emotional support and caregiving assistance from spouses and

other family members promotes positive work/family experiences. Nelson et al. (2014) echo this finding, positing that parents' equal undertaking of childrearing and care buffers the negative effects of role strain. Further, equitable caregiving in the home helps alleviate stress and fatigue, thus promoting positive role fulfillment for *both* parents (Nelson et al., 2014, p. 877).

A few studies have considered ways in which policies and programs at the national and workplace levels enrich work/family experiences. Although results on the impact of such interventions are mixed, research concurs that both national and workplace solutions harmonize work/family roles, particularly for mothers. For instance, in their study of four national paid leave policies (sick leave, maternity leave, paternity leave, and annual leave) across 12 industrialized countries, Allen et al. (2014) found that paid sick leave buffers work/family conflict. Further, the effect increases in workplaces with supportive managers and family-friendly work environments. Kelly et al. (2014) examined the impact of workplace solutions on professional employees in the United States, focusing on schedule control policies (i.e. managers honoring employees' off-hours) and flexible work options. These authors found that the interventions buffer work/family conflict by giving working mothers (and fathers) more time to meet family demands. As a result, working parents were able to tend to personal errands and adjust their schedules to more effectively accommodate family life.

Supportive workplace solutions, such as flex-time, telecommuting, employer-provided paid leave, and breastfeeding at work programs, enhance the work/family experience by mitigating time conflicts and granting employees schedule autonomy (Kelly et al., 2014; Spitzmueller et al., 2016). Further, national work/family policies, such as paid sick leave and paid maternity and paternity leave, establish floors for basic support (Allen et al., 2014). However, work/family programs and policies—be they statutory or employer-provided—are not

extended to all working mothers (Mokomane, 2012). Employer-provided options tend to be limited to professional positions, whose structure allows employees to be mobile and flexible in terms of time and location (Kelly et al., 2014). Statutory policies, on the other hand, are extended almost exclusively to workers who hold registered employment in the formal economy—i.e. employment that is regulated by state institutions, which guarantee access to social protections and benefits (Mokomane, 2012; Samman et al., 2016; UNSD, 2015). Thus, excluded from mainstream work/family intervention frameworks is a substantial segment of the world's paid workforce: workers in the informal labor market (UNSD, 2015). Employment undertaken in the informal market is under the table, undocumented, and unregulated by the state. It is also the principal source of employment of most of the world's low-income women, particularly in LMICs (Mokomane, 2012).

Work/Family Roles and Informal Employment

Defining Informal Employment

Outside of the formal sphere exists a vast informal labor market, which employs 20 to 80 percent of individual countries' workforce, with the largest share of informal workers being in LMICs (ILO, 2012). Informal employment is a job-based concept, and includes employment conducted in any informal arrangement the informal sector (e.g. unregistered street vending; domestic work undertaken in an employer's home without a formal legal contract), as well as informal arrangement in the formal economy (e.g. an undocumented job held in a registered enterprise) (ILO, 2013). Informal employment may be held in the form of self-employment (e.g. autonomous own-account work) or wage-based employment (i.e. with wages paid by an employer) (Chen, 2012; ILO, 2013; Raijman, Schammah-Gesser, & Kemp, 2003). By convention, informal employment does not include illicit activities such as sex work or human,

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arms, or drug trafficking, which are instead defined as criminal activity, and are categorized as such (ILO, 2015b; C. C. Williams & Lansky, 2013).

Informal employment is unmonitored and unregulated by state institutions, including "authorities for tax, social security, and/or labor law purposes" (Williams & Lanksy, 2013, p. 358). As a result, informal employment "is, in law or in practice, not subject to national labor legislation, income taxation, social protection, or entitlement to certain employment benefits" (ILO, 2012, p. 26). Such protections and benefits include, but are not limited to: national minimum wage, guaranteed work hours, protection from employer discrimination, occupational health and safety measures, employer contributions to pensions, advanced notice of dismissal, severance pay, paid annual leave and sick leave, and access to work/family policies such as paid parental leave (Chen, 2012, p. 16; ILO, 2012, p. 26; UNSD, 2015).

The informal economy is a key source of employment for many of the world's people, but in almost every country, women are overrepresented in the informal workforce (ILO, 2013). Globally, women are more likely than men to work informally, as in most regions, informal employment is a greater source of work for women than for men (ILO, 2016b). In Latin America, for example, about 54 percent of women work informally, versus 48 percent of men (ILO, 2016b).

Although informal employment can be gainful, ample evidence suggests that it is most often characterized by low wages, low productivity, and a lack of formal regulations—qualities which reinforce patterns of poverty and prevent access to basic social protections (Horn, 2010; ILO, 2012, 2013, 2015b; Rodin et al., 2012; UNSD, 2015). The terms and conditions of work are particularly precarious for informally employed women, who are the most likely to receive below-subsistence wages, have their work go unpaid, and be barred from upward mobility in,

and by way of, their job (Cassirer & Addati, 2007; Chen, 2012; ILO, 2016b). Because informal

work lacks legally-binding labor contracts, there are no avenues of retribution for violated

worker rights (e.g. unpaid wages). Furthermore, compared to men, informally employed women

often have little access to productive inputs such as capital and education, and are rarely included

in labor policy-making processes (Kabeer, 2008).

Central to the present study, informally employed women are also bypassed by

work/family policies, a result of policymakers' skewed conceptualization of what "counts" as

employment—i.e. formalized, regulated, high-productive activities (Kabeer, 2008). Half of the

countries across the world have adopted protective work/family policies over the last two

decades, such as paid parental leave (UNSD, 2015). However, these benefits tend to be extended

only to workers employed in the formal, regulated economy—meaning workers who are able to

contribute to social security schemes, and whose employment is protected and regulated by the

state (Mokomane, 2012; Sorj, 2004; UNSD, 2015). As a result, informally employed women are

by and large excluded from formal work/family benefits and protections.

Work/Family Intersections in the Informal Labor Market

Despite the size of the informal labor market and the number of informally employed

women in LMICs, only a handful of studies have considered intersections between informal

labor and family care. Across this literature, very few studies have explored experiences from

Latin America, and no studies from any LMIC country context have employed the work/family

framework to draw out informally employed mothers' work/family experiences. Nevertheless,

the few studies that do exist set forth a foundation on which the present inquiry may be based.

Although the research is limited, most studies suggest that informally employed mothers'

work/family experience is a negative and conflicted one. In their analysis of causal links

between motherhood and informal employment in Mexico, Rodin et al. (2012) found that for most mothers, informal labor is not a willing choice, but rather an undesired default. In their study, two determinants kept the mothers in informal work: flexible informal work schedules, which accommodate childcare demands; and the mothers' limited human capital (e.g. low education), which constrains them from pursuing higher-quality jobs in the formal market.

In her exploration of elder-family member caregivers in Andean Colombia, Friedemann-Sanchez (2012) documented similar results with regards to schedule flexibility. As she found, informally employed female family members are most often assigned the role of unpaid caregiver within the family, because of 1) societal and familial expectations that a female family member provide care, and 2) formally-employed family members' assumption that informally employed women's work schedules are flexible, thus conducive to caregiving.

Friedemann-Sanchez (2012) also posited that caregivers are "trapped" in their dual informal employment and unpaid family care roles. This was primarily due to their low education, as well as their limited formal employment experience, and few economic, social, and psychological resources (e.g. housing; social networks; bargaining power; positive mental health) (Friedemann-Sanchez, 2012, p. 68). Ilkkaracan (2012) also stressed the role of education in determining informally employed mothers' work outcomes. In her mixed-methods study from Turkey, she found that women with less than a high school education are more likely to work informally, and, in turn, have no access to key work/family benefits such as maternity leave and workplace-subsidized childcare (Ilkkaracan, 2012).

Other research posits that limited childcare option reinforces mothers' informality. One study using survey data from Guatemala suggests that as much as 40 percent of informally employed mothers in Guatemala City "double-up" by taking care of children while

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simultaneously working for pay (IFPRI, 2003). As the study suggested, the lack of formal childcare options is as a primary reason for mothers "doubling-up" on simultaneous paid work and unpaid care (IFPRI, 2003). In their brief ILO report, Cassirer and Addati (2007) also speak to the role of care services, setting forth eight snap-shot case studies of different childcare providers that serve informally employed mothers. Taken together, the authors' short assessments from India, Chile, and Kenya, among other countries, suggest that non-government organizations, grassroots cooperatives, trade unions, and local government branches are providing some services, such as custodial care, meals, and medical check-ups. Such solutions, however, are few and far between, and are limited in scale.

Research from various LMICs suggests that in the absence of public and private care solutions, female family members often step in to help working mothers meet family care needs. In her study of work/family demands in Ghana, Annor (2014) found that grandmothers often help provide childcare when mothers are at work. In their cross-national comparison of care provision in LMICs, Samman et al. (2016) posited that when formal care solutions are absent, young girls may be forced to provide care—a solution that has clear negative implications for the well-being of girls who assume caregiving roles (e.g. girls' forfeited education).

Although other women in the family step in to help working mothers provide care, the brunt of care work continues to fall on the shoulders of mothers (Samman et al., 2016). Due to limited public services and affordable private care options, as well as cultural drivers that shape caregiving patterns, working mothers in LMICs endure particularly onerous work/family experiences. Evidence from Brazil (Sorj, 2004) and Ghana (Annor, 2014), for example, suggests that the notion of "family" is often conceptualized in broad, fluid terms in which the nuclear family, as well as extended family and non-relatives, are regarded as kin (e.g. Annor, 2014; Sorj,

2004). In the context of Ghana, Annor (2014) argues that this expanded conceptualization of family, coupled with a lack of formal care services, imposes an extraordinary care burden on working mothers in that country. As she argues, with more dependents demanding care and fewer resources to accommodate their needs, working mothers in LMICs endure a higher magnitude of work/family stress than is typically experienced in high-income countries.

Turning to Brazil, little research has explored the relationship between informal employment and family care, although some research has explored links between mothers' informal labor patterns and the receipt of social assistance for their children. Using propensity score weighting (a quantitative method) to assess the relationship between mothers' work patterns and the receipt of *Bolsa Família* conditional cash transfers (the country's flagship social assistance program), de Brauw, Gilligan, Hoddinott, and Roy (2015) found that receiving the cash transfers encourages a "reallocation effect" of mothers from formal to informal employment. The authors attributed this effect to program logistics: qualification for the program is based upon beneficiaries' self-reported income; informal wages, therefore, may be massaged to ensure program eligibility. The study, however, did not consider the complex family or employment contexts which may drive mothers' work/family decisions.

Summary and Gaps in the Literature

Mainstream work/family literature is equivocal regarding working mothers' experience with intersecting work/family roles. Work/family conflict, the dominant perspective in the literature, suggests that the work/family experience is an overall negative one, characterized by stress and strained relationships driven by time, resource, and energy constraints. The second perspective, work/family enhancement, argues the opposite, stating that the work/family experience is harmonious and enriching, and that certain work and family conditions—a "good"

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job, a decent income, support at home, access to caregiving resources—enhance the work/family experience.

Despite their differences, both veins of research concur that intersecting work and family roles shape working mothers' experiences in ways that they do not for fathers. Research from both camps also agrees that women who have minimal support and little access to work/family resources, as well as women who hold low-quality jobs (i.e. jobs with low pay, minimal benefits, and inflexible schedules) are more likely to endure a conflicted work/family experience. These conclusions, however, are largely derived from middle-class, white, professional working mothers in regularized, formal employment, in high-income, industrialized countries.

The review of the literature suggests that there are both substantive and methodological gaps with regards to the diversity of the populations under study. Recent estimates suggest that most work/family research focuses on middle-class, white, professional working women in high-income, Anglo-descent countries, with as much as 75 percent of work/family research drawing on data from the United States (Casper et al., 2007). Notwithstanding recent calls to diversify the work/family literature base, only a handful of studies have explored the work/family interface among other country contexts or diverse populations, including women of color. While work/family studies from LMICs are few, research that deliberately focuses on key conditions of LMICs, including the informal economy, is particularly scarce in work/family scholarship. This gap persists despite the vast number of informally employed women in LMICs, and their relative vulnerability compared to other types of workers.

Ample research on informally employed women in LMICs has been set forth in recent decades (Chen, 2012; Horn, 2010; ILO, 2013; Kabeer, 2008; Nilvarangkul et al., 2006; Rodin et al., 2012), and the issue of unpaid family care in LMICs has been established as an important

indicator of human development and well-being (Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2009; Donath, 2000; Folbre, 1995; Kabeer, 2008, 2011). However, given a few exceptions (e.g. Kabeer, 2008), the informal labor and unpaid care literatures are rarely linked with one another, leaving much to be learned about the ways in which informally employed women navigate family care. The work/family framework provides a particularly insightful lens through which this gap may be explored, as it explicitly emphasizes working mothers' experience. Yet, with its focus on professional, middle-class, white women in high-income, industrialized countries, the work/family framework also stands to be informed by diverse voices from the Global South.

What is more, with the exception of a few qualitative studies (e.g. Rodin et al., 2012), there is an overall skew towards quantitative research in the relevant literature base (Mokomane & Chilwane, 2014). Although quantitative studies document critical gender disparities in paid work and unpaid family care, these methods shed little light on the ways in which working mothers experience and navigate their intersecting work/family roles. Missing from the literature are in-depth, qualitative analyses of mothers' lived experience balancing paid work and unpaid family care.

Different roles (e.g. mother; worker) are embedded in, and shaped by, local contexts (Casper et al., 2014; Mokomane, 2014b). Further, family and work structures vary significantly across cultures (Buzzanell et al., 2007). Boundaries between, and meanings of, family and work are distinct across country and cultural contexts, in that "societies differ in the degree of importance attached to work and family, and therefore, the extent to which they are perceived to be compatible" (Aryee et al., 1999, p. 507). The experience of working motherhood, therefore, is not uniformly lived across people or places (Mokomane & Chilwane, 2014). Such diversity in family structures and work patterns have important implications for the design and

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implementation of responsive interventions, as what "works" in one society may not be effective in others.

Supportive work/family policies and programs should be founded on evidence that documents the challenges that working mothers face, and the resources they need to address those challenges. However, the narrow understanding of work, family, and intersections thereof has yielded an unrepresentative conceptualization of working mothers and their needs, which may not be relevant to diverse work/family contexts. Given this limitation in the conceptualization of work/family roles, alongside the methodological gaps in the literature, as well as the relative vulnerability of informal workers, and the current global policy agenda to support working women, there is a clear need to understand the ways in which informally employed mothers live, experience, and understand their work/family roles. Such an inquiry calls for in-depth qualitative investigation, which delves into and uncovers the complex layers of these mothers' everyday lived experience navigating paid work and unpaid family care.

Research Question

To address the gaps in the literature, the present study explores the question in the context of Salvador, Brazil: *What is the work/family experience as lived by informally employed mothers?* By exploring this question, the study aims to identify the shared, essential elements that define the work/family experience, as lived by informally employed mothers in a particular LMIC context—Salvador, Brazil. By addressing this question, the study is well-positioned to shed light on the ways in which informally employed mothers experience, understand, and manage their work/family roles. This information is critical for setting forth a well-rounded understanding of the world's working mothers. It is also critical for designing and implementing responsive policy solutions to address the needs of the world's most vulnerably employed

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women. Phenomenology is a particularly well-suited approach to address this inquiry, given its aim to inform practice and policy through experiential, "lived-through" data, gathered directly from the individuals who live the experience under study every day (Koopman, 2015).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter sets forth the study methodology. First, the phenomenological approach and study design are discussed. Next, the data collection and analysis procedures are explained. Issues of positionality, ethics, and rigor are also considered at length.

The Phenomenological Approach

This study takes a *phenomenological approach* to the research, an approach which aims to describe and understand a specific human experience, and ascertain commonalities in the experience across a group of individuals who live it every day (Giorgi, 1985, 1994, 1997, 2009; Moustakas, 1994). The objective of phenomenology is to uncover the *eidos*—or the shared, universal essence—that embodies an experience under study (Koopman, 2015; Moustakas, 1994). At its core, phenomenology focuses on uncovering the thoughts and consciousness that capture and describe the shared, essential "eidetic residuum" of an experience—i.e. the emotions, feelings, physical reactions related to an experience; even the tastes, visions, smells, and sounds (Koopman, 2015).

Central to the phenomenological inquiry is that a shared, essential perceived reality exists, and that this shared reality emerges in common features across different individuals' lived experience (Giorgi, 1985, 1994, 1997, 2009; Giorgi, Giorgi, & Morley, 2017; Moustakas, 1994). To this end, the phenomenological inquiry consults only those who have lived the experience. Taken together, the common patterns of description that emerge across participants' accounts represent a structure of universal, essential elements that define a particular lived experience—a *phenomenon* (Moustakas, 1994). An element is only essential to this structure if it contributes to the wholeness and totality of the phenomenon (Giorgi, 1997). In other words, if the structure of

a phenomenon cannot exist without the inclusion of a particular element, then that element is, in fact, essential to that phenomenon.

With its explicit focus on describing what it means to *live* a particular experience, and its ultimate objective of identifying the shared, essential elements which are common across people's lived experience, phenomenology stands alone as a unique approach. It is unlike quantitative and other qualitative approaches (e.g. grounded theory), which aim to prove causality, or test or produce a theory (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). Phenomenology also differs from traditional qualitative approaches such as ethnography, which seeks to uncover broad, structured patterns of social and cultural knowledge, oftentimes by consulting multiple types of stakeholders, with the trade-off of unpacking individuals' cognition and affect (Arnould, 2003). Phenomenology, as an alternative, explores the conscious "lived world" of those who have experienced a given experience, in effort to ascertain what a given phenomenon *is*, what it means to *live* that phenomenon, what that phenomenon *feels* like—in essence, what it means *to be* (Finlay, 2009; Moustakas, 1994).

Contemporary scientific phenomenology originates from early twentieth-century European philosophical phenomenology, namely the teachings of Husserl (1970/1936, 1983/1913) and Heidegger (1962/1927). Although both scholars' schools of thought aimed to understand the lived experience, they differed on how the lived experience should be approached. Earlier Husserl and his followers privileged "intentionality," meaning what is presented in its natural, conscious form, and emphasized the description of an experience as it appears to those who live it (Dowling, 2007). The later Heideggerian School, in contrast, prioritized hermeneutics, or the understanding of a lived experience through the interpretation of the observer (Dowling, 2007). This core divergence has shaped contemporary scientific

phenomenology, implicating the researcher and her role in the inquiry in distinct ways. Most importantly, contemporary Husserlian (descriptive) approaches require the researcher to "bracket" (i.e. suspend) her biases from the analysis (Dowling, 2007), whereas Heideggerian (interpretive) approaches require the researcher to embed them (Reiners, 2012). As will be discussed, the present study employs Georgi's phenomenological method in data analysis, a descriptive, Husserlian approach that is particularly insightful in exploring phenomena not yet well-researched or understood.

To capture the lived experience, the phenomenological inquiry draws on detailed personal accounts of the feelings and emotions related to the phenomenon of interest, collected directly from the people who themselves live it (Kleiman, 2004). Most often, phenomenological data are collected vis-à-vis interviews (e.g. Andrade & Anderson, 2008; Beck, 1992; Jensen et al., 2014; Meisenbach, 2010; Papp, Markkanen, & von Bonsdorff, 2003). No statement or shared experience is too obvious or basic to be considered meaningful in a phenomenological inquiry (Sokolowski, 2000). On the contrary, it is exactly the everyday, "taken-for-granted" experiences that the phenomenological approach seeks to interrogate, as these are the experiences that illuminate, embody, and represent what is means to live a given phenomenon (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007).

Ultimately, the final product of the phenomenological analysis is a rich thematic description of the structure of the shared, common elements of the experience under study, as described by the people who live it every day. In public policy and the helping fields, this end-product is particularly insightful for intervention design, as it sheds light on the ways in which vulnerable populations experience specific disparities, and illuminates opportunities for action (Beck, 1992; Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). As such, phenomenological studies are

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particularly valuable for policymakers, practitioners, and "others whose practice would be enhanced by understanding how individuals live through, and make sense of, a particular experience" (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007, p. 1377). The phenomenological approach, therefore, is particularly suitable for the present study, whose intended audience is policy, practice, and applied research professionals, who are involved in the design of interventions targeting working mothers and informal workers.

Positionality

Recognizing one's positionality—i.e. one's worldview, cultural background, privileges, and personal biases—is essential in qualitative research, but is particularly important in phenomenology, where the researcher's reading of the data defines the essence of the experience under study (Finlay, 2009; Moustakas, 1994). Understanding positionality is also of critical importance in international research, where cultural differences, economic imbalances, power differentials, and language barriers are often at play (Srivastava, 2006). Acknowledging the importance of positionality from the initial stages of the inquiry, I worked to recognize and understand the ways in which my background and beliefs shaped my place in the research, and consider how my role may have affected the study procedures and outcomes. This process called for deep self-reflection of my various identities—researcher, social worker, foreigner, woman, doctoral student, white person, U.S.-American—and unpack these roles vis-à-vis the research with low-income, Afro-Brazilian women from Salvador, Brazil.

