Division of Roles in Homeschooling: Desire and Ability to Change Places

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Abstract

In Israel, like the rest of Western society, women are still largely responsible for childcare and housework. In homeschooling families, this division is even more prominent. This article explores homeschooling mothers' perspective on role division. Using the auto-ethnographic-phenomenological approach to qualitative research of individual perceptions and experiences, I recruited a purpose-focused sample of 27 homeschooling mothers. Using interviews and personal logs (or diaries), I obtained data that underwent thematic analysis. The study findings indicate that mothers like being with their kids and that most of them would not want to change places with their partner, but the question arises as to whether there is a real possibility of choosing.

1. Introduction

In Israel, gender gaps in the workforce have diminished to the point that there is a significant female participation rate. Gender gaps are mostly limited to the nature of the job: number of weekly working hours, possibilities of advancement, and level of salary. Researchers in the field of gender inequality believe that the main obstacle to the full integration of women in the workforce is the need to navigate between work and family obligations. Most families in Israel adhere to the traditional two-parent, two-sex structure. It is therefore important to set an example by promoting gender equality in the home; this can be achieved by integrating fathers into childcare roles (Fichtelberg-Bernetz & Harris, 2011).

One way to achieve balance in the division of roles between men and women is through paternity leave. In Israel, as in most Western countries, fathers may take paternity leave, but in practice less than half a percent of Israeli fathers do so (Perez-Vaisvidovsky, 2014).
Opinions regarding the place of fathers in the family system are divided. There are those who claim that many fathers are absent today because of their long working hours or because of the high divorce rate that sometimes creates a disconnect between fathers and their children. On the other hand, there are those who claim that many fathers have adopted a new model of fatherhood based on a combination of love and authority and a deeper involvement in their children’s education (Adar-Bunis, 2007).

Eran Yona (2013) showed that even in a framework identified with old masculinity, like the Israeli Army, officers report trying to be actively present in their children’s lives. For example, one officer described how he does homework with his children via cell phone while commuting, and another officer said that he tries to talk to his family five times a day and to share his experiences with them. The army also understands the importance of the connection between fathers and their children, and supports it by allowing fathers to take family leave, or to build guest rooms that allow families to reunite with fathers during weekends. Despite the efforts made by fathers to be present in their children’s lives, in their interviews feelings of missed opportunity and feelings of guilt arose, and a gap between the sense of success as commanders and the sense of missing out as fathers.

Even today, as more and more women work outside the home, the burden of housework and childcare remains primarily theirs (Adar-Bunis, 2007; Bourdieu, 2007; Warner, 2005; O’Hagan, 2010). And while the time that fathers spend with their children and housework is increasing, the care of children and at home remains mostly the responsibility of mothers (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Eran Yona, 2013). Bianchi et al. (2012) showed the rise in fathers’ domestic work and the decline in mothers’ housework in the United States, with the most significant change occurring between 1965 and 1985. Married mothers averaged 35.7 hours per week in 1965, 22.5 in 1985, and 18.3 in 2010. Married men performed 4.7 hours of housework in 1965, 10.5 in 1985, and 9.5 in 2010.

The contradictory cultural narratives of intensive mothering and shared parenthood create ambivalence in women’s identification with motherhood and subsequently bring about the negotiation of parenthood with their spouses (Sevon, 2012; O’Hagan, 2010).

The idealization of motherhood in Western culture derives from the responsibility imposed on mothers by society. This expectation comes with blame—to be perceived as a good mother, a woman must be unconditionally immersed in her motherhood. She must always, and at all costs, give preference to her children’s needs over her own. She must suppress other parts of her personality and her femininity, such as sexuality or ambitions of social and professional self-fulfillment. She must love her children, never expressing anger or frustration. Mothers who do not uphold these standards are driven to experience intense guilt (Friedman, 2004).

The concept of homeschooling has many definitions, all of which refer to the phenomenon of parents taking full responsibility for the education of their children and educating them at home. Some parents educate their children in parallel with the existing school curriculum; others educate their children in an unstructured educational framework called Unschooling. These parents allow the child to choose the content and methods of learning and believe that in this way their children will learn what they need to know in life. Note that these are the two extreme approaches; most homeschooling parents combine the two.

