School of Management Studies

The work-family balance experiences of production couples operating Chinese Cut, Make and Trim factories in Newcastle, South Africa

Yuh-Wen Ma

MXXYUH001

Supervisor: Associate Professor Ameeta Jaga

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Commerce in Organisational Psychology

Faculty of Commerce

University of Cape Town

2021

COMPULSORY DECLARATION:

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date: 14 March 2021

Acknowledgments

To my supervisor, Associate Professor Ameeta Jaga, thank you for your continuous support, guidance and patience. I could not have completed this journey without your supervision. Your immense knowledge and passion for your role is deeply appreciated.

Thank you to Auntie Showlan and Auntie Helen for your assistance with my data collection. The Covid-19 pandemic created numerous challenges with my data collection, but with your continuous support and determination, I was able to successfully complete my research.

To all the women that participated in my study, thank you for finding the time out of your busy schedules to share your stories with me. Thank you for being so open and candid with your experiences as a production couple and transnational migrant. Without your willingness to participate, this research would not have been possible.

Lastly, thank you to my family for all your love and support. A special thank you to my 媽媽 (mom) for keeping me fed and alive.

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to develop a deep understanding into the unique work-family balance experiences of women in production couples in cut, make and trim factories in Newcastle, South Africa. A production couple is first and foremost a business partnership that involves joint ownership of a clothing factory, however the relationship is also a strategy the women use to satisfy their emotional needs and over time the relationship plays an important role in their return migration intention. Using a phenomenological research design, eight in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with women in a production couple. Though the study set out to explore both the male and female partners, all the male partners eventually declined, citing Covid-19 related reasons such as having the only male in the researcher network dropping out, significantly lowering the likelihood of recruiting willing male participants. A potential reason for this is that men in Chinese culture are expected to carry the family name and with the persisting patriarchal gender roles (Sun & Chen, 2014), they are confronted with greater risk of losing face if exposed that they are in this type of relationship. Thematic analysis conducted on the data revealed three key themes: (1) Factors affecting the work-family balance of women in production couples, (2) Transnational care practices and, (3) Boundary management practices used by the women to maintain work-family balance. The findings challenged the nuclear family ideal and contributed new knowledge on how work-family balance is perceived and maintained from a transnational perspective.

Keywords: Production couple, transnational family, boundary work tactics, WFB

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Introduction

The positive and negative effects of performing a work and family role are experienced by people across the world. Scholars, however, have drawn attention to the sample bias of Euro-American studies that dominate the literature. Over the past two decades there have been several calls for works to expand our understanding of the work-family interface beyond the global north context, which includes economically and socially developed societies, such as North America and Europe (Casper et al., 2014; Mokomane et al., 2017; Shaffer et al., 2011; Shockley et al., 2017).

This study responds to such calls in a post-colonial South African context by exploring a locally specific work-family occurrence of Chinese production couples in Cut, Make and Trim (CMT) clothing factories in Newcastle, KwaZulu Natal. According to Xu (2019), a production couple comprises a male and female from China who create a partnership or pseudo-family abroad (in this case, South Africa) to ensure the success of a business venture. Each partner generally still has a spouse, and family dependents in China. The production couple also enters a sexual relationship without any intention to reproduce, because the primary purpose for relationship is business success and to ensure that the couple can continue to provide financially for their China family (Xu, 2019). To the best of the researcher's knowledge, production couples are unique to South Africa, and they mostly own and operate Mainland Chinese CMT factories (Xu, 2019).

While production couples have unique features, they share some similarities with copreneurs. Copreneurs are couples that have made the decision to start a joint business venture (Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002), hence are also considered a subset of family businesses. Production couples like copreneurs consist of a boyfriend and girlfriend relationship beyond the business relationship. A significant difference between the two lies in the production couple often remain married to their spouses back in China. The relationship with their girlfriend or boyfriend is one that is established out of necessity (Xu, 2019) and further challenges the idea of monogamy and the Anglo-American ideology of the nuclear family structure. Copreneurship has also demonstrated the significant contribution made by women to family businesses that often remain invisible and unacknowledged (McAdam & Marlow, 2013).

As more women have the opportunity to pursue entrepreneurial ventures there has been a rise in copreneurs and a growing body of literature that helps to understand the dynamics of copreneurs (Jurik, 2016). Motivations for couples entering into a copreneurship involve identifying market opportunities, joining a business venture already started by their

partner, or to better manage the family and work domain (Jurik, 2016). The two most prominent motivations involve freedom and opportunity (Othman et al., 2016). Limited attention, however, has been given to the work-family experiences of copreneurs

Production couples are also a form of transnational family creating a unique work-family phenomenon. Given that the main purpose of production couples is to jointly own and operate a successful clothing factory, they typically stay in South Africa for several years, resulting in a long separation from their China family (Xu, 2019). South Africa and China are culturally distinct countries, and research suggests that the greater the difference between the host country and the foreign country, the more challenges the migrant will face (Cho & Allen, 2019). While transnational families are becoming increasingly common, they are often confronted with unique challenges that affect their ability to perceive work-family balance (WFB) (Cho & Allen, 2019; Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012). WFB is defined as "a global intrapersonal assessment of the extent that an exchange of resources is mutually beneficial and satisfactory to the focal employee and to his/her role-related partners and that the traded resources satisfy cross-domain demands" (Cho & Allen, 2019, p. 80).

Most studies on WFB have been conducted in global North contexts (Casper et al., 2018; Maertz & Boyar, 2011; Adisa et al., 2020) and focused on the impact of gender (eg., Adisa et al., 2020; Valk & Srinivasan, 2011), parenthood (eg., Gatrell et al., 2013) and organisational policies (eg., Weale et al., 2020; Mazzucchelli, 2017) on WFB. Authors have also critiqued WFB literature. For example, Fleetwood (2007) and Özbilgin *et al*. (2011) argued that WFB studies have been biased towards middle- and upper-class heterosexual parents, creating a narrow definition and understanding of the construct.

Furthermore, WFB is often explored from a cohabitating family perspective, with the assumption that familial ties can only be sustained through cohabitation, particularly when it comes to acts of care and support (Wilding & Baldassar, 2009). However, with the increase in transnational families, family structures and domestic responsibilities no longer just exist in the same geographical territory. Familial and other relational bonds are maintained and practiced across international boundaries. Thus by exploring production couples in South Africa, this present study seeks to advance work-family conceptualisations of (1) copreneurs, through an understanding of a unique and contextually complex occurrence of Chinese production couples in Newcastle, South Africa, (2) transnational migrant families, through this distinct familial arrangement and their commitment to their respective families in China (Cho & Allen, 2019), (3) uncover novel boundary management strategies such as using secrets to cope and help achieve WFB and, (4) extend the understanding of production

couples identified in Xu's (2019) study as a work-family issue over and above one of historical concern.

Production couples and CMT firms in Newcastle, South Africa

Due to the economic recession during the 1970s (Todes, 1999), Newcastle town council capitalised on incentives offered by the regional industrial development programme to attract labour from countries, such as The Republic of China, Hong Kong and later, Mainland China (Natrass & Seekings, 2014) for labour intensive industries, like clothing and textiles.

Mainland Chinese Cut, Make and Trim (CMT) firms started developing and becoming established in the early 2000s (Xu, 2019), however by then, the development programme was no longer offering the incentives, thereby significantly reducing the Chinese migrants bringing their families with them. Despite the lack of incentive, Newcastle had over one hundred Chinese clothing factories, that employed roughly 15,000 and 20,000 African employees (Xu, 2019). There has been a steady increase in the number of the CMT firms in Newcastle due to the several Taiwanese knitting factories closing down, driving down the prices and rent of factory premises and machinery (Natrass & Seekings, 2014; Xu, 2019). Many CMT owners were initially employed at the Taiwanese knitting factories and after gaining the necessary skills and training in these large clothing factories, many started their own clothing factories (Natrass & Seekings, 2014; Xu, 2019).

According to Xu (2019), the production couple was first formed when both partners were employees working at other Taiwan and Hong Kong clothing factories. The division of labour in these clothing factories are often gendered where women are usually responsible for ensuring the efficiency of the production line and managing the predominantly female Zulu workers (Xu, 2019). Men, on the other hand are typically responsible for the maintenance of machinery and consulting with potential new clients (Xu, 2019). When the male and female employee perceive that they have acquired the necessary management skills, they can form the partnership almost immediately and start their own business venture (Xu, 2019). Thus, the decision to become a production couple is a strategic one as both partners bring complementary but essential skill sets to the relationship.

Additionally, production couples are "a compact union liberated from formal familial obligations" (Xu, 2019, p. 308). This arrangement offers the production couple high levels of flexibility in their business operations and decision making which is valuable in the textile and clothing industry where profit margins are low and labour intensive. This arrangement

also allows the couple to avoid financial risks around inheritance issues and other concerns, such as having either family get involved with the clothing business (Xu, 2019). Lastly, this arrangement is viewed as a socially acceptable phenomenon by the Chinese community in Newcastle. Production couples can attend social gatherings openly and intermingle with other owners of clothing firms (Xu, 2019). The couples sometimes perceive being scrutinised by some members of the community, but the general community at large are accommodating and couples are able to be active participants in the productive networks, which is considered to be a pivotal factor to ensure business longevity among clothing factories (Xu, 2019).

Research aims

The study aims to explore the work-family balance experiences of production couples in Newcastle South Africa to uncover new family forms and gain deeper insights into this unique phenomenon. Overall, the findings contribute to a more expansive and richer understanding on work-family especially regarding co-preneurship and transnational families in diverse contexts beyond the global North. The proposed research question guiding this study is: What are the work-family balance experiences of production couples operating CMT factories in Newcastle, South Africa?

Literature Review

The literature review is organised as follows. First, a brief explanation of the literature search process is given. Next, boundary theory as a framework for understanding production couples as a form of copreneurs is explained and copreneur literature is reviewed. This is followed by outlining a typology of transnational families in the context of work-family balance, given that production couples are a form of transnational family.

Literature search procedure

Several procedures were used to search for and identify the appropriate literature concerning copreneurship, transnational families, and work-family. Firstly, a database search on EBSCOhost was conducted to search for peer-reviewed academic journals on copreneurship, in the absence of literature on production couples. The databases that were used for this search included Academic Search Premier, PsychINFO, PsychArticle and SocINDEX. However, there were no results for this search. Only two theses on copreneurship were found, thus further searches were conducted using the Emerald database, Wiley Online Publications and Google Scholar. Thereafter, a Boolean keyword search was carried out using different combinations of the following keywords: work-family, conflict,

balance, wellbeing, enrichment, copreneurs and gender. The database search yielded few results, which further indicated a gap in the literature on copreneurship. Similar databases were used to search for literature on transnational families. A Boolean keyword search for transnational families included the different combinations of the following keywords: work-family balance, transnational migrant, transnational care, financial remittance, ICT communication and return migration intention.

Theoretical Framework

An understanding of the work-family experiences of production couples can be explained using two theoretical framings, boundary theory (Ashforth, Kreiner & Fugate, 2000) and a typology of transnational families for work-life balance (Cho & Allen, 2019).

Boundary theory

A systematic review conducted by Michael-Tsubari et al. (2020) indicated that the work-family interface is under explored in family businesses and the permeability of the boundaries between the two domains are often taken as self-evident in this context. This has prevented researchers from exploring different types of family businesses using a boundary theory perspective (Tsubari et al., 2020). Boundary theory can provide a useful lens to explore work-family experiences of production couples, as a form of copreneurs and a subset of family businesses.

Boundary theory examines the mechanisms individuals adopt to establish, maintain or alter the boundaries that exist separating the different domains found in the individual's life as a means to simplify and maintain order (Ashforth et al., 2000). Boundaries are found between the work and family domains, separating them and keeping the two spheres distinct from each other and can be defined as being physical, cognitive or behavioural boundaries (Ashforth et al., 2000).

Boundaries operate differently depending on an individual's contextual factors and preferences as boundaries are demarcations around the roles held and carried out by the individual (Ashforth et al., 2000). Furthermore, boundary theory aims to explore how easily an individual can transition between the working domain and family domain, both cognitively and physically (Ashforth et al., 2000). Due to the changing nature of the working world, an increasing number of individuals are facing the challenge of managing the multiple responsibilities and roles held in their working life and family life by trying to transition from one role into another across the separate domains (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012). Boundary

theory identifies two forms of transitioning. Micro-transitions refer to recurring transitions that occur frequently, such as commuting to and from work, whereas macro-transitioning refers to permanent change that occurs infrequently, such as retirement (Ashforth et al., 2000). Work-family research tends to focus on examining micro-transitions (Allen et al., 2014). Micro-transitions have two defining characteristics, namely, permeability and flexibility.

Micro-transitions

Permeability. Permeability refers to the extent to which aspects of one role in a particular domain is able to spill over into another role in a different domain, allowing the individual to be physically located in one domain while being psychologically or behaviourally involved in a separate domain (Allen et al., 2014). Permeability is often operationalised as the individual's ability to receive personal calls from family and friends while still at work or having personal items, such as family photos at their workplace (Ashforth et al., 2000). Family-to-work permeability, such as receiving phone calls from family at work may be viewed as involuntary interruptions, however family-to -work permeability may be enacted by the individual through giving family members one's work email or permission to call during working hours (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012). Conversely, an individual that does not have access to the time and resources to attend to their different roles in separate domains have impermeable boundaries (Ashforth et al., 2000).

Flexibility. The second component of micro-transitions relates to flexibility. Flexibility refers to the degree in which an individual's spatial and temporal boundaries are adaptable, allowing the individual to enact different roles in various domains and situations at different times (Allen et al., 2014; Ashforth et al., 2000). For example, copreneurial women may be expected to enact the role of the wife at some point during the working day.

Boundary theory suggests transitions and boundaries are studied in terms of their level of flexibility and permeability (Ashforth et al., 2000). The flexibility and permeability of boundaries defines boundary strength and refers to the ways in which an individual chooses to manage their boundaries between their work and family domains (Ashforth et al., 2000). Furthermore, boundary theory is also interested in the segmentation and integration continuum.

Boundary management theory

Segmentation and integration are key concepts related to boundary management.

Ashforth et al. (2000) proposed that work and family roles can be portrayed along a continuum with the one end being high segmentation and the other end high integration. Segmentation refers to the boundaries between work and family remain separate and inflexible with little to no physical and cognitive overlap (Allen et al., 2014). Integration, on the other hand, refers to the flexibility and permeability of the boundaries between the domains, allowing for elements between the domains to overlap and interact with one another (Allen et al., 2014). For example, some copreneurial couples experience increased levels of integration by discussing business related decisions and concerns with each other outside of working hours (McAdam & Marlow, 2013), in comparison, segmenters prefer not to discuss work matters with spouses or share their personal life with colleagues (Allen et al., 2014).

Integration is found to increase the opportunities for role blurring, which is often associate with role conflict, however, integration assists with easing the transitions between the work and family roles (Ashforth et al., 2000). In contrast, segmentation refers to creating more structured and impermeable boundaries lowering the chance of role blurring, thereby reducing the role conflict, but segmentation does increase the opportunity for role interruptions to occur as well as increasing the difficulty for transitions between roles to occur (Allen et al., 2014).

Previous literature on boundary management has mainly focused on the integration and segmentation continuum (eg., Matthews et al., 2010). Kossek et al. (2012) extended the literature on boundary management literature. Boundary management is the approach that an individual adopts to separate the boundaries between the work and family domains while still enacting the work, family and other non-work roles, given the boundary constraints and the attachment an individual places on their identity (Kosset et al., 2012). Recent trends in the working world, such as flexible work schedules and arrangements had resulted in increased overlap and integration between the work and family domains leading to individuals increasing the efforts in self-regulating boundary role-crossings (Ashforth et al., 2000). An individual has their own preferences regarding boundary crossing. Boundary crossing refers to the number of interruptions that spill over from one domain to the other (Ashforth et al., 2000). An individual's preference for segmenting or integrating their domains and their preferences for boundary crossing involves the individual's desire to integrate their work and family roles to ease the transitioning between roles (Allen et al., 2014) or to minimize the number of cross-role interruptions experienced by segmenting their work and family roles (Kossek et al., 2012).

The three main components that are pivotal towards work-nonwork boundary

management is: “cross-role interruption behaviours, identity centrality of work and family roles and perceived control of boundaries” (Kossek et al., 2012, p. 114). Cross-role interruptions refers to the extent an individual allows interruptions present in one role to intrude on another (Kossek et al., 2012). The second component involves examining the work and family roles prioritized by the individual, in other words, role salience and the centrality of the individual’s role identities (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012). Ashforth et al. (2000) proposed that role identities are socially constructed and refers to the individual constructing a sense of self in a role and determining what the defining and flexible features of said roles are. Researchers have argued that role identities differ in terms of their centrality depending on a person’s self-conception (Thoits, 1991; Kossek et al., 2012). Thoits (1991) referred to role salience as individuals having multiple roles that need to be enacted, thus the individual creates a hierarchy with roles that are considered to be more socially accepted, normative and economically rewarding and more likely to have greater centrality or salience.

Role identity and salience is an important component of boundary management because roles that an individual prioritises more are likely to have boundaries that are both less flexible and permeable whilst roles that are considered less salient will have more flexible and permeable boundaries (Ashforth et al., 2000). This is in line with work-family literature that suggests individuals tend to have either work identity centrality or family identity centrality (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012). Work identity centrality refers to the degree in which an individual perceives their career path to be salient (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012; Kossek et al., 2012). Family identity centrality, on the other hand, refers to the extent to which an individual prioritises their family roles (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012; Kossek et al., 2012). Boundary management assumes that people will have different preferences when prioritizing their work and family roles.

The third and final component of boundary management is boundary control. Boundary control is related to psychological interpretations that influence the perceived level of control and an individual has over their boundary environment unlike cross-role interruptions and identities which lean more towards personal traits (Kossek et al., 2012).

Boundary management tactics

Kreiner and colleagues (2009) investigated the work-family experiences of individuals in extreme work-life situations, Episcopal priests. The findings of the study were used to explain the boundary work individuals enact to successfully manage their roles and responsibilities in the work and family domains (Kreiner et al., 2009). Kreiner et al. (2009)

focused on identifying practical ways individuals use that prevent work-family conflict in order to reduce the challenges associated with managing work-family domains, thereby achieving work-family balance.

The research found that work-family conflict may exist due to the incongruence between the preferred and enacted boundary management strategies (Kreiner et al., 2009). The incongruence between preferred and enacted boundary management potentially results from environmental challenges created by the different domains and the individual's involved. The sources of these environmental challenges may originate from family members, supervisors, staff, clients, type of occupations (Kreiner et al., 2009). The extent to which these factors prevent the individual from engaging in their preferred level of boundary management strategy results in boundary incongruence (Kreiner et al., 2009). Consequently, the boundary incongruence may lead to boundary violations where work-family conflict is created due to environmental factors, preventing the individual from engaging in their preference for segmentation/ integration of their boundaries across the work and family domains (Kreiner et al., 2009). However, boundary incongruence can be minimised using the following boundary management tactics, physical, behavioural, temporal and communicative tactics, which in turn reduces boundary violations.

The first tactic is behavioural, which consists of relying on others for support and assistance with boundary work (eg., support from spouse to manage certain responsibilities at work), leveraging technology (eg., using caller ID or online platforms to better manage the workday), allowing asymmetric permeability between domains (eg., choosing to separate work from home, but allowing work to be brought home and not have home spillover into work) and choosing to prioritise emergencies, such as work or childcare emergencies. The second tactic is temporal and is comprised of factors related to controlling work hours and finding respite, such as going on holiday in order to remove oneself from either the work or family domain for a period of time. The third category is related to physical tactics, where individuals choose to manipulate, manage or reduce the physical boundary or distance between the work and family domains (eg., choosing to integrate work and family by moving closer to work). Individuals can adapt their physical boundaries by having their office door closed during work hours to prevent interruptions from occurring or they may choose to use physical artifacts to either segment or integrate their work-family boundaries (eg., having family pictures at work). The final category involves communicative tactics where individuals manage and communicate their work and family expectations in advance to avoid any cross-domain interruptions. Individuals confronting violators either during or after the

boundary interruption (Kreiner et al., 2009). Understanding the boundary management tactics employed by individuals can provide insight into how the tactics are used to combine and manage multiple roles across different domains as an attempt to achieve better work-family balance.