I am a university-educated, white, U.S.-American woman, trained primarily in the United States in the fields of social work, labor studies, and gender relations. I traveled to Salvador for three months in 2016 to collect the data for the present study, enabled by the generous support of a doctoral dissertation fellowship. The fieldwork conducted for the present study built on my

previous academic and professional experience. I have worked as an international social worker and researcher/practitioner in Latin America for over ten years, and previously conducted field research with informally employed women in LMICs, including a pre-dissertation study in Salvador, Brazil in 2014. I am a native English speaker and fluent in Portuguese, and focused on Latin American and Brazilian cultural studies throughout my doctoral career, both at my home university in the United States and through academic exchange in Brazil. Further, during doctoral studies, I worked for the International Labor Organization first as a research intern and later as a research consultant, contributing to projects specifically focused on gender, informal labor, and the care economy. This experience shaped my understanding of unpaid care work, and the policies through which it may be addressed.

Taken together, my background and training aptly prepared me to conduct the present study. Yet, packed into my personal, professional, academic, and fieldwork experiences are my own biases—how I see the world, particularly with regards to social justice and gender inequality. Thus, while my background and training gave me a solid foundation on which I would base the present study, my past experiences and training inherently shaded how I would approach and understand the research.

Furthermore, obvious markers made me an outsider to the women I interviewed, namely my race, accent, relative economic status, level of education, and "foreignness." Such differences both create and reflect the relative position of power that researchers often have in the field, and foster an inevitable distance between the researcher and the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These dynamics may be particularly pronounced with U.S.-American researchers in Latin America, where a post-colonial context of U.S. intervention has shaped the political-economic and social landscape for well over a century (Brisbois & Almeida, 2017).

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Guided by my training and previous fieldwork experience, I recognized early on that these dynamics were at play. I also understood that they were likely to bias the study if left unacknowledged. For instance, failing to identify and unpack my preconceived understandings of the inquiry and the population under study would likely skew my collection and reading of the data. Ignoring power differentials could, at best, shade my reading of the data, or, at worst, lead to participant "closedness" and even mistrust of me as the researcher, or the overall inquiry. Guided by my earlier international fieldwork, I recognized another risk: that overlooking cultural communication norms and failing to prepare for possible language barriers could compromise the credibility of the data.

Acknowledging that these dynamics were at play, I engaged in various practices throughout the research process to help me recognize my own biases, and be transparent in the ways in which they may have shaped the inquiry. First, and as will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section, I engaged two phenomenological devices, bracketing and phenomenological reduction, to help identify the suppositions I brought to the inquiry. These devices proved particularly insightful when reconciling gender issues in the field. For example, many participants shared that they became mothers as adolescents, sometimes through sexual assault, and almost always through relationships with (much) older men. As a feminist trained in gender studies, my initial instinct was to place blame on imbalanced gender structures for these outcomes.

Recognizing these dynamics, I pushed myself to suspend this assumption as I conducted the interviews and analyzed the data, striving to be open to the *participants'* understandings of the experience under study. One respondent, for instance, discussed that as an adolescent, she consciously searched for a way out of her formative home, and that her older husband was that

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avenue, referring to him as being at "the right place, at the right time." By being open to this participant's description of her lived experience, it became evident that she saw herself as an active agent in determining her circumstances, not a victim. It was through such deeply reflective processes of peeling back the layers of the data (phenomenological reduction) and suspending my own knowledge and beliefs (bracketing) that I was able to reach an openness that allowed for thoughtful—and sometimes unexpected—interpretations of the data to emerge.

Going beyond devices of methodological rigor to understand positionality, I also turned to one of the most powerful tools in my toolbox: my training as a social worker. Rooted in empathy, social justice, and the acknowledgement of one's own privileges, my professional training proved particularly valuable in recognizing how my various identities may have shaped the participant/researcher relationship. It also led me to question how I presented both myself and the research, and helped me reflect on how the research might be designed to empower the participant, rather than reinforce the social inequalities under study. For instance, in the field, the research team addressed participants as "experts," not "subjects." Further, while conducting interviews, I engaged the key social work skills of empathy and encouraging equitable participation, asking probing questions that encouraged deep explanation and striving to be open to participants' understanding of the data. In analyzing the data and in setting forth recommendations for practice, policy, and research, I turned to the strength-based approach on which the social work perspective is based, yet still drawing conclusions and recommendations that were close to the data—i.e. the participants' voices.

Throughout the research process, and especially while conducting the interviews, I also sought insight from core social work values, namely 1) social justice, 2) dignity and worth of the person, and 3) the importance of human relationships. I also drew upon specific social work

principles from the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) Code of Ethics, including

Ethical Standard 1.05: Cultural Awareness and Social Diversity (NASW, 2017). Turning to

these core values and principles helped build rapport with participants, and promoted open,

warm dialogue that proceeded as conversations, not interrogations, about participants' work and

family lives. While not to be overstated, participants' voluntary participant feedback suggested

the approach was meaningful and effective. Following the interviews, several participants

shared (without prompt) that they "enjoyed the experience a lot," and that partaking in the

interview was an emotional release.

Data and Methods

Giorgi's Method of Phenomenological Analysis

To analyze the data, Giorgi's method of phenomenological analysis was employed.

Giorgi's method is a structured, descriptive, Husserlian approach, which emphasizes thick

description of the conscious, lived experience, and the researcher's bracketing of prior

knowledge of the experience under study (Giorgi, 1985, 1994, 1997, 2009). Contrary to

hermeneutic phenomenological approaches (e.g. interpretative phenomenological analysis),

Giorgi's descriptive method privileges the conscious words of the participants, rather than the

researcher's interpretation of them (Finlay, 2009; Giorgi, 1997; Kleiman, 2004). Further,

hermeneutic approaches are often guided by an existing theory and may employ *a priori* coding

of the data based on that orientation (e.g. Idczak, 2007). Conversely, In Giorgi's and others

descriptive phenomenological analysis methods, external frameworks are not imposed on the

data; instead they may be brought in after the data has been collected and analyzed. Therefore,

Giorgi's method is particularly suited for understanding new phenomena, as explanations are not

"imposed before the phenomena have been understood from within" the population under study

(Moran, 2000, p. 4). Giorgi's method has been employed in various studies from helping fields, which aim to inform practice and policy with vulnerable populations whose own point-of-view is often overlooked (e.g. Hedman, Häggström, Mamhidir, & Pöder, 2017; Jensen et al., 2014).

Although descriptive, Giorgi's method goes beyond explicit meanings and surface expressions, aiming to "read between the lines" of what is presented (Finlay, 2009, p. 10). This is done with caution and restraint; the researcher "stay[s] close to what is given them in richness and complexity," drawing informed, appropriately intuitive assertions which are rooted in the data (Finlay, 2009, p. 10). As with other phenomenological methods, Giorgi's approach has as its central aim to "explicate—eidetically—the phenomenon as a whole regardless of the individual concerned" (Finlay, 2009, p. 9). Individual-level idiographic details, therefore, are integrated into the overall phenomenological structure, rather than unpacked vis-à-vis single participants.

To implement Giorgi's method, the researcher must "look at the data with the attitude of relative openness" (Giorgi, 1994, p. 212). This is done by engaging in three essential practices: 1) adopting a phenomenological attitude, 2) engaging in phenomenological reduction, and 3) bracketing preexisting knowledge and beliefs, aiming to transcend them above the analysis (Giorgi, 1997). Acknowledging that no researcher can be absolutely unbiased or approach an inquiry with a completely blank slate, bracketing and suspending one's prior understandings pushes the researcher to acknowledge preceding suppositions, and be open to understanding data in an original way (Giorgi, 1985, 2009).

Guided by Giorgi's approach, I aimed to set aside my prior understandings of the experience under study, to allow original patterns and relationships to emerge from the data. Specifically, I strove to suspend my personal and professional conceptualizations of gender

dynamics and inequalities, and of the informal labor market and women's disadvantaged position in it. I revisited such debates only after the data had been fully analyzed, and the essential structure of the present inquiry had been discerned.

Data Collection

   Data sources. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 24 informally employed mothers in Salvador, Brazil over three months in 2016. The interview questions focused on the participants' experiences navigating work and family roles, as well as experiences related to education, the family, and romantic relationships across their lives. I designed the interview questions using a life course perspective, which probed family and work roles from childhood to adulthood, with emphasis on the latter. I chose this design approach for two reasons. First, the literature posits that early-childhood work experiences in the informal labor market leads to informal labor outcomes in adulthood, and that girls who provide care early on in life in the home may be adversely affected in the labor market as adults (Samman et al., 2016). As such, it was imperative to understand the nature of participants' early work and family contexts, and the ways in which they relate to the present-day work/family experience. Second, previous phenomenological studies suggest that understanding trajectories of a lived experience sheds light on both adverse events as well as protective factors relating to that experience (e.g. Watt, David, Ladd, & Shamos, 1995). Such information is relevant to the design and informing of interventions, thus central to the present study. In the field, the interviewing strategy followed the phenomenological approach in which participants were asked to describe their experience, with the interviewer probing for detail and clarity when necessary (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). For example, I requested specific examples to illustrate an experience, which yielded thick, descriptive data.

I developed the interview guide and other research materials (e.g. the informed consent form) in English, and then translated them into Portuguese. Two bilingual senior faculty advisors, one from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and one from the Federal University of Bahia (Universidade Federal de Bahia, UFBA) in Salvador, Brazil, then reviewed the translations. Our team reviewed the protocol numerous times in Portuguese to ascertain linguistic and cultural relevance for the population under study and local context of Salvador, adjusting as necessary. The updated protocol was then compared to the original English protocol to ensure question accuracy. Once in Salvador, I pilot-tested the questionnaire in mock interviews with three research assistants, in order to test the interview questions as well as provide the assistants hands-on training for the field. Problematic and irrelevant questions were adjusted or omitted, yielding the final interview guide used in the field (see Appendix A).

Study participants were recruited using a purposive sampling technique (Liersch-Sumskis, Curtis, & Moxham, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which deliberately aimed to identify low-income, informally employed mothers in Salvador—i.e. the individuals who live the experience under study. Most participants were recruited at one of two types of sites: informal employment spaces (e.g. informal markets; street vendor hubs), or social service agencies, which provide health and social assistance to low-income families. Additional participants were identified through participant referral.

The recruitment sites were deliberately selected because they provided access to participants in two key social domains: work and family. Further, the recruitment strategy provided access to a range of types of informal workers (e.g. home-based own-account workers; domestic workers; street vendors). What is more, the recruitment strategy controlled for an "empowerment effect" of sampling only women who had sought social assistance, which could

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have shaped their work/family experiences by providing access to supportive resources. The strategy also limited the extent to which employment conditions such as job type and work schedules shaped the work/family experience.

I conducted all interviews in Portuguese. The interviews took place in participants' homes or in a private location at a research site (e.g. a private room in the social service office; an area apart from other vendors in an informal marketplace). One of three research assistants attended each interview. All research assistants were female university students from Salvador, trained in qualitative methods, and native speakers of Portuguese. The research assistants helped with participant recruitment, and assisted in clarifying interview questions as needed (e.g. rephrasing an interview question if a participant did not understand it). The interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 2.5 hours, with a median length of 45 minutes. The broad range in interview time was due to outliers on both ends. One participant was closed throughout her interview, despite efforts to engage, resulting in a short conversation of 30 minutes. The participant who spoke for 2.5 hours, on the other hand, was very open and willingly shared extensive, detailed information. The interviews were conducted until saturation was reached and no new topics emerged, yielding a final sample of 24 participants. Immediately following the data collection, one of the research assistants transcribed each interview verbatim in Portuguese. I then reviewed each transcription for completeness and accuracy.

In addition to the interview data, I conducted participant observation at the research sites over the three months of fieldwork, visiting the social service agencies and informal markets almost every day for several hours a day. In this effort, I shadowed case workers serving the target population at social service sites, and observed social interactions in informal markets. I

maintained written field notes documenting observations and impressions during site visits, which I later used to triangulate the interview data.

Sample inclusion criteria. The inclusion criteria to participate in the study included: 1) women who were 2) low-income, 3) 18 to 29 years old, 4) provided care to at least one child dependent in the home, and 5) were informally employed at the time of recruitment. Informal employment was determined by the participant working without a *carteira assinada* (a signed work card), the official delineation of informal employment in Brazil (ILO, 2016a). In working without a signed work card, participants were either 1) self-employed workers or 2) wage-earners employed in an enterprise without a formal contract, with the enterprise itself being either formal (legally registered) or informal (not legally registered). Low-income status was determined by receiving or qualifying for *Bolsa Família*, a conditional cash transfer program and Brazil's principle social welfare policy. All participants provided care to at least one dependent child in the home. Some participants also cared for additional children as well as other dependents such as younger siblings and grandparents.

The sample age parameter was limited to young adult women between the ages of 18 to 29 for two reasons: first, to ensure that the experiences of working mothers currently providing care were adequately represented; and second, to yield comparable caregiving conditions and experiences. The nature of caregiving changes across life stages, varying with dependents' needs and ages, and relative caregiver roles (Moen, Robison, & Fields, 1994). For instance, time, energy, and resource demands tend to be higher when caring for infants and toddlers than for adolescent children. Further, young adult women are more likely to provide care for their own children, whereas middle-age and elder women may care for grandchildren or older adults. These distinctions shape the nature of care provided and the expectations imposed on the

caregiver. Thus, to compare similar care experiences, and to ensure that working mothers with active family care roles were fully represented, the sample was limited to young adult mothers.

Ethical Considerations

All interview materials were approved in English and Portuguese by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the United States. The IRB application was reviewed by the supervising faculty in Brazil at the Federal University of Bahia (Universidade Federal de Bahia, UFBA) and deemed sufficient and in accordance with local ethical standards and practices. As such, no additional IRB applications were required in Brazil.

Before participating in the interview, all participants read or were read a detailed informed consent form, which they were required to sign, verifying their understanding of the form (see Appendix B). As indicated in the agreement, participants were permitted to opt out of any question or terminate the interview without penalty, per their discretion. Although given the option, no participants chose to do either. All participants were provided a copy of the informed consent form in Portuguese, which included email and telephone contact information for follow-up and, if necessary, redress in the United States and Brazil. To protect the anonymity of the participants, all data were de-identified and assigned a participant number, which was used in data analysis and reporting.

In Brazil, one of the two faculty advisors advised me on participant recruitment and data collection. Per her recommendation, no compensation was provided for participation in the study, as compensation may be viewed as condescending and untrustworthy in the local context. As such, participation in the study was voluntary and uncompensated, the standard practice and cultural norm for research conducted in Salvador, Brazil.

Coding and Data Analysis

 The data were analyzed in their original language (Portuguese) using Giorgi's method, which proceeded in four steps (Table 3.1). I began by gaining a comprehensive sense of the data (Step 1), which included reading all transcripts numerous times without predefined criteria (Giorgi, 2009), and listening to the recorded interviews in tandem. To further orient myself with the data, I entered all transcripts into NVivo, a qualitative data analysis computer software package, and ran a query command of the transcripts. This provided a sense of the types of words participants used when describing their experience, and the frequency at which the phrases were stated (Saldaña, 2016).

 After several readings of each transcript and running the query, I then began to identify and categorize meaning units in the data (i.e. blocks of statements with self-contained meaning) (Step 2). This second step of analysis required multiple phases and iterations using NVivo, as well as establishing consensus with the research team. To begin, I pre-coded the transcripts by hand, making preliminary notes on emerging and significant statements (Saldaña, 2016). Next, I collaborated with one of the two faculty advisors to begin formulating open codes, in effort to organize the data and begin understanding patterns. Independently, we each manually open-coded one transcript using a descriptive coding method, which aims to 1) capture a block of text using one or a few words that describe the statement, and 2) provide an inventory of topics to be used in subsequent categorizing and indexing (Saldaña, 2016). We then met to discuss our results, yielding an initial scheme of 40 preliminary codes.

Table 3.1 Stages of analysis using Giorgi's method

Giorgi's Method of Phenomenological Analysis
Step 1: Obtain a general and comprehensive sense of the data gathered.
Step 2: Identify meaning units.
Step 3: Relate the meaning units to the research question and assemble them into a structure of meaning categories.
Step 4: Conduct a final, general analysis to synthesize the categories and derive the overall essence of the phenomenon.

Adapted from Giorgi (1985, 2009).

Next, I entered the scheme of preliminary codes into NVivo. The faculty advisor and I then used this scheme to independently analyze two additional transcripts. To verify the accuracy of the codes, I calculated interrater reliability scores using two metrics: the overall percent agreement and Cohen's kappa coefficient (k), a likelihood of agreement statistic. Due to the central role of the primary researcher, interrater reliability is rarely pursued in phenomenological research, even when conducted by teams (Marques & McCall, 2005). However, recent literature (e.g. Marques & McCall, 2005) advocates for phenomenological studies to establish interrater reliability, which helps control for researcher bias, balances the subjectivity inherent to phenomenology, and helps ensure that reoccurring concepts are categorized by common understanding, rather than by chance. We conducted three rounds of independent coding in NVivo, meeting after each iteration to evaluate codes that did not meet the Cohen's kappa reliability threshold ($k \geq 0.41$), revising low-scoring codes by collapsing, eliminating, and restructuring them as necessary. Ultimately, a final scheme of 29 codes with Cohen's kappa scores at or above the minimum threshold ($k \geq 0.41$) was yielded (see Appendix C).

After coding the remaining transcripts with the verified scheme, I then reviewed the codes again vis-à-vis the research question, looking for patterns in relationships between codes, and peeling back the context to isolate the units of text most relevant to the question under study. I treated all participant statements, including "taken-for-granted" and "basic" statements, with equal importance, paying attention to both descriptions of what was experienced, as well as how it was experienced (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007, pp. 1375-1376). Throughout this iterative process, I stayed close to the data, making deductions rooted in appropriate intuitive validations (Giorgi, 1994, 2009). For example, in aiming to understand the nature of participants' work/family demands, I explored the varieties of work/family demands that the participants take on, and probed for detailed description of the experiential aspects of those demands. This resulted in a description of work/family tasks as well as the emotions, feelings, and behaviors experienced when managing them (Elliot & Timulak, 2005).

Through several iterations of reviewing the meaning units, meaning categories began to emerge, and from patterns within and between these categories, overarching essential themes were identified (Step 3). I then conducted a final, general analysis of the data, to synthesize the themes and ascertain the overall essence of the experience under study (Step 4) (Giorgi, 1994). Ultimately, the phenomenological data analysis using Giorgi's approach yielded a structure of six essential themes and 21 sub-themes. Taken together, these themes represent the essence of the work/family experience, as lived by informally employed mothers in Salvador, Brazil (Table 4.2).

Rigor and Trustworthiness

To enhance the credibility (i.e. believability) and trustworthiness (i.e. overall truth value) of the study, I followed Giorgi's (1997) protocol for rigor, which includes three essential steps:

phenomenological reduction, bracketing, and thick description. First, while collecting and

analyzing the data, I strove to adopt an "attitude" of phenomenological reduction (Giorgi, 1997),

in which I peeled back the layers of context in the data and sought meaning in participants'

statements by reading between the lines. In this process, I compared statements (complementary

as well as contradictory) within and across participants, drawing interpretations that remained

close to the data. Second, I strove to bracket my own preconceived notions and knowledge about

the experience under study, withholding existential claims and prior beliefs. This facilitated an

openness in collecting, reviewing, and understanding the data. Third, I aimed to set forth thick

description of the phenomenon of study, and strove to incorporate rich quotations, in order to

capture each element discussed. To gather thick data, I asked probing questions to seek clarity,

and requested detailed examples to help illustrate participants' statements.

In addition to following Giorgi's essential practices, I took additional measures during

the research design, data collection, and analysis phases to further enhance the rigor of the study.

To help enhance the credibility and accuracy of interpretations, I worked with a research team of

two faculty advisors and three research assistants to establish group consensus. This team

consisted of five Brazilian researcher/practitioners, all of whom are women, native speakers of

Portuguese, trained in gender and family studies, specialists in qualitative research, and from

helping fields, such as social work and psychology. As such, the team was well positioned to

provide deep insight on interpretations of the data. Incidentally, Giorgi (1989) recommends

seeking input from other researchers to enhance credibility, positing that consulting non-

participant experts is preferable to seeking participant input, as reviewing the analysis goes

beyond the expected tasks of participants and requires a different level of conscious thinking

than is engaged in reliving past experiences. To establish consensus, I conducted interrater

reliability of early-stage codes, and consulted the research team during the data collection, analysis, and write-up phases.

To further enhance the credibility as well as the reliability of the data, I engaged local research assistants to help with participant recruitment and, when needed, with clarifying language issues during interviews. With their cultural and linguistic proximity to the participants, the assistants helped build rapport and encouraged open conversation during interviews. The assistants also mitigated language barriers as they arose, helping to minimize misunderstanding due to language during the interviews.