The homeschooling movement began in the 1960s in the United States, as a reaction to and as parental criticism of what was perceived as the failure of the mainstream educational system. That period was marked by a search for alternative ways of teaching that might overcome the limitations of school system methods and structure. Initially, such efforts focused on trying to reform institutionalized education, but in the 1970s an understanding formed among some parents that it would be impossible to change such an integral institution that is rooted in society (Dgani, 2001). Together with the growing number of families who maintained home education, the homeschooling movement gained political and public momentum in the 1980s and 1990s as different U.S. states gradually began to endorse the right to homeschool in their laws. Today, homeschooling is legal throughout the United States (Meighan, 1997). In 2010 about 2 million children were officially educated through homeschooling (Ray, 2011), compared with 15,000 children who were homeschooled in the early 1980s (Aiex, 1994).
In Israel, at the end of the previous millennium, the number of families practicing homeschooling was low and included only a few dozen children (Dgani, 2001; Nueman, 2003). Yet, during the last decade, homeschooling has become more common. The number of requests for homeschooling verified by the Ministry of Education is ascending: from 70 requests verified on 2005, to 448 requests verified on 2014 (Knesset Research and Information Center, 2014). In 2019 about 1,150 students are being educated at home (Detel, 2018). Because many families practice homeschooling without official authorization, there are probably several hundreds of children who are educated at home.

The common classification of the various trends of homeschooling, which most scholars (e.g., Dgani, 2001; Hanna, 2012; Green & Hoover-Dempsey, 2007; Nueman, 2003) employ, is Van Galen’s distinction (1988). Van Galen (1988) distinguished between two main groups of homeschooling: ideological and pedagogical. The ideological group abandoned public education as a result of disagreeing with the school colloquium, or seeing the school environment as detrimental to the soul of children, yet adopts and continues school methods of learning. This group typically consists of conservative Christians, who dropped public education because of its secular characteristics. The pedagogical group, on the other hand, departed from public education for reasons of discontent with school structure in general, for example study materials, admission requirements, and study methods. Thus, the goal was to create an alternative pedagogy.

In Israel, Van Galen’s (1988) definition is irrelevant; therefore, in addition to Van Galen’s distinction, Nueman and Aviram (2003) suggested another distinction between the pedagogical and the holistic approaches. According to the pedagogical approach, homeschooling is part of a growing trend of parents seeking to be involved in their children’s education. The holistic approach conceives of homeschooling as a fundamental change in many important life areas, such as labor, employment, self-fulfillment, health, and education. Note that the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, and it is only natural to assume that they both exist at some level among homeschooling families.

This section presents studies on motivations to educate from home. Pitman (1987) interviewed 12 homeschooling mothers and found that most parents choose home-educating to avoid the negative effect of public schools. Morgan and Rodriguez (1988) interviewed 40 parents in New Mexico, all Christian Protestants, who maintain homeschooling out of fear of the atmosphere in public schools and the fact that school teaches material that contradicts their worldview. Bielick’s findings (Bielick, Candler, & Broughman, 2001) are based on studying the NHESP survey (the National Household Education Survey Program, 1999). The survey included 245 parents with 275 children. The parents were asked to identify their motives for homeschooling. The answers were categorized into 16 motives. The four most common motives, in descending order, were better education via homeschooling (48.9%), religion reasons (38.4%), poor educational environment in public schools (25.6%), and family reasons (16.8%). The research of Green and Hoover-Dempsey (2007) included 136 elementary-school-age children learning at home. They found that the motives of parents who support and maintain homeschooling are similar to those who support public education and are involved in their child’s education. Specifically, homeschooling parents believe that they should have an active role in their child’s education and believe in helping their child to academic achievement and success. Cooper and Sureau (2007) found that parents who removed their children from the conventional state education system often did it because of a conflict between their religious beliefs and the school curricula and other educational programs. Another group of parents chose homeschooling because of their belief that being their child’s main teacher is better for their child. Princotta and Bielick (2006) found that parents’ care for the standards of public education was the main reason for homeschooling (31.2%). This rationale is supported by other researchers (Collon & Mitchell, 2005) and strengthened by moral and religious motives. Lubiensky, Puckett, and Brewer (2013) discovered that many parents believe they are better teachers than those in public or private schools, that many of them maintain homeschooling to avoid the negative impact of society in general, and of public schools in particular, and that some parents oppose the notion of formal education or school.

One extreme manifestation of intensive motherhood can be found in homeschooling. Mothers assume the role of educator in most homeschooling families, as they already fill the role of primary caregiver (Stevens,
2001). However, researchers disagree on whether homeschooling is a regression from the achievements of feminism (Lois, 2010) or rather a manifestation of feminist characteristics (Gaither, 2010).