Boundary theory and copreneurship

One of the main motivating factors behind the decision of becoming copreneurial couples is to achieve greater levels of flexibility and control over working demands and boundaries as a result of increased autonomy (Othman, 2016). Additionally, owning and operating a business with someone trustworthy and reliable plays an important role behind the decision to becoming a copreneur (Hedburg & Danes, 2012). Spouses need to be able to compromise and work as a team for the copreneurial business venture to succeed (Farrington et al., 2010). Furthermore, male copreneurs often rely on their partners to assist with the business while also maintaining their role as primary caregiver, giving men the opportunity to prioritise their work without having to be concerned with household duties and childcare (Jurik et al., 2016; Krizikova et al., 2014). Relying on spouses allow men copreneurs to reduce unwanted boundary violations. Thus, copreneurs adopt behavioural tactics such as using each other for support to achieve the desired boundary management strategy.

The increased autonomy and agency allow copreneurs to better employ temporal and communicative tactics, such as having greater control over their working hours and can also communicate expectations with their spouse and workers. However, this is often not the reality for many copreneurial couples. A study conducted by Wu et al. (2010) focusing on Taiwanese copreneurial women found that women are often confronted with asymmetrical permeable boundaries with work-to-family interruptions being more predominant than family-to-work interruptions leading to higher levels of work-family conflict. The increased permeability of boundaries leads to significantly blurred boundaries particularly in copreneurial couples often giving rise to work-family conflict (Jurik et al., 2016; Krizikova et al., 2014; Wu et al., 2010). In contrast to these findings, Sprung and Jex (2017) found that having high levels of integration between the work and family domains helped the couple experience positive work-family spillover (See Table 1 for a summary of work-family and copreneurship articles).

Sprung and Jex (2017) focused on farming couples which often have significantly permeable and integrated boundaries due to the inseparable nature and close proximity of their work and family domains. This is due to the farming couple and family living on the

farm and viewing farming as not only an occupation, but part of a lifestyle (Vanclay, 2011). In contrast, Sun and colleagues' (2020) study on tourism entrepreneurs found that by reducing the distance between their work and home allowed for easier transitions between their work and family roles, however, the lack of spatial distance resulted in vague temporal boundaries, due to constantly trying to meet demands of guests even after working hours. In many CMT factories, the owners live on the same premises as their factories, thereby making it very difficult to separate the work and family domain, blurring their boundaries.

Boundary theory provides a useful lens to explore work-family experiences of production couples for four reasons: (1) they may work from home (Bensemann, 2011) or in this case, home may even be work, (2) their work offers flexible working arrangements (Desrochers & Sargent, 2004), (3) they are typically a subset of family businesses and are subjected to the challenge of managing work and family demands and responsibilities that arise continuously from the blurring of boundaries, often increasing their role conflict and tensions (Helmle et al., 2014 ; Wu et al., 2010), and (4) they can be a form of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs are often expected to expend more effort at work by working longer hours, creating role and work overload making work-family boundary management challenging (Gudeta et al., 2018).

Boundary theory and gender

Table 1 shows a pattern of gender effects on copreneurs work-family experiences (eg., Deacon et al., 2014; Franco & Piceti, 2018; Jurik et al., 2016; McAdams & Marlow, 2013). Despite one of the characteristics of copreneurial couples being joint business owners (Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002), studies show that the division of labour at work and home are typically divided along traditional gender roles (Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002; Křížková et al., 2014; Wu et al., 2010). Thus, in reality, copreneurs do not always share ownership and decision making equally (Jurik et al., 2016; Křížková et al., 2014; Othman et al., 2016; Wu et al., 2010).

Fitzgerald and Muske (2002) suggested that there are two main roles present in a copreneurship. Firstly, there is the household manager who is mainly responsible for all household duties, and secondly, the business manager who is responsible for the household and business finances and is involved in the management of the business (Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002). Their findings showed that 90% of the women interviewed were household managers, which is consistent with the traditional nuclear family structure where women have the primary responsibility of taking care of the household and child rearing, while men

are the breadwinners (Blenkinsopp & Owens, 2010). Reinforced tradition gender roles among copreneurs were consistent in findings by other researchers (Jurik et al., 2016; Wu et al., 2010). This division of labour contributes to role ambiguity and greater levels of cross-role interruptions particularly among women who are pursuing their own career paths as they continue to receive societal and familial pressures to remain responsible for household labour. Their work for their business more than often become invisible and behind the scenes (Jurik et al., 2016).

The roles and responsibilities that copreneurial couples take on are often consistent with their gender identity. Gender norms play an important role in a person's boundary management preference (Russo et al., 2018; Zhang & Zhou, 2019) because boundary management assumes that people will have preferences related to their role identity centrality, when prioritising their work and family roles. However, the world of work has changed exponentially with an increasing number of women entering the workforce, making up almost half of the global workforce (Frear et al., 2019). Frear et al. (2019) found that on the one hand, women are just as likely as men to be career centric. On the other hand, women are still found to compromise on their careers to support their families because of the traditional gender norms associated with household duties being predominantly carried out by women (Frear et al., 2019; Sharabi, 2017). Thus, women are more likely to adopt integration as a boundary management strategy despite preferring segmentation (Mellner et al., 2014) due to the expectation that women should manage both domains, regardless of the role identity centrality (Sharabi, 2017).

Research on copreneurial couples and firms indicate the importance of gender identities (eg., Jurik et al., 2016; McAdam & Marlow, 2013; Wu et al., 2010) and gender roles in boundary management (Helmle, 2011). As production couples are Chinese migrants, they mostly hold traditional gender norms that are more patriarchal, where women are expected to be primary caregivers, nurturers and responsible for household duties, while men assume the primary breadwinner role (Xu, 2019).

Work-family balance in the transnational family context

Traditionally, the conflict perspective dominated work-family literature by focusing mainly on negative factors, such as stress and burnout (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Accordingly, the early concepualisation of work-family balance was simply defined as the absence of work-family conflict (Carlson et al., 2009). Later Frone (2003) proposed that WFB can be achieved through low levels of conflict and high levels of enrichment. Therefore

together, conflict and enrichment are commonly used as an attempt to define and conceptualise work-family balance (Casper et al., 2014).

Other researchers have recommended that work-family balance should be defined using an equality approach and view work-family balance as being in a state of equal engagement and satisfaction with work and family roles (e.g., Greenhaus et al., 2003). Since then, work-family balance has diverged from the equality argument and currently has several definitions (refer to Table 2 for definitions of work-family balance). For example, Voydanoff (2005) draws on the person-environment (P-E) fit theory and defines work-family balance as "a global assessment that work resources meet family demands, and family resources meet work demands such that participation is effective in both domains" (p. 825). Overall, researchers view WFB as being an interplay between work and family.

Table 2

Definitions of Work-family Balance

Author	Definition
Greenhaus et al. (2003)	"the extent to which individuals are equally engaged in and equally satisfied with work and family roles" (p. 513).
Gryzwacs & Carlson (2007)	"as accomplishment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his or her role-related partners in the work and family domains" (p. 458)
Valcour (2007)	"an overall level of contentment resulting from an assess- ment of one's degree of success at meeting work and family role demands" (p. 1512).

Voydanoff (2005)	"a global assessment that work resources meet family demands, and family resources meet work demands such that participation is effective in both domains" (p. 825).
	Cho and Allen "a global intrapersonal assessment of the extent that an exchange of resources is mutually beneficial and satisfactory to the focal employee and to his/her role-related partners and that the traded resources satisfy cross-domain demands" (p. 80)

For the purposes of this study, work-family balance will be considered from Cho and Allen's (2019) definition. Cho and Allen (2019) have built on the P-E fit definition of work-family balance that emphasizes the fit of resources (Voydonoff, 2005) and apply WFB as a construct in the context of transnational families. Transnational families are defined as "families that live some or most of the time separated from each other yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, i.e., 'familyhood', even across national borders" (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, p.). The motivation behind transnational migration differs from each family, as each family chooses to migrate based on their current context and what will benefit them the most (Glick, 2010; Mazzucato & Dito, 2018). This shows that the transnational family is not a single entity and can take on various forms throughout the migration process.

The transnational family's work-family balance experiences are both similar and different to cohabitating families. In cohabitating families, work and family are both interconnected in the sense that at work, an individual receives both resources and demands that affect family, while the family domain provides the individual with various support and challenges that impact on the work domain (Allen, 2012). Furthermore, transnational families, like cohabitation, families care for dependent children, aging parents and maintain ties with extended kin networks (Wilding & Baldassar, 2009). Cho and Allen's (2019) definition of work-family balance emphasises the importance of resource exchange among transnational family members as a way for the family to overcome the obstacle of being geographically separated. Research showed that resources, such as financial remittance (Singh et al., 2012), social remittance (Carrasco, 2010) and ICT communications (Hillyer, 2021; Madianou, 2016) were common practices of engaging in transnational care. Engaging

in and exchanging the following resources helped the transnational families satisfy cross-domain demands (Cho & Allen, 2019).

A typology of transnational families and work-family balance

Transnational families vary depending on which family member migrates, the country they choose to migrate to, the amount of human capital the individual has access to, and finally transnational families may differ in terms of the length of separation (Cho & Allen, 2019). These factors can affect how familyhood is maintained across national borders and have been used by Cho and Allen (2019) to form a typology for work-family balance among transnational families. These fours dimensions comprise combinations of the following factors:

Human capital

Human capital is the "skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health and physical capability important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies" (Scoones, 1998, p. 8). Individuals that have received higher education and come from better socioeconomic backgrounds tend to have higher levels of human capital, thus have greater access to better employment opportunities than those who possess lower levels of human capital.

In transnational families, individuals that migrate from developing countries to developed countries are likely to possess less human capital, resulting in job opportunities being predominantly in industries that require high intensity labour (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2012). This migration pattern from a developing to developed country is common, particularly for those that are living in rural and impoverished communities where employment opportunities are low, resulting in them seeking work abroad to support family (Glick, 2010). Additionally, low-skilled migrants have an increased possibility of having illegal immigration statuses, leaving them vulnerable to exploitative employers (Benach et al., 2011).

Previous research has found that low-skilled migrant workers are confronted with additional challenges of not being protected by the host country's labour legislation and experiencing limits to personal freedom (Kaur et al., 2010). Kagan et al. (2011) found that low-skilled Chinese migrant workers in the UK are often forced to work under poor working conditions with low pay and are unable to seek help due to the fear of deportation. The ability to maintain familial ties with families left behind in the home country depend on working

conditions and wages of the transnational employee which is ultimately shaped by public policies (Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012). These factors also affect the frequency and type of contact the transnational employee can have with their families, the amount of financial remittance they can send, and the length of separation from their families, impacting on family reunification (Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012). Thus, low skilled transnational employees or migrant workers are likely to have greater difficulty in managing the exchange of resources that will help meet cross-family demands.

In contrast, highly skilled transnational employee who are migrating individuals pursuing career building opportunities experience a greater degree of mobility (Cho & Allen, 2019). These employees often have access to company benefits that help ease their transition to the country (Ryan & Mulholland, 2014). Furthermore, highly skilled employees have access to social networks from their previous careers that can assist them and provide insight on how to navigate the host country and to human capital that allows them to go from temporary migrants to permanent locals (Ryan & Mulholland, 2014). Beaverstock (2012) found that highly skilled transnational employees in Singapore indicated that were increasingly sought after as companies competed for talent globally. and often live a life of privilege in Singapore. They were offered high remuneration packages and flexibility that are inaccessible to low-skilled transnational employees. Accordingly, they could maintain familial ties through different transnational care practices because of channels available to them to enact their care practices. However, like their low-skilled counterparts, highly skilled transnational employees also struggled with loneliness, desire for family member's physical presence, and feelings of guilt from being away from spouses and children (Dang, 2020).

Location

This dimension aims to differentiate between the transnational individual that has migrated to a foreign country from the individual that still resides in the country of origin but away from family members. Those that still reside in the country of origin can access resources, such as established social support networks of friends and family, which are likely to be unavailable to those living in foreign countries (Cho & Allen, 2019). Transnational families living in foreign countries are often characterised by cultural distance (eg., culture, language, economy; Muller, 2008) along with other differences in relation to safety and feelings of security.

A number of studies have found that transnational families that reside in countries that are culturally dissimilar from the country-of-origin results in issues related to wellbeing,

feelings of isolation and finding a sense of belonging (eg., Huang et al., 2015; Park & Cookston, 2020; Stodolska et al., 2020). Furthermore, having to navigate legality, reception, and support in host countries as well as employment related stressors further complicate the experiences of transnational families in foreign countries (Chen, 2019; 2015; Park & Cookston, 2020). Stodolska and colleagues' (2020) study indicated that part of the Korean mother's experience in America was shaped by their social isolation and the attitudes of the White American community.

Similarly, a study on Chinese migrants in South Africa found that engaging with the Chinese community and visiting Chinatown, sending children to Chinese schools, and attending various Chinese committees and events allowed them to retain and reenact their traditions and culture (Xu, 2020). Having an established community of people from similar cultural backgrounds provided a sense of comfort, familiarity and assisted in the adjustment and transition for newly arrived migrants. The cultural and language barrier between the transnational family and the host country prevent the family from branching out and interacting with those outside the community, limiting their social support networks to those within the community (Park, 2010; Stodolska et al., 2020).

Degree of dispersion

The degree of dispersion refers to the separation between the transnational family members (Cho & Allen, 2019). Some transnational families live dispersed across different countries whereas others live across two countries (eg., Ryan et al., 2015). Spatial proximity is also an indicator of the degree of dispersion where some families live in separate countries that are a short distance away (eg., Singapore and the Philippines) or are separated across countries that are relatively far from each other (eg., China and South Africa). Finally, temporal dispersion refers to the time difference between the transnational family members (Cho & Allen, 2019). For example, China and South Africa have a six-hour time zone.

Research has indicated that some transnational families choose to migrate to countries close to the country of origin (eg., Ryan & Mulholland, 2014). Acedora and Yeoh (2019) found that the close spatial proximity between Singapore and the Philippines created a sense of security because the migrant spouse was just a three-hour flight away and could fly home if any issues were to arise. The close proximity allowed for easier exchange of resources and transnational care resulting in more frequent return visits. Time differences have been found to contribute to communication difficulties that sometimes prevent transnational families from frequent and spontaneous synchronous communication (Ryan et al., 2015). The use of

ICT communication has allowed transnational families to increase communication opportunities by keeping in touch with friends and family networks, but time differences can limit those opportunities.

Spatial dispersion, physical distance, and temporal dispersion are can impact the transnational family's ability to reenact a sense of co-presence and in turn the individual's work-family balance as their ability fulfill both their work and family roles is affected by the degree dispersion.

Length of separation

Transnational families can be separated from their family members for varying lengths of time. The motivation to migrate is often based on the individual wanting to achieve a certain goal (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002), such as migrating because of wanting to provide better opportunities for family members left in the country of origin. Individuals that choose to migrate often view the situation as temporary until their goal has been achieved or they intend to have their families migrate once they have settled down (Haagsman & Mazzucato, 2014). However, this is often not achievable due to strict migration policies resulting in increased length of separation.

Research has shown that length of separation can have a negative impact on family bonds (Carling et al., 2012; Mazzucato & Dito, 2018). Eremenko and Bennett (2018) found that long-term separation potentially disrupts the relationship and bond between children and parents where the likelihood of recovering is low even upon reunification. This was found to result in lower levels of mental wellbeing that extended into adulthood (Ermenko & Bennett, 2018). Schmalzbauer (2008), in contrast, found that those left behind can adapt and cope with the separation using technology. The children shared that the relationship with their parents improved because of the appreciation and understanding of their parent's sacrifice (Schmalzbauer, 2008). Thus, the length of separation can either intensify and improve the relationship between migrants and those left behind or deteriorate those relationships.

Types of transnational family

Transnational migration has become increasingly more common over the years due to globalization, strict migration policies preventing families from migrating together and more (Mazzucato, 2011). According to Cho and Allen (2019), there are four different types of transnational family. The first type is characterised by low dispersion and long-term separation where parents typically migrate to a foreign country leaving their children behind

in the care of their grandparents or kin networks (Cho & Allen, 2019). The main reason for migrating is to financially provide for the family. The second type refers to individuals that have higher levels of human capital and are repeatedly repatriating and expatriating while having their family stay in the country of origin (Cho & Allen, 2019). The third type is a transnational employee that possesses high levels of human capital and remains in the country of origin while sending their children abroad to pursue better education opportunities (Cho & Allen, 2019). The final type of transnational family is one that consists of multiple transnational individuals. These members typically have high levels of human capital and migrate to other countries to build and further their careers. The degree of dispersion and length of separation usually depend on their job situation (Cho & Allen, 2019).

A recurring theme among these different transnational family types is the focus on wanting to improve the current family situation and the importance of still maintaining a sense of familyhood despite the geographical separation and length of separation. Therefore, while the act of balancing work, family and care roles is often perceived to be a local story, recent research (eg., Cho & Allen; Ivana, 2020; Wilding & Baldassar, 2009) suggests that work-family balance is a significant transnational story too.

Production couples as transational families

Apart from production couples resembling a form of copreneurs, they also maintain a family structure of a transnational family where individuals migrated to South Africa in search of better employment opportunities to provide financial support for their families (Park, 2010).

Each partner in the production couple have left their spouses, children and parents in Mainland China to reduce the financial strain and risks associated with moving to a foreign country (Xu, 2019). During the years 1860s to 1970s, there was an increase in Chinese migration to Southeast Asia (Chen, 2015). Due to the geographical closeness and accessibility because of the trading ties between China and Southeast Asia, the Chinese have long had a migration history with Southeast Asia (Van Dongen & Liu, 2018). This migration pattern is referred to as the Xia Nanyang (Chen, 2015). An important component of being a Xia Nanyang migrant is related to ‘Qiaopi’. Qiaopi are “remittance receipts in the form of letters” that the overseas family member sends to their family in China that usually contains information on how the remittance should be used and distributed (Chen, 2015, p. 60). Sending letters and financial remittance was a sign of the sons being filial towards their left-behind spouse and parents (Chen, 2015).

The concept of filial piety is central to the cultural and gendered ideologies regarding family and eldercare in Confucian societies (Hsu, 2019). Filial piety is the "organising principle of the distribution of geriatric care and the power relationships among family members of different generations" (Sun, 2012, p.1243). Based on Chinese Confucian family values, sons are required to provide financial support to their wife, children and parents, rather than emotional support (Hsu, 2019). Daughters on the other hand, marry into their spouse's family and thus are required to support her in-laws rather than her biological parents (Lin & Yi, 2011). Daughters and sons have different gendered expectations and obligations when fulfilling filial acts ensuring the wellbeing of parents (Lin & Yi, 2011). However, because of increasing transnationalism and increased influence from the West, the traditional geographical and gendered expectations of filial piety are changing (Hsu, 2019). This is evident by the increasing number of transnational migrants due to the uneven economic development across Asia over the last few decades (Dannecker, 2005) and has resulted in the feminisation of migration leading to the transformations of gender relations (Dannecker, 2005). The production couple is an arrangement that typically occurs among the Mainland Chinese community (Xu, 2019), thus it is likely that they have similar obligations and expectations when fulfilling transnational caregiving practices. Filial piety is still a commonly held tradition amongst Chinese migrant communities in South Africa (Park, 2010).

The 'other' woman is referred to as the 'second wife' (Jiemin, 2003, Shen, 2005; So, 2003; Xiao, 2011). The act of having a second wife is often viewed as being more than just an extramarital affair, the men typically end up living with the second wife, supporting both the second wife and family back in China financially, and the couple appears to be in a loving relationship to the public (So, 2005). Scholars have pointed out that many of the men choose to have a second wife because of the loneliness of being in a foreign country without any familial support, resulting in them craving the warmth of another (Shen, 2005; Liu-Farrer, 2010). A second reason being that there is social pressure to have a second wife, because in certain circumstances, having a second wife indicates status. A third reason that men claim to have been seduced by the second wife into entering a relationship (So, 2003).