Further enhancing the reliability and accuracy of the data, I used a method of space triangulation, in which data was collected from multiple sites (Curtin, Curtin, & Fossey, 2007). Conducting interviews at various sites allowed for diverse work/family contexts to be considered (e.g. work and schedule conditions of a variety of types of informal jobs), and helped control for sample bias (e.g. empowerment effects of women seeking social assistance).

To establish replicability, an essential step of all credible empirical research, I employed a systemic method for data analysis (Giorgi's phenomenological method), and described in detail the methodological procedures employed. This description provided a "paper trail" leading to end results, thus allowing future researchers to scrutinize, verify, and replicate the procedures. Included in the paper trail are all participant quotations in their original language, listed as endnotes in the present study.

To gain deep understanding of the population of interest and help control for researcher bias, I also conducted participant observation at the research sites (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Over the three months of fieldwork conducted for the present study, I spent several hours a day, nearly every day of the week, in informal marketplaces and at the social service agencies. From these

interactions, I gained a deeper understanding of informally employed mothers' everyday work and family experiences.

Finally, to enhance the overall integrity of the data, I kept an audit trail of field notes and reflective memos throughout the research process (Padgett, 2008). These notes documented my research steps and decisions, as well as my evolving impressions of the data. For example, during data collection I documented participant/research rapport before, during, and after each interview, and reflected on participants' body language and other non-verbal cues. While conducting the data analysis, I recorded my evolving understandings of the data. Maintaining an audit trail facilitated phenomenological bracketing by helping me identify and suspend my preconceived understandings of the experience under study.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter presents the study results. To begin, the sample of participants is described in detail. Next, the results from the phenomenological analysis are presented. Six essential themes with sub-themes emerged from the analysis. Taken together, these themes represent the essence of informally employed mothers' work/family in Salvador, Brazil. To conclude, a brief summary of the results is set forth.

Description of the Study Participants

Twenty-four informally employed mothers in the city of Salvador, Brazil took part in the study (see Table 4.1 and Appendix D). Participant age ranged from 19 to 29 years old, with an average age of 24.2 years. The number of children per participant ranged from 1 to 4, with an average of 1.5 children. As determined by the inclusion criteria, all participants provided care to at least one child in the home. Some participants also provided care to other dependents, including younger siblings and grandparents.

Participant education attainment ranged from some secondary school to completion of a university degree, with most participants (14) having less than a secondary school (high school) degree. Over half of all participants (17) dropped out of secondary school, with 16 dropping out due to adolescent pregnancy, and one dropping out due to neighborhood gang violence, which prevented her from going to school. Of the 17 participants who dropped out, three went back to school as adults and completed their secondary degree.

Participant age at first pregnancy ranged from 13 to 26 years old, with the average age at first pregnancy being 17.7 years. Twenty of the 24 participants became mothers as adolescents (at or before age 19). Participants' current marital status varied. At the time of the interview, 16

participants were single mothers, two were married or cohabitating with a child's biological father, and six were married or cohabitating with a new partner who was not a child's biological father. All participants identified as heterosexual.

Although it was not an inclusion criteria, all participants were Afro-Brazilian. Further, all participants were originally from Salvador or surrounding towns. By nature of the inclusion criteria, all participants identified as low-income, which was defined by receiving *Bolsa Família* benefits, or qualifying for the program but opting out. All participants described growing up in poverty, with most living in low-income peripheral neighborhoods or squatter settlements as children. Most participants were raised by single mothers. Twenty-one participants stated that neighborhood violence (e.g. gang violence; drug trafficking) affected their neighborhood today. Most participants were currently living in low-income peripheral neighborhoods (*favelas*) outside of Salvador. One participant lived in a low-income neighborhood on a nearby island.

As required by the inclusion criteria, all participants were employed in an informal job, which was qualified as a job that did not provide a signed work card (*carteira assinada*), or, if self-employed, operating an enterprise that was not formal or legally registered. As such, participants were employed as either 1) an own-account, self-employed worker (i.e. autonomous worker without a direct boss), or 2) an undocumented wage-earner, who had a direct boss but no formal contract. Under these categories, participants' specific jobs varied, including event promoter, street vendor, cook, home-based manicurist, and house cleaner, among others.

The duration of time employed in one's current informal job ranged from two weeks to seven years. The number of hours worked each week varied by participant, and ranged from a few hours to over 50 hours a week. Eight participants had held a job in the *formal* sector at some point, with seven participants leaving their previous formal jobs because they were fired, the

business closed, or the position ended; and one leaving because her work schedule was not conducive to providing care for her infant child. Of the 24 participants, 23 stated that if given the choice, they would prefer to work formally (with a signed work card) instead of informally (without a signed work card).

Table 4.1 Summary of participant demographics.

Informally Employed Mothers (*N*=24)					
	n	%	Mean	Min	Max
Age	24		24.2	19	29
Race/Ethnicity					
Afro-Brazilian	24	100.0			
Number of children	24		1.5	1	4
Education attainment					
Less than secondary school	14	58.3			
Completed secondary school	9	37.5			
Completed tertiary education	1	4.2			
Dropped out of secondary school					
Yes	17	70.8			
No	7	29.2			
Age at first pregnancy	24		17.7	13	26
Adolescent mother					
Yes	20	83.3			
No	4	16.7			
Marital status					
Single mother	16	66.7			
Married/cohabitating with a new partner, non-father	6	25.0			
Married/cohabitating with a child's father	2	8.3			
Type of informal employment					
Wage-worker without a formal contract	13	54.2			
Own-account/self-employed worker	11	45.8			

The Essential Structure of the Lived Experience

Six essential themes and 21 sub-themes emerged from the phenomenological analysis (Table 4.2). The themes proceed as follows. First, *Theme 1: Early and unplanned work/family trajectories*, captures the way in which most participants' work/family experience began: unplanned and during adolescence. This context had profound and lasting effects on participants' subsequent work/family trajectories, which are explored in depth in *Theme 2: "I haven't had options": Being a low-income mother in an unfavorable labor market*. *Theme 3: Precarious conditions of work* then focuses on the exploitative terms and conditions of participants' current informal work. Next, *Theme 4: "It's all on my shoulders": Distribution of responsibilities in the home* captures the participants' complex work/family demands, and *Theme 5: "It stresses me"* explores the effects of these demands, focusing on issues related to health and mental health. Finally, *Theme 6: Sources of strength* explores the resources and relationships that help participants cope with their challenging work/family experience.

Theme 1: Early and Unplanned Work/Family Trajectories

Among the most salient themes defining informally employed mothers' work/family experience is the nature of how the experience began: early and unplanned. For most participants, motherhood began unexpectedly via an unplanned pregnancy during adolescence, with 20 of the 24 participants becoming a mother by age 19. Further, early pregnancies typically occurred in age-disparate relationships, in which participants engaged in sexual activity with older men from early adolescence on. Compared to the participants, the older male partners tended to have access to more resources, and more knowledge and know-how, particularly with regards to sexual activity. This imbalance shaped sexual behavior and family planning, resulting in unprotected sex and, for some participants, adolescent pregnancy. Early pregnancy forced

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many participants to drop out of school, impacting their subsequent opportunities in the labor

market.

Table 4.2 Essential structure of informally employed mothers' work/family experience.

Theme 1: Early and Unplanned Work/Family Trajectories
      Relationships with older men and adolescent pregnancy
      School drop-out
      Early work/family roles

Theme 2: "I Haven't Had Options": Being a Low-Income Mother in an Unfavorable Labor Market
      Wanting a "better" job
      Stunted by education gaps
      Unfavorable labor market conditions
      The motherhood bias

Theme 3: Precarious Conditions of Work
      Unreliable wages
      A lack of employment protections and benefits
      Schedule constraints

Theme 4: "It's All on My Shoulders": Distribution of Responsibilities in the Home
      Doing it all
      Absent fathers
      Role expectations
      A patchwork of care solutions

Theme 5: "It Stresses Me"
      Work/family stress
      Personal time and leisure
      Stress from violence

Theme 6: Sources of Strength
      "My child is everything": Strength in motherhood
      "I'm going to work!": Strength from employment
      "She's my safety net": Strength from family and friends
      "I'm in the presence of God": Strength from religion

Relationships with older men and adolescent pregnancy. Across the study sample, participants' first romantic partners tended to be several years older, with reported age differentials ranging from one to 22 years, and four participants' first romantic partners being 15 years or more their senior. All participants' first unions and sexual relationships were initiated during adolescence, with the youngest reported first union commencing when the participant was 11 years old. When discussing their first relationships, participants usually referred to their first partners and the first fathers of their children as their "husbands" (*"maridos"* or *"esposos"*), although few partnerships (past or present) were legally-bound. Most "marriages" were, in fact, cohabitating unions.

Many participants described their early relationships as infatuated first loves in which they "played house" with their partner, enraptured by the ideas of marriage, cohabitation, and motherhood. Other participants described adolescence as a carefree period in which they went out and met people (including men) at unsupervised events. Still other participants described actively searching for an older husband during adolescence in effort to escape difficult conditions of their formative households (e.g. family violence; housing instability; extreme poverty). Regardless of the motivation for the early relationship, underlying all experiences were profound power disparities between the participants and their partners. This imbalance had lasting effects on participant's later work/family experiences.

> By 13 years old, I'd already started working and dating, so that I could move out [of my formative home]. I met my husband when I was 13 [and he was 26]. In the beginning, our relationship was really good, but to have a relationship, there has to be love. I never loved my husband in "that way"—passionate love. He was an opportunity that I needed, so I took it, you know? Say there's an older man, who wants to completely take care of you, give you the stability that you never had. So, I took the opportunity. I say that he was in the right place, at the right time.

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I moved in with him when I was 16 years old. We "played house," but this period of time was really complicated. He rented a house, decorated it really beautifully. But he didn't move in with me. He worked during the day. He would leave me in the house, give me food and clothes—and he thought that everything was ok. But I had to stay in the house, waiting for him to come home. I only went out to go to school... I studied until I was 17, and then I stopped going to school, because I got pregnant with my son.[i]

<div align="right">Participant 7</div>

Most participants (20 of 24) entered motherhood during their adolescent years, with first pregnancies often occurring through unprotected sex with a male partner several years a participant's senior. To a lesser extent, participants' first pregnancy occurred through casual unprotected sex (also often with an older man), or by sexual assault. It is worth noting that some participants engaged in unprotected sexual behavior during adolescence, but did not become pregnant until later in life.

The participants often discussed their naiveté as adolescents with regards to sexual behavior and family planning, as well as having less experience and knowledge compared to their partners:

I got pregnant at 15, and had my first daughter at 16. He [participant's former partner] was 37. At the beginning, I didn't even realize I was pregnant. At that point in my life, I just wanted to have a daughter to take care of, you know? Today—mercy! But back then, I wanted it. I saw everyone with a kid, even my sister. So, I said, "I want to have mine." I said, "my God, give me my daughter." So, my first daughter, I wanted her, but it was more because of a lack of life experience than that I *wanted* it. It's not like I planned it with all the consciousness that I have today.

I stayed with my first daughter's husband for six months. I lived with him. The thing was, I'd started to work at a bar. He started to get really jealous, saying that I only came home at night to sleep, because I'd be at the bar all day… He cheated on me, so I left him. But I didn't know that I was pregnant. He refused to claim paternity; he only did so after I took him to court several times—many, many times, until the court obliged him. He claimed paternity when our daughter was four years old.[ii]

<div align="right">Participant 16</div>

As another participant described:

> My mom always thought that I'd get pregnant young, because I started dating around at 15 years old. But I didn't think about that much. I just thought about going out, having fun. Before having my daughter, I didn't use [contraception] much. Now I use the injection. Men should help too—use condoms. But men don't care about this at all.[iii]
>
> Participant 10

School drop-out. Early relationships and pregnancies shaped participants' subsequent work/family lives in profound ways. Two-thirds of the sample (16 of 24 participants) dropped out of secondary school because they became pregnant during adolescence. The participants who had dropped out due to pregnancy unanimously stated that their truncated education limited their later work opportunities and forced them to forfeit childhood dreams, such as becoming a teacher, nurse, or a lawyer. Participants described ways in which they struggled to reconcile their education gaps as adults in the labor force:

> I stopped studying when I was 15 years old because I was pregnant with my second daughter. Until seven months into my second pregnancy, I still went to school. But then I started to have a problem with low blood pressure. It was very low and I couldn't study at night because of my age. So, there I was with no education. And even today—still no education.[iv]
>
> Participant 5

> I had my son when I was 17, about to be 18. I used to like studying when I was younger, before I had a kid. I just dedicated myself to school. But after I had my son, my head was full with "son, work, son, work." My dream was to become a lawyer, but all of that was interrupted.[v]
>
> Participant 12

Early work/family roles. Although some participants had worked for pay before their pregnancy, most had not. However, after having their child, participants found it imperative to

find a job soon thereafter, in order to support their new family. This was particularly the case if

the father was not helping support the participant and child.

> I was 17 when I dropped out of school; I'd gotten pregnant. I stayed at home until my
> son turned eight months old. That was when he started to eat solids; before he was only
> nursing. When he was able to eat solids, I started to work. I found someone to take care
> of him, and it was then that I started to work here [at a snack stand on the beach].[vi]
>
> Participant 15

Taken together, unstable early relationships, adolescent pregnancy, and entering the labor

market to help sustain their new family pushed young participants to take on work/family roles

earlier in life than they had anticipated:

> When I found out that I was pregnant with my first daughter [at age 15], a part of me was
> happy, but there was another part of me that was not. My youth and my education were
> going to be cut short. But from the day I found out, I got it into my head that my own life
> was going to change because I was about to have a daughter. I wasn't going to have the
> same life that I'd had before. I told myself that I'd only go back to having fun after my
> daughter had grown up. However, then I had my second little one, so I still couldn't have
> fun.[vii]
>
> Participant 5

Theme 2: "I Haven't Had Options": Being a Low-Income Mother in an Unfavorable Labor Market

As a result of their truncated education and early work/family trajectories, as well as

broad, unfavorable labor market conditions, all participants described navigating a limited labor

market that offers them few decent job opportunities. Almost all mothers stated that they wanted

a "better" job, with "better" typically meaning "formal." However, securing such a job was

virtually impossible. As the participants explained, the labor market tends to favor people with

higher levels of education and professional qualifications, who have "relevant" (i.e. formal) work

experience and well-connected professional networks—resources that the participants do not

have. Being a mother added an additional level of marginalization, as employers are often

unwilling to hire someone with competing demands at home. Within this context, the

participants found themselves trapped in low-income, precarious work, and even efforts to build

their skillset, such as completing a secondary school or a technical course, did little to help them

get ahead.

Wanting a "better" job. Almost all participants described wanting a "better" job than

their current informal job. For almost all mothers, a "better" job meant one that is "formal" (i.e.

provides a signed work card), is stable, and pays a decent living wage. Twenty-three of the 24

participants stated that they would prefer to work formally if they could, as they believed formal

jobs are steadier, pay higher wages, and provide the workplace protections that informal jobs

lack.

> With a signed work card [working formally], all my rights are guaranteed. Without it, I
> have nothing, except that little bit of money at the end of the month. Working
> informally, with no rights at all, earning less than you'd earn working formally, where all
> of your rights guaranteed? No way! Having a signed work card is a necessity.[viii]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 8</div>

> I really just want to have a job that gives me a signed work card [that is formal]. If you
> get sick or are not feeling well, anything like this—when you have a signed card, you
> have all of your rights, everything is protected. You have your INSS [social insurance],
> too.[ix]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 15</div>

Participants also saw formal jobs as a vehicle for household stability. With a formal job,

a working mother could plan for the future:

> Working formally is a guarantee that you have for the future. I would like to work
> formally—if not for the money earned then for the secure future.[x]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 4</div>

Stunted by education gaps. Although most participants voiced wanting a better (i.e.

stable and formal) job, opportunities to secure such employment are limited, with participants

stating that their education was the key obstacle to getting a better job. With two-thirds of the

sample having dropped out of secondary school, participants explained that without at least a

secondary school degree, "decent" jobs are out of reach.

> I haven't had options in the labor market because I never finished school. I don't have
> my high school degree, so I can't even work somewhere like a supermarket. My
> education really traps me.[xi]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 12</div>

Almost all participants believed that their lack of training and education was a barrier to

securing a better job. Participants who had dropped out of school emphasized needing to finish

their secondary education to get a better job.

> The labor market, in addition to being difficult, requires a high level of qualification. I
> don't have a lot of choices because I don't have a high professional qualification. With
> the little I have, I'm always looking, researching, really worried about work.[xii]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 7</div>

Some participants went back to school or enrolled in some type of job training course, or

expressed wanting to enroll in one. The nature of such courses varied widely, ranging from high

school-equivalent degree programs, to private, fee-based technical training courses, to state-

subsidized programs, such as Pronatec, a federal vocational training program. However, even

participants who had finished secondary school (either as an adolescent or as a returning adult

student) and/or completed a technical course still navigated a difficult labor market. As

participants explained, a secondary school degree is the bare minimum in the formal labor

market, and additional job training courses did not necessarily fill experience and education gaps.

> I did a [technical training] course to be a security guard, but I couldn't find anything in that area. Look where I am now [working as an informal wage-earning cook]. Employers don't want to give an opportunity to someone who's only done a course. You need experience.[xiii]
>
> Participant 8

> I completed a computation course, but I still don't have my secondary school degree. I still can't get a job in a better place.[xiv]
>
> Participant 12

In addition, coordinating work, school, and care schedules was difficult for working mothers who returned to school. These mothers balanced not two, but three roles: mother, worker, and student.

> I dropped out of school when I was 16, about to be 17, because I got pregnant. Now, I'm trying to catch up and register to study at another school, but for people my age, there's only space in night school. When I leave work, it's already 11 o'clock at night. There's not enough time.[xv]
>
> Participant 23

Unfavorable labor market conditions. In addition to being stunted by their education, participants described various biases in the formal labor market, which barred them from securing a better job. In addition to education expectations, participants stated that to be competitive for gainful, formal jobs in Salvador, one must also have "relevant" experience. This meant experience developed in, and applicable to, higher-skill jobs in the formal sector. Many participants had many years of work experience; however, their ample experience in low-skill, informal jobs did not transfer to the higher-skill, formal market.

I'm a saleswoman. I have a lot of experience as a saleswoman [in informal markets]. But truthfully, what I really want is to be is a security guard. However, you need experience in that area [to get a job]. How are you supposed to get experience if no one gives you a chance?[xvi]

<div align="right">Participant 8</div>

Participants also described the importance of personal connections in the local labor market, and that "who you know" is a critical factor in securing a job in Salvador. Most participants, however, lacked a professional network in the higher-skill, formal sector. As such, having few connections to gainful employers, as well as having minimal professional guidance, further barred participants from pursuing better opportunities.

[Employers] usually hire family, friends. It's always like this. It's an issue of who you know. Here in Salvador, there's a lot of this.[xvii]

<div align="right">Participant 7</div>

I haven't had many options in the labor market. It's really because of knowledge. Contacts. Knowing people. Having some guidance.[xviii]

<div align="right">Participant 8</div>

With few connections to gainful employers, participants turned to their own personal connections for jobs, "asking around" to friends, neighbors, and family members to find employment. These contacts, however, tend to be linked to low-wage, informal jobs, which reaffirmed participants' ties to the informal labor market.

[I found my job as a cook through] a friend who told me about it. I was asking around, talking to people, and my friend helped me get the job.[xix]

<div align="right">Participant 8</div>

The motherhood bias. In addition to the trying conditions, participants navigated an additional layer of marginalization in the labor market: the motherhood bias. Various

participants described instances of workplace discrimination due to their motherhood status, explaining that some employers prefer to not hire a current or expecting mother:

> When I was pregnant, I was let go from my job because I didn't have a signed work card [was informally contracted]. They were going to sign my card, then I found out I was pregnant. Because I was pregnant, they refused to sign.
>
> The labor market here in Salvador is complicated with regards to family things. They prefer not to hire a woman who has a child because they know that the child demands her attention.[xx]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 9</div>

More broadly, most mothers discussed ways in which family responsibilities limited their options in the formal labor market:

> I never had the opportunity to sign my work card [work formally], and after having my son, things got even more complicated. I had to stay at home more to take care of my family.[xxi]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 14</div>

Theme 3: Precarious Conditions of Work

With little access to higher-paying, formal jobs, most participants were forced to take an informal job that paid low wages and imposed precarious terms and conditions of work. Almost all participants described their employment experience as working hard to just barely make ends meet. While most participants' jobs paid unlivable wages, their wages were also stretched thin, given that most participants were the sole income-earner in the home. To make ends meet, it was not uncommon for participants to add on a second job. Although the social safety net, particularly *Bolsa Família* cash transfers, eased their financial burden, participants still struggled to access even the most basic necessities, like food and clothing. In addition to earning precarious wages, most participants held jobs that provided no benefits or worker protections

(e.g. disability insurance). The lack of benefits was particularly onerous for expecting mothers, who were given no paid time off, even for pregnancy-related medical emergencies.

Unreliable wages. Most participants reported earning wages that fell below the poverty line (currently R$125 (US$38) per month). When asked whether their wages are sufficient to sustain their household, participants' overwhelming response was, "of course not!" (*"logico que não!"*) (Participant 2). Because of their low wages, participants often struggled to put food on the table and keep the lights on.

