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Work-life Balance for Happiness among Working Women in a Patriarchal Setup: A Qualitative Study

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Abstract

The study is focused on the efforts by married Indian women with children in balancing home responsibilities with work/job in their quest for happiness against the backdrop of patriarchal societal values. Patriarchal societies propagate the ideology of motherhood which restricts women's mobility and burdens them with the responsibilities to nurture and rear children and raise a family. With the rise of feminism and weakening of patriarchy, the traditional role of married Indian women transitioned from homemakers to career women. Experiencing happiness through work-life balance was (1) getting what one wanted, (2) leading a meaningful life by serving a higher goal (3) staying invested in multiple life domains so that the happiness and satisfaction from one life-domain helped in coping with the failures in other domain. Data was gathered through interviews and was content analyzed. To stay contented and happy the working married women chose to be invested emotionally in several domains in their day to day lives. They were willing to work hard to not only keep the family satisfied but also find time for paid-work which gave them financial independence. The experience of empowerment led to a meaningful life. The theoretical and managerial implications are also discussed.

Key Words:

Happiness, patriarchy, qualitative -study, women, work-life balance.

Track: Gender in management

Word count: 8530

Work-life Balance for Happiness among Working Women in a Patriarchal Setup: A Qualitative Study

Introduction:

Among married working women who have children, creating a work-life balance for attaining the best of work and family life satisfaction is aspired to stay happy. But the gendered role and influence of patriarchal values (Ortner, 1978) drive what men and women should value and strive for. The patriarchal values expect women to be the primary caregivers at home. This puts undue pressure on working women to manage both the home and work (Ortner, 1978). Therefore the objective of the present study was to find out whether work-life balance efforts by working married women in India was giving them a sense of happiness against the backdrop of patriarchal societal values. Work-life balance is explained by the accomplishment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his/her role related partners in the work and family domains (Brough et al. 2007; O'Driscoll et al. 2007; Grzywacz & Carlson, 2007). We have explored the support systems available at home in the form of spouse and/or other key members (mother-in-law) of the family. The maids (domestic help) also played an important role in the support system.

In our study, we found that the desire of recognition of their performance at the workplace, financial independence, and empowerment, equality in decision-making rights at home along with the gratification of raising children were found to be very fulfilling to them and thus experienced as sources of happiness. Their work life balance helped them stay emotionally invested in multiple life domains of work and family (Sirgy and Wu, 2009) which explained their happiness. Investment in multiple life domains helps in coping with the dissatisfaction and

failure in one domain by the satisfaction attained in other domains leading to the experience of happiness (Sirgy and Wu, 2009). The paper was qualitative in nature. The study contributes significantly by extending our understanding of the struggles of working women to attain work-life balance to stay happy. It also helps us in understanding how work-life balance will strengthen diversity and inclusion initiatives at the workplace. Lastly, the study showcases how a framework of balanced happiness (by staying invested in multiple life domains) leads to lasting happiness.

The delicate balance between Patriarchal values and Empowerment

Patriarchy is a social construct specifying the socially and culturally prescribed roles that men and women follow (Ortner, 1978). As a fallout of patriarchal mindset, gendered socialization prescribes the role of breadwinning as essentially a man's job and home management a woman's job (Bharat,1995; Ramu,1989). Patriarchal societies also propagate the ideology of motherhood which restricts women's mobility and burdens them with the responsibilities to nurture and rear children and raise a family. According to Munn and Chaudhuri (2016), though feminism and women's empowerment movements have weakened patriarchy to some extent and led to a rise in the number of women joining the workforce, the ideology of motherhood is still dear among most women. Interestingly, dualism has been promoted whereby a woman has to combine the covert societal/familial expectation (of family care and motherhood) with the desire to realize her potential (of career and growth) that she has derived through modern education (Patil, 2001). Therefore with the change in the traditional role of women from homemakers and caretakers, to career women, they experience an increasing challenge of maintaining work-family life balance .