The second wife is viewed as someone that provides free domestic labour and attends to their partner's emotional and sexual needs (Shen, 2005; Xiao, 2011). The second wife helps to take care of the men by creating a sense of home away from home and carry out tasks that help enhance their partner's ego and sense of masculinity (Chen, 2015; Xiao, 2011). In some cases, where the Chinese merchant is considered to have greater levels of

wealth, the second wife is also expected to go through great lengths to ensure that their physical appearance is well maintained, to ensure that their partner does not lose face (Xiao, 2011). The production couples in Newcastle continue a similar family structure as a result of increased transnational migration. The couple continue to have a gendered division of labour (Xu, 2019). However, the women in the production couple contributes significantly in ensuring that the business networks and production lines are working efficiently. The women are responsible for supervising the employees on the factory floor while the men are usually in charge of negotiating new orders for the factory, as well as various other managerial requirements (Xu, 2019).

Method

The primary objective of this study was to explore the lived work-family balance experiences of production couples in Newcastle. This was achieved using a phenomenological approach located within qualitative methodology. This section is divided into six part, namely: research design, sampling and participants, research procedure, data analysis, rigour, and ethical consideration.

Research Design

To gain insight into the lived experiences of the participants, a qualitative approach was adopted. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 3), "…qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world". This allows the researcher to develop a deep understanding of the lived realities of the population of interest in their natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The qualitative methodological approach consists of five different research strategies namely, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, case study and biography (Cresswell & Poth, 2016).

This present study used a phenomenological approach. allowing the researcher to explore the shared lived experiences within a particular population from their perspective (Creswell & Poth, 2016). The phenomenological approach was appropriate because production couples are a unique and under-explored phenomenon. Furthermore, one-on-one interviews provided the participants with a voice to share their lived experiences giving the researcher new perspective into the phenomena of interest (Roberts & Ilardi, 2008).

Sampling

Purposive and snowball sampling were employed to collect the original data. The aim of this present study was to explore the lived work-family experiences of production couples

in Newcastle, thus making purposive sampling an appropriate sampling strategy. Purposive sampling is often used by researchers when examining specific populations by providing "useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2015; p. 46). Furthermore, purposive sampling focuses on gaining in-depth understanding and insight on a particular community rather than the generalisability of the findings (Patton, 2015), making this sampling strategy suitable to address this study's research question. The inclusion criteria required participants to meet the conditions for being in a production couple. The participants needed to jointly own and operate a clothing factory together with their partner. At least one person in the arrangement needed to have a spouse in China and both had to have family members in China. The participants also needed to be based in Newcastle.

Snowball sampling strategy was also used to enhance access to the specific sample. The snowball sampling technique was appropriate because of the 'hidden' nature of the study's sample (Noy, 2008). Production couples are viewed as socially acceptable among the Chinese community in Newcastle. Despite their acceptance in the Newcastle community, conversations around production couples are not openly discussed, thus identifying the number of production couples remained difficult (Xu, 2019). As a result, snowball sampling helps recruit participants when there is a small population, and a level of trust is necessary to initiate contact (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). Increasing levels of trust and rapport was developed as referrals were made by fellow peers, friends or acquaintances rather than relying on other formal methods (Atkinson & Flint, 2001).

Procedure

The researcher is part of the Chinese migrant community in Newcastle and used their personal network, including owners of Chinese clothing factories, to reach out to production couples. Due to Covid-19 social distancing regulations and resultantly, the institutional restrictions for face-to-face data collection, all communication took place on the electronic platform WeChat. WeChat is a Chinese social media messaging application and the Chinese community predominantly use WeChat over any other messaging applications (Lien & Cao, 2014). Individuals in the researcher's personal network were given a detailed description of the study enabling them to accurately communicate with and invite potential participants.

Prior to to any data being collected, ethical clearance was obtained from the Faculty of Commerce Ethics in Research Committee at the University of Cape Town with the reference number: REC2020/06/017. The interview questions and protocol were strictly guided by the APA ethical research guidelines that stipulate the how research should be

conducted when dealing with human participants.

Given the sensitivity regarding the participants' families in China, it was important to provide adequate details about the research project. This information included the study's aims and contributions, to reduce any apprehensions participants may have with regards to participating in this study. The researcher was given the WeChat details of participants who expressed their willingness to participate. Once the participant accepted the researcher's invitation request on WeChat, the participant was sent a consent form that outlined the purpose of the study, the right to withdraw at any point, and consent for the interview to be recorded.

A suitable date and time were arranged for the interview to take place. The interview process started with the interviewer introducing themselves to build trust (Qu & Dumay, 2011). The researcher then covered the ethical guidelines and reminded the participants of their right to withdraw and that their identity will not be disclosed at any point throughout the research by using pseudonyms when translating and writing up the research (Nespor, 2000). Permission from all participants was received for the researcher to record and transcribe the interviews (Corti et al., 2000).

The study set out to separately interview the male and female partner in each production couple, so that their individual perspectives could be explored (Blenkinsopp & Owens, 2010). Several interview questions were related to division of labour and discussing the participant's China family, thus there was a possibility for tensions to rise if the couple were interviewed together. However, the researcher encountered several challenges when sampling, especially in recruiting male participants. These challenges were exacerbated by the effects of Covid-19 on the Chinese factory owner community. Prior to commencing data collection, the researcher had reached out to a Newcastle Town Council member that agreed to help recruit participants. The pandemic resulted in the council member having to withdraw from assisting in the research process to attend to more urgent community needs. The council member was the only male in the researcher's personal network and without his assistance, it became difficult to recruit and onboard male participants. The researcher's network was only acquainted with the "girlfriends" of the production couple and the members in her network were uncomfortable with approaching both partners given the traditional gender roles in the Chinese community.

Most of the female participants agreed to be interviewed but prevented their male partners from being interviewed, in that they acted as gate keepers. A common reason given by female participants was that their male partners were introverted and were occupied with

work, making them unavailable to participate. In addition, the male participants were not interested or willing to be interviewed by a young female researcher. The nature of some of the interview questions related to the participants' China family were more sensitive, also contributing to the lack of willing male participants. A potential reason for this is that men in Chinese culture are expected to carry the family name and with the persisting patriarchal gender roles (Sun & Chen, 2014), they are confronted with greater risk of losing face if exposed that they are in this type of relationship. The production couple is fully acknowledged among the community, but it is still not openly discussed (Xu, 2019).

Therefore, the final sample consisted of eight women. While this is a small sample, Creswell (2016) posits that in such unknown or unique phenomenon where very little is known a sample of between 5 and 25 participants is recommended

Semi-structured interviews were deemed the most appropriate format to gain insight into the work-family experiences of the production couple and its use is consistent with the phenomenological qualitative approach. Semi-structured interviews are more conversational and informal in tone, allowing researchers to employ both closed and open-ended questions to facilitate a discussion and the flow of the interview would be guided by the responses rather than the interview guide (Longhurst, 2003). The flexibility of using a semi-structured interview guide allowed participants to share their own experiences and allowed the researcher to expand on interesting insights that had contributed to a better understanding of the participants' lived work-family experiences.

The interview questions were accompanied by follow-up how or why questions (Adams, 2015) so that participants were able to provide in-depth answers allowing for meaningful data extraction. For instance, "How did this make you feel?" was a how question used to illicit more insightful responses. Probing questions were also employed to help explore sensitive topics (Adams, 2015) that allowed for further insight and clarity into how the production couples manage the dynamics between their work and family and between themselves and their transnational families in Mainland China. A common probe used include, "Could you please elaborate more on this?". The sample interview schedule has been included in Appendix B. The interview protocol was discussed with two individuals prior to starting data collection to ensure that the questions were understandable, relevant and appropriate (Kim, 2011).

Participants

The ages of the participants raged from 40 to 57 years, with an average of 49 years.

All participants were from Mainland China and the majority of the participants were divorced (62.5%). All participants were divorced prior to coming to South Africa, except for one. It was interesting to note that despite most of the women being divorced, none of their male partners were divorced from their China wives. Similarly, Xu (2019) found that the production couple does not necessarily remain married to their China spouses, some production couples may eventually divorce their China spouses and choose to marry their current partners. None of the participants had children with their partners, confirming Xu's (2019) study which highlighted the fact that reproduction was avoided, in order to prevent any issues related to succession (refer to Table 3 for the summary of the participants' demographics in Appendix B).

Data analysis

Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step process for thematic analysis was used to analyse the data, as it allowed the researchers to report on the different themes identified and analysed from groups of data. However, while thematic analysis is a popular choice for qualitative analysis, the technique has been criticized as being poorly explained, given the lack of literature available to guide novice researchers (Nowell et al., 2017). Nevertheless, thematic analysis is a highly flexible technique that allows the researcher to provide rich and detailed data by exploring the different perspectives of different research participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). It also provides first-time qualitative researchers with skills that are easily transferrable to other qualitative analysis techniques (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

During the first step, all eight interviews were transcribed verbatim and later translated by the researcher. The researcher familiarized themselves with the data by doing the both the transcription and translation on their own. In addition, re-reading the transcripts and making notes on important ideas and concepts, allowed the researcher to further immerse themselves in the data. This was followed by the development of a coding scheme. Initial patterns in the data were identified because of the researcher familiarising herself with the data. The data was coded and organized manually using an excel spreadsheet. Each transcript was analysed consistently using this coding scheme. Some initial codes identified included: "it is challenging but more convenient", "I am regretful"; "we rely on each other"; "we don't talk about that" and "we wanted more money". After sorting through and analysing the codes, the codes were collated and organised in different themes. A semantic approach was

used to identify emergent themes along with the interpretation of the broader meaning of these themes with regards to the existing literature (Braun & Clarke, 2006). When refining the themes, the content under each theme were reviewed, as well as the level of similarity between the two themes. After the revisions were made, three main themes emerged: (1) Factors affecting the work-family balance of women in production couples, (2) Transnational care practices and, (3) Boundary management practices used by the women to maintain work-family balance. Finally, the analysis of the themes was written-up in a way that best reflected the experiences of the production couple living in South Africa, as well as the work-family experiences from a transnational family perspective.

Research Rigor

This study established rigour by applying the four criteria stipulated by Lincoln and Guba (1989), namely, credibility, dependability, conformability and transferability. Reflexivity was also ensured by bringing in a critical sense of self-awareness of the researcher's own subjective experiences of their time in Newcastle, their interests, disclosing any biases and assumptions the researcher may have had throughout the research process and be conscious of how these factors have impacted on the research process and findings (Finlay, 2008). The four criteria stipulated by Lincoln and Guba (1989) and reflexivity will now be discussed in relation to this study.

Credibility

Credibility is concerned with ensuring that the data collected and analysed from interviews are accurate and are the correct interpretation of the original views held by the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility is a criterion in qualitative research equivalent to the internal validity criterion in quantitative research (Shenton, 2004). The credibility of this research was upheld using different strategies stipulated by different qualitative researchers (eg., Lincoln & Guba, 1982; Shenton, 2004).

The first strategy used was peer debriefing (Guba, 1981), a process where researchers consult one another for support and guidance (Anney, 2014). Throughout the research process, continuous guidance and feedback were provided from the researcher's supervisor which allowed for the researcher to improve on the quality of the research findings. For instance, the researcher received feedback from their supervisor on draft chapter submissions. A research proposal was also presented to a panel of academic staff members to provide feedback and to assess the viability of this study.

Transferability

Transferability is concerned with the extent to which the study and findings is transferable to other populations (Licoln & Guba, 1982). When the sample of participants are recruited using strategies such as purposive sampling, the findings derived from the study cannot be generalised to the greater population (Barratt et al., 2015). Therefore, to ensure transferability, this study placed emphasis on providing rich and detailed descriptions of the context, experiences and research method used to meet the aim of this study (Lincoln & Guba, 1982). Providing a detailed Methods section allows other researchers to transfer this study's findings to their own contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1982).

Dependability

This study has aimed to achieve dependability by ensuring that the entire research process has been clearly defined and is logical (Tobin & Begley, 2004). To demonstrate dependability, the researcher detailed a clear research process by creating an audit trail that may be used to assist other researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 1982). The researcher has kept all interview recordings, transcribed and translated interviews and a reflexive journal has also been documented (see Appendix A for an extract from the reflexive journal; Nowell et al., 2017).

Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the degree of neutrality and is the equivalent of objectivity in quantitative research, as well as the extent to which the findings extracted from the data can be confirmed by different researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 1982). It ensures that the interpretations of the findings accurately reflect the research participants' responses and that the participant's responses are not shaped or influenced by the researcher's own biases and assumptions (Lincoln & Guba, 1982). This can be achieved through reflexivity.

Reflexivity. Reflexivity is "a process that challenges the researcher to explicitly examine how his or her research agenda and assumptions, subject location(s), personal beliefs, and emotions enter into their research" (Hsiung, 2008, p. 212). In this study, reflexivity was achieved through bracketing. Bracketing refers to the process whereby the researcher lists all preconceived ideas and assumptions held regarding the phenomenon being studied, avoiding any biases that may occur throughout the research process (Giorgi, 2008).

I am a second generation Taiwanese South African. I was born and raised in Newcastle, South Africa. At the beginning of the research process, I had expressed interest in

wanting to conduct a study that would aim to highlight the experiences of the Chinese-Taiwanese community in South Africa. Upon conducting research in line with my interest, I came across Xu's (2019) research examining the ethnic Chinese clothing industry and the Zulu women workers by chance. With the help of my supervisor, I made contact with Xu who informed me that he heard of my mother while conducting his field research in Newcastle. This study is also my way of paying homage to my upbringing and community by raising their voices. I grew up in Newcastle, I had an already established social network that could assist me through the research process and help me recruit participants.

Being a young female researcher has affected the way I conduct myself during interviews. Showing a sign of respect for my elders is a highly regarded Chinese value along with "hierarchies of relationships" (Chien, 2016, p. 924). My participants were all older than me and because their willingness to help me was partly due to my Godmother's influence, I needed to express full gratitude and respect. This meant that to establish rapport with my participants, I needed to show respect by speaking in a respectful tone while calling them "Auntie" (阿姨) rather than their first name and take on the role of 'little girl' (小妹妹/小朋友). I emphasized that I was born and raised in Newcastle to establish rapport by encouraging a sense of familiarity, thereby easing the participants into the interview.

Being raised in Newcastle, I was familiar with how the CMT factories operated, thus it was very important that I monitored how my existing knowledge and assumptions may bias certain findings and may affect the different ways in which interviews were conducted. By acknowledging previously held knowledge and assumptions, such as what living on factory premises was like and understanding the difficulties associated with being a transnational family, I was better equipped to avoid leading participant responses in alignment with any preconceptions, but to instead take the participant's responses as is (Chenail, 2011). The pilot interview conducted was used to assess the appropriateness of the interview questions, identify questions that could be discarded, the length of the interview, elicit feedback to identify any overly sensitive questions that need to be reworded or removed (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001).

Findings

The aim of this study was to develop an in-depth understanding of the work-family balance experiences of production couples owning and operating CMT firms in Newcastle, South Africa. This chapter presents the three themes identified using Braun and Clarke's

(2006) thematic analysis: (1) Factors affecting the work-family balance of women in production couples, (2) Transnational care practices and, (3) Boundary management practices used by the women to maintain work-family balance.

Theme 1: Factors affecting the work-family balance of women in production couples

The analysis of the data revealed that women in production couples differed from women in typical copreneurial couples in their division of labour at work and at home, while sharing some similarities about their motivation for owning and operating their own joint business venture. These experiences created varying factors affecting their work-family balance.

Becoming a production couple as motivation for improved resources

For all women, coming to South Africa was a sacrifice they were willing to make in order to provide a better life for their China family. All participants were working for other clothing factories prior to starting their own. The wages were low, and all participants argued that more money could be made after starting their own factory. Thus, earning more money was one of the primary motivations for starting their own factory.

> I wanted to make a little more money because you can earn more this way in comparison to working for someone else. When you open your own factory, you are able to earn more (Interviewee 4).

Opening their own factory meant that participants could earn a better living resulting in more regular engagement in transnational caregiving activities that helped the women maintain work-family balance with their China family. However, this was only possible if the women entered into a production couple arrangement. The roles within CMT firms are gendered. The women in these factories are usually responsible for managing the production line while the men typically maintain the machinery and are in charge of deliveries and transportation. Therefore, opening a successful factory required both the women and their partner to contribute to the business operations:

> I think it will be very difficult for one person to open a factory on their own. It's impossible to split yourself in half because you can't manage the duties in the factory and outside at the same time. One must be able to manage the production line while the other does the machinery and deliver, that kind of stuff (Interviewee 2).

All women had met their boyfriends while working together in the same factory. The women shared that their decision to enter this type of relationship was to eventually open a

factory with their partner. It was interesting to note that most participants did not refer to the relationship as boyfriend and girlfriend, but rather viewed it as a partnership. This further supported the idea that the primary motivation behind production couples was one of business and not romance:

> I met my partner at one of the old factories I used to work at. He was responsible for writing up invoices… that's how we met because at the time I wanted to open a factory. So… there was no other option. It was for the sake of opening a factory, you know, and because most of us come to South Africa by ourselves. We came with nothing to our name. The main reason was to open a factory so we can make a better living (Interviewee 3).

Starting a factory also required a significant initial investment that most participants would not be able to afford on their own. In addition to leasing or purchasing a factory, the couple needed to invest in machinery, pay their workers as well as water and electricity bills. The process of starting a factory required a big financial commitment. Becoming a production couple allowed them to share the financial burden of starting a factory together:

> We must be a co-investor because we are opening this factory together. If we didn't then we wouldn't make the decision to open it together and it is also financially more feasible to have us both invest so we have more money left to purchase machinery. (Interviewee 5)

It is also important to note, that all production couples split the initial investment evenly between themselves. One participant did cover the costs for her partner but requested that he pay her back once the factory started making money by stating "at the end of the day, we are still business partners and so he needs to cover his half of the investment" (Interviewee 8). Due to them being co-investors the profits were split 50/50. The couple do not micromanage each other in terms of what they spend their money on and how much they choose to spend:

> We're pretty open minded with our money. Every week we are out and about, going to different places to eat. The reason we make money is to spend it right? (Interviewee 1).

In addition to sharing the financial burden, all the women stated that becoming a production couple helped them better manage the factory and their workers. Being in this arrangement allowed them to work as a team and offered them the agency and freedom of expression that would not have been possible if partnering with another person under a

different arrangement. There is also a great sense of comfort and shared understanding when working with their partners:

> Well, we are all friends first and foremost. We have known each other for years so it makes working together easy. We are able to provide support for each other because we know and understand each other's weaknesses and strengths, so it just makes working together easier, you know (Interviewee 1).

Another reason given by the women as to how their arrangement improved their WFB was related to the issue around safety. The women pointed out that it is not entirely impossible to open a factory alone, however, the risk of being exposed to crime significantly increases, especially for women. Thus, all advised against opening a factory alone and explained the importance of having a partner to not only ensure the success of the factory but for safety purposes as well:

> Yes, it is impossible to open a factory on your own. It doesn't matter even if you have small factory because it's far too dangerous for a woman to open a factory on her own... If you are on your own, it's far too dangerous. In the past, there was a woman from Shanghai that opened a factory on her own, but she kept struggling to succeed and it was just too difficult. There was also a time where she got robbed and they almost killed her (Interviewee 3).

These quotes illustrate how participants are motivated to enter this form of copreneurship. Becoming a production couple provides the participants with the necessary support and resources that are needed to establish a successful factory. This arrangement allows them to accumulate resources, which in turn helps the women establish a greater sense of work-family balance with their China family. Becoming a production couple facilitates resource exchange between the participants and their China family and also increases the frequency of transnational care opportunities.

Factors affecting WFB on arrival

China and South Africa are culturally different. This stark contrast between the two countries increases the difficulties and challenges the women are confronted with. This was a challenge most participants experienced in the beginning and participants experienced difficulty adapting to the culture and customs of South Africa.

> …Once I got to South Africa, I was like wow, it wasn't how I imagined it to be. It's like, I'm not sure how to describe this feeling, it just wasn't great. The moment we landed and stepped onto South African soil and headed to where we were going to

> live. The whole way, the place felt uninhabited and then all the houses, how do I say this, it just gave us this feeling of being a cold and desolate place (Interviewee 6).