> We need a lot of things because the money [I make] only covers rent and food. The kids need clothes, shoes—all of it.[xxii]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 6</div>

> It's hard at home because we have just my salary, and I hardly make R$80 [US$25]. What I earn is practically nothing.[xxiii]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 12</div>

Participants often attributed their insufficient incomes to the informal nature of their work, and most participants discussed at length the volatility of their informal wages.

> Look, I sell [beauty products at home as a self-employed, own-account worker] because I don't have another option. It's really hard to make a sale. Some people sign up to buy things and then when the time comes to pay, they don't. Sometimes the job pays; sometimes it doesn't. You have a lot of people who don't pay, so they have to be covered. I have to put in my own money.[xxiv]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 16</div>

Participants' unpredictable, unstable wages also kept them from planning ahead for the future.

> I can work all week or I can work no days, it depends on whether anything comes up. Yesterday I had an event to work [participant's first job], but when I got there, they already had enough people on staff. So, I didn't work yesterday. I'm not working today either—the girl from the salon [participant's second job] didn't call, so nothing will happen today. My income isn't fixed. I can't say that I'll have "this much" at the end of

a month, because what I have at the end of this month is not the same as what I'll have at the end of another month.[xxv]

Participant 7

Public benefits, namely *Bolsa Família* cash transfers, helped relieve participants' financial burden by providing the means to make ends meet, and easing the volatility of inconsistent wages.

> *Bolsa Família* helps. I get R$112 (US$35) [per month from *Bolsa Família*]. It's good because my son's school costs R$150 per month. I'm able to say, "this month, I just need to put in R$38, and my son's school is all paid up." So, I'm already alleviated from one thing, you know? It really helps.[xxvi]

Participant 2

However, contributions from the public safety net were minimal, and left gaps that working mothers had to reconcile:

> *Bolsa Família* helps a bit with our costs, but honestly, the money isn't even enough for people to eat. It helps to buy a school uniform, some clothes, some shoes, but you're always a little bit behind. It's not money to sustain a family; it just complements their income.[xxvii]

Participant 21

Despite the poverty line being the cut-off for *Bolsa Familía*, an income-based, means-tested program, some participants receiving *Bolsa Familía* transfers reported earning wages *above* the poverty line, upwards of R$400 (US$120) per month. Nevertheless, even participants who reported earning a wage above the poverty line stated that their wages are volatile and insufficient to meet their families' needs.

> I make R$100 (US$30) a week, R$400 per month. I won't say that R$400 a month is sufficient, because it's not. It's not a salary—not even half a decent salary.[xxviii]

Participant 21

A lack of employment protections and benefits. In addition to earning low and

unpredictable wages, participants often described their informal jobs as being void of workplace

protections and lacking basic employee benefits, such as unemployment insurance. The lack of

benefits, rights, and worker protections negatively affected participants' health and well-being.

> While I was working [informally] as a cleaning lady, I was pregnant with my son. I fell
> and almost lost my son. I was nine months along. I had a serious problem, and until I
> gave birth, I had to stay in bed. I couldn't get up at all. The person whose house I
> cleaned only paid me for the cleaning work. And the fall I took? Not even the money
> she paid me for the cleaning was enough to buy my medications.
>
> If I had been working formally and something like this had happened, I would have been
> covered. I would be receiving something from the business, or from social insurance.
> Some way, I would have gotten benefits. Unemployment insurance is given only to
> people who work formally.[xxix]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 2</div>

Informal wage-based workers were particularly vulnerable to workplace exploitation, as

their work terms and conditions were completely determined by their employers. For example,

some informal wage-earners reported having little time off and few breaks.

> I work practically Sunday to Sunday at the clothes shop, so I don't have a day off.[xxx]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 12</div>

Others discussed being locked into "abusive" employment terms, which were determined by

their boss.

> My [informal] contract at the salon where I work is really abusive. You get no benefits at
> all, but you have to arrive and a leave by a certain time, and you have to buy all the
> materials yourself. It's 50 percent commission-based. I'm paid for the appointments I
> do. Each nail appointment is R$38 (US$11)—so it's R$19 to her, and R$19 to me. You
> can quit when you want, but you have to let her know in advance, so she doesn't fine
> you.[xxxi]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 3</div>

Participants discussed collective action and pressing legal charges as avenues for challenging unjust employment terms. However, the process of doing so was uncertain.

> We [participant and coworkers] are always asking [our boss] about signing our work cards [making us formal workers], but he always gives an excuse. I think he's going to formalize us soon, because the girls at the other store were fired without a just cause. He said they weren't being productive and he fired them. These girls took him to court, and he had to pay a fine. Now he's saying he needs to resolve a few things, so I think he's going to formalize us.[xxxii]
>
> Participant 12

Schedule constraints. In addition to the precarious terms and conditions of work, some participants also faced constraining work schedules, which imposed on their family life and made balancing work and care demands difficult. Constraining schedules most affected informal wage-earners, whose work hours were more rigid than their self-employed counterparts.

> There are some weeks I work from eight to seven, some weeks until six in the evening. Work is getting really busy, and I have to leave my [seven-year-old] son with my uncle. I know it's for the best, but I miss him. I want more time with my son.[xxxiii]
>
> Participant 13

Interestingly, participants who had worked *formally* at some point reported schedule constraints similar to those of informal wage-earners. As participants explained, a rigid work schedule for any job, be it formal or informal, complicates caring for children and dependents:

> When I was working formally, it was more difficult [than working as an informal self-employed worker, as I do now]. [When I was working formally,] I had two babysitters; I had started to save up some money to be able to pay them. This diminished my salary— and let's not even talk about the way they took care of my son. They didn't give him his medications [for a chronic illness] like they should have. It was horrible.[xxxiv]
>
> Participant 7

> I worked in telemarketing. It was my only formal job. I had to quit because my son was still very young. He had been staying with my grandmother, mother, and my aunt, but I

didn't have a set person to leave him with, and it ended up being really difficult. He was only eight months old and was still breastfeeding, so I didn't want to put him in a daycare. My work schedule was bad, too. I worked from three in the afternoon until nine at night. I'd get home really late, and I needed to rest and still had to give my son some attention. It was really exhausting.[xxxv]

<div align="right">Participant 17</div>

Theme 4: "It's All on My Shoulders": Distribution of Responsibilities in the Home

With demanding work schedules and pressure at home, participants described navigating an abundance of work/family demands. Participants described being under constant pressure to keep food on the table and provide care to their loved ones, receiving very little help at home or at work. Keeping the family afloat rested completely on their shoulders. Underlying this pressure was a widespread absence of fathers—an absence that was financial, emotional, and care-related in nature—and disparate role expectations imposed on mothers versus fathers in the home.

Doing it all. The participants described work/family life as "doing it all"—rearing children, arranging and providing care, paying the rent and bills, doing household chores like cooking, shopping, and cleaning—all within a context of strained financial resources and limited help at home. In several instances, participants had to take on a second job to help make ends meet, in addition to providing care and doing most of the household chores. Participants' days tended to be long, and required planning ahead in order to get things done.

> I wake up very early, around five in the morning, straighten up the house. Around seven, I wake my husband up, wake my son up. I take a bath and give my son a bath. We have breakfast, get things ready, and my son comes to the snack stand with me. Around noon, I head home. My cousin stays there to run the snack stand. I clean up my son, make him lunch, take him to school, and then head back to the stand. Around four, someone picks him up from school, or my husband [who is unemployed right now] goes to get him.

> We're always trying. Just yesterday, I cooked a kilo of beans, stored them in little containers and put them in the freezer, because Friday, I'm going to start working at the

<div align="center">79</div>

fireworks market [participant's second job]. I'm leaving everything ready so my husband can heat it up.[xxxvi]

<div align="right">Participant 2</div>

I used to hold two jobs. I'd work from five in the morning until two in the afternoon at the snack stand, and then at the pizzeria from five in the afternoon until ten, eleven at night. This was the whole routine. Now I'm just working at the snack stand. With the time I have, I take care of things at home.[xxxvii]

<div align="right">Participant 4</div>

In many households, a family member (usually a participant's aunt, grandmother, or own mother) helped the participant balance her schedule. Such help, however, often fell short of fully alleviating a participant's care demands, particularly the "after-hours" care and housework undertaken after a paid workday.

My daughters' grandmother takes care of them until I get home. My younger sister [who lives with me] studies. When I get home, I take care of the rest. It's all on me. I tidy the house; grandmother helps out with what she can. We all share our household chores, but who cooks is me. Who cleans is me. The responsibility is all on my shoulders.[xxxviii]

<div align="right">Participant 5</div>

Thus, while participants sometimes had a helping hand at home, it inevitably was up to them to make sure that their dependents were cared for and household tasks taken care of.

Absent fathers. The participants' obligation to "do it all" was in part brought on by absent fathers. As the participants explained, their children's fathers tended to be minimally involved in daily childcare or childrearing, and sometimes not at all. Many fathers also fell short in providing financial support. In turn, fathers' absence contributed to an economic, emotional, and care-related burden, which participants were left to reconcile.

On the weekends, my son goes to his dad's house. Holidays, too. But my son lives with me.[xxxix]

<div align="right">Participant 4</div>

I dedicate myself to my son [who has a chronic health condition]. Medical exams—I do that. His father [participant's ex-husband] takes him out for walks, to the beach. Things to have a little fun.[xl]

<div align="right">Participant 15</div>

My daughter's father isn't interested in her life, and I don't make it an issue that he isn't, you know? He never calls her. His family doesn't even call her. He just goes around making me like this [*agitated movement*]. Just to provoke me, he says he's going to take her to his house to sleep over. But he never calls. He doesn't even know hold old she is.[xli]

<div align="right">Participant 10</div>

While married and cohabiting participants discussed financial burdens, single mothers almost unanimously described being the sole income-earner.

Things are pretty tight. We get by, but it always ends up a little tight. Really, it's because my daughter's father isn't helping her like he should. So, things end up overwhelming *me*.[xlii]

<div align="right">Participant 11</div>

My ex-husband helps when he can, but it's not much. He doesn't work formally. He cuts hair. When he can, he tries.[xliii]

<div align="right">Participant 15</div>

More often than not, the issue of absent fathers was linked to participants' volatile romantic relationships with their children's fathers. Few participants remained in a romantic relationship with their children's fathers; some participants had entered a new relationship, others were currently unattached. While individual romantic relationship trajectories varied, what tended to shape participants' turbulent relationships was their partners' infidelity. Issues of unfaithful partners and men having multiple, simultaneous partners emerged in every

<div align="center">81</div>

participant's experience, both with regards to their own romantic relationships, as well as those of other women in their lives (e.g. mothers, friends, sisters, etc.).

> Each of my children has a different father. I used to be with my daughter's father, but I separated from him. Then, I met the father of my son. I got pregnant, and then I found out that he was with another woman—with another child, too. So, I left.[xliv]
>
> Participant 6

For most single mothers, fathers' lack of involvement with their children was the result of a father not claiming paternity and/or having multiple families. Fathers who did claim paternity were often unable to afford child support payments, and had less time for care and childrearing. Lacking financial and time contributions stemmed from fathers' own precarious work and wages, as well as having multiple families (i.e. multiple children with various mothers) to support.

> My children's father has really impacted my life. He always told me he wanted to have a child, so I had two children with him. But now he's abandoned his children to live with another family—with other daughters. He gives everything to the girls of that woman [new girlfriend], while his actual children are over here struggling.[xlv]
>
> Participant 12

It should be noted that not all fathers were absent, and a few mothers discussed fathers' active involvement in their children's well-being and development. However, across participant experiences, when fathers engaged in childrearing and care, it tended to be in terms of leisure and entertainment (e.g. taking the child to a soccer match; playing games) or sporadic visitation (e.g. weekend and holiday visits), rather than day-to-day care and childrearing.

Role expectations. Participants' acts of "doing it all" (and the counterpart, fathers' absence) stemmed from disparate conceptualizations of mothers' and fathers' roles in the family and the home. As participants explained, the mother's principal role is to provide care, ensure

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family members' well-being, and hold the family together—an understanding expressed by

multiple individuals—romantic partners, other family members, and participants themselves.

> The woman takes care of everything [at home]. It's the woman's responsibility. Just
> today I went out and told my husband, "you're going to take care of him [son]." But
> when I'm at home, the one who has to take care of him is me.[xlvi]
>
> Participant 2

> When he [husband] has a day off work, he'll help me [with chores and housework]. But
> the bills, I do that myself. He doesn't like to get involved with that at all, and says that
> it's a woman's thing. He says it's the woman who takes care of this.[xlvii]
>
> Participant 10

Participants' understanding of the role of the father was much less defined than that of

the mother. When explaining fathers' roles, participants often described what fathers *should*

be—disciplinarians, breadwinners, and role models for their children. However, when

describing their own lived experiences, many participants explained that they had "no idea at all"

of what the role of a father is, as throughout their own lives, "I never had one" (*"não entendia*

nada porque eu nunca tive") (Participant 8).

With most fathers absent from their children's lives, most participants were forced to take

on the role of head-of-household. The participants tended to normalize this expectation, citing it

as something that "just is" and "has to be done."

> During the first pregnancy, he [ex-husband] was always there. Sometimes he'd help me
> out with things, because he wasn't working. But by our second son, he'd found another
> woman. He broke up with me and left me for her. So, now I take care of [my sons and
> my grandmother]. It's pretty exhausting, but it has to be done. Physically, it's tiring.
> But psychologically, I've put in my head that I've got to be the head of household,
> whether I want to or not. And that's that.[xlviii]
>
> Participant 12

A patchwork of care solutions. With limited help at home, participants stretched their resources to meet care needs, doing so through a patchwork of care solutions. Participants navigated unaffordable private providers and overcrowded public services, and tended to rely on a mix of friends, family, and neighbors to fill in when available. For most participants, structured, private care solutions (e.g. fee-based daycares) were out of the question, as they were too expensive. Public daycares were also inaccessible, due to overcrowding and long wait lists.

> The community daycare is extremely full and has no openings. You have to wait a *really* long time for a place. My goodness! It took two years to get my girls in there.[xlix]
>
> Participant 3

> In my neighborhood, there's a daycare that's just opening, but it's already out of spaces.[l]
>
> Participant 10

Even when daycares and other structured care services were available in participants' neighborhoods, they tended to operate only on weekdays and during regular work hours. However, many participants' informal jobs required them to work on weekends and evenings. Traditional care services, therefore, were incompatible with many informally employed mothers' work schedules.

> Daycares run from Monday to Friday. Some are private, and then there are times that in our neighborhood, there are no classes at all. So, you have to pay someone to watch [your children].[li]
>
> Participant 22

With few structured services available, the participants tended to turn to their social networks for help providing care. Adolescent neighbors were paid a few *reais* to walk children to school; family members were called upon to look after children while the mothers were at

work. Calling on one's social network was the most common solution, but was sometimes

unreliable, as care provision was contingent upon social contacts' availability.

> My mother takes care of my daughter when I'm at work. My mother isn't working right now, so she can watch her. But she told me, "while I'm not working, I can watch her. But if I find a job, you'll have to put her somewhere like a daycare, or leave her with someone else."[lii]
>
> Participant 10

To meet family care demands, some participants utilized their flexibility as an informal

worker, "doubling-up" and providing care while working, or arranging their work schedules to

accommodate their children's needs.

> Sometimes my son comes with me to work [at the snack stand]. He comes with a school notebook in hand![liii]
>
> Participant 2

However, the option of flexing informal work to provide care was only available to self-

employed workers, who were able to define their own work schedule and workspace, and to

wage-earners with a supportive boss. Self-employed workers discussed their flexibility, but only

one wage-earner reported having a supportive boss who allowed her to flex her time. Most

informal wage-workers (i.e. those with a direct boss) had little flexibility in shaping their

work/family schedules.

> I work as a manicurist, but not formally. I have an informal contract [in a salon]. But I'm thinking about quitting [and doing nails at home] so I can be at home with my kids more.[liv]
>
> Participant 3

Even for self-employed mothers, flexing informal work to provide care was a temporary

solution, often seen as a short-term arrangement until children were older and no longer need as

much direct care. Further, "doubling-up" on watching children while working fell short of fully

alleviating mothers' care burden, as participants still had to watch over their children while

simultaneously working.

Theme 5: "It Stresses Me"

With an abundance of work and family demands, few resources to alleviate their care

burden, and numerous barriers preventing them from seeking a better job, participants described

ways in which their jobs and family life left them feeling stressed. Many participants also

described having limited free time as a result of their work/family load, although this was

contingent upon receiving help at home. In addition, most participants navigated environmental

stressors, namely neighborhood violence, which exacerbated their work/family stress.

Work/family stress. Most participants described feeling stress and anxiety, which

stemmed from struggling to make ends meet on low wages and the lack of resources to help rear

children. Participants discussed how their many responsibilities weighed on them, often

referring to ways in which life was "easier" before having children, when they had more time

and fewer responsibilities.

> If I could go back in time to my childhood—perfect. I didn't have as much responsibility
> as today, you know? No stress.[lv]
>
> > Participant 1

> If I didn't have to take care of people, I'd have more time for myself. Time would be less
> crunched. There'd be less mess, I'd have fewer responsibilities. There would be a lot
> less on me.[lvi]
>
> > Participant 2

> I have to take care of my daughters. I have to take care of my sister, too, because she
> lives with me. I have a husband. So today, there are more things to worry about.[lvii]
>
> > Participant 5

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Fathers' lacking involvement in childrearing and care contributed to mothers' stress, sometimes leading to participant exhaustion.

> It's just work, home, and kids. The [children's] fathers don't want to spend the week with them, so it's on me to take care of things. There's not enough time [for me] to spend with my children; barely enough time to grab the bus [after work] and get through the traffic jam. I get home exhausted.[lviii]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 22</div>

The stress of navigating a multitude of responsibilities affected some participants' mental and physical health.

> I used to be happy. Much happier than I am now, I won't lie. I have a lot of responsibilities—find work, these things. It stresses me. I have stomach pains. It's horrible to feel this. I've done a medical exam and am waiting for the results to come back. I take omeprazole [medication for acid reflux and stomach ulcers].[lix]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 6</div>

> When I get home [from work], I'm exhausted. I'm only thinking about sleeping.[lx]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 22</div>

While work/family stress was common across participants, some mothers explicitly described navigating more severe mental health issues such as post-partum depression. One participant, a single mother who explicitly stated that she "had post-partum depression" *("eu tive depressão pós-parto")*, explained:

> I love my daughter, but I hate being a mother. I don't like changing dirty diapers. I don't like waking up in the middle of the night to breastfeed. I don't like it when you [daughter] bite me and tear a piece of my nipple off. I don't like not having enough time to sleep, having to wash the crap off the dirty diapers every day. I don't have any time for myself.[lxi]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 9</div>

Personal time and leisure. Time constraints left many participants with little time to spend on themselves. This was caused by challenges in scheduling care, as well as financial constraints.

> I never have time. I have to pay a nanny or leave the baby with someone in order to go out. I don't have time for me. I don't go to the salon. I don't have time to do my make-up. Out of the question financially because going out is very expensive.[lxii]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 9</div>

> There's time to relax, but not much. If we go, let's say, to a pizzeria, it's difficult. I'm only free at night because I have my grandmother to take care of [as well as my son]. I don't like to leave her alone. I prefer to go out at night and take my son. Rarely do we do anything during the day, like go to the beach. I'd have to arrange for my aunt [to take care of my grandmother], let both of them know three days in advance.[lxiii]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 14</div>

However, the lack of personal and leisure time was not unanimous. Participants with reliable care help, particularly from a partner, tended to have more time for themselves and family leisure.

> I have time to relax during the weekend. On Sundays, we don't set up the snack stand, because I'm no slave to work! I grab my purse, leave my son with my husband so they can watch football together, and I go out.[lxiv]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 2</div>

Stress from violence. Almost every participant stated that violence affected their neighborhood, and that violence shaped their work/family life. Twenty-one of the 24 participants stated that gang violence, drug trafficking, and/or police violence was a common occurrence in their neighborhood. Neighborhood violence impacted the ways in which participants provided childcare. It also impeded leisure time.

[In] my neighborhood, there's a lot of [criminals] and not many police. The people become their hostages. If we want to go to the market, we have to go by motorcycle or car. If we go on foot, they assault us. There's a curfew. By six o'clock, no one's on the street. Children can't play outside. We can't relax.[lxv]

<div align="right">Participant 14</div>

Violence also shaped participants' work options, affecting when and where they could work.

I used to work at a pharmacy. One day, I missed the bus and had to walk through a dangerous neighborhood to get home—down the entire hillside at almost midnight. From that day on, my husband said I couldn't work there anymore, because it was too dangerous.[lxvi]

<div align="right">Participant 2</div>

Theme 6: Sources of Strength

Despite their stressful experiences at home and at work, every participant described some source of strength that gratified her, either by helping her to cope with her work/family demands, or by balancing out work (or family) stress by fulfilling another life domain. Collectively, participants discussed four sources of strength to which they turn: their children, their job, a friend or family member, and religion.