Lois (2006) revealed how homeschooling increases the burdens undertaken by mothers, and in many cases leads to mental and emotional burnout. Several mothers overcame this hurdle by redistributing the roles and by sharing home-related tasks with fathers, whereas some abandoned homeschooling altogether, and many others accepted fathers’ lack of involvement; despite their frustration, they came to terms with a reality in which most of the burden was theirs (Lois, 2006). In another study, Lois (2010) determined that homeschooling mothers have very little personal time. The high demands of homeschooling and minimal contribution by fathers prevented them from having sufficient time for themselves, leaving them frustrated. Although many mothers have found a balance between increased housework and decreased available time, many who report full harmony still complain of the scarcity of personal time. Their other commitments—child rearing, housework, and homeschooling—take precedence over personal time (Lois, 2010).

Homeschooling has become a compromise for women who believe they should remain at home with their children while still making use of their skills and training (Gaither, 2010). The home has become their work environment, and they have become pedagogues. Homeschooling fathers were noted to have become more family-oriented, and homeschooled boys learned to cook, clean, and tend to their younger siblings. In general, homeschooled children received a less-gendered education (Gaither, 2010). Several researchers claimed that despite homeschooling being a partial response to feminism, it selectively integrates feminist family patterns, including the refinement of masculinity and the provision of top-tier education for girls (Stacey, 1990, as cited in Gaither, 2010).

Some researchers found that the incredible sacrifice demanded of homeschooling mothers raises questions of gender oppression (e.g., Lois, 2010). Other researchers acknowledged this possibility but proposed that homeschooling mothers often stand for and promote a different kind of feminism, one that designs the future of their families, and homeschooling in general, as a form of resistance to popular culture (Kunzman & Gaither, 2013).

The subject of homeschooling from the point of view of mothers has hardly been studied in Israel. In addition, because opinions are divided on the status of women in homeschooling, it is important to investigate the subject in order to expand knowledge of the subject and to promote our understanding of this social phenomenon. The research question is how mothers in homeschooling perceive the division of roles in their homes.

2. Study Design

The present study is qualitative and based on the phenomenological hermeneutic research tradition. The phenomenological tradition derives its ideas from Husserl’s theories (Welton, 1999), which strive to expose the meaning of a phenomenon as perceived in accordance with the life experience of those who experience it. The hermeneutic approach in this study is based on the theories of Ricoeur regarding textual interpretation (Dargish & Sabar Ben Yehoshua, 2001); according to this approach, data gathered in the framework of a study should be analyzed as texts. Researchers who use the phenomenological hermeneutic approach describe a phenomenon from the participants’ point of view and interpret their spoken thoughts (Cohen, Kahn, & Steeves, 2000; Dowling, 2004). The present study attempts to present issues related to homeschooling from the standpoint of mothers who practice it, while interpreting their thoughts, expressed via interviews.

The present study also relies on the auto-ethnographic method, which offers a stage for voicing personal experiences, thereby furthering social understanding (Wall, 2006, 2008). This is an autobiographical genre of writing and research that presents many layers of consciousness, integrating personal and cultural perceptions (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) and employing them as primary data.
2.1. Sample

Participants were contacted through personal acquaintance, Facebook, and the website www.becofen-tv.co.il, as well as via participant recommendations of other relevant candidates (snowball sampling).

The sample included 27 homeschooling mothers; all had school-age children whom they educated at home at least 1 year prior to the interview; all came from communal settlements (Kibbutz) or cooperative settlements (Moshav) in the north of Israel, in cities and cooperative settlements in central Israel, and in settlements in Judea and Samaria. The age of mothers ranged from 28 to 47 years, the number of children ranged from two to nine.

2.2. Measures

Semistructured in-depth interviews. The present study is part of a broad study conducted in the framework of a doctoral thesis and included questions for interviewees on a wide range of topics related to their mothering life in homeschooling. The main questions relating to this article are “What is your agenda as a family?” and “How are tasks divided between you and your partner?” At the end of each interview, I asked interviewees to complete a questionnaire with personal details about themselves and their spouse.

Personal documentation. Over a period of 6 years, I documented my personal experience as a homeschooling family, in general, and as a mother, in particular. In addition, I relied on the regular columns that I had written in a leading women’s magazine, spanning 2 years. The documentation also included my reflection at the data-analysis level.