As a result, when married women join the workforce, they experience a conflict between caregiving responsibilities at home and satisfactory performance at work (Budhwar, Saini, & Bhatnagar, 2005; Valk & Srinivasan, 2011, Bhalla & Kaur, 2011, Bansal & Agarwal, 2017). Therefore not all women display a preference for a full-time career like men. Based on the types of options women take to manage work and family responsibilities, Hakim (1998; 2000; 2003a; 2003b; 2004) has categorized working women into three categories and created a ‘preference theory’ or ‘preference groupings’. ‘Home-centred’ women give priority to their families and when they have children, they either decide to withdraw from the labor market altogether or work only intermittently. ‘Work-centred’ women, in contrast, give priority to their employment and are often not married and/or stay childless. The third category of ‘adaptives’ – by far the largest – shifts the emphasis of their ‘preferences’ over their work/family life cycles. Women’s employment has thus changed gender relations within the family, in the redistribution of housework, and shared decision-making. But still, the role of running the family (financially) is shared by the husband and the parent-in-law, while the expectations of managing the home (including the children and the elderly) are largely from the wife (Watanabe, Takahashi & Minami, 1997; Mehra, 2002).

Work-life balance

Work-life balance has multiple facets like work-life conflict (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985), work-life facilitation (Greenhaus and Powell, 2006; Grzywacz and Marks, 2000; Carlson and Perrewé, 1999; Roxburgh, 1999; Van Daalen et al., 2006; Warren and Johnson, 1995), work-life enrichment and balance (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Frone, 2003, Voydanoff, 2005; Greenhaus and Allen, in press; Greenhaus et al., 2003; Valcour, 2007; Clarke et al, 2009;

Kalliath and Brough 2008; Brough et al. 2007; O'Driscoll et al. 2007; Grzywacz and Carlson, 2007; Grzywacz and Bass 2003).

The literature of work-life balance is broadly classified into efforts taken by organizations to help employees reduce work-life conflict and attain a balance and also efforts taken by family members in enabling the women to achieve work-life balance. Some examples of the former approach are alternative work schedules, telecommuting, wellness classes, and caregiver services. Women's domestic tasks and childcare influence the kind of work they favor, since flexibility (in terms of hours and relative ease of entry, exit, and re-entry) allow them to merge work and family duties more effortlessly (Burke 2001, 2003; Ezra & Deckman 1996; Madsen 2003 Greenhaus et al., 2003; OECD, 2001).

Examples of the latter approach in enabling the women to achieve work-life balance are also available (Bedeian et al. 1986; Lewis, Gambels, and Rhona 2007, Knijn, 2003; Matsui et al., 1995; Van Daalen et al., 2006). Furthermore, factors in the family domain (e.g., spousal support) were found to play a significant role in reducing work-family conflict (Bedeian et al. 1986; Carlson and Perrewé, 1999; Roxburgh, 1999; Van Daalen et al., 2006; Warren and Johnson, 1995). Apart from this, the informal help from relatives and friends or paid domestic help is also important in achieving balance (Knijn, 2003).

Work-life balance and role salience

Using the role salience approach, Grzywacz and Carlson (2007) defined work-family balance as an accomplishment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his/her role related partners in the work and family domains. The definition has many advantages. First, it shifts the construct from the psychological domain into the social

domain, thereby making it observable and subject to observation. Next, there are no requirements imposed on how the accomplishment of role-related responsibilities is achieved. Therefore work-family balance is possible despite experiences of work-family conflict. Finally, the definition differs from others because neither effectiveness nor overall performance in either the personal or professional spheres of life are necessary conditions for work-family balance. This feature is important because work-family balance does not mean that an individual is a 'superstar' in both the work and family domains. Rather, upholding mutually agreed upon responsibilities is, in essence, meeting basic or core requirements of the role; it does not necessitate high levels of effectiveness or performance (Brough et al. 2007; O'Driscoll et al. 2007).

Rapoport et al. (2002) have stated that people may have different priorities and the aim is not always an even balance between the two in terms of time dedicated to it. It is feasible, for example, that a highly engaged employee may work long hours and have fewer hours available for their non-work activities, but perceive no adverse consequences of their 'unequal' roles. Similarly, part-time workers may also perceive they have an effective balance between their multiple roles, despite the unequal time allocated to each role.

All the effort in maintaining work-life balance is carried out with the intent of experiencing life satisfaction and happiness which is defined as an overall level of contentment resulting from an assessment of one's degree of success at meeting work and family role demands (Valcour, 2007).

Work-life balance and happiness

There are three perspectives of happiness which can explain work-life balance efforts.