"My child is everything": Strength in motherhood. Although most participants described being under a great deal of stress due to being a mother, almost every participant shared that their children are a source of great strength. Participants described finding purpose and love in their relationships with their children, making statements such as, "my daughters are my passion" (*"minhas filhas são minha paixão"*) (Participant 5), "my son is everything to me, everything in my life" (*"meu filho é tudo pra mim, tudo na minha vida"*) (Participant 1), and "my son is my life, my baby" (*"meu filho é minha vida, meu neném"*) (Participant 2).

When discussing their children, participants described emotions of gratification and joy, often stating that their child was the "best thing" in their life.

Our relationship—there's nothing better. It's the best thing that's happened in my life. We have a lot of fun together—playing ball, riding bikes, playing pega-pega [game]. Everything we do, it's always been him [son] and me.[lxvii]

<div align="right">Participant 7</div>

It's a difficult thing being a mother, but it's also so wonderful. There's no explanation. It means so much—responsibility, love, affection.[lxviii]

<div align="right">Participant 15</div>

For many mothers, spending quality time with their children (when they could) was a form of leisure, and helped alleviate some of the day-to-day pressure of work/family demands.

Things can be pretty exhausting, but I get by. Sometimes I complain, sometimes I don't. But at the end of the week, I go to church with the girls [daughters], we go to a pizzeria. We have some fun.[lxix]

<div align="right">Participant 12</div>

Many participants shared that their children were a positive influence on their lives, with some stating that they transitioned from going down the "wrong path" (*"caminho errado"*) to a healthier way of life after becoming a mother.

I'll never regret having my son. If I hadn't had him, I could be a drug addict now. I tried every drug when I was young.[lxx]

<div align="right">Participant 7</div>

Furthermore, participants' children helped them cope with difficult life circumstances, and motivated them to keep moving forward each day.

My son is everything to me. I want him to have a future that is much better than what I had. I want him to study, go to university. The strength I have to come here to work every day comes from him. Without him, I don't think I'd be able to do it.[lxxi]

<div align="right">Participant 15</div>

"I'm going to work!": Strength from employment. Despite the low wages and

precarious work conditions that most participants endured, several women described ways in

which their jobs relieved stress at home. For various participants, employment was a source of

happiness, with social interactions at work yielding the most gratification.

> I love my job [as an event promotor]. It's like I'm at a party having fun. When I'm at
> work, I get to watch the party going on.[lxxii]
>
> Participant 1

> I like my job [at the snack stand]. You meet a lot of people—cab drivers, drunks, so
> many people. There's a bunch of unemployed people who just sit around and talk. Elders
> who have nothing else to do. Everybody comes and just hangs out, chats. You end up
> making friends—it starts to be pretty enjoyable. Better than being alone.[lxxiii]
>
> Participant 2

Participants with flexible jobs described being relieved by their malleable schedules, and

those who held more relaxing jobs enjoyed their low-stress environment.

> Of all the jobs I've had, I like this one the most. Working on the beach is the best. It's in
> the open air. We don't have a specific time to arrive by. We make our own schedules.
> There's nothing better than working on the beach! It's more fun than it is stressful.[lxxiv]
>
> Participant 20

Oftentimes it was having *a* job, not the specific job itself, that positively affected

participants. Several participants described ways in which working empowered them by

providing the means (albeit minimal) to attain economic independence.

> I separated from my children's father because he began being violent with me… I said,
> "enough." I was acting like a beggar [relying on him]. So, I said, "no! I'm going to
> work!" I started working. I arranged a daycare, signed up my kids, and went to work.
> After this, he never gave me anything else. But even though he never helped me out
> again, I'm going to end up building my own house![lxxv]
>
> Participant 3

"She is my safety net": Strength from family and friends. Many participants described having a specific family member or friend who helped them cope with the emotional toll of balancing work and family life.

> My mother has always been both a mother and a father to me, taking on both roles. My father—I don't count on him at all. But my mother—one hundred percent in *everything*. We've always had a great relationship. We're very close—very, very.[lxxvi]
>
> Participant 15

In most instances, the family member or friend provided emotional support as well as helped balance care demands.

> I have an aunt with whom I've always had a great relationship. She lives with my grandmother, son, and I. This aunt has always been my safety net. She's really important to me. She's always there. She helps me with my son, still gives me advice when I need it. We have an amazing bond.[lxxvii]
>
> Participant 17

For some participants, their trusted family member or friend was also a mentor, inspiring her to return to school or pursue a different job.

> I've reflected on myself a lot because of my aunt. She's doing a technical course and finished secondary school. Most people in my family didn't finish school, but she did. She is now trying to go to university to earn a technical degree in nursing. I see her doing this, and I've started to want it, too.[lxxviii]
>
> Participant 17

"I'm in the presence of God": Strength from religion. Religion played an important role in the lives of many participants. Participants belonged to myriad faiths (e.g. Catholicism, Evangelism, Candomblé). Regardless of their religious affiliation, it was the act of identifying with a faith that gave participants strength.

For instance, for some participants, religion was a way to cope with the stress of motherhood.

> I had post-partum depression. Now I'm working with a psychologist, and practicing a religion [Candomblé] that uses Ayahuasca [a traditional medicine].[lxxix]
>
> Participant 9

Other participants described ways in which their religion promoted emotional stability and helped them overcome negative aspects of their lives.

> I always went to church, ever since I was little. But there was an instance with my aunt—she was going down a path that God didn't agree with. She found Jesus, and I saw the change in her life. When I saw that in her, I fell in love with it. I said, "I want this for my life, too." I found myself in it. Today, I'm converted, too. I found Jesus Christ. I think everything has gotten better. Everything is in the right place.[lxxx]
>
> Participant 17

Religion also helped participants structure their schedules, and served as a vehicle for leisure and relaxation.

> Today, I'm a part of the Church. I'm in the presence of God. When I'm cooking, I like to listen to my praise [radio programs]. I go to church every day. Even today I'm going. Seven o'clock, I'm there—Monday to Sunday.[lxxxi]
>
> Participant 18

Summary of the Results

Twenty-four low-income, Afro-Brazilian, informally employed mothers in Salvador, Brazil were interviewed in effort to understand their work/family experience. Using Giorgi's method, six themes with sub-themes describing the essential structure of this experience emerged. The results suggested that for these mothers, the work/family experience is a

conflicted and precarious one. Participants tended to enter their dual work/family role early in

life, oftentimes through power-disparate romantic relationships with older male partners. These

relationships had lasting effects on participants' education and work opportunities. Most

participants became pregnant as adolescents, and then dropped out of school. Although some

participants had worked for pay before their first pregnancy, most began working soon

thereafter. As a result of early work/family roles, participants were forced to abandon their

youth—childhood dream jobs were forfeited; time spent with friends was given up. Although

many participants had fantasized about being a mother while they were young, the reality of

being a mother—and particularly, a mother with scarce means—was one for which many

participants were not prepared.

As adults, participants continued to navigate the effects of early work/family roles, facing

an unfavorable labor market that offered few opportunities for low-income working mothers with

low levels of education. Not having a secondary school degree barred participants from

accessing even basic low-wage jobs in the formal sector. Yet even participants who held a high

school degree faced barriers in the labor market, which prevented them from accessing a better

job. Participants had few professional connections to gainful employers in the formal sector, and

had minimal experience in higher-skill formal work—conditions the participants saw as essential

to securing a better job. When motherhood was taken into account, participants endured an

additional layer of marginalization, as employers were often hesitant to hire a mother with

competing demands at home.

Almost every participant wanted a "better" job, with better most often meaning "formal"

to these working mothers. However, their choices were few, given the multitude of unfavorable

labor market conditions. As a result, participants resorted to low-paying, often exploitative

informal jobs, which they found through personal connections, namely friends, family, and neighbors. Volatile informal wages kept mothers in a constant cycle of uncertainty and poverty in which they struggled to make ends meet. Even participants who reported earnings above the poverty line experienced income volatility, which kept them from planning ahead and often led them to fall short from month to month. The social safety net, particularly *Bolsa Família* cash transfers, eased mothers' financial burden; however, the transfers were minimal and did not fill the gap of a lacking decent wage. In addition to the low wages earned, participants received no workplace protections or benefits.

In addition to navigating difficult circumstances in the labor market, participants were overloaded at home. Gender imbalances in mothers' and fathers' roles and expectations, coupled with men's infidelity and holding multiple partners, gave way to a family structure in which mothers "do it all." Most participants were single mothers whose former partners were minimally involved in childrearing and care. With few structured caregiving services and little help from fathers, participants turned to a patchwork of care solutions to provide family care. Public care centers were overcrowded and had long wait lists, and private services were too expensive; thus, participants tended to rely on a female family member or friend to step in. However, this was an unstable solution, as stand-in caregivers were not always available to lend a hand. Some participants flexed their informal job to provide care, watching children while simultaneously working at home, or taking a child to work. Yet, the option of "doubling-up" on paid work and unpaid care was available only to self-employed mothers, who determined their place and time of work. Further, even these mothers continued to navigate tensions between work and care, as they still had to watch over children while they worked their paid job.

Exacerbating the lack of structured care services was the fact that most participants were "doing it all" in the absence of fathers. Within a context of relationship instability and separation, participants (most of whom were single mothers) described a family life in which the father played a minimal role—helping financially "when he could," or not at all; spending time with children on weekends or holidays, if he called or came around. Although not all fathers were absent, and some mothers did describe fathers who were actively involved, participants' stories suggested that when fathers were involved, it tended to be through leisure activities with children, rather than the everyday tasks of childrearing and care.

With an overload of demands at home and at work, and a lack of resources with which to reconcile them, most participants described feeling stressed. Some mothers also endured health issues, like stomach ulcers, and many described feeling exhausted and getting little sleep. A few mothers endured more severe mental health issues like post-partum depression. What is more, almost all participants navigated environmental stressors, namely neighborhood violence, which exacerbated their work/family stress and diminished the time and space they had for themselves, work, and family.

The participants' work/family circumstances were extremely difficult. However, all participants described some resource that gave them strength and helped them cope, naming their children, a trusted friend or family member, their religion, or even their job as a source of strength. These resources brought participants happiness, gratification, and life purpose, as well as relieved the day-to-day stress of work and family demands. Yet, while these resources eased some of the participants' work/family tension, they did not fully alleviate it. At the end of the day, participants still struggled with making ends meet and providing care for their loved ones, with minimal time and resources left to dedicate to their own well-being.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter discusses the study results at length, and sets forth key implications for policy, practice, and future research. The strengths and limitations of the study are also considered.

Discussion

Focusing on the context of Salvador, Brazil, this study aimed to address the question: *What is the work/family experience as lived by informally employed mothers?* The study results suggest that for participants, the work/family experience is a precarious and exhausting one, which demands their constant effort and labor, and offers no break and little reprieve. With little help and no reliable safety net, the burden of keeping the family afloat took a toll on participants' health and well-being, as well as put children's well-being at risk. The study results suggest that participants' precarious work/family experience is shaped by persistent micro and macro-societal biases at home and in the labor market, which manifest along four intersecting lines: gender, race, class, and motherhood status. The results also suggest that these biases are intergenerational in nature, indicated by participants' work/family experience often mirroring that of their formative family, particularly with regards to absent fathers and mothers' limited support.

Multiple role theory suggests that people assume different social roles, and that these roles interact to ultimately affect human well-being. Derived from multiple role theory, the work/family framework specifically explores work and family roles, seeking to understand the ways in which these roles intersect and ultimately affect working mothers' well-being. Under the work/family framework, two perspectives theorize the nature of this role intersection.

Work/family conflict, the dominant perspective in literature, suggests that work/family roles are inherently at odds, and that this tension negatively impacts mothers' well-being. Work/family enrichment, on the other hand, suggests that work/family roles balance one another out, and that resources garnered in one domain buffer negative experiences in the other.

By and large, the findings from the present study suggest that for low-income, Afro-Brazilian, informally employed mothers in Salvador, Brazil, the work/family experience is a conflicted one. This overall finding thus supports the dominant vein of literature, work/family conflict. Similar to findings set forth in previous work/family research, participants in the present study struggled to balance the day-to-day demands that both work and family care impose. Due to tensions between work and family roles, participants endured stress, physical health complications, and interrupted sleep patterns (Carnes, 2017; Hill, 2005; Vercruyssen & Van de Putte, 2013; Westrupp et al., 2016). Furthermore, incompatibility between participants' work/family roles infringed upon their personal and leisure time, and made it difficult to spend quality time with children and other loved ones. Similar findings have been found among in high-income countries (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Vercruyssen & Van de Putte, 2013).

It is important to note that while informally employed mothers' work/family experience echoes that of the more-researched, middle-class, white, professional working mothers from high-income countries, informally employed mothers' experience represents an extreme version of the conflict perspective set forth in the literature. The unprotected work conditions endured by the present study participants are extremely precarious compared to working mothers in high-income countries—even those who hold low-wage, low-skill jobs. What is more, the nature of the present participants' family structure (e.g. single-mother households) as well as their limited access to public or private care services further exacerbated their conflicted experience. Taken

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together, these findings support previous work/family research from LMICs, which argues that low-income women in LMICs may bear the highest magnitude of work/family conflict, due to their precarious economic situations, limited access to care services, and unique family structures (Annor, 2014).

Although informally employed mothers' overall work/family experience was challenging and conflicted, participants did discuss a variety of resources which helped ease the tension between work and family roles. This finding speaks to the second, less-researched vein of work/family research, work/family enrichment. Participants described various supportive resources that help make the work/family experience more harmonious. For example, many participants discussed having positive mother/child relationships, which gave them the strength to keep moving forward each day. Thus, although informally employed mothers' work/family experience tends to be in conflict, there are aspects of the experience that are positive and enriching.

Also with regards to work/family enrichment, the results suggest that buffering resources may affect low-income, informally employed mothers differently than their formally-employed, middle-class, professional counterparts. For example, previous research on professional working mothers in high-income countries suggests that schedule flexibility enhances working mothers' free time, mental health, and overall well-being (Kelly et al., 2014). However, the present study results suggest that for informally employed mothers, scheduling flexibility is a default option, and does little to improve informally employed mothers' well-being. In fact, as participants working as self-employed, own-account workers suggested, schedule flexibility may *enhance* their precariousness, encouraging them to stay in unpredictable jobs that pay particularly volatile wages. This suggests that when schedule flexibility is protected, institutionalized, and

compensated, it is a benefit, but when flexible work is not protected, it may heighten vulnerable work conditions.

Another key difference between the present study and previous research is the type of enriching or buffering resources that different working mothers engage to ease their work/family tensions. Previous research on higher-income, professionally-employed mothers suggests that buffering resources tend to stem from the family (e.g. a helpful partner) or work (e.g. supportive work policies such as flex-time). The present study suggests that to buffer conflicts between work and family, informally employed mothers often seek resources from other life domains, such as religion and friends. This suggests that with family resources stretched thin and few formal benefits or protections from their jobs, informally employed mothers may turn to other domains of life to help cope with work/family demands. This is an important finding, as these resources are integral components of support, thus may be relevant to the development of supportive interventions.

In addition to setting forth information on work/family conflict and enrichment for informally employed mothers, this study also shed light on the social contexts and cultural beliefs that shape work/family roles. Specifically, the study results suggest that participants' work/family experiences are shaped by biased norms and cultural beliefs, which surface in and are reinforced by social structures and institutions. These include the labor market, where low-income women of color are over-represented in informal work, and the home, where mothers are expected to "do it all."

In the home, mothers and fathers were expected to fill unequal roles, which, for the present study participants, stemmed from age-disparate, power-imbalanced relationships initiated early in life. Furthermore, fathers were largely absent and participants picked up the slack, an

experience described as burdensome, but something that was expected and "had to be done." In the labor market, participants navigated layers of barriers that kept them in precarious jobs. Education gaps caused by early pregnancy, few connections to gainful employers, little "relevant" experience, and biased employers kept participants in informal jobs, thus continuing a cycle of poverty in which participants themselves had grown up. Taken together, these results suggest that for low-income, Afro-Brazilian, informally employed mothers, work and family roles are shaped by multiple intersecting layers of marginalization, including gender, race, class, and parenthood status.

This finding is novel for mainstream work/family research, which tends to focus on middle-class, professional, married, often white, working mothers in high-income countries. However, research from Brazil suggests that such patterns are not new, but rather reflections of deeply-rooted cultural beliefs and social norms, which reinforce inequalities at all levels, from the household to the labor market (Arruda & Levrini, 2015; Baldwin & DeSouza, 2001; Madalozzo, 2010; Sorj, 2004). As Goldstein (1999) suggests with her concept of "racialized sexuality," Afro-Brazilian women have long been barred from equitable socioeconomic citizenship, while simultaneously being objectified and overtly sexualized from a young age. These dynamics are deep-rooted legacies of Brazil's colonial past. However, they persist today through popular culture and discourse (Goldstein, 1999, 2003) as well as biased social structures, cultural beliefs, and institutions, which reaffirm who holds power (i.e. men, and particularly wealthy, white men) and who does not (i.e. low-income, young, Afro-Brazilian women). It is in such a context that age-disparate relationships are normalized (and even encouraged), and behaviors such as men's infidelity is permitted, while women's forced acceptance is expected ("that's just the way it is"). It is also in this context that disparities persist in terms of

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employment and economic outcomes (e.g. income), as well in the ways in which "business is done" (Baldwin & DeSouza, 2001).

Such is the context that participants navigated, in which multiple layers of marginalization limited their access to better job opportunities. Thus, taken together, the study results suggest that work/family roles do not act alone. Although roles are imperative to understand, it is the social norms and biases that shape and reinforce work/family roles, and ultimately determine whether they are in conflict or accord. Thus, to fully understand tensions between work and family roles, the complex social and cultural factors that define those roles must also be understood.

Finally, in addition to setting forth new information on work/family conflict and the social context of work/family roles, the study results also shed light on the temporality of role formation for informally employed mothers. This contribution was by and large yielded by the interview design, which was informed by the life course perspective. These results suggest that the foundation of work/family roles is formed during adolescence (and perhaps earlier), and that work/family roles are embedded in and shaped by biases experienced across the life course.

To this end, this study identified an important chain of events, which began with power-imbalanced, resource-disparate relationships between adolescent girls and older men, led to adolescent pregnancy and then school drop-out, and culminated in low-quality, informal job outcomes for young women, which persisted into adulthood. What is more, these early-engaged, power-disparate relationships were volatile and tended to culminate in the young mothers raising their children on their own, trying to make ends meet on volatile informal wages. This experience often mirrored that of participants' own childhood in that few participants knew their own fathers, most were raised by single mothers, and all grew up in poverty.

This relationship identified in the present study speaks to findings in recent quantitative research, which suggest that women with lower levels of education are more likely to hold informal employment (Ilkkaracan, 2012); that young, single, Afro-Brazilian mothers are among the most likely to live in poverty in Brazil (Gomes, 2017); and that poverty (and informality) may be intergenerational within the family (Mokomane, 2014b). This result also speaks to previous research from Brazil, which suggests that Afro-Brazilian adolescent girls' engagement in age-disparate relationships is a reflection of enduring racialized sexuality in Brazil, in which given few other socioeconomic opportunities, relationships with older men may be seen as a way out of poverty for young, low-income women (Goldstein, 1999, 2003).

The present study builds on these previous findings to suggest how and why such patterns may persist. As the study results found, school drop-out is an important factor leading to informal labor outcomes for women, and that drivers of, or at least antecedents to, school drop-out are age-disparate romantic relationships initiated in adolescence. These relationships, in turn, led to early pregnancy for the present study participants; however, these relationships often were short-lived. Young mothers were left to pick up the economic, care-related, and emotional slack when the relationships ended.

There are several caveats to this result that must be discussed. First, participants in the present study were selected based upon their labor market circumstances. It is possible that across a larger population, early age-disparate relationships and/or adolescent pregnancy do not yield the same informal employment outcomes. It is also possible that other factors not uncovered in the present inquiry could have intervened to shape labor market outcomes. In other words, this study cannot (and does not) claim that early romantic relationships or even adolescent pregnancy unequivocally leads to informal labor outcomes for these women. The

study findings do, however, suggest that undertaking work/family roles from an early age shapes informally employed mothers' subsequent work/family experiences, which, in turn, affects multiple dimensions of their well-being—e.g. mental health, physical health, economic stability, and social relationships. Hence, proving causality of a relationship was neither the intention of the present analysis, nor was it feasible, given the nature of the data and the small sample size. However, the phenomenological approach employed in the present study, which examined a common lived experience across a group of similar people, suggested that a meaningful pattern between early-assumed work/family roles and subsequent family, work, and well-being outcomes exists. As will be discussed, this is an important area for future research.

Implications

Policy

The present study suggests various implications for policy. The most pressing topics to address include work/family support, labor formalization, and ways forward for gainful employment.