The participants are unlikely to achieve WFB, particularly during the initial stages because of the feeling of isolation and lack of social and human capital and the cultural differences experienced by the participants making it difficult for them to cope with both their work and family demands. This prevented the participants from exchanging resources, such as financial remittance with their family and having to solely rely on extended family in China to support their children and parents:

> Coming to South Africa on my own was difficult and also very lonely. Working for the previous factory was very tiring and difficult and the wages are so low. I wasn't earning a lot, but I sent all my money back, but I could only do that once in a while, you know. I felt sorry for my family (Interviewee 4).

Given that all participants worked for a factory before starting their own, employer support played an important role during the beginning years of the women staying in South Africa. Having a "kind-hearted" employer helped participants better adapt to the country while also giving them the opportunity to maintain familial bonds during the early periods where familial relationships were most fragile and sensitive. A good relationship with the employer reduced barriers for participants when trying to achieve WFB by allowing the women to engage in varying forms of transnational care:

> I have been in South Africa for 20 years and I have gone back home about 20 times. I go back every year. This is probably thanks to my boss and also to my work capability. To be honest, I'm not trying to toot my own horn, but I am a very capable worker (Interviewee 7).

In contrast, another participant that did not have the support from her boss was unable to return home to visit family. She was "unable to visit them for the first three or four years because we just didn't have the money, there was no money" (Interviewee 3).

Participants revealed the importance of showing a good work ethic and skill set when working for another factory, as this increases the likelihood of establishing a good relationship with their employer and in some cases, participants could be rewarded with return tickets to China:

> My boss did really admire my work and I am very grateful to him. My boss treated me really well, he bought a return ticket for me. I used the ticket and went back to China for holiday. I went to go see my family and my parents (Interviewee 8).

Additionally, some participants were working in clothing factories prior to coming to South Africa and already possessed the necessary skill set. This allowed participants to better adapt to their working environment and differentiate themselves from other workers.

> I was based in a Durban clothing factory, although the pay was low, I got to learn a lot. I kept learning and learning and learning and I learned almost everything I could. This is also why I think my boss and the boss lady were really good to me. I had a little more freedom because they didn't have to micromanage me (Interviewee 5).

Factors affecting WFB as time progressed

As their stay in South Africa has been prolonged, the production couple arrangement moved beyond a primarily business relationship to one that was based on mutual affection and participants viewed their partners as part of their family. When discussing the nature of the relationship between the women and their partners, it was evident that mutual affection exists and their partners served as their sole form of emotional support, particularly during the period when they first arrived in South Africa. Most of the women left Mainland China by themselves and had little to no support upon their arrival:

> After coming to South Africa, I met my boyfriend and we got along really well. I mean it was quite lonely being on your own here in another country. It was probably because it's lonelier being in this place and so, you're easily moved when someone treats your nicely which creates these types of feeling and emotions that make two people want to depend on each other (Interviewee 8).

This form of relationship helped the women better adapt to this foreign country where many women felt difficulty adjusting to due to the lack of social support and familyhood. The relationship functioned as an important social resource in allowing the women to better cope with feelings of isolation, alienation and loneliness that they had encountered following their arrival to work in a foreign country.

The relationship between the participants and their partners is complex. The participants viewed their relationship with their partner as immoral, however, the relationship needed to be established in order for them to successfully earn a better living and provide for their respective families. The relationship is viewed to be a "necessary evil".

> I told my previous boss that I am not a bad woman, but I'm not a good woman either. I am not bad because I've already decided to take this path, but I don't believe that I am bad or evil because I don't have any intention to lecture people or break a family apart when deciding to become a production couple, I needed to survive and open a factory. That's why I say I'm not a bad woman, but I am not a good woman either (Interviewee 3).

The relationship was their social support system with their spouses providing instrumental support in ensuring the success of their business. Furthermore, majority of the participants viewed their arrangement as a long-term one. In some cases, participants have been in a relationship with their partners longer than they were married to their ex-husbands. The production couple arrangement holds a lot of meaning for the participant and the partners were able to emotionally support and be present for the women in ways that their previous husbands and China family are unable to do:

> I left for South Africa when my son was only 8 years old and it's been about 20 years since I've left. I also only lived with my previous husband for about 8 years too. I've been with my current boyfriend for about 20 years already, so if we are looking at this from a feeling's perspective, we definitely have much deeper feelings for each other. As if we are a married couple. We are there for each other and support each other (Interviewee 8).

Despite viewing their relationship with their partners as one built on mutual affection, trust and support and expressing the desire to continue with this arrangement into the foreseeable future, the participants still demonstrated strong Confucian family values. None of the women's partners were divorced. The participants expressed no expectation of wanting their partners to divorce their China spouses. The women understood and respected the role their partners had as a husband and father to their China family and that they are the primary breadwinner for their China family. However, in addition to this, there seems to be an element of fear and reluctance to discuss the topic of divorce with their partners further highlighting the hierarchy present in tradition Chinese Confucian families:

> I don't ever ask my partner to divorce his wife. I don't expect him too either. He needs to provide for his wife and his children. If he chooses to divorce his wife, it must come from him and not because I pushed him to. I'm also scared that he'll get upset with me and so I don't ask (Interviewee 2).

Over the years, they have invested significant amount of time, affection and commitment into the relationship, making it difficult for them to return back to China to their respective families. WFB becomes difficult to achieve and maintain, as a result of the strengthening bonds between the production couple creating more distance between the participant and China family.

The length of separation also resulted in familial bonds becoming distant and may deteriorate over time, changing the nature of the relationships between the participants and the family they've left behind, as shown by the quote below:

> My husband and I have been separated for many years now and I suppose over time we have grown a part. We live separate lives and don't pry too much into what each other's lives are like. This is the same with my partner and his wife. She actually encourages him to stay in South Africa. She just wants the financial support (Interviewee 4).

Another participant shared similar sentiments and when asked if divorce was ever considered or discussed, the participant said no. The woman shared that she felt guilt towards her husband because of the long-term separation and not being able to support each other as cohabitating spouses could. She also wanted to have a complete family and did not want to cause her children any stress:

> I won't really have any opinion/thought if he is the one to suggest the divorce, but I will never be the one to bring it, because I feel I many ways sorry for him. I also don't really want to know what he gets up to in China. Firstly, I feel sorry towards him and secondly, it's for my children. I wanted them to have a complete family, even though they are already married, but I didn't want them to have to choose between mom's home and dad's home (Interviewee 3).

The participants did express regret for the prolonged separation and expressed that they would like to reunite with their respective families back in China. However, they had no plans to do so in the near future not only because of the production couple arrangement, but because they had successfully adapted to South African culture:

> We, at our age, already don't have the opportunity to go back to China in this lifetime, because if I go back, there'll be so much that I won't be able to know how to do, because I'm no longer accustomed to being there (Interviewee 2).

Similarly, some participants shared that they would like to continue operating the clothing factory until retirement and have expressed no immediate desire to sell the factory and move back. Moving back to China meant that they would have to give up their only source of income, compromising their ability to provide for themselves and their family:

> I won't be able to go back home and find a new job. I still have to think about my daughter and my son. They are still young, and I need to provide for them, so I am going to stay here and keep working until I think I have enough financial stability and then I'll move back home (Interviewee 2).

Additionally, participants own and operate successful factories. They have accumulated both human capital and social capital that allows them to live a better life in South Africa but gives them the opportunity to continuously support and exchange resources with their China family. Participants have finally settled into their lifestyles in South Africa

and the resources they have accumulated here are unlikely to be transferrable to China due to over saturation in the clothing and textile industry in China. The age of the participants also reduces the likelihood of them finding employment back home:

> I don't want to sell my factory and move back to China. We are doing really well here. We are thinking of even expanding our factory. We have finally become successful enough to buy a second factory. I cannot move back. There'll be nothing for me to do there. I am getting older as well what am I going to do when I go back? Would you hire an old auntie like me? (laughs) (Interviewee 7).

Upon further analysis of the data, it was also found that participants that had invested in property expressed a weaker desire to move back to China:

> We've (the couple) already made it this far and I've also already bought a house, expanded our factory and our careers has finally stabilised, so I definitely am reluctant to just leave it all behind. I've also bought a house, so I'm definitely reluctant (Interviewee 8).

In contrast, only one participant expressed an immediate desire to move back to China. The participant was able to accumulate skill sets that others were not exposed to and managed to differentiate their factory from others. The more human capital the participant develops the more likely they are to succeed in their businesses leading to increased likelihood of achieving work-family balance. The skills she developed and honed allowed her to achieve significant success and she has saved enough for her retirement which meant that she could afford to retire in China:

> The type of clothing I make is also different, I make fashionable clothing, which is not easy. Not anyone can just make it, it's quite difficult and that's why I need to make better arrangements. I may only have one production line, but no one else can make more money than I do. At the time I could make millions. Around the third year, I made millions… Towards the end, I made about four to five million a year which I keep and also send back to China. That's why I am okay with not wanting to work anymore because I have enough money saved (Interviewee 1).

Finally, participants have grown attached to South Africa. They refer to South Africa as their second home. The only issue they have with South Africa is the crime rates and lack of government support:

> We've also lived here for about 20 years now. I have also developed an attachment to this country. It's become my second home. I keep thinking that everything is great about South Africa, except the crime. It's true. I feel that I'm used to living here since it's been 20 years (Interviewee 8).

Theme 2: Transnational care practices used to remain filial

The following transnational care responsibilities were practiced by the women, the use of ICT, planning return visits back to China along with inviting family members to South Africa, and sending financial remittance to support the China family.

The use of ICT for extending care

Most participants had migrated to South Africa around a decade ago where communication technologies were not very developed, making international phone calls expensive. Familial relationships, particularly spousal relationships were negatively affected by the limited communication methods and high costs of making calls, resulting in infrequent contact and communication. The following extract from one participant's interview reflect the ways in which the limited forms of technology contributed to the deteriorating spousal relationship and highlighted the importance of acts of care needing to be reciprocal:

> I will tell you this, I am actually heartbroken over this. In the beginning, China had issued these telephone cards, these cards allowed us to make international calls. My husband has never called me once. I have been here for more than a decade and he's never given me a call (visibly upset). I have only received phone calls from my brother (tearing up) (Interviewee 3).

However, modern technology and social media platforms have improved the ways in which participants connect and communicate with their families at any time of day at very little cost. All participants had smartphones and used WeChat to communicate with their families on a daily basis. Using WeChat allowed them to feel present in their children and parents' lives. WeChat was a convenient tool that allowed the women to care for their children and to also be more involved with their lives by going through their recent posts and updates:

> We video call each other every day, or we send voice notes and messages on WeChat. We always ask each other if they've eaten or what they're doing, if they are taking enough rests and just chat about the family. I also ask about the family; what they're doing (Interviewee 6).

> I managed to maintain my relationship with my daughter by learning about what she's interested in. When we call each other or message each other, I always talk about those things. It also helps me feel connected to her (Interviewee 2).

Most participants expressed that video calls and sending voice notes were the preferred forms of communications. Having visual interactions and sending voice notes provided more emotion and depth to their communications.

Return visits

Return visits were often a way for participants to celebrate and be a part of significant family occasions, for example, some participants were able to meet their grandchildren for the first time. However, for the most part, return visits were a way for the women to compensate for their lack of physical presence in the family over the years and to become the mother to their children and daughter to their parents. Return visits were often tightly scheduled as they only had three weeks to visit family:

> For the first week, I'm typically trying to adjust to the time difference and then staying at home so that I can spend time with my parents. I have been away for so long, so I also need to see my extended family, my uncles etc. During the second week of my stay, I take my parents out shopping so I can buy them some new clothes and anything else I think they need and take them out to eat and do some sightseeing. I am their daughter, so I want to be able to spend time together with them and buy them whatever they need. It's tiring because of the tight schedule, but they are my parents and I only get to spend that time with them (Interviewee 2)

There is a lot of guilt and regret involved with leaving their aging parents behind in China and so participants concentrate on making more return trips and providing increased intensive, practical and tangible care as illustrated by the following extracts:

> I try to go back once a year, but when my mother was sick, I tried to go back more often because she was basically bed ridden for two and a half years. During those years I tried to go back as much as I could but otherwise it's guaranteed that I go back at least once a year (Interviewee 3).

Financial remittance

The women provided for their families, most often their children and parents, by sending home regular financial and material remittances. The women expressed feelings of "tremendous guilt" and "heartache" and explained that providing financial and material support was a way for them to express their love and filial duty to their China family:

> When we first came here, life was really hard, but I still made sure to send money back to my parents and my children, you know? I sent them most of money so that they could buy themselves nice things, clothes, food and also for my child's education. I felt so sorry for not being there and money is the only way I can support my children (Interviewee 4).

The financial transfer from these women to their China family plays a significant role in improving their children's socioeconomic mobility. The act of sending money back for their children also gave the parents the opportunity to advise their children on how that money should be spent, providing them the opportunity to *'guan'* (govern and care for) their children:

> I've already helped my son buy a house. I gave him R600 000. I also paid for everything when he got married. It was a couple hundred thousand. In the beginning, they didn't even want to buy a house, but I forced them to… buying a house is an important investment opportunity (Interviewee 1).

As seen from above, there are certain events that prompt significant gifts of money, such as having a marriage within the family and in some cases being able to send their children to prestigious universities or celebrating a birth. Only two women sent money back to invest in property, which was largely related to them having sons:

> We both (the couple) have sons which means our responsibilities are greater, so by the time we bought the houses and our families have become more stable, we were already 40 years old (Interviewee 8).

> I tell my son that if I had a daughter instead, it would have been way easier and cheaper. I was basically responsible for all of his expenses (Interviewee 1).

For the most part, financial remittances were used as an act of transnational care. Except in the case of Participant 1. Financial remittance was also used to invest in the receiving country so that she could eventually return back to China and live a comfortable life. Buying a house in China was a way for her to invest in her future in China. Due to her absence along with her husband not sharing the same financial objectives as her, she was not able to control how the money she sent back was being used.

> I was constantly sending my money back so that my husband could buy us a house, but there ended up being not even a drop of money left. He even ended up selling the house. When I went back, I didn't even a house to go back to. He accumulated a buttload of debt and I even helped pay off some of his debt when I went back. (Interviewee 1).

This lack of trust and communication ultimately led to the participant divorcing her husband:

> I stopped sending him money. When I went back, he was still in debt… I went back in 2002 with the intention of getting my house back and wanting a divorce and I left the divorce with nothing (Interviewee 1).

As time progressed, the need to send money decreased particularly when the participants children had grown up and started families or careers of their own:

> They (the family) don't really have any expectations because my children are married, and my mother has passed away. My brothers and sisters are also doing quite well and besides the conditions in China are much better. They are not in need of anything (Interviewee 3).

The factories owned by the production couples have all been operating for a number of years and have reached a state of stability and some have become fairly successful. In some cases, financial support was only provided in cases of emergency:

> I think it [standard of living] has improved, even if only by a little. They don't really need my money anymore… I used to send money back every month and now it's more like once every few months when I have money to spare. If my family ever runs into any problems, then I will definitely help in any way I can and send money back (Interviewee 2).

Families 'left behind' in the country of origin often expect financial remittance and providing financial support is an important part of being a "good and filial daughter". Most of the women shared a similar view and expressed that financial remittance was a small way for them to compensate for their lack of physical co-presence. There were only two exceptions, where both women expressed their families had no expectation of receiving any financial support:

> …my parents haven't reached the point where they need that support from me. They are still very healthy. They also have health insurance and Shanghai has better treatment available. They have health insurance and receive a pension which means that they don't need financial support. (Interviewee 8).

> They don't really need me to send any money back. I also have four brothers and I am the only daughter and so my parents don't need any financial support from me. My husband also looks after my daughter for me (Interviewee 5).

In this case, the financial and emotional needs of the China family are being fulfilled by siblings, placing less pressure on the women to send back money for the family. When probed further as to why they were not required to send financial remittance, both expressed

that their positions as daughters meant that their parents had very little expectation of them to provide for the family unlike their brothers:

> Men have a heavier responsibility to bring money in for the family. It's also a matter of pride for them and them not wanting to lose face (Interviewee 5).

In this sample, remittance tend to stop once parents have passed or when children get married and have become financially stable alleviating the pressure on the children's grandparents from having to look after them. Over time financial remittance no longer remained the primary form of transnational care. Filial piety and love were expressed in more tangible terms, such as through return visits, gifts and buying the China family everything they need during those visits.

Theme 3: Boundary management practices used by the women to maintain work-family balance

The women's stories indicated that production couples live highly integrated lifestyles. The lack of separation between the work and family domain, accentuated by many of them living in their factories, resulted in very long working hours, which ultimately affected the production couple's work-family balance. As a result of these challenges, the production couple utilise different styles of boundary management tactics that allowed the couple to create and manage the boundaries between work and family.

Adapting and manipulating physical boundaries

The women shared that living at the factory was a strategy that they employed to reduce the distance between work and home, so that they could maximise the amount of time spent at work. Most of the women prioritised work over their personal life, thus many preferred either living in the factory or in a separate attachment on the factory premises. One participant shared that living on the factory premises has given her the "gift of time" and that living so close to the factory has reduced her anxiety and stress as the closeness has allowed her to prioritise her role at work as well as her role at home:

> It is so much more convenient living on the factory premises. When work ends, you can go straight home to shower and rest because you'll have to get up early in the morning for work. Also, we are living by the factory, so we also don't have to wake up as early to get ready and open the factory… It's just more convenient because I don't have to drive anywhere. I can just easily walk around the corner and be at work or at home. It's just much easier (Interviewee 2)

Other women made a comparison between living on factory premises and living in a house away from the factory. One woman argued that the benefit of living by the factory greatly outweighed having to live at home. Similar to the previous participant, living close to the factory helped her better handle work to family interruptions because they could be dealt with almost immediately. This was particularly important when trying to meet tight deadlines:

> To be honest, I know a lot of people that have bought a house but still live in the factory. It's just more convenient. Even if you stay at home, you'll still get a lot of interruptions, and so that's why we choose to stay at the factory because that also means that we can quickly solve the problem instead of having to drive back and forth which just wastes time (Interviewee 3).

The women revealed that living on factory premises was a necessary sacrifice, however, they admitted that this arrangement reduced their quality of life and wellbeing. Living on the factory premises made it difficult for them to leave work at work, sharing that they were constantly on call and therefore having little time to relax:

> When you live and work at the same place it is extremely difficult to switch off, you know? There is no separation between my work and family life. It is exactly the same. When I am cooking, I will think about stuff that I haven't completed at work and then rush there to quickly complete it. There's no way for me stop thinking about work, even when I am at home (Interviewee 4).

Some participants viewed these interruptions as being unavoidable. They revealed feelings of helplessness. However, they felt that by prioritising their work and their responsibility to their family, those challenges could easily be overcome:

> I mean who doesn't want to spend their whole day playing and relaxing, but we don't have the capacity to do so. We don't have the capacity to live that kind of lifestyle, so we don't have a choice but to work hard, so we sometimes do feel helpless, but we don't view it as a challenge (Interviewee 3).

It was interesting to note that when the owners of the factories were asked about their preference for keeping work and family separated or integrated, all the women stated that they would prefer to have their work be separated. The owners explained that despite the convenience of living on the factory premises, they would still prefer living in a "house" away from the factory. Hence their ideal was very different to their reality. One respondent described the act of separating her home life from her work life as unattainable:

> I prefer having my work and home separated but because I live on the factory, it's really difficult to do so. When you are in this industry, it's just different. You can't keep itseparate even if you wanted to (Interviewee 6).

Similarly, other respondents described that such an integrated lifestyle is something they "can do nothing about" because the clothing and textile industry is labour intensive, profit margins are often low and CMT factories work under strict deadlines. All participants expressed that "the factory cannot survive if you don't do over time" and so the convenience of living on factory premises is often viewed as necessary in order to achieve business success.

However, three participants were able to invest in houses and lived separately from their factories, because of improved financially stability and factory success. They shared that after moving into the house, they were able to better segment their work and family domains:

> I feel like it's more relaxing when we live away from the factory, because when we get off work, we can relax. When it's work, it's work, but in the afternoon and it's time to get off work, I get in my car and go home and stop discussing work (Interviewee 7).