Data were primarily analyzed through thematic content analysis; texts were deconstructed and divided into individual passages, then categorized and fashioned into a focused description. For the sake of reliability, I used Creswell’s (1998) methods: prolongation of field stay, triangulation, thick description, clarification of study biases, participant involvement, and external criticism.

I asked interviewees to consent to participate in the interviews and to record them. Also, to protect their privacy, I made sure to blur the details so that the interviewees could not be identified. I conducted the research within the framework of my doctoral thesis, and the proposal was approved by the committee appointed by the university.

3. Results

Existing data indicate that even today, most housework and childcare responsibilities rest with mothers. As this division of gender roles is even more prominent in homeschooling families, this article employs the term “help” in lieu of “partnership” in describing men’s roles in housework and childcare.

All interviewees in this study held major responsibility for housework and childcare. Spousal involvement in these areas differed from family to family. A systemic analysis of traditional role division posits the man as primarily responsible for livelihood and the woman as primarily responsible for maintenance, shopping, and schooling children.

Western role division posits the man as a partner in housework and childcare. Fourteen interviewees attested to spousal involvement in housework and childcare. Some considered their spouse’s help to be highly significant. In one family, the husband avoided helping with housework and childcare, yet did not perform his role as provider. Nine families adhered to traditional role divisions. Three interviewees did not mention any help from their partner.

In one family (as mentioned) the father did not fulfill his role as provider; two families operated shared businesses with their partners; and in two other families both spouses worked full time. In most of the sampled families (22), the father was either the sole (16) or the primary (6) earner. Note that even in families where the mother worked outside the home, her salary and hours were negligible compared with those of her spouse.

How did interviewees perceive the division of roles at home? Of 27 interviewees, 23 referred to the way they perceived the help of their spouse. All but two expressed great appreciation of their spouse and displayed understanding and acceptance when he did not provide it, often providing explanation or reasoning. The next section describes interviewee attitudes toward role division within the home.
3.1. Helps When Around or When Needed

Because the husband is the primary earner, it is assumed that in his absence the wife will be tasked with housework and childcare. But what happens when both partners are around? Three interviewees said that while most of the time they were responsible for childcare, their partner would share the burden upon coming home.

I spend much more time with the kids, but when he is home, he makes himself truly available to them—showers, stories, really everything. (Dalia, interview)

Three other interviewees said that their partner did not play a regular part at home but did reach out when needed:

He helps when I ask, it isn’t that I collapse and he just sits and does nothing, when I need a help I say so and he helps. (Anat, interview)

There are no fixed tasks but if he sees a sink full of dishes and a tired wife he will wash. (Sofi, interview)

Two interviewees spoke of their partner’s efforts to be available when they were needed. Tzvia spoke of her spouse’s support during her pregnancy:

It’s always hard, after birth; that’s why my husband is self-employed, so he can help, be nearby. It’s very hard for me to function well so he helps a lot during and after pregnancies.

3.2. Understanding Traditional Role Division

In families that displayed a more traditional role division, interviewees expressed understanding of their partner’s lack of help. One interviewee claimed that her partner could not help because he was visually impaired. Another interviewee said that her husband slaves at a job he dislikes, and it is therefore important that she let him do things he enjoys when he comes home. Two interviewees said that their partner was very busy. A fifth interviewee described a division of labor whereby the husband was responsible for shopping and car maintenance, and she was responsible for the home, despite working full time. She added that he took the tasks she disliked upon himself.

3.3. Evaluation of Help

Most interviewees expressed appreciation for their partner’s help. Two interviewees said that their husband is a full or almost-full partner. Two others used expressions such as “blessed” and “my anchor” to express their appreciation for and the significance of this help to them. One interviewee said that her partner was very involved; others said their spouses provided “plenty of help,” “enough help,” or that they “assisted when available,” or were “available for help,” and even said that they had adapted their work in order to help when needed. Beyond the evaluation of help, three interviewees claimed that their partners had a better educational approach to their children than they did. Although the mothers spent most of the time with their children, they considered their partners to be more patient, regardless of how much time they spent with the children.

He also has more patience, from the beginning, not because he spends less time at home. (Dalia, interview)

He is present, usually but not always; he can build things when children around him which is what I’m learning to do. I’ve been learning to do this in the past two years, he hardly had. He would have been very suitable to homeschool had he not been the one to earn more money. (Nofar, interview)
Understanding the difficulties faced by their husbands at work may explain their responses with regard to exchanging roles. Most interviewees said they would not want to trade roles with their partners, claiming that the spouse’s work seemed harder and less enjoyable than their own.