Work/family support. In many ways, the work/family experience presented in this study represents an extreme version of a broad global trend: most working mothers' jobs conflict with their family demands, and vice-versa. Quality, affordable childcare is a pressing need for workers in the informal *and* the formal labor market, but throughout the world, childcare is costly and oftentimes difficult to access (Cassirer & Addati, 2007). The burden of accessing care is heaviest for low-income, precariously-employed mothers, for whom childcare is often beyond their contributory capacity (Cassirer & Addati, 2007). The present study demonstrated this context with regards to informally employed mothers.

While there are numerous possible solutions to address this problem, recent research points to universal daycare and early education as one way forward (Samman et al., 2016). While such a solution could help alleviate informally employed mothers' care burden, the results presented in this study suggest two challenges that must be addressed. First, the study found that even public services that target low-income mothers are often designed in a way that is incompatible with their lived reality. This study found that care centers often operate only during regular business hours, which excludes many informally employed mothers, as well as mothers who hold off-hours shift work. This suggests that if universal care services are to be effective, they must be designed with all types of working mothers in mind.

Second, there is an overall lack in public services in low-income communities, which reflects a disconnect between policy and practice. Curiously, access to childcare and early education is a constitutionally-protected right of the *child* (not the parent) in Brazil, in that is the responsibility of the government to provide "infant education to children of up to five years of age in day-care centers and pre-schools" for all children (Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, Article 208, IV). However, in the present study, participants described a severe lack of public care services. This suggests that constrained public budgets, and perhaps a lack of political will in practice, may limit universal care options. Taken together, these two issues suggest that while there is a clear need for care solutions and that universal coverage may be one solution, such a policy response is complex and not without challenges.

Formalization policy. The study results also speak to current formalization debates, and the question of what constitutes "better" employment for informally employed mothers. Almost all participants (23 of 24) stated that if they could, they would work formally—i.e. in a job that provides a signed work card (*carteira assinada*), the marker of formal employment in Brazil.

For participants, formality meant stability, protection, and rights, as well as higher wages. To these mothers, formal jobs are "better." Yet contradicting this perception of being "better," participants who *had* held a formal job at some point described challenging circumstances which, with regards to work structures and schedules, were often indistinct from the conditions of informal wage-earning jobs. Participants who had held a formal job described being stressed and exhaustion due to the strict, sometimes off-hour schedules. Such conditions were incompatible with the demands of family life—e.g., nursing, spending time with children, caring for a child with a medical condition. Some participants were ultimately forced out of their formal job due conflicts between schedules and work/family demands.

While these results reinforce the argument above for broader work/family and care reform, they also implicate current formality/informality debates in LMICs, in which the well-being of informal workers often hinges on the formalization of work (e.g. ILO, 2015b). The results from the present study suggest that while formality is platform through which worker rights, benefits, and protections may be provided and monitored, traditional labor structures common to the formal sector are not only inconvenient for working mothers, but may also exacerbate the effects of poor work conditions. Thus, it is imperative that stakeholders involved in the labor formalization discourse consider the shortcomings of formal structures, particularly from the vantage point of low-income women and mothers—i.e. those who make up the largest share of the world's informal workers.

Inclusion in gainful employment. The results from this study suggest that low-income informally employed mothers want and need a better job, but that various barriers bar them from accessing one. Two possible avenues through which gainful job opportunities for informally

employed mothers may be developed are: 1) job training programs targeted towards low-income women and mothers, and 2) job creation ventures.

   Job training.   One option for connecting informally employed mothers to gainful employment is to invest in targeted job training programs. The study results suggested that these mothers are already engaging in such programs, including Pronatec, Brazil's subsidized vocational training program. However, the study also suggests that for low-income mothers, there are gaps in such programs.

   The present study suggests that to be effective, job training programs with this population should focus not just on developing technical skills, but also on providing relevant work experience, bridging gaps between gainful employers and program participants, and building participants' professional networks. Ways in which this might be done are incorporating decently-paid apprenticeship programs into the training program, and providing incentives (e.g. tax breaks) to formal employers who contract program participants. In addition, recent research suggests that effective job training programs with marginalized women must include psychosocial support and self-esteem-building (Creed, Bloxsome, & Johnston, 2001), as well as provide care services to accommodate mothers' family demands.

   Incidentally, gender-specific programs have existed in Brazil, such as *Mulheres Mil*, a public-private partnership focused on building marginalized women's practical job skills as well as confidence and self-esteem. However, this program has been limited by scalability, and in many communities, has been absorbed into Pronatec, which does not adopt a gender-focused or empowerment lens. As this suggests, political buy-in for gender-specific programming is imperative, but also subject to current political-economic agendas.

Job creation. Another way forward for inclusive employment is to invest in job creation for low-income women and mothers. This is a different approach than job training, as it focuses on adding new opportunities in the labor market, rather than in integrating women into existing ones. Relevant to the present study, one sector with promising job growth potential is the paid care sector (e.g. daycares; eldercare; home-based health care) (ILO, 2015a). Care needs are expected to multiply in virtually every country until at least 2050 due to demographic shifts (e.g. the growing ageing population; continued need for childcare) (WHO, 2012). The most pressing care needs are emerging in LMICs, where infrastructure and care workforces may not be prepared to meet the growing demand (WHO, 2012). As such, current demographic trends, coupled with the dire need for decent employment opportunities, point to paid care work as a possible solution.

One of the challenges associated with this recommendation is that paid care, even in the formal sector, often pays low wages and tends to impose difficult conditions, like off-hour schedules. Yet recent research has shown that innovation in job creation in the paid care sector is generating decent-paying, protected, gainful employment for low-income and other marginalized women, as well as integrating care solutions for working mothers into the enterprise model (e.g. daycares at work). Such innovations include cooperatives, which, at their core, promote social inclusion of and gainful employment for marginalized groups (Matthew, Esim, Maybud, & Horiuchi, 2016), and small and medium enterprises (SMEs), particularly women-owned SMEs, which are particularly adept at developing local, bottom-up solutions for marginalized women. The latter may be particularly viable in Brazil, where investment in SMEs is already a component of socioeconomic development, and SMEs currently employ more than 56 million people (Papalardo, Meirelles, Sacomano, & de Aranha Machado, 2014). Ways

forward for policy to support job creation in the care sector include facilitating enterprise access to capital (e.g. grants; loans) and investment in care infrastructure.

Family planning. In addition to work/family and labor policy, this study has important implications for family planning policy. Driven by private-public partnerships as well as third-sector initiatives, family planning initiatives expanded in Brazil over recent decades. This has resulted in improved access to sexual health education and care, as well as enhanced family planning and contraception knowledge, disseminated through mass media campaigns (USAID, 2016). Thanks to such initiatives, contraception use among married women of reproductive age in Brazil increased from 34 percent in 1970 to 70 percent in 2000, rising slightly to 72 percent in 2015 (UN DESA, 2015).

Despite these gains, Brazil's adolescent birthrate remains above the regional average for Latin America and the Caribbean (World Bank, 2016). Furthermore, low-income, Afro-Brazilian girls in North and Northeastern regions remain at the greatest risk for adolescent pregnancy, with about 20 percent of girls age 15 to 19 in these regions giving birth each year (World Bank, 2016). Linking trends to the present study results, this suggests that while gaps in sexual health and contraception use remain for many young, low-income, Afro-Brazilian girls, gender-biased social norms and beliefs which shape sexual behavior may also be at play. Such norms include age-disparate relationships between older men and adolescent girls; the overt sexualization of young, Afro-Brazilian women and girls; and the belief that relationships with older men are a way out of poverty for young, low-income women (Goldstein, 1999, 2003).

Taken together, the study results and demographic trends suggest that while access to healthcare and contraception use are critical aspects of family planning, policies must also aim to tackle the macro-level cultural beliefs and social norms, which shape sexual behavior. To this

end, family planning policy may incorporate initiatives aimed at building adolescents' self-esteem and strengths, as well as initiative that investing in human capital development among youth (e.g. early education and empowerment programs).

The results also suggest that social norms and sexual behaviors of women *and* men must be challenged in family planning policy. Interventions targeting only women and girls (for example, programs incentivizing girls to stay in school) address only half the problem, as they overlook the reasons *why* adolescent girls may engage in early sexual relationships. Thus, in order to fully address such complex issues, men (and, in this case, older men) must be brought into the equation and the effects of their behaviors considered vis-à-vis adolescent pregnancy.

Social Work Practice

Currently, social work practice tends to be only marginally involved in issues related to global labor markets; however, recent calls in the international social work community have urged for a "social work of work approach" in which social workers become more engaged with global issues of employment (Akimoto, 2012). With their training in social justice, sensitivity to intersectionality, and approach to practice based in building strengths, social workers are well-prepared to challenge systems of systemic oppression at individual, inter-personal, and macro-societal levels. Below are three possible ways forward for social work with informally employed mothers.

Connecting individuals to resources and networks. Among others, the study results identified two barriers that informally employed women face in the labor market: the lack of professional connections, and limited guidance and know-how. Social workers are well-positioned to help address these gaps, given that a core tenant of social work practice is to connect marginalized individuals to the resources they need. One way in which social workers

may bridge knowledge gaps is to share resources on job training with mothers served in more traditional social work spaces (e.g. family assistance centers; public health centers). To help build connections, social workers, who often have deep knowledge of local stakeholders, are also well-positioned to help build relationships between job training programs and gainful employers.

Engagement in micro/macro interventions. There is also an opportunity for social workers to challenge systems of intersectional discrimination and marginalization through multi-level interventions. As the study results demonstrated, unbalanced power dynamics between men and women—and, more specifically, between older men and younger women and girls— play a powerful role in reproducing systems of inequality. Further, the study findings suggest that in order to develop effective gender-inclusive programs and policies, gender inequalities must be disrupted at the individual and household levels, as well as at broader institutional and society levels (Kabeer, 1994, 2008). With their training in micro- and macro-level practice, social workers are well-positioned to engage in interventions that address such challenges. One way forward is the development and implementation of interventions that challenge social biases through multi-level mobilization at the individual and community levels (e.g. Devries et al., 2016). One area of particular concern is family planning and adolescent pregnancy, and the need to address broad social norms and cultural beliefs that shape adolescent girls' sexual behavior, namely early and age-disparate relationships.

Engagement in labor policy. Finally, at both local and international levels, there is room for social workers to be involved in labor policy-making and standard-setting efforts with governments and international organizations. It is in such arenas that social development debates often focus on the well-being of marginalized groups, but often do not consult these individuals or the practitioners who work with them every day. Given their training in social justice and

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advocacy, as well as familiarity with multi-level interventions, social workers are thus well-suited to inform and engage in and affect labor policy debates.

Future Research

The present study indicates numerous areas for future research, with the first being to test informally employed mothers' work/family relationship. Using qualitative methods, this study set forth evidence that informally employed mothers' work/family experience is one that tends to be in conflict, but that buffering resources may alleviate some of the tension. This is an important relationship for future research to test, as it may shed light on opportunities for intervention—for example, the need to enhance programmatic support for certain types of buffering resources. Given that quantitative surveys on work/family issues in the informal labor market do not yet exist, this area of research is particularly interesting for future quantitative inquiries.

The second area for future research relates to the relationship identified between early age-disparate relationships, adolescent pregnancy, school drop-out, and informal work for mothers. Future research should aim to draw out and test the relationships within this chain of events. Identifying events and relationships that lead to informal labor outcomes for low-income mothers would be an immense contribution to research and policy, as it would identify critical junctures in the relationship as well as points for intervention. This is a particularly compelling opportunity for large-*n* quantitative research, which would be able to control for intervening factors and test the relationship across a larger sample. That said, this area is also relevant to qualitative research, which would inform the inquiry by helping to understand the complex reasons why relationships and events such age-disparate relationships and early pregnancy occur.

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Another pressing area for future research is the work/family experience as lived by fathers. While the present study set forth a thorough analysis of the work/family perspective as lived and understood by informally employed mothers, very little data reflected fathers' perspectives. Because men were not consulted, little is known about work/family life as *they* see, understand, and live it. In turn, there are substantial explanatory gaps in the study with regards to men's daily schedules, work patterns, economic circumstances, romantic relationships, and gender beliefs. Consulting fathers would, for example, shed light on reasons for their absence and lack of financial contributions, and perhaps on reasons why some fathers are more involved than others.

In a similar vein, the current study explored the lived work/family experience only among Afro-Brazilian mothers. As such, there is an opportunity for future research to draw out and understand disparities and differences across groups. Future research might compare the experiences of low-income Afro-Brazilian mothers to mothers from other income and racial/ethnic groups, as well as other regions with more racial and ethnic variation.

A final opportunity for future research relates to the puzzle of informally employed mothers' wages and the receipt of *Bolsa Família*. This is an important contextual issue, and is particularly relevant to current social policy debates. As was discussed in Chapter 2, recent research has suggested that *Bolsa Família* encourages a "reallocation effect" of working mothers from formal to informal work (de Brauw et al., 2015). This effect was likened to mothers' freedom to massage self-reported informal wages, which allowed them to revieve cash benefits while earning wages above the income cut-off.

The present study offered a more complex explanation of this relationship. As this study suggested, some informally employed mothers who received *Bolsa Família* do earn wages over

the income cut-off, which concurs that they are likely under-reporting wages. However, for these mothers, *Bolsa Família* was not seen as an income replacement nor a reason to hold an informal job. On the contrary, participants described in detail their desire to for a better, formal job. Yet, with numerous barriers in the labor market and little financial help from their children's fathers, even mothers who earned wages above the poverty line described their income as volatile and barely enough to make ends meet. Going forward, future research should aim to unpack this complicated relationship between informal work, motherhood, and *Bolsa Família,* as this inquiry has important implications for directions of social policy.

Strengths and Limitations

As with all empirical research, this study is not without limitations. First, as is true of most qualitative research, this study is limited with regards to generalizability. Although a sample size of 24 participants is sufficient for a phenomenological study, it is a small number from which implications for a broad population may be derived. It is possible that the research site, sample demographics, and cultural and social norms may have shaped some of the study outcomes. Thus, findings should be applied to other work/family contexts with caution.

Second, the study findings are derived from one perspective alone: that of mothers. Although the phenomenological inquiry is designed so that only those who live a given experience are consulted, the lack of insight from other key players—namely fathers—set forth a lived reality that is one-sided. Fathers' work/family roles and the ways in which gender-disparate role expectations shape fathers' lived experience is an important area for future research.

Third, as discussed in Chapter 3, power dynamics embedded in international fieldwork, as well as language and communication barriers, may have shaped the data collection and

interpretation of results. As such, numerous practices to reduce bias and enhance rigor were employed throughout the research process.

Given these limitations, the present study has various strengths that are also worth noting. First, the study applied a unique approach to the inquiry that had not yet been used in the literature. The phenomenological approach and interview design informed by the life course perspective yielded findings that have not yet been discussed in work/family research. This design helped shed light on the ways in which work/family roles are formed, and drew out ways in which social norms and cultural beliefs shape working mothers' roles. The research approach also brought attention to the intergenerational transfer of gender-biased roles. Further, it suggested ways in which the cycle of poverty is propagated through persistent intersectional race, gender, and class biases rooted in colonial social structures.

Second, the study explored the work/family experience in the context of a diverse location (Salvador, Brazil) and among a new population (low-income, Afro-Brazilian, informally employed mothers). As a result, complex results were set forth, which expand and refine the existing work/family literature base. Light was shed on the ways in which informally employed, racially and socioeconomically diverse working mothers navigate work/family roles. This helped address an important gap in literature and policy discourse, given that most of the world's working women are in fact informally employed, yet remain beyond the bounds of mainstream work/family discourse. It also shed light on ways in which the work/family experience differs (and ways in which is it is similar) across populations.

Finally, numerous devices to enhance the rigor, credibility, and replicability of the study were employed throughout the research process. Issues of bias, positionality, and researcher/participant distance were taken seriously, and various strategies, such as

phenomenological reduction and bracketing, as well as leaving paper and audit trails, were engaged. Taken together, these strategies helped enhance the overall trustworthiness and credibility of the results.

Conclusion

Very little research has explored the work/life experience as lived by low-income, racially diverse, informally employed mothers in LMICs, with particularly few studies employing a qualitative lens. In effort to address this gap in research, the present study employed a qualitative approach, phenomenology, to explore the work/family experience as lived by low-income, Afro-Brazilian, informally employed mothers in Salvador, Brazil. Through this approach and Giorgi's descriptive analytical method, six essential themes with sub-themes were identified, which together, define the structure of the experience under study.

The study results suggest that for these mothers, the work/family experience is conflicted and stressful, driven by biases endured at home and in the labor market. These mothers entered work/family roles from an early age, typically due to age-disparate romantic relationships and early pregnancy, which had profound effects on their education, and, in turn, on their work/family lives. As adults, these mothers navigated a patchwork of piecemeal care solutions and endured difficult conditions in the labor market, forced into informal jobs that lack basic protections and pay meager wages. The results from this study demonstrated that these mothers want a better (i.e. stable, decent-paying, formal) job, but that intersecting layers of race, gender, class, and motherhood biases keep opportunities for "something better" out of reach.

If we as a global community are to take seriously issues of equitable economic growth and social inclusion in the labor market—areas of critical importance at national and international levels—the experiences of informally employed mothers must be taken into

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consideration, and the barriers they face addressed. What is more, in considering the experiences of these women, innovative opportunities for both job growth and care provision should be considered. While there is certainly no magic bullet for solving the complex social challenges discussed in this study, by consulting the women who live those challenges every day, a more complete narrative of the causes, realities, and solutions has been set forth.

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Interview guide in Portuguese and English.

Guia da entrevista: Português

Informação demográfica
Vamos a começar de falar sobre algumas características pessoais.
1. Quantos anos você tem?
2. Onde você mora? Como descreveria o seu bairro?
3. Descreva quem mora com você, por favor.

A infância e o crescimento
Vamos falar sobre suas experiências de vida enquanto você crescia.
4. Onde você nasceu? Como era seu bairro quando era criança?
5. Como descreveria sua infância? Pode me dar um exemplo?
6. Até qual nível (série/ano) você estudou?
7. Quando era criança, o que você fazia durante as férias escolares? Depois da escola?
8. Descreva as relações entre os membros da família quando era criança e adolescente.
9. Quem criou você? Enquanto crescia, quem cuidava de você? Pode falar um pouco disso?
10. Quando era criança/adolescente, quem na sua casa cozinhava? Limpava? Fazias as compras? Pode me dar uns exemplos?
11. Descreva sua mãe e seu pai, por favor.
    - Sugestão: Como eram eles? Como era a relação entre eles?
12. Seus pais tratavam todos de sua família da mesma maneira ou de forma diferente? Pode me dar um exemplo?
13. Quando você era criança/adolescente, o que você entendia como o papel do pai? E o papel da mãe? Pode me dar exemplos?
14. Como descreveria a situação econômica e bem-estar da sua família na sua infância e adolescência?
15. Durante sua infância e adolescência, quais foram as principais fontes de renda para sua família?
16. Quando era criança/adolescente, teve que assumir o papel de mãe? Pode me dar um exemplo?
17. Fale sobre suas experiências na escola, por favor.
18. Como sua família percebia sua ida à escola?
19. Quando era jovem, quem na casa trabalhou? Fale disso, por favor.
20. Se trabalhava quando era jovem, porque trabalhava? Como afetou sua vida?

Experiências de trabalho
Vamos falar mais sobre suas experiências de trabalho.
21. Como era seu primeiro trabalho?
22. Por favor, fale sobre seu emprego (ou empregos) de hoje em dia.
23. Você gosta de seu trabalho atual? Pode me dar um exemplo de porque (ou porque não) gosta desse trabalho?
24. Além dos trabalhos do que já falamos, quais outros trabalhos você já teve? Fala disso, por favor.
25. Você acha que teve opções e escolhas no mercado de trabalho? Pode me dar um exemplo?
26. Qual trabalho gostaria de ter?
    - Sugestão: Qual tipo de trabalho? Quais características teria? Com ou sem uma carteira assinada? Porque?

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27. Alguma coisa lhe impede de ter esse trabalho? Pode me dar um exemplo?
28. Trabalhou com carteira assinada? Fale dessa experiência, por favor.
29. Você acha que há diferenças entre trabalhar com e sem carteira assinada? Qual prefere? Por que?

Filhos, matrimônio e parceiros
Vamos falar sobre seus filhos e parceiros.
30. Quantos filhos tem? Como descreveria seu(s) filho(s)? Pode me dar uns exemplos?
31. Você está casada ou tem parceiro/a? Moram juntos?
32. Pode me falar sobre seu(sua) parceiro/a? Seus(suas) ex-parceiros/as?
   • Sugestão: Como está ele/a? Como é sua personalidade? Pode me dar um exemplo?
33. Descreva essas relações, por favor.
34. Como seu parceiro/a trata você? Pode me dar um exemplo?
35. Falando de seu domicílio e seus relacionamentos de hoje, quem gere o dinheiro?
   • Sugestão: Quem paga as contas? Quem decide como se gasta o dinheiro? Pode me dar um exemplo?
36. Como você prefere gastar seu dinheiro? Seu parceiro? Pode me dar uns exemplos?
37. Como se sentia quando soube que estava grávida pela primeira vez?
   • Se tem outros filhos, como se sentia quando soube dessas gravidezes?
38. O que espera que aconteça para cada um deles? Pode me dar uns exemplos?