One participant decided to live on the factory premises during the week and live at home on weekends. The convenience of living on the factory premises during the week gave the couple the opportunity to better supervise and manage their workers and then living at home on the weekends allowed them to find respite by removing themselves from the place of work and stress:

> We only live in our house on Friday, Saturdays and Sundays because we have to work over time Mondays through Thursdays. We are also owners, so it is important for us to be present and be able to assist any workers that may have any questions or issues when manufacturing the clothes. Then on weekends we can just use for ourselves and I can sometimes go to the hair salon and my partner does his own thing too (Interviewee 8).

These quotes illustrate that manipulating and adapting physical boundaries allowed participants to better cope with the demands of the clothing factory, such as the long working hours and constant over time. However, their ability to negotiate the desired distance between work and home depends on factors such as financial capacity, and so their choice of a physical boundary tactic is not necessarily in line with their preference.

Using support from others

Siblings were the most frequently cited source of support particularly when it came to

caring for aging parents. In addition, the participants parents and spouses were also mentioned as instrumental in helping with child rearing on behalf of the participants. The participants reported how relying on family members to look after children and aging parents reduced the burden and guilt of not being able to be physically present. Participants use their work as a strategy for care and exchanging resources thus, relying on the family network meant that they could prioritise their work role in order to support the family:

> His paternal grandmother. His gran only passed after attending his wedding. I was so busy and didn't have time. My husband's mom was retired and then his father retired to look after my son. This meant I could focus on my career and I sent them money to help look after my son too (Interviewee 1).

> I don't have to stress about the wellbeing of my parents too much because I have my older brother and sister there to help look after my parents. I am very grateful towards them, you know. I do still visit and help out when I can to remain filial, but having my siblings there is a great comfort (Interviewee 8).

As mentioned, the primary purpose for becoming a production couple is to start a factory. An important part of this is because of the division of labour and finding someone trustworthy and dependable. Participants trusted their partners and relied on each other. Operating a factory together with their partner meant that they could communicate expectations and frustrations with ease. Furthermore, working together allowed them to integrate their work and family roles which helped participants cope with the demands of work, because both partners could share and understand each other's burdens from work:

> I actually feel that being in this type of relationship works in our favour in comparison to others not in this type of this relationship. For example, there are times when we have said hurtful things to each other, but we are willing to forgive each other, but if you're simply just colleagues and something like this occurs, that person will most likely hold a very negative opinion about you. We have better understanding of each other and at the end of the day they will ask you things like, why did you behave or say something like that today. They'll just tell you and that's why the communication is better (Interviewee 3).

> There are some challenges with working with each other, but you know what, we are able to support each other and help each other. We can share our burdens and also it makes work easier. If he doesn't know something, I can help him and if I don't know something, he helps me (Interviewee 4).

Some participants do argue that the majority of the work is done by them because they often have more in-depth knowledge on the business operations, thus playing an

important role when it comes to decision making. It seemed that when it came to the business operations, the participants' partners were more reliant on them

> I make the decisions at work (laughs) because I have more knowledge and understanding of what goes on in the factory. He doesn't manage the production line and so when it comes to things like production, he doesn't know enough to make the correct decisions (Interviewee 6).

One participant shared that due to the Covid-19 pandemic, her husband got sick so she forbid him from coming into the factory. The participant was able to successfully manage the factory on her own. This suggests that once the women become accustomed to South Africa and operating the established business, they are capable of working on their own:

> I have been at the factory all day, but my husband stopped coming into work. I don't let him come in. I pretty much manage everything in this factory. I get the orders and everything in this factory is managed by me. My husband used to handle the financials, but I do that now too. It's very exhausting but it just has to be done (Interviewee 7).

All the women started the factory together with their partner and split the initial investment in half. Relying on their partner for support meant that women could become more work centric and take part in making business decision together, however, the women were more passive when it came to asserting themselves as the primary leader:

> Would you say you are the boss of the business?
>
> Generally speaking, no. The workers view me as being the boss but to other people I'm just the person in charge of management and help manage other managers. He is still the boss (Interviewee 7).

Another participant explained:

> Maybe because I am more traditional, but I think the man should still be seen as the primary person in charge because you know, he is the man of the house (Interviewee 4).

The above extracts suggest that while the women participants use the support of their partner to improve the ways in which they work and meet work demands, due to their cultural expectations, they may perceive their contributions as secondary, and do not view themselves as the boss despite having more business acumen in comparison to their partners.

Another source of support that the participants identified in relation to their domestic and care roles was from paid domestic help:

> We have a domestic worker that does most of the house chores. We just have to cook, otherwise everything else is done by the domestic worker… My partner and I alternate when it comes to cooking (Interviewee 3).

Due to the nature of their work and the long hours they are required to be at work, household duties were not seen as important.

> We don't really worry about that [household work] because we have a domestic worker that cleans and does most of the household duties. We can just ask one of the workers to go up and clean, mop the floors, wash the clothes etc. We can call them anytime (Interviewee 5).

The above extracts illustrate how having the support of their domestic workers enables the women to prioritise their work demands and not have to worry about domestic responsibilities and duties.

Selective communication and keeping secrets

Frequent communication and check-ins were an important strategy that all participants employed to ensure that strong familial bonds were maintained with their China families. Certain omissions or secrets were kept from their daily video calls and messages so as to not make their China family worry about the hardships they were experiencing. At the beginning, the women struggled to adapt to South African culture and (Black) the people, but particularly the working and living conditions:

> When I first came, I think it was in the first eight months where he would just lock me inside. I didn't go out at all (sighs). I mean it is in the past and I have let bygones be bygones, but it was really difficult… I didn't have a choice, I needed to survive here. Since I am already here in this country, I need to make a living. I don't have a choice, right? You can't just give up and run back home, right? I never told my family about this when they called. You have to endure it alone, only then will you have hope (Interviewee 6).

This act of keeping a secret protected the family back home from feelings of guilt and sense of obligation that cannot be fulfilled (Baldassar, 2015). In addition, the women withheld information about them becoming a production couple.

While the women stated that the production couple arrangement was accepted in Newcastle, "They are accepting because you enter into this arrangement for the sake of

making a living" (Interviewee 1), it was considered to be taboo in China. Accordingly, most participants decided to hide their relationship from their China family. Many women therefore experienced much anxiety thinking about how their parents and partners would react to the information. However, they shared that they withheld this information from their family out of respect and not wanting to disappoint their parents, as becoming a production couple would be perceived as a sign of disrespect and rejection of the values instilled by their parents, and to their commitment to their spouse:

> We don't tell anyone in the beginning, because none of us were divorced then. I was also scared that my parents would be angry that I've gone out and found someone which is why we were very secretive about this in the beginning. I didn't want to disappoint my parents (Interviewee 8).

> He [spouse] knows that I have the factory, but nothing else is shared with the family. We don't speak much about anything else. Sigh, how do I say this, we don't talk much about the other things and we won't ask either. We both don't ask one another those questions and we also don't want to know (Interviewee 6).

When probed further, she went on to further explain that despite production couples being common practice in Newcastle, she chooses to not share that with her husband because:

> He won't be as understanding as the people here because they are very traditional. China is far more traditional and conservative with their beliefs and they won't be understanding. That is why I don't tell them anything (Interviewee 6).

Interestingly, many women shared that both themselves and their spouses did not inquire or ask any questions related to one another's relationships. One participant expressed that "chances are the spouse also has their girlfriend in China" (Interviewee 1).

There were also times when keeping the secrets became difficult, particularly when family members visited South Africa. For example, one participant had her daughter visit and stay with her. While she wanted wanted to keep it a secret by avoiding the topic and making sure she and her partner did not behave in a way that would suggest they were in a relationship, she also wanted to seek her daughter's approval and hear how her daughter felt about it:

> I did ask my daughter and her husband what they thought about me. My daughter responded saying, Mom, people nowadays aren't stupid or ignorant, there's no need for you to say anything and no need to ask (Interviewee 3).

This quote suggests that the family in China may be aware of the production couple arrangement. However, in order to maintain filial piety and their marriages, the China families choose to remain oblivious, and the couple chooses to avoid informing their families of their arrangement.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to gain deep insight into the relatively unknown work-family balance experiences of women in production couples in Newcastle, South Africa. This study aimed to understand how the women in production couple arrangements experienced working and living in South Africa and how being a transnational migrant has affected their ability to maintain a sense of familyhood with their China family. The findings of this study suggest that the women are confronted with the unique challenges of having to live in a culturally different country and have developed unique strategies to ensure their survival and having their primary goal of supporting their family met. Moreover, the findings have indicated the strategies used by the women are dynamic and may change over time depending on the number of resources and capital they are able to accumulate greatly impacting on their ability to achieve WFB through satisfying cross-domain demands. The research also aimed to understand how the boundary management/ boundary work tactics the women adopt help them cope with this long-term separation from their China family. Findings revealed that again, the tactics they use are dynamic and the strategies they use may not necessarily align with their preferred strategy. This discussion section begins with offering explanations for the results of the study both through comparisons with prior literature as well as speculations for sense-making. These interpretations will be presented in four main sections, motivation for improved resources to achieve WFB, the typology of transnational family and its effect on WFB, transnational care practices, filial piety and gendered expectations and finally, boundary management strategies. This is followed by a description of the study's theoretical contribution, implications for practice and the limitations and recommendations for future research.

Motivation for improved resources to achieve WFB

Social capital in the form of social networks has been found to assist with the process of starting up an entrepreneurial business venture in a foreign country (Katila & Wahlbeck, 2011). Marriage to local spouses and relying on other established transnational networks were often used as an integration strategy into the local labour market as the connections to benefit the business (Katila, 2010; Katila & Wahlbeck, 2011). The production couple is a

form of copreneurship as well as a type of migrant entrepreneur. Consistent with both copreneurship and migrant entrepreneurs, trust and reliability is an integral part of the working relationship where spouses and partners are able to share business related knowledge and other forms of material and emotional support (Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002; Katila, 2010; Nimeshi, 2018) tend to perceive their diasporic spouses as being the most affordable, trustworthy and reliable forms of labour (Mukejord, 2017), thus having met their partners working under the same factory, the couple were able to establish a trustworthy and reliable relationship prior to starting the business. In this way, the production couple configures the migrant women's process of discovering and acting on opportunities in the market. By relying on each other's complimentary skill set and contributions, the likelihood of establishing a successful factory increases. This finding is consistent with previous literature that found relying on existing social networks, such as family and friends is a common practice found among Chinese migrant entrepreneurs (Katila & Wahlbeck, 2011). The migrants also depend on their network to help finance their business venture (Katila & Wahlbeck, 2011). Thus, the decision to becoming a production couple can also be attributed to the fact that the couple can rely on each other to split the start-up capital of the factory, reducing their financial burden. In doing so, they are also able to avoid taking out loans from South African banks and other loan sharks where trustworthiness may be an issue.

Like copreneurs, the motivation to become a production couple involved wanting to gain more agency and most importantly, earn a better living (Jurik et al., 2016; Krizikova et al., 2014). This study showed that one of the most noticeable differences between the copreneur and production couple is that this type of arrangement is sometimes used as a personal survival strategy alongside a business one. The Chinese community often cite crime as one the biggest challenges that threaten their livelihood (Chen et al., 2010). Media reports show that Chinese communities are being targeted for robbery and kidnapping (Bega, 2020; Mthethwa, 2020) which suggests that these crimes are not necessarily due to xenophobia, but rather based on the assumption that Chinese citizens are wealthy due to them occupying a number of successful business enterprises throughout South Africa. Just recently in Newcastle, a clothing factory owner was stabbed to death and his wife in critical condition in the ICU due to an attempted robbery (Boucher, 2020). These brutal robberies are not new to the community. Therefore, the women also used their relationship and their partner as a form of protection. Having a man beside them gave the women a sense of security.

Finally, becoming a production couple ensured that the participants would be able to be in a better position to provide for their China family. The women are using this

arrangement to further their own ends, which include business co-ownership resulting in kinship benefits through financial remittance. Furthermore, this type of relationship allowed the women to engage in more frequent resource exchange beyond financial remittance, such as regular and frequent return visits to their China family. Thus, the primary motivation behind becoming a production couple is accumulate resources and becoming integrated in to the South African labour market in hopes of providing consistent and reliable resource exchange that satisfy cross-domain demands, such as improving the lives of their China family. Becoming a production couple helped the women reinforce familial ties and maintain a higher level of perceived WFB.

The typology of the transnational family and WFB

As Cho and Allen (2019) proposed, the dimensions making up the typology of transnational families influenced the degree of difficulty in resource exchange, which in turn affects the individual's capacity to satisfy cross domain demands and their ability to perceive work-family balance. The participants level of integration was influenced by length of separation, capacity to accumulate human capital as well as the social support needed to adapt to living in a foreign country. Ultimately, these dimensions impacted on the participants' decision to return to their China family affecting familial ties.

Cho and Allen (2019) proposed that feelings of isolation and loneliness would be more prominent and severe among transnational employees that have migrated to a foreign country culturally dissimilar to the country of origin. Migrating to another country to find better employment opportunities is known to be a great challenge and tends to increase the emotional burden of transnational workers (Carrasco, 2010). Cultural and language barriers increase the challenges transnational migrants are confronted with and further limit the mobility of the migrant negatively impacting on their wellbeing (Park, 2010; Stodolska et al., 2020). Thus, the feelings of loneliness and guilt associated with the inability to financially provide for their China family described participants can be attributed to the cultural and contextual differences between China and South Africa.

Consistent with the findings of Stodolska and colleagues (2020) study on Korean mothers' experiences in America, where the women shared a similar strategy of relying on established Chinese networks as a way for them to adapt and integrate into their community. Furthermore, joining established ethnic networks can help transnational individuals retain their cultural identity and reduce acculturation stress (Lee & Stodolska, 2017). The separation from their husbands and family meant that the comfort and feeling a sense of belonging relied

partly on these networks. The production couple arrangement was also a strategy used by the women to overcome the length of separation and geographical separation between themselves and their China families. For most women, finding a boyfriend was necessary to open a factory, but also necessary for their emotional wellbeing. Similar to the Xia Nanyang migrants (Chen, 2015), all of the participants travelled to South Africa alone. Entering into this type of temporary familial arrangement was a strategy to help the participants integrate into society. The relationship can be described as an openly kept secret, providing the participants with a sense of security, connection and companionship while attempting to adjust to the geographical, social and emotional displacement (Xiao, 2011). A notable difference between the production couple and the Xia Nanyang migrants, is the role the girlfriend or 'second wife' adopts. The participants were not mere decorations or status symbols to their partners (So, 2003), but active contributors to the jointly owned clothing factory. Rather than depending solely on their partners, the production couple relationship is one that is mutually beneficial. Additionally, employer support played an important role in shaping the experiences of the women.

The extent to which they are able to adapt is to a large extent dependent on their relationship with their employer. Participants who were vulnerable and exploited by their employers while being subjected to poor working conditions and low pay find it harder to settle in (Kaur et al., 2010). Having employer support meant that they were able to better meet work-related demands and experience improved performance with the guidance of their employer (Bahn, 2015). Furthermore, the work-setting and the employer often become the first substantive contact between the migrant and the host culture, thus the relationship they have with their employer and work can impact on how the migrant adapts to the new country (Van Tonder & Soontiens, 2013). A good relationship with an employer often meant that they adjusted fairly quickly and could engage in transnational care practices, such as planning return visits and sending financial remittance since the beginning. However, similar to perceived organisational support and norm of reciprocity (Eisenberger et al., 2001), participants that had a good relationship with their employers displayed strong work ethics and desire to learn and in return their employers would respond with better treatment of the worker and benefits, such as return flights and promotions. Thus, establishing a good relationship with their employer resulted in increased opportunities for resource exchange between the participant and China family, thereby improving their WFB.

It is interesting to note that the factors affecting the participant's level of WFB is dynamic and evolved as their stay in South Africa was prolonged. Over time, experiences of

attachment to South Africa, is a prominent finding in this study as participants brought attention to the anxieties and reluctance, they experienced with not wanting to move back to China despite feelings of guilt towards their family. These findings support the hypotheses proposed by Cho and Allen (2019) which state that length of separation, working in a foreign country and level of human capital are factors that influence the return migration intention which affects the maintenance of WFB amongst transnational employees. Migrants maintain familial ties and relationships with their left behind family in the country of origin through regular visits, ICT communication and financial remittance as ways to leverage their eventual reintegration at home (Kandilige, 2017). However, as their stay lengthens over time, the migrant's willingness and readiness to return may change.

Over time, migrants are likely to experience two forms of integration that can affect their intention to return. Sociocultural integration and structural integration. Sociocultural integration has an impact on the migrant's intention to return. Sociocultural integration refers to the level of conformity to the dominant norms of host society; membership of various social networks, friendship and marriage; and feelings of belonging expressed in terms of adherence to the local and national cultural identity (King and Skeldon, 2010). The production couple like migrant entrepreneurs that had convenience marriages to locals, experiences the benefit of assimilating in the culture at a faster rate and the migrant is further helped in establishing a position in the labour market (eg., Dribe & Lundh, 2008; Ellis et al., 2006; Meng & Meurs, 2009).

Upon arrival, production couples like low-skilled migrants were subject to poor working condition and low wages affecting their ability to send financial remittance, negatively impacting on their WFB (Kagan et al., 2011; Kaur et al., 2010). However, over time through sociocultural integration participants were able to accumulate human capital in the form of managing the production line and communicating with workers, social capital such as the relationship with their partner and finally achieving structural integration such as their factory and homes. In contrast to previous studies that found an insignificant relationship between structural integration and intention to return (Anniste & Tammaru, 2014; De Haas & Fokkema, 2011; De Haas et al., 2015), opening a factory and for some participants investing in houses were important factors that reduced their willingness to return.

According to a study by Mensah (2014), some of the biggest challenges faced by returnees is the shock of the rapid change that has occurred in their country of origin and the greatest challenge in settling and reintegrating back into the host society related to difficulty

finding employment opportunities. This fear was replicated within the sample, if the women were to sell their factory and move back there is no guarantee for them to find employment back in China, which meant that they could no longer provide support for their families, particularly those with younger children. The skill set acquired by the women are easily transferrable to the Chinese clothing and textile industry, however their age and the oversaturated clothing and textile industry market significantly reduces their likelihood for getting hired. Secondly, the chances of them being able to open a successful factory in China are low, thus, the women are not willing to give up their livelihood that they have established in South Africa. Coming to South Africa to find work was a livelihood strategy for these participants, establishing their own business with their partner allows them to continuously support and provide for their families. Over the years, the accumulation of human and social capital allowed participants to repeatedly satisfy cross-domain demands by successfully improving their China families' livelihood, achieving WFB.

The findings of the study outlining the motivations of the production couple coming to South Africa are consistent with previous studies on women migration that explored how women have been renegotiating their position and role in the family, challenging the breadwinner ideology traditionally being ascribed to men (eg., Hofman & Buckley; Tungohan, 2013). However, the social networks and their partners they rely on come from the same ethnic background, which can be used to reinforce traditional Chinese family values and gendered cultural expectations (Stodolska et al., 2020). Traditional Confucian values follow a patriarchal nature and view the role of husband and father as being the primary breadwinner and are expected to provide financial resources (Yang, 2012).

Contemporary Chinese women have played contradictory roles: independent and self-reliant women, and supporters of men and caretakers of families (Chang, 2020). This could explain why the sample despite being independent and self-reliant, still hold their partners position as husband and father to their China wives as important acknowledging the gendered expectations placed on their partner. Additionally, the anxiety the women experience around the topic of divorce and discussing the future of the production couple arrangement, alludes to a power imbalance resembling traditional patriarchal relationships of the past. In ancient China, when a wife disobeyed or lost her husband's favour, she may be discarded or spend the remainder of her life in loneliness and misery (Mak, 2013; Tang, 1995). Although not to this extreme, perhaps it was not that the women did not have expectations of their partners to divorce their China wives but rather being afraid to voice these sentiments in hopes of maintaining a harmonious relationship. The future of the production couple arrangement has

a significant impact on the women's decision to stay in South Africa, and this decision is often determined by the women's partner. Thus, the level of sociocultural integration, particularly the production couple arrangement reduces return migration intention. More importantly, the future of this arrangement also has an impact on the ability of the women to continue cross-border flow of financial and emotional resources which in turn affects the maintenance of WFB.