3.4. The Desire to Be at Home

There are various considerations in choosing who stays with the kids and who goes to work. Some have to do with the higher salaries earned by men in Israel. It also seems that homeschooling mothers tend to have more children and to breastfeed longer (Author, 2016), leaving them undesirable in a male-dominated workforce (Stier, 2005). Considering all these factors, it seems that the partner-as-provider was a more worthwhile solution.

Taking all these factors into account, I wished to examine whether the division of roles goes beyond practical considerations—for instance, desire. Is this division of homestaying mother and breadwinning father acceptable to the interviewees? Or would they have preferred their roles to be exchanged?

Of the 27 interviewees, 16 responded to the question. The only interviewee whose husband was unemployed said that she would have liked him to be the breadwinner. Another said that she could not imagine such a possibility, whereas a third was undecided, and a fourth noted that she had once thought that they would share more work outside and at home, but that she has grown to accept the situation. The rest (12 interviewees) claimed that they would not want to trade places with their spouse, either because of the hardships presented by the labor market, or because of their desire to be with their children. Michal described the difficulties of the labor market and the tension that she was not currently interested in bringing into her life:

Interviewer: Would you want to trade places with your husband? In theory, would you want him to stay home with the kids and you would work?

M: No, truly no.

I: Just in terms of will, disregarding other considerations.

M: It has nothing to do with considerations, I have no desire to work and nothing sparks my interest; when I hear his stories, I don’t know, the world of employment, it seems like a world that drags you into so many confrontations, dealing with worries and income, debts and this and that. I know that now it’s on him, it passes me by and doesn’t really burden me when there are problems. The responsibility for money, essentially it will come, interpersonal interactions at work . . . obviously interpersonal interactions are tough in general, it comes with ups and downs, there’s friendship and family, it’s hard work. But when it comes to work it’s so much more because people expect to pay you, for instance if he’s building them a house they expect him to finish in time and do just what they want. But the tension in the business world is so much greater, I don’t have the strength. If it was my calling and the will of G-d I would go for it, I would handle it, but right now it truly scares me, this tension, I don’t want it.

Nofar talked about her spouse wanting to trade places (in general, throughout the interview she was very attentive to his needs). She focused on his needs, his difficulties in dealing with his type of work, his need to decompress. She seemed to perceive his burden as greater than hers:

I don’t think I would like to go out more, it’s not that, it’s about wanting [him] to be more present in our lives. He leaves at 8am and comes home at 7pm, it doesn’t leave us much time.

The desire to stay at home with the kids and the recognition of the difficulties in dealing with the labor market did not contradict the interviewees’ wishes to self-realize beyond raising children; but the path to self-realization was experienced differently than is commonly accepted in Western society.
3.5. **Help with Housework**

Four interviewees admitted to using outside help, apart from spouse and children, to manage housework: three employed a maid; of these, one reported buying precooked meals, and another reported using the local laundry service. A fourth said they used robotic vacuum cleaners.

3.6. **Homeschooling and Division of Labor—a Personal Perspective**

Homeschooling is a way of life that I desired long before my marriage and the birth of my children. I did not plan to be a housewife, but I was certain that my kids would be taught at home. My husband and I saw eye to eye on this; we both wanted to homeschool, even though he was the one who pushed for it. We never really spoke of a division of labor or of who would stay home with the kids. Naturally the number of kids we have, the fact that I breastfed for long periods, and my desire to spend time with them meant that I would be the primary caretaker. In our case, it was slightly less obvious given that my husband used to do hard labor and today he still doesn’t have a financial horizon, an education, or a profession that could allow him to support the family. I, on the other hand, had always studied, developed, had aspirations—I wanted an interesting career, challenging and rewarding, but also wanted to be with the kids, and so I stayed home and set a plan for low-key advancement until they grew up and I could leave the house.