Cuidar de família atual
Vamos falar sobres as responsabilidades de cuidar da família e as tarefas domésticas atual na sua casa.
39. Quem precisa de cuidados na sua casa?
40. Você cuida de alguém na sua casa? O que faz você quando cuida deles? Pode me dar um exemplo?
41. Fala sobre um dia típico.
42. Como você equilibra as responsabilidades da família e da casa com seu trabalho? Pode me dar uns exemplos?
43. Como se sente quando cuida dos membros da família? Pode me dar um exemplo?
44. Alguém ajuda você a cuidar da família?
   • Sugestão: Quem é? Como lhe ajuda? Pode me dar um exemplo?
45. Na sua casa, quem faz as tarefas domésticas? O que faz? Pode me dar uns exemplos?
46. Como você e seu parceiro decidiram quem cuidaria dos dependentes da casa? Pode me dar um exemplo de como decidiram?
47. Como você disciplina seus filhos? Como seu parceiro disciplina seus filhos? Pode me dar um exemplo de cada um?
48. Houve alguma oportunidade de trabalho ou oportunidade educacional que não pode aproveitar por causa de uma responsabilidade familiar?
   • Sugestão: Como se sentia quando aconteceu? Como se sente agora?

Bem-estar atual
49. Acha que sua renda de casa é suficiente para manter toda família? Porque sim ou não?
50. Atualmente, sua família recebe alguma assistência do governo ou de outro lugar? Se recebeu, como (ou como não) lhe ajudou? Pode me dar um exemplo?
51. Usa algum centro de cuidado para ajudar aos dependentes da sua família? Fale sobre isso, por favor.
   • Sugestão: Ajuda sua família? Pode me dar um exemplo de como ajuda ou não?
52. O que gosta fazer no seu tempo livre? No final de semana, acha que tem tempo e energia suficientes para fazer as coisas do que você gosta? Pode me dar um exemplo?
53. Falando da vida atual: Se você não tivesse que cuidar de alguém agora, como sua vida seria diferente?

Perguntas finais
54. Quais relações, pessoas ou eventos marcaram sua vida? Pode me dar uns exemplos?

55. Se pudesse dar um conselho a uma menina jovem de sua comunidade, o que lhe falaria?
56. Há alguma pergunta que acha que é importante e que não discutimos?

Interview Guide: English

Demographic information
Let's start with a few questions about you.
1. How old are you?
2. Where do you live? How would you describe your neighborhood?
3. Describe who lives with you, please.

Childhood and growing up
Let's talk a bit about your experiences in childhood and growing up.
4. Where were you born? What was your neighborhood like growing up?
5. How would you describe your childhood? Can you give me an example?
6. Until what grade did you study in school?
7. When you were young, what did you do during school breaks? After school?
8. Describe the relationships between family members when you were growing up.
9. Who raised you? When you were growing up? Can you talk about this a bit?
10. When you were a child/adolescent, who in your house cooked? Cleaned? Did the shopping? Can you give me some examples?
11. Describe your mother and father please.
    - Prompts: What were they like? What was their relationship like?
12. Did your parents treat everyone in your family the same? Can you give me an example?
13. When you were growing up, what did the role of father mean to you? Of mother? Can you give me an example?
14. How would you describe the household economic situation when you were growing up?
15. What were the principle forms of income in your family when you were growing up?
16. When you were growing up, did you ever have to take on the role of mother? Can you give me an example?
17. Please talk a bit about your experiences in school.
18. How did your family perceive you going to school?
19. When you were growing up, who worked in your home? Can you explain a bit about this please?
20. If you worked when you were young, why did you work? How did it affect your life?

Work experiences
Now let's talk more about your work experiences.
21. What was your first job like?
22. Please talk about your current job(s).
23. Do you like your current job? Can you give an example why do you do (or don't) like it?
24. Aside from the jobs we've already talked about, what other jobs have you had? Please talk a bit about them.
25. Do you believe that you have had options in the labor market? Can you give me an example?
26. What job would you like to have?
    - Prompts: What type of job? What characteristics would it have? With or without a signed work card? Why?
27. Does anything in particular impede you from this job? Can you give me an example?
28. Have you worked with a signed work card? Can you please talk about this?
29. Do you think there are differences between working with and without a signed work card? What are they? Why are they different (or not)?

Children, marriage, and partners
Let's talk about your children and partners.
30. How many children do you have? How would you describe your child(ren)? Can you give me an example?
31. Are you married or in a relationship? Do you live together?
32. Can you tell me about your current partner(s)? About your ex-partner(s)?
    - Prompts: What is he/she like? What is his/her personality like? Can you give me an example?
33. Please describe these relationships.
34. How does your partner treat you? Can you give me an example?
35. Speaking about your household and relationships today, who makes the money?
    - Prompts: Who pays the bills? Can you give me an example?
36. How do you prefer to spend your money? Your partner? Can you give me some examples?
37. How did you feel when you found out you were pregnant the first time?
    - If you have other children, how did you feel when you found out about those pregnancies?
38. What are your hopes for your children? Can you give me an example?

Current Family Care
Let's talk about the family caregiving responsibilities and chores in your current household.
39. Who needs to be cared for in your current home?
40. Do you take care of anyone in your home? What do you do to take care of them? Can you give me an example?
41. Tell me about a typical day for you.
42. How do you balance work and family tasks? Can you give me a few examples?
43. How do you feel when you're taking care of family? Can you give me an example?
44. Does anyone in your family help you?
    - Prompts: Who helps you? How do they help you? Can you give me an example?
45. In your home, who does the housework? What do they do? Can you give me some examples?
46. How did you and your partner decide who would take care of your dependents at home? Can you give me an example of how you decided?
47. How do you discipline your children? How does your partner? Can you give me an example?
48. Was there ever a work or education opportunity that you couldn't take because of a Family responsibility?
    - Prompts: How did you feel when it happened? How do you feel now?

Well-being today
49. Do you think your salary is sufficient to maintain your family? Why or why not?
50. Currently, does your family receive any assistance from the government or another source? If so, how does it (or does it not) help you? Can you give me an example?
51. Do you use any caregiving centers to help your family dependents? Talk about this, please.
    - Prompts: Does it help your Family? Can you give me an example of how it does or does not?
52. How do you like to spend your free time? At the end of the week, do you believe you have the time and energy to do the things you like to do? Can you give me an example?
53. Speaking about your life today: If you didn't have to take care of anyone, how would your life be different?

Final questions
54. Which relationships, people, or events had an impact on your life? Can you give me a few examples?
55. If you could give a piece of advice to a young girl from your community, what would you tell her?
56. Are there any questions that you think are important that we didn't discuss?

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Informed consent forms in Portuguese and English. Note that that the original consent forms also provided complete contact information for the research team at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the Universidade Federal de Bahia (UFBA), but personal contact information was omitted below for privacy reasons.

Termo de consentimento informado

Este estudo tem como objetivo fazer perguntas às mulheres em Salvador, Bahia sobre as relações entre o emprego e a vida familiar, especialmente para as mulheres trabalhando sem a carteira assinada. A pesquisadora responsável por este estudo não é afiliada ao governo ou outras organizações. A pesquisadora responsável é somente afiliada à Universidade de Illinois nos Estados Unidos.

A pesquisadora vai lhe perguntar sobre suas experiências de trabalho anteriores e atuais, sua vida familiar anterior e atual, e de quem na família você cuida. A entrevista demora mais ou menos 1 hora. A pesquisadora gostaria de gravar a entrevista, mas se você preferir a pesquisadora só tomará notas e não gravará a entrevista.

Sua identidade não será divulgada. Os riscos de participar desta pesquisa não são maiores do que os enfrentados no dia a dia. Professores, alunos e funcionários que podem ver sua informação manterão a confidencialidade na medida de leis e políticas da universidade. Todos os identificadores pessoais não serão publicados ou apresentados.

Você pode optar por interromper a entrevista em qualquer momento. Mesmo se você interromper a entrevista. Você pode se recusar a responder qualquer pergunta. Se houver qualquer pergunta na entrevista que você deseje ignorar, basta pular a pergunta. Sua participação nesse estudo é voluntaria, e você não tem que participar se não quiser.

Não há benefícios direitos esperados por participar neste estudo. Como um benefício secundário, é possível que os resultados influenciem as políticas e/ou algumas mudanças de programas em favor dos participantes.

Se você tiver perguntas sobre seus direitos como participante nesse estudo, ou qualquer dúvida ou reclamação, por favor entre em contato com o Institutional Review Board (comitê de ética) da Universidade de Illinois pelo telefone +1-217-333-2670 ou por email de irb@illinois.edu.

Assinando abaixo, você aceita que:
Eu li/ouvi, e entendi a explicação sobre a pesquisa. Minha participação nesse estudo é voluntaria. Eu entendo que se eu não completar a entrevista, ainda receberei a compensação oferecida.

_____   _____
Assinatura   Data

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Informed Consent Form

This study asks questions of women in Salvador, Bahia about how work and family life affect one another, particularly for women working without a signed work card. The researcher who speaks with you for this study is not affiliated with the government or any other organizations, aside from her university in the United States, the University of Illinois.

The researcher will ask you about your previous and current work experiences, your previous and current family life, and the people you take care of and used to take care of. The interview will take about 1 hour. The researcher would like to audio record the interview, but if you would prefer, the interview can be conducted with no audio recording at all. In that case, the researcher will only take notes.

Your identity will not be shared. The risks of participating in this research are no greater than those faced in everyday life. Faculty, students, and staff who may see your information will maintain confidentiality to the extent of laws and university policies. Personal identifiers will not be published or presented.

You can decide to stop the interview at any time during the interview. Also, you can skip any interview question or survey question that you do not want to answer. If there is an interview question that you wish to skip, just let the researcher know and she will move on to the next one. Furthermore, participation in this study is completely voluntary, meaning that you do not have to participate if you do not wish.

There are no direct benefits anticipated with participation in this study. As a secondary benefit, it is possible that research results may influence policy and programming changes in favor of the participants.

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at +1-217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

By signing below, you acknowledge the following:
I have read or heard the above and understand it. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. I understand that even if I do not complete the interview, I will still receive the offered compensation.

_____   _____
Participant Signature   Date

APPENDIX C: OPEN CODES WITH INTERRATER RELIABILITY SCORES

Interrater reliability scores for open codes.

Code	Cohen's Kappa (*k*)	Agreement (%)
Care Services	0.87	98.28
Caregiving and Childrearing in Current Family	0.59	82.44
Caregiving and Childrearing in Formative Family	0.60	88.55
Chores and Housework	1.00	99.99
Economic Situation	0.65	90.76
Education	0.79	94.47
Employment, Other People's	0.62	95.31
Employment, Participant's	0.72	91.21
Entertainment and Leisure	0.63	97.11
Family Composition	0.66	91.46
Family Dynamics	0.78	92.02
Family Planning and Pregnancy	0.79	95.22
Family Roles	0.53	77.51
Friends	1.00	100.00
Gender Ideology	0.70	94.81
Hopes and Dreams	0.67	94.53
Housing and Neighborhood	0.68	93.82
Informality and Formality	0.91	98.50
Labor Market Conditions	0.67	96.39
Mental Health	0.43	91.76
Other Sources of Assistance	1.00	100.00
Physical Health	0.50	97.73
Public Assistance and Policies	0.60	96.48
Religion	1.00	100.00
Romantic Relationships, Other People's	0.69	98.30
Romantic Relationships, Participant's	0.84	94.65
Safety	0.66	96.77
Strategies to Get Things Done	0.50	86.28
Substance Use	1.00	100.00

$k = 0.41 - 0.60$ is acceptable agreement, $k = 0.61 - 0.80$ is substantial agreement, $k = 0.81 - 1.00$ is almost perfect agreement. Percent agreement $\geq 80\%$ denotes the minimum acceptable interrater agreement. See McHugh (2012) for further discussion.

Description of participants.

Participant	Description
1	Twenty-five-year-old single mother of one. Works as an on-call event promoter (informal wage-earner). Completed high school and is currently earning a technical degree in nursing. First pregnancy occurred at age 19 (unplanned).
2	Twenty-two-year-old married mother of one. Married to her child's father. Owns a neighborhood snack stand (own-account worker). Completed high school. First pregnancy occurred at age 17 (planned).
3	Twenty-nine-year-old single mother of three, to two different fathers. Works as an informally-contracted manicurist in a salon (informal wage-earner). Dropped out of high school due to pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 19 (unplanned).
4	Twenty-four-year-old single mother of one. Works as a home-based cook (own-account worker), and sells her cakes to baked goods women's snack stands. Completed high school. First pregnancy occurred at age 15 (unplanned).
5	Nineteen-year-old married mother of one. Married to a new partner (not her child's father). Dependents cared for in the household include participant's son and teenage sister. Works in a bakery (informal wage-earner). Dropped out of high school due to pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 14 (unplanned).
6	Twenty-six-year-old single mother of three, to three different fathers. Works as a home-based manicurist (own-account worker). Dropped out of high school due to pregnancy. Recently returned to school, and is currently studying to earn her high school degree. First pregnancy occurred at age 17 (unplanned).
7	Twenty-six-year-old single mother of one. Currently holds two jobs, one as an on-call event security guard, and the other as an on-call manicurist in a salon (both informal wage-earner). Dropped out of high school twice, first to work for pay at age 13; second due to adolescent pregnancy. Returned to school and completed high school degree as an adult, and then subsequently completed a Pronatec technical training course. First pregnancy occurred at age 17 (planned).
8	Twenty-seven-year-old single mother of four, to three different fathers. Works as a cook in a bar (informal wage-earner). Dropped out of school twice, both times due to adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 13 (unplanned). First pregnancy occurred through sexual assault.

9	Twenty-seven-year-old single mother of one. Works as a freelance journalist (own-account worker). Completed a university degree. First pregnancy occurred at age 26 (unplanned).
10	Twenty-one-year-old married mother of one. Married to a new partner (not her child's father). Works as a housecleaner (informal wage-earner). Dropped out of high school due to adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 19 (unplanned).
11	Twenty-six-year-old married mother of one. Married to a new partner (not her child's father). Works as a housecleaner (informal wage-earner). Completed high school (dropped out due to adolescent pregnancy; returned and completed as an adult). First pregnancy occurred at age 17 (unplanned).
12	Twenty-four-year-old single mother of two, to the same father. Currently provides care to her two children and her grandmother. Works as paid elder caregiver (own-account worker). Dropped out of school due to adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 17 (unplanned).
13	Twenty-six-year old married mother of one. Married to a new partner (not her child's father). Works as a clerk in a clothing store (informal wage-earner). Completed high school (dropped out due to adolescent pregnancy; returned and completed as an adult). First pregnancy occurred at age 18 (unplanned).
14	Twenty-eight-year-old married mother of one. Married to her child's father. Currently provides care to her child and her grandmother. Works as a home-based saleswoman (own-account worker). Dropped out of school due to neighborhood gang violence. First pregnancy occurred at age 24 (unplanned).
15	Twenty-six-year-old single mother of one. Works an employee at a snack stand (informal wage-earner). Dropped out of high school due to adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 17 (unplanned).
16	Twenty-three-year-old single mother of two, to two different fathers. Works as a street vendor (own-account worker). Dropped out of school twice, first at age 12 to care for an ill family member, and second, due to her first adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 15 (unplanned).
17	Twenty-two-year-old single mother of one. Works as a home-based saleswoman (own-account worker). Completed high school (attended while pregnant). First pregnancy occurred at age 16 (unplanned).
18	Twenty-seven-year-old single mother of one. Works as a home-based saleswoman (own-account worker). Dropped out of high school due to adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 18 (unplanned).

19	Nineteen-year-old single mother of one. Works as an employee at a snack stand on the beach (informal wage-earner). Dropped out of high school due to adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 14 (unplanned).
20	Twenty-six-year-old married mother of one. Married to a new partner (not her child's father). Works as an employee at a snack stand on the beach (informal wage-earner). Completed high school. First pregnancy at age 20 (planned).
21	Twenty-eight-year-old married mother of one. Married to a new partner (not her child's father). Works as an employee at an informal market stand in the city center (informal wage-earner). Completed high school. First pregnancy at age 26 (planned).
22	Twenty-year-old single mother of two, to different fathers. Works at a self-owned snack stand on the beach (own-account worker). Dropped out of high school due to adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 15 (unplanned).
23	Twenty-one-year-old single mother of two, to different fathers. Works at a self-owned snack stand on the beach (own-account worker). Dropped out of high school due to adolescent pregnancy. First pregnancy occurred at age 15 (unplanned).
24	Twenty-year-old single mother of one. Works as an employee at a snack stand in the city center (informal wage-earner). Dropped out of high school due to adolescent pregnancy; currently in the process of enlisting in a secondary degree equivalent course. First pregnancy occurred at age 16 (unplanned).

[i] Com 13 anos eu já comecei a trabalhar, já comecei a namorar também, pra sair de casa logo. Quando eu conheci meu ex-marido, eu tinha 13 anos [ele tinha 26]. No começo nosso relacionamento era muito bom, mas pra ter um relacionamento, tem que existir amor. Eu nunca amei meu marido assim—estar apaixonada. Ele foi a oportunidade que eu estava precisando e eu peguei, sabe? Você ê um homem mais que velho, que quer te assumir, te dar estabilidade que eu nunca tinha, nunca tive. Então, eu vi a oportunidade certa. Eu digo que ele estava na hora certa, no lugar certo.

Com 16 anos, eu já fui morar com ele. A gente começou a brincar de ter família. Ele alugou uma casa, mobilou a casa tudo bonitinho. Mas ele não veio morar comigo. Ele trabalhava durante o dia. Ele me botou dentro de casa, me dava comida, roupa—e achava que estava pronto. Mas eu tinha que ficar dentro de casa espero ele chegar. Só saia pra ir pra escola... Até 17 eu estudei, aí parei porque eu engravidei de meu filho.

[ii] Eu engravidei com 15 e tive com 16. Ele tinha 37. No começo, eu nem sabia que eu estava grávida. Eu queria ter uma filha pra cuidar, naquele tempo, né? Hoje em dia, misericórdia! Eu queria. Eu via todo mundo com filho, minha irmã também. Assim eu falei: "eu vou ter a minha." Eu já saí de lá assim, "meu Deus, me dá uma filha." Aí minha primeira filha, queria, mas por falta de experiência da vida que eu quis ter. Não que eu planejasse com toda a consciência que hoje em dia tenho.

Com o pai dela, eu fiquei seis meses com ele. Eu morei com ele lá. Só que eu trabalhava a noite num bar—comecei a trabalhar a noite num bar. Ele começou a ficar muito ciumento, falava que eu chegava a noite lá só pra dormir, porque era a noite toda o bar... Ele me traiu, aí eu me saí dele. Só que eu não sabia que eu estava grávida. Aí ele não assumiu, ele só veio registrar porque eu botei ele na justiça várias vezes. Várias e várias vezes e aí a justiça obrigou, aí ele registrou ela tinha quatro anos.

[iii] Minha mãe pensava que eu ia engravidar, porque eu comecei a namorar com 15 anos. Mas eu não pensava muito assim não, eu pensava assim, de sair, me divertir...Antes de ter minha filha, não usava [contraceptivos] muito. Agora uso a injeção. O homem também deveria ajudar—usar camisinha. Mas o homem nem liga pra isso.

[iv] Deixei de estudar quando tinha 15 anos porque eu estava grávida da minha segunda filha. Até os sete meses da minha segunda filha, eu estudei ainda. Só que depois eu comecei a ficar com problema de pressão baixa. Muito baixa e eu não podia estudar de noite pela minha idade. Aí fiquei sem estudar, e estou até hoje sem estudar.

[v] Eu tive meu filho com 17 anos pra 18. Eu gostava de estudar quando era na infância, quando eu não tinha filho. Eu me dedicava ao estudo. Mas depois que eu tive filho eu fiquei com a cabeça: "filho, trabalho, filho, trabalho." Meu sonho era ser advogada, mas foi tudo interrompido.

^{vi} Eu tinha 17 anos [quando parei de estudar]; tinha engravidado. Eu fiquei em casa ate ele fazer oito meses. Foi quando ele começou mesmo comer; ele só mamava. Então ele comer as comidinhas, aí eu comecei a trabalhar. Pegava uma pessoa a tomar conta dele e foi aí que eu comecei a trabalhar aqui [barraca na praia].

^{vii} Quando eu soube que eu estava grávida da minha primeira filha, em uma parte eu gostei, mas eu outra não porque ia empatar minha juventude e minha parte escolar. Aí depois desse dia eu comecei a por na minha cabeça que a minha vida ia parar por ali, porque eu ia ter uma filha agora. Eu não ia poder mais viver uma vida como era antes pelo fato de que eu não tinha filho antes. Que eu só ia voltar a curtir a minha vida depois que a minha filha estivesse grande. Só que aí veio a minha outra filha pequena e aí nem pude curtir direito.