The length of separation helped the women establish successful joint businesses and gave the participants the opportunity to enter the production couple arrangement which helped them develop social capital that not only integrated women into the labour market but also satisfy their emotional demands. However, in some cases, the length of separation resulted in the deterioration of family relationships (Carling et al., 2012; Mazzucato & Dito, 2018). According to Skrbiš (2008), transnational families are like rubber bands, which can be stretched and pulled back into its original form, however, over time the further the rubber brand stretches, it becomes more fragile and eventually breaks. Similarly, transnational family relationships and sense of familyhood requires a lot of hard work and emotional labour. The lack of physical presence over time can diminish the frequency of both emotional and financial resource exchange, furthermore, the reciprocity of trust between spouses and / or family members can fade resulting in the dissolution of family ties (Gentry & Mittelstaedt, 2010). It is evident that the ability of the migrant to achieve WFB through resource exchange is greatly influenced by the location of the sending country, the level and type of human and capital accumulated and how well the migrant has integrated in to the sending country.

Transnational care practices, filial piety and gendered expectations

Transnational families are becoming increasingly more common as a result of globalisation, stringent migration policies that make it difficult for families to migrate together and various other factors (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011). Transnational families challenge the predominant view that families are nuclear and bound by physical co-presence by providing unique and diverse perspectives on family practices and relationships being done across transnational geographical boundaries (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011; Reynolds & Zontini, 2014). The women tried to fulfill their care obligations towards their aging parents, children and spouses through practices such as sending financial remittance, relying on ICT communication and planning return visits.

Transnational caregiving practices often stem from cultural values, such as filial responsibility; however, filial piety has traditionally been explored from the lens of sons and

daughters providing financial support, serving and caring for their parents while living together (Ho & Chiang, 2017; Lin & Yi, 2011). The experiences of the sample and the ways in which they negotiate their transnational care practices challenge the notion that ideal acts of filial piety can only occur when families live together or close by, further emphasising that geographical distance and separation should not be viewed as a barrier to families having close and strong familial relationships.

Return visits to China play an important role in upholding and improving familial relationships across geographic distance. In the case of this study, return visits were the main form of transnational care used to fulfill filial obligations. Consistent with previous literature on transnational care (eg., Baldassar, 2014; Vathi, 2015; Wilding & Baldassar, 2009) return visits allow the participants to have physical co-presence among their China family while sharing the experiences and memories made while being apart. These visits come in different forms, such as holidays, temporary stays and in some cases these visits are used to explore the possibility of return migration (Bivand, 2014). The participants used their return visits as a way for them to fulfill their obligations as daughter, mother and wife. Thus, return visits were often characterised by busy schedules meeting with different family members and taking parents shopping where gifts symbolise filial piety, love and care. Return visits allowed the participants to reduce the amount of guilt experienced because of their decision to migrate and leave their families behind. The guilt associated with their sacrifice are often exacerbated by the gendered expectations where daughters, instead of financial support, are expected to adopt the role of primary caregiver to their parents and in-laws (Feldman et al., 2007). Thus, return visits were also a strategy to fulfill these cultural expectations by meeting their parent's caregiving needs. In contrast, levels of guilt associated with the lack of physical presence when engaging in care practices were lower when siblings were available to care for parents in their absence (Wilding & Baldassar, 2009).

Sending remittance is a practice commonly found among migrants with family members living in the home country. Transnational money has been referred to as "special money which acts as the medium of care and belonging across the physical and cultural distance of national borders" (Singh et al., 2012, p. 487). Financial remittances were a way for the participant to provide practical support (Cuban, 2015). The act of sending financial remittance was found to be particularly important for rural-urban migration (Porst & Sakdapolrack, 2020). Similarly, participants were mostly from rural villages, thus financial remittance was not only about providing practical support and care, but about increasing their children upward mobility and opportunity for marriage. An important part of achieving WFB

is ensuring that the resources being exchanged are able to meet the demands associated with work and family roles (Voydanoff, 2005). Financial remittance was an important resource for the participants because the remittance was used to satisfy the demands of their role as parent. Fulfilling their obligation as a parent helped participants achieve WFB. Similar to prior literature on gendered expectations with regards to Chinese marriage traditions, greater financial burden was placed on participants with sons (Chen & Tong, 2021).

In contemporary China, owning a house is often seen as a prerequisite for getting married. Women place great emphasis on the financial resources and assets men own while also paying attention to the location of the property and where the men's parents live when searching for a prospective husband (Jiang et al., 2015). The groom's family are required to bear majority of wedding and marriage related expenses, thus, placing more pressure on the participants to send financial remittance for their sons. The motivation to come to South Africa is to find better employment opportunities for the sake of wanting to provide a better for their left behind family. For some participants, that meant providing a better future for their children. Coming to South Africa was a way for participants to increase their resources, knowing that the money they worked for was able to contribute towards their children, particularly their son's marriage and future made them feel their sacrifice was worthy. The perception that the resources were able to satisfy cross domain demands of both the migrant and their family, meant that WFB is achieved.

However, not all participants were expected to provide financial support. The expectation to provide financial support was placed on the participant's brothers. These basic findings are consistent with the traditional gendered expectation parents have in the Chinese cultural context. Having a son in China requires greater financial support due to the patriarchal system, valuing sons more (Yeh et al., 2013). This could be seen as a family strategy adopted by the women to satisfy cross-domain demands. A common strategy an employee uses to improve WFB is to rely on or receive spouse and kin support (Gudmunson et al., 2009; Voydanoff, 2005). Therefore, the participants sense of obligation to care can be influenced by the gender of their siblings left behind. Not having to send financial remittance greatly reduces the burden felt by participants, leading them to prioritise other forms of transnational care that played a more significant role in fulfilling filial obligations, such as return visits and gifts.

The ways in which the receiving family members used the financial remittance was not extensively explored. As previously discussed, migrants send financial remittance as a form of transnational care, for children's educations, weddings and in some cases repayment

of debt. However, the migrant experiences difficulty in fully knowing if the left-behind family has used the financial remittance in the way the migrant intended (Ashraf et al., 2015). For many migrant families, the financial remittance becomes the main form of household income, leading to family members becoming reliant on the money being sent home. The information asymmetries as a result of the migrant's absence and geographical separation makes it difficult for migrants to know if the financial remittances are being used for their intended purposes (Ashraf et al., 2015). The reason for the deterioration and divorce can be explained by the misalignment between the intended use of the financial remittance and what it is actually being used for. This finding was consistent with Chen's (2015) study on Chinese migrants where the battle between having to constantly send money back and not have their own needs met by their family resulted in feelings of disappointment and distrust, which ultimately led to divorce. Therefore, when the resources being exchanged are not able to benefit both parties, in this case having the migrants demands be ignored, the migrant is unlikely to experience WFB (Cho & Allen, 2019).

Boundary management strategies

The study identified integration as a boundary management strategy for most women, which was enabled by the highly permeable and flexible physical boundaries between home and work, as well as the thin work-family boundaries that are often attributable to entrepreneurship. Most of the women lived with their partners on their factory premises, resulting in very little separation between the place of business and home. This highly integrated living situation between work and home can be described as boundarylessness, where the boundaries between the domains have become virtually non-existent or absent (Ezzedeen & Zikic, 2017).

Integrative work life arrangements can help individuals balance their work and family roles and responsibilities as the integration between the domains allowed for easier transitions and exchange of resources (Allen et al., 2014). The participants were found to employ physical tactics, such as adapting and manipulating the physical distance between their work and family life by reducing the distance between the work and home. This resulted in easier transitioning between their roles and responsibilities. Contrary to the findings of previous research by Sun et al. (2020) and Li et al. (2013) both of which suggested that integration and permeable boundaries are not conducive to achieving balance, the findings of this study revealed that the "boundarylessness" created positive spillover effects into the work and family domains allowing more time for relaxation and sleep. The women primarily

adopted work-identity centrality, prioritising their work roles and responsibilities (Kossek et al., 2012). Accordingly, living on the factory premises gave participants more time to prioritise their work.

The women's strong work-identity centrality, prioritising work above their own personal lives, working long hours and thinking about work after working hours (Ammons, 2013; Kossek & Lautsch, 2012) together with their motivation for opening a factory to provide financial support for their China family, meant that they perceived work-family conflict as 'normal' and perceived it as a necessary sacrifice to provide for their family (Zhang et al., 2012). Additionally, working in the highly labour intensive clothing and textile industry encouraged this level of embeddedness, where over time is a necessity to ensure business survival, working seven days a week and having to constantly check-up on workers when rushing to meet deadlines. Given that the participants placed greater salience on their work roles, the boundaries surrounding their family and life domains were more flexible and permeable. This suggests that the integration strategy is imposed on the participant as a result of the work demands and transnational family expectations. Thus, the integration strategy resulted in the participants experience a number of challenges. The lack of spatial separation between their work and home life resulted in vague temporal boundaries leading to feelings of restlessness, anxiety and being overwhelmed affecting their capacity to balance work and family. Similar to the findings of Sun et al. (2020) on guesthouse owners that also live on the guesthouse property, having no spatial boundaries was negatively related to the perception of work-family balance. The participants recognized and acknowledged the strain this lifestyle caused and expressed that this was not necessarily sustainable, however, they were not in a position to change and live a more relaxed lifestyle.

In contrast, some participants were able to invest in a house separate from their factory premises in response to wanting to enact their preferred boundary management strategy, segmentation. According to Mellner et al., (2014), a person's ability to enact their preferred boundary depends on the opportunities, constraints and the demands of the environment the individual is operating in. Thus, participants that were able to segment their work and home were ones that had established highly successful factories and were able to save enough money to afford a separate home. Additionally, this finding confirms the findings of previous work-family literature that posit boundary management strategies as dynamic and individual's boundary management preference may change over time and depending on context (Ammons, 2013; Hecht & Allen, 2009; Wattis et al., 2013). Manipulating physical boundaries by increasing the distance between work and home

allowed participants to engage in other forms of boundary work tactics, such as temporal tactics, finding respite by removing themselves from the factory and work demands, especially on the weekends.

Behavioural tactics were also identified as a strategy for participants to better manage the roles and responsibilities in their work and family domains. In the home and family domain, this study revealed that relying on hired domestic help for household duties and extended family networks for child rearing and transnational care, allowed participants to successfully prioritise their work roles. Contrary to the findings of Gudeta and van Engen (2017), the study did not find their hired domestic workers contributing to increased interruptions and boundary incongruence. This could potentially be attributed to the fact that the hired help used by the participants were in fact factory workers and because of the living premises being on factory premises, supervising the domestic workers could be done with little interruption. Secondly, because the participants spent most of their hours in the factory, household responsibilities were deemed unimportant and kept to a minimum by both parties giving precedence to their work. This was surprising, considering the literature on copreneurship which posits that division of labour at home is gendered, even more so than at work (eg., Jurik et al., 2016; Krizikova et al., 2014).

Secondly, relying on parents for child rearing and siblings for caring for aging parents meant that participants could psychologically separate the work and family roles (Gudeta, 2018). These tactics are aimed at creating some psychological separation between the child-care responsibilities, filial piety obligations and work demands. Enlisting the support of the extended family meant that the women could worry less about factors such as whether their children are being looked after appropriately or not being able to return back to China in cases of emergency (segmenting psychologically). In addition to this, having extended family support and care for the children in their place was an act of physical segmentation. Doing so, gave women the opportunity to prioritise their role as migrant entrepreneur and continue to successfully support and care for the family through transnational care practices. Third, relying on their partner is another form of behavioural tactic. Given the level of embeddedness of their work and family roles, working with their partner facilitated the level of integration that the clothing and textile industry requires. Relying on each other meant that the couple could use each other to achieve their desired boundary management strategy that aligned with their work-centric identity.

One of the purposes of adopting a behavioural tactic such as using others for support is to share the workload and the decision-making process or being able to ‘cover’ for the

other under certain circumstances. One of the most notable differences between the production and copreneurship literature is that the women in the production couple held work-centric identities while their contribution to the business is acknowledged and understood to be integral to the success of the business roles that the women were responsible for often made them indispensable in comparison to their partners. Although challenging, the women were capable of operating the factory alone, particularly over time once the factory became established and the women became accustomed to South Africa. However, despite the women challenging the status quo of male primary breadwinners, very few viewed themselves as being the 'boss'. The hesitancy behind claiming the primary leadership role can be attributed to Chinese Confucian family values stating strict leadership and relationship hierarchies (Sison et al., 2019). Thus, instead of pursuing or claiming the primary leadership role, the women tend to adopt a role identity that is in line with Chinese gender expectations (Thoits, 2012).

The final behavioural tactic used by participants to create and negotiate work-family boundaries is allowing asymmetrical permeability between the work and family domains (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012). Similar to Kreiner's (2009) study that found that members of clergy chose which aspects of their work and home life are permeable, participants chose which aspects of their life in South Africa they are willing to share with their China family, such as information about being in a production couple. Despite infidelity rates increasing over the years among the Chinese, China still holds highly conservative views on extra-marital sex and view the act of infidelity as unacceptable (Zhang et al., 2012). Withholding information about production couples allow participants to maintain their daughter, wife and mother role and continue their acts of filial piety towards their parents. Secondly, similar to the findings of Baldassar's (2007) study, the factory owners felt that not sharing any information that could cause their family members back home any worry is a way in which the China family can be protected. The findings illustrated how differential permeability such as preventing certain aspects from work crossing over into the family space becomes important in avoiding conflict (Kreiner et al., 2009). In this case, keeping the production couple arrangement secret helped participants remain in good standing with their China family, following traditional Chinese cultural values while also protecting the face of their respective family members. Furthermore, segmenting certain parts of their lives from their China family life helped alleviate the women's feeling of guilt from their lack of co-presence and inability to fulfill their roles and obligations across borders.

Theoretical contribution

The study responded to calls for work-family literature that shifts the dominant discourse from the global North perspectives to acknowledging those form the global South (Casper et al., 2014; Jaga, 2020; Shaffer et al., 2011; Shockley et al., 2017). This study draws attention to the contextually complex and diverse South Africa, where the traditional American nuclear family structure is challenged, highlighting a unique family arrangement that has yet to be explored in-depth.

Work-family boundary management has only been explored among cohabitation working families, however this study makes a unique contribution by exploring how boundary management techniques may differ for transnational families. Transnational families like cohabitating families engage in similar care practices, however the manner in which they attempt to fulfill these obligations are complicated by geographic separation and lack of physical presence (Wilding & Baldassar, 2009). This results in unique demands from their different domains. The study identified that physical and behavioural tactics were adopted in response to their status as transnational migrants. For instance, a unique behaviour tactic identified by the study was becoming a production couple. Relying on the production couple arrangement to actively help manage work-family domains, allowing both parties to prioritise work-roles in order to provide transnational care for their families left behind in the receiving country.

Furthermore, the findings offer insight into the work-family balance experiences of a unique form of family in the South African context. This is significant for research conducted within the South African context, as the findings contribute to a greater understanding of a unique family structure that may be a product of transnational migration to South Africa, in response to the structure of the labour intensive clothing and textile industry. Moreover, the study moves away the assumption that geographical proximity is a prerequisite for family interactions (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011) as well as practicing filial piety (Ho & Chiang, 2017; Lin & Yi, 2011) and a step toward broadening our understanding of and definition of family by exploring contextually complex samples.

Implications for practice

The study's findings have practical implications for entrepreneurs and for government. First, migrant entrepreneurs like production couples operate clothing factories that generate employment opportunities for local labour, contributing to the South African economy. However, their working conditions such as the long working hours, regular over

time and low profit margins result in highly integrated boundaries that have a negative effect on their health. While the findings did not indicate that the high levels of integration caused greater work-family conflict for these women, it did suggest that when they were able to segment, they experienced improved wellbeing. Copreneurs could adopt temporal and communicative segmentations strategies, such as purposefully disconnecting from work by leaving all work-related objects in the factory, muting work contacts and setting expectations such as telling workers not to interrupt during certain hours of the day or weekend unless there is an emergency to help them cope even when their financial status doesn't allow them to physically segment their work and family boundaries.

Second, the women in production couple cited that high crime rates and lack of government support for reducing crime have left them disappointed. Crime rates were viewed as the only negative when participants refer to South Africa as their second home. These factors did affect family reunification intentions. Participants have considered bringing their children to South Africa but decided against it because of the high crime rates. Collaboration between local government and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and other Chinese Committees in Newcastle is recommended. For example, the Newcastle city council could arrange quarterly meetings where community concerns can be shared and discussed while also working closely with the community and security/police force on how to better manage and deal with the escalating brutal crimes occurring in the community. A neighbourhood watch in the industrial areas of Newcastle could potentially contribute a reduction in crime rates by encouraging the community to engage in activities that promote safety.

Limitations and future recommendations

This study only considered the women's perspective, hence the male partners' voices are missing to understand their experiences and boundary management strategies used, as studies have suggested that men and women may use different tactics to manage their work and family domains, which can affect the outcome of their businesses (Jennings & McDougald, 2007).

This research follows a cross-sectional qualitative design that was able to meet the research objectives. However, the current study did identify preferred boundary management and enactment of those strategies may change over time due to various external factors (Rothbard & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016), although this was not extensively explored. Future work-family and migrant literature may benefit from adopting a longitudinal qualitative research approach. This approach can be used to investigate how the length of separation,

accumulation of resources and integration into the host country affects the transnational employees preferred boundary management strategies used to maintain and manage the work-family balance and exchange of resources between the host and receiving country. The expectations and obligations to the family are different for men and women in Chinese culture (Yeh et al., 2013). Most women in this study were divorced while their partners remained married. Men tend to have greater obligations to their wife and children, and so the intention to return to their China family may differ between men and women. The longitudinal research approach may also explore the production couple's intention to return and the factors that influence that decision.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study identified boundary management tactics identified by Kreiner and colleagues (2009), which allowed participants to successfully integrate their roles between being a production couple in South Africa and being an active member of their China family. Interestingly, some strategies have been found to enable the women to integrate and segment their roles simultaneously suggesting that individuals do not necessarily prescribe to either segmentation or integration strategies but rather adopt different strategies given the situation. The study identified unique tactics that are the result of the relevant challenges these women face as a result of being a transnational migrant in a country that is culturally different from the receiving country. Secondly, the findings of the study were able to support Cho and Allen's (2019) hypotheses that the typology of transnational families impact on the transnational employee's perception of WFB. Ultimately, both the boundary management tactics and characteristics of the production couple as a transnational family impacted on the ways in which the women were able to exchange resources with their China family attempting to maintain familial connections as well as negotiate their level of co-presence.

References

Acedera, K. A., & Yeoh, B. S. (2019). 'Making time': Long-distance marriages and the temporalities of the transnational family. *Current Sociology*, *67*(2), 250-272. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392118792927

Adams, W. (2015). Conducting semi-structured interviews [Chapter 19]. In K. Newcomer, H. Hatry, & J. Wholey. (Eds.). *Handbook of Practical Program Evaluation* (pp. 492-505).

Adisa, T. A., Aiyenitaju, O., & Adekoya, O. D. (2021). The work–family balance of British working women during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Work-Applied Management*. https://doi.org/10.1108/JWAM-07-2020-0036

Allen, T. D., Cho, E., & Meier, L. L. (2014). Work–family boundary dynamics. *Annual Review of Organisational Psychology and Organisational Behaviour*, *1*(1), 99-121. https://doi.org/ 197.229.2.93

Allen, T. D., Merlo, K., Lawrence, R. C., Slutsky, J., & Gray, C. E. (2021). Boundary Management and Work-Nonwork Balance While Working from Home. *Applied Psychology*, *70* (1), 60–84. https://doi.org/ 10.1111/apps.12300

Ammons, S. K. (2013). Work-family boundary strategies: Stability and alignment between preferred and enacted boundaries. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 82*(1), 49-58. https://10.1016/j.jvb.2012.11.002

Anney, V. N. (2014). Ensuring the quality of the findings of qualitative research: Looking at trustworthiness criteria. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*, *5*(2), 272-281.

Anniste, K., & Tammaru, T. (2014). Ethnic differences in integration levels and return migration intentions: A study of Estonian migrants in Finland. *Demographic Research*, *30*, 377-412.

Ashforth, B. E., Kreiner, G. E., & Fugate, M. (2000). All in a day's work: Boundaries and micro role transitions. *Academy of Management Review, 25*(3), 472-491. https://10.5465/amr.2000.3363315

Ashraf, N., Aycinena, D., Martínez A, C., & Yang, D. (2015). Savings in transnational households: a field experiment among migrants from El Salvador. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, *97*(2), 332-351. https://doi.org/ 10.1162/REST_a_00462

Atkinson, R., & Flint, J. (2001). Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations: Snowball research strategies. *Social research update*, *33*(1), 1-4.

