Hochschild: “The Second Shift”

* Hochschild’s earlier work left questions about:
  
  - Links between ideology and feeling rules
  - How these are related to gender

* Led to study of gender ideologies, feeling and action in marital roles:
  
  - How gendered actors prepare their feelings for long-term action
  - The emotional costs of such gender strategies

* Hochschild studied married couples where both worked full time and looked after young children:
  
  - Focused on tension over how to divide housework and child care (i.e. “the second shift”)
  - Who does how much?
  - How does each partner feel about it?
  - How are notions of fairness and marital harmony related?

* All tense over shortage of time/abundant demands - but women more so:

* Variations depended on:
  
  - Each partner’s gender ideology
  - How strongly each felt about it
  - How each aligned ideology with feeling in action
Gender Ideologies and Feeling Rules:

* Gender ideologies/ feeling rules: 3 main types:

(1) traditional (2) egalitarian (3) transitional.

* Traditional:

- Men “should” be at work/women at home
- “Helping out” in non-traditional areas the exception/ a favor
- No desire to identify with non-traditional activities

* Egalitarian:

- Partners “should” share both paid/unpaid work
- Wife supposed to identify with career as much as husband
- Husband supposed to feel parent/householder role as much as wife

* Transitional:

- Mix of the above ideologies
- Man: good for wife to work, have outside identity
- Not “right” to resent his not doing more as no corresponding identity for him in home
- Woman struggling with mixed ideologies/ man’s intransigence

* Overall:

- Traditionals =a small minority among both men & women
- More women egalitarian
- More men transitional
- Different feeling rules often being applied in same household
Emotional Anchors to Ideology and Feeling Rules:

* Different ways individuals hold ideologies/feeling rules:
  - Passionate vs. matter of fact
  - Surface vs. deep

* Earlier model revised:
  - Previously feeling rules simply governed feelings
  - Now feeling rules can be object of feelings themselves

* What lies behind feeling rules/attitudes towards them:
  - Cautionary tales
  - Present situation dynamics

* Many working parents:
  - Egalitarian on surface/traditional underneath
  - Traditional on surface/egalitarian underneath

Emotional Pathways of Gender Strategies:

* Pursuit of gender strategies: ways to reconcile:
  - Feeling/ actions
  - Gender ideologies/present situations
  - Division of labour/balance of power
  - Not randomly utilized
  - Involve emotion management

* Gender strategy= a strategy of action:
  - Conscious or unconscious plan for what to do
- A way of evokingsuppressing feelings to clear path for action

* Behavioral Strategies:

- Maintaining traditional balance
  - Pressing husbands to do more (actively and/or passively)
  - Making cuts in other areas (e.g. on job, time with husband)

* Gender strategies: preparing emotional pathway for actions:

  - Focusing on injusticesuppressing empathy before “showdown”
  - Developing “incompetencies”/minimizing work identity
  - Prioritizing workletting house go and dismissing concern as “old fashioned”
  - Prioritizing work/ rationalizing kids OK with “excellent” babysitters

* Men: behavioral strategies:

  - Strategies often differed due to different traditional role
  - Disaffiliation from the task at hand
  - Needs reduction (“it isn’t necessary, so why do it?”)
  - Making substitute offerings to the marriage
  - Selective encouragement of their wife’s efforts at home

* Gender strategies: preparing emotional pathway for actions:

  - Conceding sharing was fairscaling down necessary actions
  - “It’s like being in the army. You leave the comforts of home behind you”

  **Emotional Consequences:**

* Emotional consequences a result of interplay between:

  - An individual’s gender ideology
  - Each partner’s gender strategy
- Interactional result

*Examples:

- Egalitarian women with traditional men felt resentful
- Traditional women with traditional men frustrated, but not at men
- Career women who had to curtail work lost self esteem/ were depressed
- Women valuing home but having to work lost self esteem/ felt guilty

*Emotional consequences result in much emotion management

* Example: woman who backed down from egalitarian demands to save marriage:

- Deep acting to deal with resentment
- Compartmentalization
- Suppressing comparisons to husband’s workload: favorably comparing self to other working mothers
- Comparing husband to male parents, not egalitarian men
- Emphasizing “different character” of husband
- Bending original beliefs around dilemma
- Together avoiding arguments by “upstairs-downstairs” myth

* Together these imperfectly concealed the conflict between an egalitarian ideology and its feeling rules and a traditional marriage

* Many women similarly caught between new gender ideology and old reality

* Without basic changes in patriarchy, female emotion management “steps in where social transformation leaves off.” (“the cost women pay”)

* Also damaging to men: ambivalence introduced into women’s personal feelings toward them (less so in egalitarian relationships).
* Conclusion: two parent, working families:

- Pursued gender strategies
- Created emotional pathways for them
- Experienced emotional consequences as a result.