^{viii} Com carteira assinada [trabalhando formalmente], eu tenho todos os meus direitos garantidos. Sem não tenho nada, só o meu dinheirinho no final do mês. Você vai trabalhar sem carteira, sem direito nenhum, pra ganhar menos do que você ganharia com carteira assinada e como todos os seus direitos garantidos? Não! A carteira assinada é a necessidade.

^{ix} Eu queria só de carteira assinada mesmo. Se você sentir uma dor, passar mal, qualquer coisa, quando tem carteira assinada, você vai poder ter seus direitos, tudo direitinho, seu INSS também.

^x É uma garantia que você tem no futuro você estar de carteira assinada. Eu gostaria de trabalhar de carteira assinada não é nem pelo dinheiro que você pega, mas é pelo seguro futuramente.

^{xi} Não tive opções no mercado de trabalho, porque eu não terminei os meus estudos. Eu não tenho meus estudos completos, então eu já não posso trabalhar vamos dizer num supermercado, uma coisa assim. O que mais me atrapalha mesmo é os estudos.

^{xii} O mercado de trabalho além de estar difícil, requer muita qualificação. Então eu não tenho muita escolha porque eu não tenho muita qualificação profissional. As poucas que tenho eu estou sempre procurando, pesquisando, a louca do trabalho.

^{xiii} Eu fiz um curso [técnico] de vigilante [mas] não consegui nada na área. Olhe onde eu estou [cozinheira sem carteira]... Empregadores não querem dar a oportunidade pra que só tem o curso. Precisa ter experiência.

^{xiv} Tenho o curso completo, o curso de computação, mas eu não tenho meus estudos completos. Então eu já não posso trabalhar num [lugar melhor].

^{xv} Eu parei de estudar com 16, ia fazer 17, porque eu engravidei. Eu estou correndo atrás pra pegar minha matricula pra estudar em outra escola, mas pela minha idade, só pega pela noite. Saindo [do trabalho], já é 11 horas. Não dá tempo.

^{xvi} Sou vendedora. Tenho muito experiência de vendedora. Na verdade, eu queria estar trabalhando de vigilante, [mas] precisa ter experiência. Mas como a gente vai ter experiência se ninguém dá a oportunidade?

xvii Quando eles contratam é parente, é amigo, sempre assim, a questão do conhecimento. Aqui em Salvador tem muito isso.

xviii Não tive [opções no mercado de trabalho], não. É [por] o conhecimento mesmo. Contatos. Conhecer as pessoas. Ter indicações.

xix Não tive opções no mercado de trabalho, não. É o conhecimento mesmo. Contatos. Conhecer as pessoas. Ter indicações. [Encontrei o trabalho atual por] uma amiga que me indicou. Eu estava perguntando, falando as pessoas, aí um colega pegou e me arranjou esse trabalho.

xx Quando eu estava grávida, eu fui dispensada de um trabalho porque não tinha carteira. Eles iam assinar minha carteira e eu descobri que eu estava grávida. Por estar grávida eles não assinaram minha carteira.

O mercado de trabalho aqui em Salvador é complicado, nessas questões familiares. Eles preferem não contratar mulher que tem filho porque sabe que existe uma demanda de atenção que precisa dedicar à minha filha.

xxi Eu nunca assinei minha carteira, porque eu não tive a oportunidade. E depois que eu tive filho as coisas se complicaram mais. Eu tive que ficar mais em casa pra cuidar da família.

xxii Falta muita coisa, que o dinheiro é só pra para aluguel e comida. Os meninos tem falta de uma roupa, uma tênis, tudo isso.

xxiii A gente passa por dificuldade dentro de casa por ter só um salário, e eu não tiro nem pelos R$80. Que eu ganho porque não dá pra nada.

xxiv Olha, eu vendo mesmo porque não tem outra opção. É muito complicado você vender. A pessoa comprar em sua mão as coisas e na hora não pagar. Ás vezes [o trabalho] dá, às vezes não. Tem muita gente que não paga, aí tem que cobrir. Tenho que botar do meu dinheiro.

xxv Eu posso trabalhar a semana todo ou eu posso trabalhar dia nenhum da semana, vai depender se vai aparecer ou vai ter algum evento. Ontem mesmo teve evento, mas eu cheguei lá já tinha a quantidade de bombeiros. Aí não trabalhei ontem. Hoje também não vou trabalhar. A menina do salão não me ligou, então não vai aparecer nada hoje. Então não é uma renda fixa. Eu não posso dizer eu tenho "tanto esse" final de mês porque o tanto que eu tenho no final desse mês não é o tanto que eu vou ter no outro mês.

xxvi Bolsa Família ajuda. Estou tirando R$112 reais. É bom porque pago a escola dele R$150. Então ali eu digo assim: esse mês só falta eu botar R$38 e aí já pago a escola de meu filho. Já me livro de alguma coisa, entendeu? Já é uma ajuda.

xxvii Bolsa Família é uma ajudinha de custo, mas na verdade esse dinheiro não dá para a pessoa se alimentar. Mas ajuda a comprar uma fralda, uma roupa, um calçado. Mas mesmo assim tem que ficar correndo atrás. Não é um dinheiro que sustente uma família, só complementa.

<superscript>xxviii</superscript> Me pegam R$100 por semana, R$400 por mês. Não vou dizer a você que é suficiente, porque R$400 no mês não é suficiente. Não é nem um salario, nem a metade de uma salario nem é.

<superscript>xxix</superscript> Na época mesmo que eu estava fazendo faxina, eu estava gravida de meu filho. Eu caí, e quase perco meu filho. Eu estava com nove meses. Eu tive um serio problema, que nesse período até eu ter meu filho, eu ter meu filho, eu tive que que ficar na cama. Não podia levantar de jeito nenhum. A pessoa que eu fiz a faxina só me pagou a minha faxina. E a queda que eu tomei? Nem o dinheiro que ela pagou pela faxina deu pra comprar os remédios.

Se eu estivesse trabalhando de carteira assinada e acontecesse uma coisa dessas comigo, eu estaria encostada. Eu estaria recebendo da empresa ou pelo INSS [seguro social]. De algum jeito, eu ia ter meu garantido. O seguro desemprego consta pra pessoa que tá trabalhando de carteira assinada.

<superscript>xxx</superscript> Eu trabalho praticamente de domingo a domingo na loja, aí assim, não tem folga.

<superscript>xxxi</superscript> O contrato [informal] do salão que eu estou agora muito abusivo. Não te dá garantia de nada e você tem hora pra chegar, hora pra sair e o material é todo seu. É cinquenta por cento, é comissão, eu recebo o que eu faço. A unha lá é R$38 reais, é 19 dela, 19 seu. [Pode sair quando tiver vontade, mas] avisando com antecedência que eu vou sair eu não pago multa à ela [patroa].

<superscript>xxxii</superscript> A gente sempre está falando pra ele quando é que vai sair a carteira, mas ele sempre dá uma desculpa. Agora eu acho que ele vai assinar porque as meninas da outra loja foram demitidas justa causa, ele alegou que o movimento está fraco aí ele demitiu, umas meninas colocaram ele na justiça. Ele teve que pagar multa. Agora ele disse que está resolvendo algumas coisas porque acha que vai ter que assinar carteira.

<superscript>xxxiii</superscript> O trabalho está sendo muito puxado, eu estou tendo que deixar meu filho [de sete anos] com meu tio. Eu sei que é pro bem, mas eu sinto muita falta dele [filho]. Eu queria mas tempo com ele.

<superscript>xxxiv</superscript> Quando eu estava trabalhando de carteira assinada era mais difícil, eu tive duas babás e tive que começar a tirar um dinheiro pra poder pagar uma pessoa. Isso diminuía mais a renda—sem falar que não cuidava dele [filho] da mesma forma. Não dava os medicamentos que ele precisa. Aí isso ficou ruim.

<superscript>xxxv</superscript> Trabalhei em *telemarketing*. Foi o único emprego de carteira assinada. Eu precisei sair do empregoporque meu filho estava muito novinho. Meu filho ficava com a minha avó e a minha mãe e também minha tia, mas eu não tinha uma pessoa fixa pra poder ficar com ele. Como ele tinha oito meses, era muito novinho, ainda mamava então eu não queria colocar ele na creche. O horário também ficou ruim. Era das 15 horas às 21 horas. Chegava em casa muito tarde, e eu precisava descansar e ainda tinha que dar atenção a ele. Foi muito desgastante.

<superscript>xxxvi</superscript> Aí acordo muito cedo, umas cinco horas da manha, arrumo a casa. Aí quando dá umas sete horas eu levanto ele [marido], levanto meu filho. Tomo meu banho, dou banho nele. A gente

tomo café, arrumo a caixa, e meu filho vai ao ponto comigo. Quando dá meio dia, eu desço. Meu primo fica lá [na barraca]. Arrumo meu filho, dou comida a ele, levo ele pra escola, e fico no ponto [barraca].

Quando dá quatro horas, alguém pega ele na escola, ou então meu esposo [quem é desempregado] pega ele. Sempre a gente tenta. Ontem mesmo, eu cozinhei um quilo de feijão. Aí botei nas vasilhinhas e botei no congelador, porque eu vou começar a trabalhar sexta-feira na feira de fogos [seu segundo trabalho]. Aí já deixo tudo pra meu esposo esquentar.

xxxvii Eu estava em dois [trabalhos]. Eu pegava cinco e saía duas da tarde [do lanchonete], aí pegava na pizzaria cinco da tarde e saía as dez, onze da noite. Todo essa rotina. Agora eu estou com esse [lanchonete]. Aí o tempo que tenho eu faço minha coisas em casa.

xxxviii A avó das minhas filhas toma conta delas até eu chegar. Minha irmã [quem mora comigo] estuda. Quando eu chego, eu tomo conta do resto. Todo pra mim. Eu que arrumo a casa, a avó me ajuda no que ela pode. A gente divide as tarefas de casa, mas quem cozinha sou eu, quem lava sou eu. A responsabilidade fica toda nas minhas costas mesmo.

xxxix Finais de semana, meu filho vai pra casa do pai dele. Época de festa também. Mas meu filho mora comigo.

xl Eu só me dedico a ele [que tem uma condição de saúde crônica]. Consulta de medico—só eu. Ele [o pai do filho] sai assume, pra passeio, praia, assim dar um pouco de curtição a ele.

xli O pai de minha filha não se interessa [na vida da filha] e eu não faço questão que ele se interesse, entendeu? Ele não liga pra ela não. Nem a família dele não ligam pra ela não. Ele só vai lá pra me deixar assim [*movimento agitado*]. Eó pra me provocar, fala que vai levar ela pra lá [sua casa], que vai botar ela pra dormir lá. Mas só que ele não liga não. Ele não sabe nem quantos meses ela tem.

xlii É meio apertado. Dá, mas ainda assim acaba ficando um pouquinho apertado. Exatamente porque o pai dela não está ajudando ela como deveria. Então, acaba ficando sobrecarregando só pra mim.

xliii Meu ex-marido ajuda quando pode, mas não é muita coisa, não. Ele não trabalha com carteira assinada. Ele corta cabelo. Quando ele pode, ele tenta.

xliv Cada filho tem um pai…Estava com o pai da minha filha, mas me separei. Conheci o pai do meu filho. Engravidei aí depois descobri que ele estava com outra mulher—com outro filho, também. Aí larguei.

xlv Quem marcou mais a minha vida foi o pai dos meninos. Ele sempre falou comigo que tinha vontade de ter um filho, então eu tive dois filhos com ele. E agora ele abandonou os folhos dele pra ficar vivendo com outra família—outras filha. Dá tudo às filhas dessa mulher [namorada], e os filhos dele ficam em falta das coisas.

xlvi A mulher cuida de tudo [em casa]. A responsabilidade fica pra mulher. Hoje mesmo eu saí e eu disse a meu marido: "você vai cuidar dele [filho]." Mais quando eu estou em casa, quem tem que cuidar dele sou eu.

xlvii Quando ele está folgando, ele me ajuda [com as tarefas domesticas]. Mas os gastos, eu mesma faço. Ele não gosta de se meter nisso não. Ele diz que isso é coisa de mulher. Diz que a mulher que resolve isso.

xlviii Pro primeiro filho, ele sempre foi presente. Ele me ajudava às vezes, porque ele não trabalhava. Já no segundo [filho], ele arranjou uma mulher. Se separou de mim e aí foi morar com essa mulher. Então agora eu cuido [dos filhos e minha avó]. É meio cansativo mas dá pra levar. Fisicamente é cansativo mas psicologicamente eu coloquei na minha cabeça que hoje eu tenho que ser uma dona de casa mesmo, querendo ou não e acabou.

xlix A creche comunitária é super lotada e não tem vaga. Você tem que ficar um tempão esperando vaga. Oxe, pra colocar foram dois anos, pra colocar as meninas lá.

l No bairro tem uma creche que está inaugurando e nem vaga mais tem.

li Creche é da segunda a sexta. Algumas são particulares e tem vezes que no bairro da gente, não tem aula. Aí tem que pagar alguém para olhar [os filhos].

lii Minha mãe cuida de minha filha quando eu trabalho. Minha mãe não esta trabalhando então está olhando ela, mas minha mãe disse assim, "enquanto eu não estiver trabalhando, eu posso olhar. Mas se eu arrumar trabalho, tem que ver botar num lugar assim uma creche, ou deixar com alguém."

liii Às vezes meu filho fica comigo no ponto. Ele fica com um caderno na mão!

liv Eu trabalho como manicure, mas não é carteira assinda não. É contrato [informal]. Estou pensando em sair e ficar mais com meus filhos, ficar [fazendo unhas] mais em casa.

lv Se eu pudesse voltar atrás [sua infância]—perfeita. Não tinha tanta responsabilidade como hoje, né? Sem estresse.

lvi Se eu não tivesse que cuidar de alguém, teria mais tempo livre pra mim. Teria um tempo menos corrido, a bagunça seria menos, a responsabilidade seria menos. Seria bem menos coisas.

lvii Tenho que cuidar das minhas filhas, tenho que cuidar da minha irmã também porque ela mora comigo. Tenho marido. Aí hoje a preocupação é mais.

lviii Agora é só trabalho, casa e criança agora. Os pais não querem passar a semana com as crianças, aí acaba sobrando para mim mesmo. Não tem nem como dar atenção para as crianças. Chego exausta, só o tempo de esperar o ônibus, engarrafamento. Quando chego, chego cansada.

^{lix} Eu era feliz. Mais feliz que agora, não vou mentir. Agora tenho mais responsabilidade, procurar trabalho, essas coisas….Estou com dor no estomago. É horrivel sentir isso. Já fiz exame já e estou esperando o resultado chegar. Eu tomo omeprazol.

^{lx} Quando chego, chego cansada em casa, só pensando em dormir.

^{lxi} Eu amo minha filha, mas eu odeio ser mãe. Eu não gosto de trocar fralda de cocô. Não gosto de acordar de noite pra amamentar. Não gosto quando você me morde e arranca pedaço do bico do meu peito. Não gosto de não ter horário pra dormir. De ter que lavar fralda suja de cocô todo dia. Eu não tenho mais tempo pra mim mesmo.

^{lxii} Eu nunca tenho tempo pra mim. Eu tenho que pagar uma babá ou deixar a bebê com alguém pra poder sair. Eu não vou no salão, eu não tenho tempo pra me maquiar. Fora a questão financeira porque fazer algum programa é muito caro.

^{lxiii} Tem [tempo pra relaxar] mas às vezes acabo. Se for, falar, vamos na pizzaria, fica complicado pra gente ir. Só serve a noite porque eu tenho a minha avó [e filho] pra tomar conta. Eu não gosto não de deixar minha avó só. Prefiro sair mais a noite, levar ele [filho]. De dia é uma raridade a gente ir numa praia, alguma coisa assim. Aí eu tenho que pegar, falar com minha tia, avisar a ela dois, três dias antes pra poder a gente ir.

^{lxiv} Tenho tempo para relaxar no fim de semana. O dia de domingo a gente não bota a barraca, que eu não sou escrava de satanás! Aí eu pego minha bolsa, deixo o menino [seu filho] lá com ele [seu marido], que o menino vai assistir jogo de futebol com ele, e saio.

^{lxv} Em meu bairro o ruim é que tem muitos marginais e não tem muito policiamento. Aí a população acaba ficando refém deles. A gente às vezes quer ir no mercado e pra ir tem que ir de moto ou de carro. Se for a pé eles assaltam. Tem toque de recolher. Seis horas ninguém pode mais ficar na rua. Aí as crianças também não podem brincar na frente da porta. A gente não pode ter um lazer próprio.

^{lxvi} Eu trabalhava numa farmácia. Teve um dia que eu perdi o ônibus. Aí eu desci de [nome do bairro perigoso], aquela ladeira toda. Atravessei a passarela quase meia noite. Aí desse dia em diante meu marido disse que eu não ia mais trabalhar lá, pois o horário estava muito arriscado pra mim.

^{lxvii} Nossa relação—não tem coisa melhor, a melhor coisa que aconteceu na minha vida. A gente se diverte muito junto—jogo bola, a gente anda de bicicleta, pega-pega. Sempre foi eu e ele pra tudo.

^{lxviii} É uma coisa [difícil] mas é lindo demais ser mãe. É uma coisa que não explicação. É uma coisa que conta tudo—responsabilidade, amor, carinho.

^{lxix} É meio cansativo mas dá pra levar. Às vezes reclamo, às vezes não. Final de semana, saio assim, com as meninas [suas filhas] lá da igreja, vai pra uma pizzaria. Aí dá pra curtir um pouquinho.

[lxx] Eu digo que eu não me arrependendo te ter meu filho. Se não tivesse meu filho, eu poderia ser uma viciada em drogas agora. Eu experimentei de todas as drogas [quando era nova].

[lxxi] Meu filho é tudo pra mim. Eu quero um futuro bem melhor [pra ele] do que o meu. Que ele estude, faça faculdade. Se hoje eu tenho forças de vir aqui [a trabalhar] todo dia é em relação a ele. Senão eu acho que eu nem vinha.

[lxxii] Adoro meu trabalho. Porque é a mesma coisa que eu estar na festa curtindo. Fico mais olhando a festa.

[lxxiii] Ah, eu gosto de meu trabalho. Você conhece um bocado de gente—é motorista, é bêbado, é tanta gente. É um bocado de desempregado que fica lá conversando. É idoso, que não tem o que fazer. Aí fica tudo lá no ponto conversando. Aí você acaba fazendo amizade, aí se torna um pouco legal até. Melhor do que ficar só.

[lxxiv] De todos os trabalhos que eu já tive o que eu mais gosto é esse. Que na praia, o melhor é esse. É ao ar libre, não tem horário de chegar—a gente que faz nosso próprio horário. Ainda não inventaram trabalho melhor que o de praia não! É mais diversão que estresse.

[lxxv] Eu separei do pai dos meus filhos porque ele estava sendo um agressor comigo... Eu falei "não." Ficar igual uma mendiga. Aí eu falei, "não! Vou trabalhar!" Aí comecei trabalhar. Arranjei uma creche, coloquei os meninos, e fui trabalhar. Depois disso, ele não me dava mais nada. Já que não me da mais nada, eu vou acabar de construir minha casa!

[lxxvi] Minha mãe sempre substitua os dois lugares, do mãe e pai. Tanto como pai quanto como mãe. Meu pai—eu nem conto, mas minha mãe é cem por cento em tudo, tudo. A gente tem uma boa relocação até hoje. Somos muito próximas—muito, muito.

[lxxvii] Sempre tinha uma tia minha que até hoje, a gente tem um relacionamento muito bom. Mora comigo e meu filho e a minha avó. Essa tia pra mim até hoje é um porto seguro pra mim. É muito importante pra mim. Ela sempre estava próxima. Hoje continua me ajudando bastante com meu filho, continua me aconselhando quando precisa aconselhar. É um vículo de amizade muito bom.

[lxxviii] Eu me espelhava muito por minha tia. Ela conseguiu um curso técnico, concluiu o ensino médio. A maioria das pessoas da minha família não conseguiram concluir o ensino médio e ela conseguiu. Ela pretende fazer uma faculdade, curso técnico de enfermagem. Então eu comecei a querer também.

[lxxix] Eu tive depressão pós-parto. Estou fazendo acompanhamento com psicólogo e eu pertenço á uma religião que faz uso da Ayahuasca.

[lxxx] Sempre ia a igreja, desde pequena. Mas teve uma certa vez que minha tia—andava por caminhos que não agradavam o Senhor. Ela conheceu também a Jesus e eu vi a mudança na vida dela. Então quando eu vi aquilo eu me encantei. Eu disse: "eu quero isso pra minha vida

também." Isso me cooperou também... Hoje eu também sou convertida. Conheci o Senhor Jesus. Então eu creio que tudo foi afinado. Foi ali se ajustando.

[lxxxi] Hoje eu sou da igreja. Estou na presença do Senhor. Quando eu fico fazendo comida eu gosto de ouvir meu louvor, da igreja. Estou indo todos os dias à igreja. Hoje mesmo eu vou. Sete horas eu estou lá, de segunda a domingo.