Bacigalupe, G., & Lambe, S. (2011). Virtualizing intimacy: Information communication technologies and transnational families in therapy. *Family Process*, *50*(1), 12-26

Bahn, S. (2015). Managing the well-being of temporary skilled migrants, *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *26*(16), 2102-2120, https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2014.971849

Baga, S. (2020, August 2). *Chinese community demand justice over couple who were gunned down in Joburg CBD.* IOL. https://www.iol.co.za/saturday-star/news/chinese-community-demand-justice-over-couple-who-were-gunned-down-in-joburg-cbd-3a7c44e0-d801-45c3-9384-1d2562ae10d5

Baldassar, L. (2014). Too sick to move: Distant 'crisis' care in transnational families. *International Review of Sociology*, *24*(3), 391-405. https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2014.954328

Baldassar, L., Baldock, C. V., & Wilding, R. (2006). *Families caring across borders: Migration, ageing and transnational caregiving*. Springer.

Barratt, M. J., Ferris, J. A., & Lenton, S. (2015). Hidden populations, online purposive sampling, and external validity: Taking off the blindfold. *Field Methods*, *27*(1), 3-21. https://doi.org/ 10.1177/1525822X14526838

Beaverstock, J. V. (2011). Highly skilled international labour migration and world cities: Expatriates, executives and entrepreneurs. In *International handbook of globalization and world cities*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Beigi, M., & Shirmohammadi, M. (2017). Qualitative research on work–family in the management field: A review. *Applied Psychology*, *66*(3), 382-433. https://doi.org/10.1111/apps.12093

Bell, J., & Bivand Erdal, M. (2015). Limited but enduring transnational ties? Transnational family life among Polish migrants in Norway. *Studia Migracyjne Przegląd Polonijny*, *41*(3 (157)).

Benach, J., Muntaner, C., Delclos, C., Menéndez, M., & Ronquillo, C. (2011). Migration and" low-skilled" workers in destination countries. *PLoS Med*, *8*(6), e1001043. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1001043

Bensemann, J. (2011). Copreneurship and rural tourism: Observations from New Zealand and future research directions. *Journal of Tourism Challenges and Trends*, *4*(1), 41-57.

Blenkinsopp, J., & Owens, G. (2010). At the heart of things. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, *16*(5), 357. https://doi.org/10.1108/13552551011071850

Boucher, Q. (2020, August 17). *Breaking: Newcastle factory owner stabbed to death; wife critical in ICU.* Newcastillian. https://newcastillian.co.za/2020/08/17/breaking-newcastle-factory-owner-stabbed-to-death-wife-critical-in-icu/

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Bryceson, D. F., & Vuorela, U. (Eds.). (2002). *The transnational family: New European frontiers and global networks*, 19

Carcary, M. (2009). The Research Audit Trial--Enhancing Trustworthiness in Qualitative Inquiry. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, *7*(1).

Carling, J., C. Menjívar, and L. Schmalzbauer. (2012). Central Themes in the Study of Transnational Parenthood. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 38*(2), 191–217. https://doi.org/10.1080/136918 3X.2012.646417.

Carling, J., & Pettersen, S. V. (2014). Return migration intentions in the integration–transnationalism matrix. *International Migration*, *52*(6), 13-30. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12161

Chao, C. N., Hegarty, N., Angelidis, J., & Lu, V. F. (2019). Chinese students' motivations for studying in the United States. *Journal of International Students*, *7*(2), 257-269. https://doi.org/jistudents

Chen, A. Y., Huynh, T. T., & Park, Y. J. (2010). Faces of China: new Chinese migrants in South Africa, 1980s to present. *African and Asian Studies*, *9*(3), 286-306. https://doi.org/10.1163/156921010X515978

Chen, S. (2015). Making Home, Making Sense of the World: Archival Research with Qiaopi Letters.

Chen, H. (2019). Toward traditional or atypical parenting: mediated communication in Chinese transnational families. *International Journal of Communication*, *13*(20), 1805-1824. http://ijoc.org

Chen, D., & Tong, Y. (2021). Marriage for the Sake of Parents? Adult Children's Marriage Formation and Parental Psychological Distress in China. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12749

Chenail, R. J. (2011). Interviewing the investigator: Strategies for addressing instrumentation and researcher bias concerns in qualitative research. *Qualitative Report*, *16*(1), 255-262.

Cho, E., & Allen, T. D. (2019). The transnational family: A typology and implications for work-family balance. *Human Resource Management Review*, *29*(1), 76-86. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2018.01.001

Corti, L., Day, A., & Backhouse, G. (2000, December). Confidentiality and informed consent: Issues for consideration in the preservation of and provision of access to qualitative data archives. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *1*(3).

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications.

Cuban, S. (2015). “I Wish I Was a Bird To Fly Back and Forth:” Immigrant Women and Their Transnational Families Caring At a Distance: DRAFT 4/14/15.

Dang, T. Q. (2020). *How does Family Matter? Investigating the Experiences of Expatriates and their Families in International Assignments* (Doctoral dissertation).

Danes, S. M., & Jang, J. (2013). Copreneurial identity development during new venture creation. *Journal of Family Business Management*, *3*(1), 45-61. https://10.1108/20436231311326481

Dannecker, P. (2005). Transnational migration and the transformation of gender relations: The case of Bangladeshi labour migrants. *Current sociology*, *53*(4), 655-674. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392105052720

Deacon, J. H., Harris, J. A., & Worth, L. (2014). Who leads? Fresh insights into roles and responsibilities in a heterosexual copreneurial business. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship, 6*(3), 317-335. https://10.1108/IJGE-03-2014-0009

De Haas, H., & Fokkema, T. (2011). The effects of integration and transnational ties on international return migration intentions. *Demographic research*, *25*, 755-782. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2011.25.24

De Haas, H., Fokkema, T., & Fihri, M. F. (2015). Return migration as failure or success?. *Journal of international migration and integration*, *16*(2), 415-429. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0344-6

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. sage.

Djundeva, M., & Ellwardt, L. (2020). Social support networks and loneliness of Polish migrants in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *46*(7), 1281-1300. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1597691

Dribe, M., & Lundh, C. (2008). Intermarriage and immigrant integration in Sweden: An exploratory analysis. *Acta Sociologica*, *51*(4), 329-354. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699308097377

Dyer, W. G., Dyer, W. J., & Gardner, R. G. (2013). Should my spouse be my partner? Preliminary evidence from the panel study of income dynamics. *Family Business Review*, *26*(1), 68-80. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894486512449354

Eisenberger, R., Armeli, S., Rexwinkel, B., Lynch, P. D. & Rhoades, L. (2001). Reciprocation of perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 42–51. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.86.1.42

Ellis, M., Wright, R., & Parks, V. (2006). The immigrant household and spatial assimilation: Partnership, nativity, and neighborhood location. *Urban Geography*, *27*(1), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.27.1.1

Erdal, B. M. (2014). This is my home. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *2*(3), 361-383. https://doi.org/10.5117/CMS2014.3.ERDA

Eremenko, T., & Bennett, R. (2018). Linking the family context of migration during childhood to the well-being of young adults: Evidence from the UK and France. *Population, Space and Place*, *24*(7), e2164. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2164

Ezzedeen, S. R., & Zikic, J. (2017). Finding balance amid boundarylessness: An interpretive study of entrepreneurial work–life balance and boundary management. *Journal of Family Issues*, *38*(11), 1546-1576.

Farrington, S., Venter, E., Eybers, C., & Boshoff, C. (2011). Task-based factors influencing the successful functioning of copreneurial businesses in South Africa. *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences*, *14*(1), 24-46. https://10.4102/sajems.v14i1.96

Fitzgerald, M. A., & Muske, G. (2002). Copreneurs: An exploration and comparison to other family businesses. *Family Business Review*, *15*(1), 1-16. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-6248.2002.00001.x

Franco, M., & Piceti, P. (2018). Family dynamics and gender perspective influencing copreneurship practices. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, *26*(1), 14-33. https://10.1108/IJEBR-11-2017-0431

Furukawa, R., & Driessnack, M. (2013). Video-mediated communication to support distant family connectedness. *Clinical nursing research*, *22*(1), 82-94. https://doi.org/10.1177/1054773812446150

Furtado, L., Sobral, F., & Peci, A. (2016). Linking demands to work-family conflict through boundary strength. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*. https://doi.org/ 10.1108/JMP-11-2015-0408

Gatrell, C. J., Burnett, S. B., Cooper, C. L., & Sparrow, P. (2013). Work–life balance and parenthood: A comparative review of definitions, equity and enrichment. *International Journal of management reviews*, *15*(3), 300-316. https://doi.org/10.1108/JWAM-07-2020-0036

Gentry, J. W., & Mittelstaedt, R. A. (2010). Remittances as social exchange: The critical, changing role of family as the social network. *Journal of Macromarketing*, *30*(1), 23-32. https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146709352218

Giorgi, A. (2006). Difficulties encountered in the application of the phenomenological method in the social sciences. *Análise psicológica*, *24*(3), 353-361. https://doi.org/10.1080/20797222.2008.11433956

Glick, J. E. (2010). Connecting complex processes: A decade of research on immigrant families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*(3), 498-515. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00715.x

Greenhaus, J. H., Collins, K. M., & Shaw, J. D. (2003). The relation between work–family balance and quality of life. Journal of vocational behavior, 63(3), 510-531. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0001-8791(02)00042-8

Grzywacz, J. G., & Carlson, D. S. (2007). Conceptualizing work—family balance: Implications for practice and research. *Advances in developing human resources*, *9*(4), 455-471. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422307305487

Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Ectj*, *29*(2), 75.

Gudeta, K. H., & van Engen, M. L. (2018). Work-life boundary management styles of women entrepreneurs in Ethiopia–"choice" or imposition?. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*.https://doi.org/10.1108/JSBED-02-2017-0073

Gudmunson, C. G., Danes, S. M., Werbel, J. D., & Loy, J. T. C. (2009). Spousal support and work—Family balance in launching a family business. *Journal of Family Issues*, *30*(8), 1098-1121. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X09333758

Haagsman, K., & Mazzucato, V. (2014). The quality of parent–child relationships in transnational families: Angolan and Nigerian migrant parents in The Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *40*(11), 1677-1696. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.871491

Halbesleben, J. R., Wheeler, A. R., & Rossi, A. M. (2012). The costs and benefits of working with one's spouse: A two-sample examination of spousal support, work–family conflict, and emotional exhaustion in work-linked relationships. *Journal o f Organizational Behavior*, *33*(5), 597-615. https://doi.org/ 10.1002/job.771

Halbesleben, J. R. B., Zellars, K. L., Carlson, D. S., Perrewé, P. L., & Rotondo, D. (2010). The Moderating Effect of Work-Linked Couple Relationships and Work-Family

Integration on the Spouse Instrumental Support-Emotional Exhaustion Relationship. *Journal of Occupational*

Hart, G. P. (2002). *Disabling globalization: Places of power in post-apartheid South Africa* (Vol. 10). University of California Press.

Hart, G., & Todes, A. (1997). Industrial decentralisation revisited. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, (32).

Hashemi, N., Marzban, M., Sebar, B., & Harris, N. (2019). Acculturation and psychological well-being among Middle Eastern migrants in Australia: The mediating role of social support and perceived discrimination. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *72*, 45-60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.07.002

Hecht, T. D., & Allen, N. J. (2009). A longitudinal examination of the work–nonwork boundary strength construct. *Journal of Organizational Behavior: The International Journal of Industrial, Occupational and Organizational Psychology and Behavior*, *30*(7), 839-862. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.579

Heckathorn, D. D. (2011). Comment: Snowball versus respondent-driven sampling. *Sociological methodology*, *41*(1), 355-366.

Hedberg, P. R., & Danes, S. M. (2012). Explorations of dynamic power processes within copreneurial couples. *Journal of Family Business Strategy*, *3*(4), 228-238. https://10.1016/j.jfbs.2012.10.004

Helmle, J. R., Botero, I. C., & Seibold, D. R. (2014). Factors that influence perceptions of work-life balance in owners of copreneurial firms. *Journal of Family Business Management*. https://doi.org/10.1108/JFBM-06-2014-0013

Helmle, J. R., Seibold, D. R., & Afifi, T. D. (2011). Work and Family in Copreneurial Family Businesses Extending and Integrating Communication Research. *Annals of the International Communication Association: Communication Yearbook 35*, *35*(1), 51-91. https://10.1080/23808985.2011.11679112

Hennebry, J. L., & Preibisch, K. (2012). A model for managed migration? Re-examining best practices in Canada's seasonal agricultural worker program. *International Migration*, *50*, e19-e40. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00598.x

Hillyer, R. S. (2021). Staying Connected: Effects of Online Platforms on Transnational Family Relations and Social Capital. *Contemporary Japan*, 1-21. https://doi.org/10.1080/18692729.2020.1847389

Hofmann, E. T., & Buckley, C. J. (2013). Global Changes and Gendered Responses: The Feminization of Migration From Georgia. *International Migration Review*, *47*(3), 508-538. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12035

Hsiung, P. C. (2008). Teaching reflexivity in qualitative interviewing. *Teaching Sociology*, *36*(3), 211-226.

Hsu, J. (2019). Filial technologies: transnational daughterhood and polymedia environments in transnational Taiwanese families. *Information, Communication & Society*, 1-16. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2019.1657161

Jiang, Q., Zhang, Y., & Sánchez-Barricarte, J. J. (2015). Marriage expenses in rural China. *The China Review*, 207-236. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24291934

Jiemin, B. (2003). The gendered biopolitics of marriage and immigration: A study of pre-1949 chinese immigrants in thailand. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *34*(1), 127-151

Jurik, N. C. (2016). Czech copreneur orientations to business and family responsibilities. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, *8*(3), 307-326. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJGE-09-2015-0032

Jurik, N. C., Křížková, A., Pospíšilová, M., & Cavender, G. (2019). Blending, credit, context: Doing business, family and gender in Czech and US copreneurships. *International Small Business Journal: Researching Entrepreneurship, 37*(4), 317-342. https://10.1177/0266242618825260

Kagan, C., Lo, S., Mok, L., Lawthom, R., Sham, S., Greenwood, M., & Baines, S. (2011). Experiences of forced labour among Chinese migrant workers. *York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation*.

Katila, S. (2010). Negotiating moral orders in Chinese business families in Finland: Constructing family, gender and ethnicity in a research situation. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, *17*(3), 297–319. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2008.00401.x

Katila, S., & Wahlbeck, Ö. (2012). The role of (transnational) social capital in the start-up processes of immigrant businesses: The case of Chinese and Turkish restaurant

businesses in Finland. *International small business journal*, *30*(3), 294-309. https://doi.org/10.1177/0266242610383789

Kreiner, G. E., Hollensbe, E. C., & Sheep, M. L. (2009). Balancing borders and bridges: Negotiating the work-home interface via boundary work tactics. *Academy of Management Journal*, *52*(4), 704-730. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40390312

Kandilige, L. (2017)Down payments for future return: The case of Ghanaian migrants in the UK. *Ghana Social Science, 14*(1), 193-205.

Kaur, A. (2010). Labour migration in Southeast Asia: migration policies, labour exploitation and regulation. *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, *15*(1), 6-19. https://doi.org/10.1080/13547860903488195

Kim, Y. (2011). The pilot study in qualitative inquiry: Identifying issues and learning lessons for culturally competent research. *Qualitative Social Work*, *10*(2), 190-206. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325010362001

King, R. and Skeldon, R. (2010). 'Mind the gap!' Integrating approaches to internal and international migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(10): 1619- 1646. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489380.

Korstjens, I., & Moser, A. (2018). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 4: Trustworthiness and publishing. *European Journal of General Practice*, *24*(1), 120-124. https://doi.org/10.1080/13814788.2017.1375092

Kossek, E. E., & Lautsch, B. A. (2012). Work–family boundary management styles in organizations: A cross-level model. *Organizational Psychology Review*, *2*(2), 152-171. https://doi.org/ 10.1177/2041386611436264

Kossek, E. E., Ruderman, M. N., Braddy, P. W., & Hannum, K. M. (2012). Work–nonwork boundary management profiles: A person-centered approach. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *81*(1), 112-128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2012.04.003

Křížková, A., Jurik, N,. & Dlouhá, M. (2014). The divisions of labour and responsibilities in business and home among women and men copreneurs in the Czech Republic. *Women's Entrepreneurship in the 21st Century*, 258-277. Edward Elgar Publishing. https://10.4337/9781782544616.00021

Kuschel, K., & Lepeley, M. (2016). Copreneurial women in start-ups. *Academia Revista Latinoamericana De Administración*, *29*(2), 181-197. https://10.1108/ARLA-08-2015-0231

Leduc, C., Houlfort, N., & Bourdeau, S. (2016). Work-life balance: The good and the bad of boundary management. *International Journal of Psychological Studies*, *8*(1), 133-146. https://doi.org/ 10.5539/ijps.v8n1p133

Lee, K. J., & Stodolska, M. (2017). Asian North Americans' leisure: A critical examination of the theoretical frameworks used in research and suggestions for future study. *Leisure Sciences*, *39*(6), 524-542. https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2016.1215944

Li, J., Sun, J. Y., Wang, L., & Ke, J. (2020). Second-Generation Women Entrepreneurs in Chinese Family-Owned Businesses: Motivations, Challenges, and Opportunities. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *22*(2), 124-136. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422320907043

Lien, H., & Cao, Y. (2014). Examining WeChat users' motivations, trust, attitudes, and positive word-of-mouth: Evidence from China. *Computers in human behaviour*, *41*, 104-111. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.08.013

Lin, J. P., & Yi, C. C. (2011). Filial norms and intergenerational support to aging parents in China and Taiwan. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, *20*, S109-S120. https://doi.org/ 10.1111/j.1468-2397.2011.00824.x

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1982). Establishing Dependability and Confirmability in Naturalistic Inquiry Through an Audit.

Longhurst, R. (2003). Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. *Key methods in geography*, *3*(2), 143-156.

Madianou, M. (2016). Ambient co-presence: transnational family practices in polymedia environments. *Global Networks*, *16*(2), 183-201.

Maertz Jr, C. P., & Boyar, S. L. (2011). Work-family conflict, enrichment, and balance under "levels" and "episodes" approaches. *Journal of Management*, *37*(1), 68-98. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206310382455

Matthews, R. A., & Barnes-Farrell, J. L. (2010). Development and initial evaluation of an enhanced measure of boundary flexibility for the work and family domains. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *15*(3), 330-346. https://10.1037/a0019302

Mazzucato, V., & Dito, B. B. (2018). Transnational families: Cross-country comparative perspectives. *Population, Space and Place, 24,* e2165. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2165

Mazzucchelli, S. (2017). Flexibility and work-family balance: a win-win solution for companies? The case of Italy. *International Review of Sociology*, *27*(3), 436-456. https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2017.1377411

McAdam, M., & Marlow, S. (2013). A gendered critique of the copreneurial business partnership: Exploring the implications for entrepreneurial emancipation. *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, *14*(3), 151-163. https://doi.org/10.5367/ijei.2013.0120

McDonald, T., Marshall, M., & Delgado, M. (2017). Is Working with Your Spouse Good for Business? The Effect of Working with Your Spouse on Profit for Rural Businesses. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *38*(4), 477-493. https://10.1007/s10834-017-9525-8

Meng, X., & Meurs, D. (2009). Intermarriage, language, and economic assimilation process: A case study of France. *International Journal of Manpower*, *30*(1-2), 127-144. http://hdl.handle.net/10419/33692

Mensah, E. A. (2016). Involuntary return migration and reintegration. The case of Ghanaian migrant workers from Libya. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *17*(1), 303-323. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0407-8

Michael-Tsabari, N., Houshmand, M., Strike, V. M., & Efrat Treister, D. (2020). Uncovering Implicit Assumptions: Reviewing the Work–Family Interface in Family Business and Offering Opportunities for Future Research. *Family Business Review*, *33*(1), 64-89. https://doi.org100.18197474/08869541489685919788899

Mokomane, Z., Van der Merwe, S., Seedat Khan, M., Jaga, A., & Dancaster, L. (2017). Developing an African research network and research agenda on work–family interface. *Community, Work & Family*, *20*(3), 366-376. https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2017.1281224

Mthethwa, C. (2020, October 4). *Chinese women found dead in Gugulethu, 3 arrested for alleged kidnapping.* News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/chinese-women-found-dead-in-gugulethu-3-arrested-for-alleged-kidnapping-20201004

Muller, P. (2008). Connections and disconnections: How Afghan refugees in the Netherlands maintain transnational family relations. *Gender, Technology and Development*, *12*(3), 389-411. https://doi.org.10.1177/097185240901200306

Nattrass, N., & Seekings, J. (2014). Job destruction in Newcastle: minimum wage-setting and low-wage employment in the South African clothing industry. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, *84*(1), 1-30.