While writing my dissertation, we went through a difficult financial and personal period. It was interesting to view our experiences through the lens of the researcher, via interviews and message boards: like most of my interviewees, I too appreciated my husband’s support and contribution around the house, and his help in raising the kids. At times, I felt like I was the one awarded an opportunity to grow while he spent years in monotonous, boring work. I felt like we put most of our efforts toward me and not him. In the past 2 years, I noticed that while I was developing, I was doing so out of strong desire and self-discipline, and minimal means. In our partnership, he was always the one to get all the time he needed for his projects. He took 3 years to build us a wooden home, just as he always wanted. True, it was a family investment, but what I did all these years was also done to contribute to the family, and we could have just as well put our efforts toward my education. Up until this year, I never had any set time for research. I worked mostly when the kids slept. He may have worked in manual labor, but after all was said and done, he had much more time than I did to grow in any direction he wanted; he married at 30 (I was 21) and had all the time up until then to do as he wished. In our 12 years of marriage he had three and a half years to develop in his field without any other obligations (neither supporting the family financially, nor raising the kids)—I never had that. I suppose it also has to do with socioeconomic background: both of us grew up in developmental towns and are both of Mizrahi origin, but I was raised in a middle-class intellectual home, whereas he was raised in a poor family of minimal education. My starting point was better, but that’s the extent of my advantage—from a gender perspective, there is no doubt in my mind that had I been the male and he the female, my career would have been the one on which we would focus in order to support the family.

Through interviews and data analysis, I was able to deeply examine my take on the subject. The affinity I felt with my subjects in the beginning turned into critical doubt—had we really chosen this course out of desire and suitability, or were there also social norms in effect, rooting for the male to be breadwinner and the female to rear the children? Social expectations and the glass ceiling preserve the current state in which it is the woman who handles housework and childcare, and the husband takes on the financial aspects (Izraeli, 2006). Nevertheless, I empathize with the interviewees’ desire to stay at home with their children, a desire that surpasses gender roles. Much like my interviewees, and despite all I had undergone in the past few years, I still feel that staying home with my children was not by default of some biological or social expectation, but true will.
4. Discussion and Conclusions

4.1. Desire and Ability to Be at Home

We have seen that homeschooling households all displayed a division of labor that coincided with the traditional gender construct of breadwinning male and housekeeping female. Interviews revealed that the mothers liked their role at home and most did not express a desire to trade places with their spouse. One nevertheless has to wonder about the implications of this choice when the majority of homeschooling households display a traditional, gendered role division. On the one hand, mothers who expressed their opinion on the matter claimed that they would not wish to trade roles with their husbands; on the other hand, the gendered structure of homeschooling households, which nearly always follows the traditional model of working-man and housewife, raises questions about the possibility of real choice.

Female researchers claim that women do not truly have a choice between motherhood and a career. Social expectations dictate that the mother will be the primary caretaker; the glass ceiling is intact, and the difficulty in finding a quality caretaking facility makes the mother’s capability to grow professionally and be the primary breadwinner nearly impossible (Izraeli, 2006; O’Hagan, 2010; Warner, 2005). Couples will therefore choose to put their efforts toward the husband’s, rather than the wife’s, career.

From the other side, the choice to be at home is sometimes perceived as an impossible one in a society in which two salaries are required to live. The choice of homeschooling is perceived by some as an option for the rich, but research shows that this is a diverse population (Apple, 2011; Lois, 2017). Mothers in homeschooling create a path different from the norm, expand the circle of choice, and prove otherwise.

4.2. The Myth of Equality

The contradicting cultural narratives of “intense motherhood” and “co-parenting” create ambivalence in female identification with motherhood and negotiation over their spouse as parent (Sevon, 2012). On the one hand, mothers live in an era of alleged equality and self-realization, an era of career-developing women; on the other hand, social expectations still demand intensive motherhood that places impossible demands on those wishing to combine career and motherhood.

Despite the value of equality in Western society, in effect all housework and childcare falls under the responsibility of mothers. Women in Western society are raised on the ideal of gender equality, but this dream is often shattered following the birth of their first child, leading to a crisis. Surprisingly, it is the traditional narrative that allows women to live in acceptance of a reality inequality (Louck-Shemer, 2009; Pelsental-Berger; 2007, Sevon, 2012), as is often the reality in homeschooling households.

4.3. Study Limitations and Recommendations for the Future

I conducted most of the interviews in the presence of the interviewees’ children because I thought it would be difficult to find mothers who would be able to agree to invest special time for the interview. In practice, the children interfered with the interviews, and this may have hindered the interviewees from opening fully.

The current study examined the division of roles in homeschooling from the point of view of mothers in homeschooling, based on an understanding of the importance of the mother’s mental well-being, as the main burden of homeschooling. However, it is important to examine the issue also from the perspective of the father to get a more complete picture of the subject.
References