Nespor, J. (2000). Anonymity and place in qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative inquiry*, *6*(4), 546-569.

Nimeshi, G. S. (2018). Coentrepreneurial Couples: A Review of Literature on Initiation and Boundaries among Copreneurs. *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, *6*, 6.

Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *16*(1), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406917733847

Noy, C. (2008). Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 11*(4), 327-344. https://10.1080/13645570701401305

Othman, N., Mohamed, S., & Suradi, S. (2016). Motivating factors of couple involvement in copreneurship businesses in Malaysia. *International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering*, *10*(1), 256-259.

Özbilgin, M. F., Beauregard, T. A., Tatli, A., & Bell, M. P. (2011). Work–life, diversity and intersectionality: A critical review and research agenda. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *13*(2), 177-198.https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12054

Park, Y. J. (2010). Boundaries, borders and borderland constructions: Chinese in contemporary South Africa and the region. *African Studies*, *69*(3), 457-479. https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2010.528862

Park, Y., Fritz, C., & Jex, S. M. (2011). Relationships between work–home segmentation and psychological detachment from work: The role of communication technology use at home. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 16*(4), 457–67. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023594.

Parke, R. D., & Cookston, J. T. (2020). Transnational Fathers: New Theoretical and Conceptual Challenges. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12392

Patton, M. (2015). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice*. SAGE Publications

Piszczek, M. M. (2017). Boundary control and controlled boundaries: Organizational expectations for technology use at the work–family interface. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *38*(4), 592-611. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2153

Porst, L., & Sakdapolrak, P. (2020). Gendered translocal connectedness: Rural–urban migration, remittances, and social resilience in Thailand. *Population, Space and Place*, *26*(4), e2314. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2314

Qu, S. Q., & Dumay, J. (2011). The qualitative research interview. *Qualitative research in accounting & management*. https://doi.org/ 10.1108/11766091111162070

Roberts, M. C., & Ilardi, S. S. (Eds.). (2008). *Handbook of research methods in clinical psychology*. John Wiley & Sons.

Russo, M., Ollier-Malaterre, A., Kossek, E. E., & Ohana, M. (2018). Boundary Management Permeability and Relationship Satisfaction in Dual-Earner Couples: The Asymmetrical Gender Effect. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *9*, 1723. https://10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01723

Ryan, L., & Mulholland, J. (2014). Trading places: French highly skilled migrants negotiating mobility and emplacement in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *40*(4), 584-600. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.787514

Ryan, L., Klekowski Von Koppenfels, A., & Mulholland, J. (2015). 'The distance between us': A comparative examination of the technical, spatial and temporal dimensions of the transnational social relationships of highly skilled migrants. *Global Networks*, *15*(2), 198-216.

Scoones, I. (1998). Sustainable rural livelihoods: a framework for analysis.

Singh, S., Robertson, S., & Cabraal, A. (2012). Transnational family money: Remittances, gifts and inheritance. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *33*(5), 475-492. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2012.701606

Shaffer, M. A., Joplin, J. R. W., & Hsu, Y. (2011). *Expanding the boundaries of work-family research: A review and agenda for future research*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1470595811398800

Shen, H. -. (2005). 'The first taiwanese wives' and 'the chinese mistresses': The international division of labour in familial and intimate relations across the taiwan strait. Retrieved from http://scholarbank.nus.edu.sg/handle/10635/117359

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for information*, *22*(2), 63-75.

Shockley, K. M., Douek, J., Smith, C. R., Peter, P. Y., Dumani, S., & French, K. A. (2017). Cross-cultural work and family research: A review of the literature. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 101*, 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.04.001

Sison, A. J. G., Ferrero, I., & Redín, D. M. (2019). Some virtue ethics implications from Aristotelian and Confucian perspectives on family and business. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 1-14. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-019-04307-4

Skrbiš, Z. (2008). Transnational families: Theorising migration, emotions and belonging. *Journal of intercultural studies*, *29*(3), 231-246. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860802169188

Sprung, J. M., & Jex, S. M. (2017). All in the family: Work–family enrichment and crossover among farm couples. *Journal of occupational health psychology*, *22*(2), 218. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/ocp0000033

Stodolska, M., Lee, K. J., Hwang, S., Son, H., & Lee, Y. (2020). Leisure Behaviors among Mothers and Fathers in Korean Transnational Split Families. *Leisure Sciences*, 1-17. https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2020.1858378

Sun, K. C. (2012). Fashioning the reciprocal norms of elder care: A case of immigrants in the United States and their parents in Taiwan. *Journal of Family Issues*, *33*(9), 1240-1271. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X12445564

Tang, Z. (1995). *Confucianism, Chinese culture, and reproductive behaviour*. *Population and Environment*, 16: 269–84. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02331921

Thoits, P. A. (1991). On merging identity theory and stress research. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 101-112. https://doi.org/ 176.113.72.110

Thoits, P. A. (2012). Role-identity salience, purpose and meaning in life, and well-being among volunteers. *Social psychology quarterly*, *75*(4), 360-384. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272512459662

Todes, A. (1998). Socio-spatial effects of economic restructuring: the case of Newcastle. *Society in Transition*, *29*(1-2), 40-57.

Todes, A. (1999). Industrial restructuring in South Africa: the case of Newcastle. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, *90*(4), 379-390.

Todes, A. E. (2001). Newcastle: The development of a model apartheid town and beyond. *South African Geographical Journal*, *83*(1), 69-77.

Tungohan, E. (2013). Reconceptualizing motherhood, reconceptualizing resistance: Migrant domestic workers, transnational hyper-maternalism and activism. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *15*(1), 39-57. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2012.699781

Valcour M. (2007). Work-based resources as moderators of the relationship between work hours and satisfaction with work–family balance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *6*, 1512–1523. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.6.1512

Valk, R., & Srinivasan, V. (2011). Work–family balance of Indian women software professionals: A qualitative study. *IIMB Management Review*, *23*(1), 39-50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.iimb.2010.10.010

van Dongen, E., & Liu, H. (2018). The changing meanings of diaspora: the Chinese in Southeast Asia. Routledge.

Van Teijlingen, E. R., & Hundley, V. (2001). The importance of pilot studies. *Social Research Update*, *35*.

van Tonder, C. L., & Soontiens, W. (2013). Migrants: First work encounters. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *82*, 466-476. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.06.294

Vathi, Z. (2015). Transnational Ties and Attitudes Towards Return. In *Migrating and Settling in a Mobile World* (pp. 117-148). Springer, Cham.

Voydanoff, P. (2005). Toward a conceptualization of perceived work-family fit and balance: A demands and resources approach. *Journal of marriage and family*, *67*(4), 822-836.

Wattis, L., Standing, K., & Yerkes, M. A. (2013). Mothers and work–life balance: Exploring the contradictions and complexities involved in work–family negotiation. *Community, Work & Family*, *16*(1), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2012.722008

Weale, V., Oakman, J., & Wells, Y. (2020). Can organisational work–life policies improve work–life interaction? A scoping review. *Australian Psychologist*, *55*(5), 425-439. https://doi.org/10.1111/ap.12469

Wilding, R., & Baldassar, L. (2009). Transnational family-work balance: Experiences of Australian migrants caring for ageing parents and young children across distance and borders. *Journal of Family Studies*, *15*(2), 177-187. https://doi.org/10.5172/jfs.15.2.177

Wu, M., Chang, C. C., & Zhuang, W. L. (2010). Relationships of work–family conflict with business and marriage outcomes in Taiwanese copreneurial women. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *21*(5), 742-753. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585191003658912

Xiao, S. (2011). *The "Second-wife" phenomenon and the relational construction of class-coded masculinities in contemporary china*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications. https://10.1177/1097184X11412171

Xie, Y., & Zhu, H. (2009). Do sons or daughters give more money to parents in urban China?. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *71*(1), 174-186.

Xu, L.(2019). Factory, family, and industrial frontier: A socioeconomic study of Chinese clothing firms in Newcastle, South Africa. *Economic History of Developing Regions*, *34*(3), 300-319. https://doi.org/10.1080/20780389.2019.1669442

Xu, L. (2020). The comforts of home: a historical study of family well-being among Chinese migrants in South Africa. *Asian Ethnicity*, *21*(4), 507-525. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2020.1784705

Yeh, K. H., Yi, C. C., Tsao, W. C., & Wan, P. S. (2013). Filial piety in contemporary Chinese societies: A comparative study of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. *International Sociology*, *28*(3), 277-296. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580913484345

Zentgraf, K. M., & Chinchilla, N. S. (2012). Transnational family separation: A framework for analysis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(2), 345-366. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.646431

Zhang, M., Griffeth, R. W., & Fried, D. D. (2012). Work-family conflict and individual consequences. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *27*(7), p. 693-713. https://doi.org/10.1108/02683941211259520

Zhang, N., Parish, W. L., Huang, Y., & Pan, S. (2012). Sexual infidelity in China: Prevalence and gender-specific correlates. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *41*(4), 861-873. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-012-9930-x

Zhang, J., & Zhou, N. (2019). The family's push and pull on female entrepreneurship: Evidence in China. *Emerging Markets Finance and Trade,* 1-21. https://10.1080/1540496X.2019.1697671

Appendix A

Table of copreneurship literature

Table 1

Summary review of copreneurship work-family literature

Author/s	Year	Country	Sample	*N*	Method	Conceptual Framework	Future Recommendations
Bensemann & Hall	2010	New Zealand	Copreneurial women		Mixed method	Rural tourism, gender, entrepreneurship	• Explore the relationship between copreneurship and WFC • Further explore gender-based identities and positionalities of the copreneur couple • Coping strategies of male copreneurs • Examine how the female copreneur share and explain their role
Danes & Jang	2013	USA	Start-up copreneurial businesses	94	Quantitative	Identity theory	• Conduct a longitudinal study
Deacon et al.	2014	Wales	Copreneurial firms	4	Qualitative	Gender identities, copreneurial competencies and capital	• Consider agent competency
Farrington et al.	2011	South Africa	Copreneurial firms	348	Quantitative	Task-based factors attributing to copreneurial success, attributes of affective copreneurial teams	• Relationship between marital satisfaction and growth and performance of the business • Explore black-owned copreneurships • The impact of culture on family businesses

Franco & Piceti	2018	Brazil	Copreneurial firms	7	Qualitative	Gender theory, family dynamic factors	• Consider other factors related to copreneurs • Replicate this study in a different context
Halbesleben et al.	2012	Brazil, USA	Work-linked couples	608 (Brazil), 316 (USA).	Quantitative	Spouse support, emotional exhaustion, WFC	• Consider boundary management strategies and boundary preferences • Look at bidirectional nature of WFC and FWC
Hedburg & Danes	2012	USA	Farm business couples		Multi-method	Fundamental interpersonal relations orientation theory, dynamic power processes	• Further exploration of dynamic power interactions • Examine the copreneurial dyad along with other family dyads
Helmle et al.	2014	USA	Copreneur couples	210	Quantitative	WLB, work-home conflict, home-work conflict, spouse support, job involvement, flexibility around work, communication about work with family, communication about family with work, permeability of communication at work, permeability of communications at home	• Provide further explorations on the relationship between WLB, work-life conflict, life-work conflict, spousal support and copreneurship
Jurik et al.	2016	Czech Republic	Copreneur couples	12	Qualitative	Gender and embeddedness, family and taxation policies	• Conduct a cross-national comparison between Czech Republic copreneurs and copreneurs from USA

Jurik et al.	2019	Czech Republic and USA	Copreneur couples			Cross cultural comparison, doing gender, divisions of labour, blending roles and giving credit	• Carry out more cross-national comparisons between different countries • Conduct direct observations
Křížková et al.	2014	Czech Republic	Copreneur couples	24	Qualitative	Division of labour, gender and entrepreneurship	• Offer more systematic comparisons of Czech Republic copreneurs and copreneurs of other countries
Kuschel & Lepeley	2016	Latin America	Copreneurial women, divorced copreneurs	5	Qualitative	Business growth, women entrepreneurs in the technology industry	• Include women from different accelerator programmes
McAdam & Marlow	2013	N/A	Copreneurial couple	Case study	Qualitative	Entrepreneurship, gender, ideological dilemma, marriage	• Exploration of copreneurship from a feminist perspective • Have the "gendered ideological dilemmas exposes and explores the paradox of entrepreneurship as an available and neutral opportunity-focused construct while simultaneously being constrained by the same institutional prejudices surrounding other career options" (p. 161).
McDonald et al.	2017	America	Family businesses	736	Quantitative	Sustainability family business model (SFBM), Fundamental interpersonal relations orientations (FIRO)	• A more in-depth approach to understanding the gender dynamics • Examine causal effects of working with a spouse for longer periods of time and in larger and more urban businesses

Myeku & Iwu	2019	South Africa	Copreneurships	150	Mixed methods	Factors of successes and obstacles in SMMBs	• Comparative study • Explore how the relationships between African copreneurial couples affect business development • Consider variables such as open communication, mutual trust and commitment
Sprung & Jex	2017	USA	Farm couples	217	Quantitative	WFE, work engagement, satisfaction, positive crossover	• Further explore work-family experiences among family businesses • Focus on positive work-family experiences • Extending the work-family research by focusing on novel samples
Venter et al.	2012	South Africa	Copreneurships	380	Quantitative	Spousal relationship, mutual respect and trust, open communication, fairness, balance between work and family, commitment to the business, non-family involvement, financial performance and satisfaction	• Consider different success criteria beyond the financial criteria such as stakeholder wellness, work-family wellbeing • Replicate this study in other countries and compare the results
Wu et al.	2010	Taiwan	Copreneurial women	202	Quantitative	WFC, business and marriage outcomes	• Conduct a comparative cross-national study

Appendix B

Demographics Table

Table 3

Participant Information

Participant number	Age	Year arrived in South Africa	Year clothing factory is established	Marriage status	Partner marriage status
1	57	2000	2009	Divorced	Married
2	40	2016	2016	Divorced	Married
3	53	2005	2013/2014	Married	Married
4	50	2012	2014	Married	Married
5	49	2011	2018	Divorced	Married
6	46	2010	2014/2015	Married	Married
7	48	2002	2007	Divorced	Married
8	48	2001	2004	Divorced	Married

Appendix C

Interview Guide

1. Tell me about your arrival in South Africa:
    a. How long have you been in South Africa?
    b. What made you decide to come to South Africa?
    c. What were you doing before coming to South Africa?

2. Can you describe the arrangements you have with running the business. Are both of you the owners of the business?
    a. Can you tell me what a typical workday looks like (how many hours, work on weekends?
    b. What works well in your relationship at work? And at home?
    c. What are some of the challenges? At work and at home.
    d. How do you divide your work roles (who does what) – to establish main tasks
    e. How do you make important business decisions? (establish who makes what type of business decisions)
    f. Where do you live? (I know quite a few families that stay in factory,)
    g. How do you divide the family roles (who does what) - to establish main tasks?
    h. Are you each happy with the way in which the work and home roles are divided? Explore if they say yes or no by asking questions, what would like to see more of?
    i. Can you tell me what helps you manage everything that is expected of you (work and home tasks (boundary management), and those required of you in China? (additional support? Flexible work? Working from home?)

3. Tell me about your family in China
    a. How many dependents (children and others) do you have in China?
    b. Describe your responsibilities to them.
    c. How do you maintain connections with your family in China, what is expected of you? How often do you see them? How do you feel about doing this?

4. Tell me about your arrangements here at home and in the factory:
What made you decide to become a production couple? And how would you describe a production couple?
    a. How long have you been a production couple?
    b. How do your families in China feel about this arrangement?
    c. And how do others in your community in Newcastle feel about it?
    d. Would you recommend being a production couple to your friends in China that may be considering it?

5. Are there any times where you feel that your Chinese culture and South African culture are in conflict in meeting your work / family responsibilities. Are there any other production couples working for you?

6. Thank you so much for agreeing to this interview and do you have anything more to add? Or do you have any more questions for myself?

Appendix D

Consent form

Greetings

I am a masters student in Organisational Psychology, at the University of Cape Town. As part of my degree, I am required to conduct research. I am inviting you to be part of my research on the work and family experiences of couples in CMT management in Newcastle, KwaZulu Natal. This research project has been approved by the UCT Commerce ethics committee.

To participate, I would like to ask you questions about your experiences. As Covid-19 requires social distancing, I would like to request that we conduct the interview using WeChat. If you agree, I will require your WeChat ID. Your WeChat details will be used strictly for the purpose of this interview and I guarantee that your details will not be shared.

Please note that your participation in this research is voluntary and you may withdraw from the research at any time. Identifiable information such as your name will not be published or included in the research project unless consent is given ensuring the anonymity of your responses. All the responses provided will be kept in confidence and will only be used for the purposes of this study only.

Should you have any concerns or questions about participating in this study please contact the researcher, Yuh-Wen Ma at mxxyuh001@myuct.ac.za or the research supervisor Assoc Prof Ameeta Jaga, Ameeta.jaga@uct.ac.za

Do you agree to have the interview recorded?

Yes ☐ No ☐

The recording will only be used for the purposes of research only and your identity will be kept anonymous.

Participant Signature: Date:

_____ _____

Appendix E

Ethical clearance

Faculty of Commerce
Private Bag X3, Rondebosch, 7701
2.26 Leslie Commerce Building, Upper Campus
Tel: +27 (0) 21 650 4375/ 5748 Fax: +27 (0) 21 650 4369
E-mail: jacques.rousseau@uct.ac.za
Internet: www.uct.ac.za
@Commerce UCT **UCT Commerce Faculty Office**

22/06/2020

Yuh-Wen Ma

School of Management Studies

University of Cape Town

REF: REC 2020/06/017

The lived work-family experiences of production couples operating

Chinese Cut, Make and Trim factories in Newcastle, South Africa

We are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. Unless otherwise specified this ethical clearance is valid until 30-Jun-2021 .

Your clearance may be renewed upon application.

Please be aware that you need to notify the Ethics Committee immediately should any aspect of your study regarding the engagement with participants as approved in this application, change. This may include aspects such as changes to the research design, questionnaires, or choice of participants.

The ongoing ethical conduct throughout the duration of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

We wish you well for your research.

2020.06.22
15:07:01 +02'00'

Signature Removed

Jacques Rousseau
Commerce Research Ethics Chair
University of Cape Town
Commerce Faculty Office
Room 2.26 | Leslie Commerce Building

Office Telephone: +27 (0)21 650 2695 / 4375
Office Fax: +27 (0)21 650 4369
E-mail: jacques.rousseau@uct.ac.za
Website: https://www.commerce.uct.ac.za/Pages/Ethics-in-Research

Appendix F

Reflexive journal

15/08/2020

There was a miscommunication between myself and the participant. There was a mix-up with the time of the interview and so this resulted in the participant being a bit frustrated because she had to reschedule her plans. However, once the interview got started I her frustration quickly disappeared when talking about my future plans and ended up sharing some advice regarding my plans. Throughout the interview, we were interrupted twice. Both times were because of her workers needing her advice. She pointed out that there is no time for rest because she needs to constantly be available to her workers. The interview was also conducted on Saturday morning. She explained that her workers coming into her office or messaging and calling her was common. This made it clear that work interruptions were normalised, reinforcing the integrated boundaries or the lack thereof. She also referred to me as a young girl (姑娘) and in some instances said that I am probably too young to understand some things. This could potentially mean that maybe she was withholding some experiences because of my age? Maybe saw me as one of their own children?

I confirm that the uploaded document is the thesis/dissertation to be examined