First, the Desire theory of happiness (Griffin 1986) holds that happiness is a matter of getting what you want with the content of the want left up to the person who does the wanting. In our study, the 'want' is the respondent's expectation of achieving happiness through work-life balance in a patriarchal set-up. According to this theory, the fulfillment of a desire contributes to one's happiness regardless of the amount of pleasure (or displeasure). A review of the literature on work-life balance also shows that struggles of work-life balance may cause displeasure like anxiety, tension and stress (Greenglass, 1988; Desai (1996) but women still 'want' and aspire for a career to experience happiness.

Second, the Objective List theory of happiness (Nussbaum 1992; Sen 1985) maintains that happiness consists of a human life that achieves certain things from a list of worthwhile pursuits such as career, beauty, education, love, knowledge, and good conscience. The person who lives a meaningful life is one that serves what is larger and more worthwhile than just the self's pleasures and desires. Therefore when women handle the challenges of nurturing the family, carrying out domestic work and childcare responsibilities and extracting time for paid job, it becomes a worthwhile and meaningful pursuit under objective list theory of happiness for the simple reason that the under-fulfillment of work-life balance may lead to family problems (Chandra, 2010, Misra, 1998; Narke and Daryanani, 2015).

Third, according to Balance theory of happiness (Sirgy and Wu, 2009), in order to attain happiness, one needs to work for balance and avoid imbalance in life. The balance was defined as a state reflecting satisfaction or fulfillment in several important domains with little or no negative affect in other domains. The imbalance was defined as a state reflecting satisfaction or fulfillment in a focused domain (e.g., work, family) that ultimately leads to negative affect in other domains. This approach is based on the notion that life satisfaction is the sum of the

satisfaction of various life domains and possibly moderated by the salience of these domains (Alfonso et al. 1996; Andrews and Withey 1976; Campbell et al. 1976; Frisch 2006; Hall 1976).

In different stages of life, different goals are given salience and importance. Satisfaction from work life may reflect the satisfaction of only a subset of human developmental needs, not the full range of these needs. Therefore a balance is needed to stay happy (Sirgy and Wu, 2009).

Bhargava (1995) in a study found that most subjects inferred life satisfaction of others as a direct function of their satisfaction in multiple domains. The more positive affect in multiple domains, the higher the subjective well-being. Balance and happiness will also be affected by the salience of these domains. Therefore a woman who gives salience to both work and family life and is putting effort to balance it too will experience more satisfaction. People are more satisfied with life when the source of satisfaction is derived from multiple life domains than a single domain (Sirgy and Wu, 2009; Marks & McDermid, 1996). This theory implies that “putting all your eggs in one basket” may not be effective in enhancing subjective wellbeing. It is best to be invested emotionally in several domains. Doing so allows one to compensate for the dissatisfaction of some domains with the satisfaction of other domains (Sirgy and Wu, 2009).

Research Questions:

Based on the literature review discussed we wanted to study two broad research questions:

1. How do married Indian working women succeed in achieving work-life balance against the background of patriarchal expectations of motherhood which restricts women's mobility and burdens them with the responsibilities to nurture and rear children and raise a family?

2. How does work-life balance activities of married Indian working women lead them to experience happiness?

The Indian context where the study was carried out

Before explaining the research it is essential to describe the Indian context and environment where the study was carried out. The classic patriarchy found in the Indian sub-continent (Kandiyoti, 1988) is not only remarkably uniform but also entail forms of control and subordination that cut across cultural and religious boundaries, such as those of Hinduism, Confucianism, and Islam. (Ortner 1978).

The study was done in the urban city of Mumbai. Since Mumbai is one of those cities in India which attracts people from all parts of India, it was felt that the respondents from Mumbai would represent the pan- Indian ethos and values. The rise of industrialization and urbanization has pulled the young generation away from the patriarchal homes (in search of employment) to create nuclear families closer to employment cities and suburbs. This loosens the hold of patriarchy on the married couples. With the impact of new market forces and capital penetration in rural areas (Kandiyoti, 1984) the material base of classic patriarchy is slowly changing and impacting the values governing the family interactions in India. The spread of formal education among children in general and girl child in particular has diluted the values defining patrilineal (determining descent through the male line) and patrilocal (centered around the residence of the husband's family) setup though it is still predominant among some communities and regions.

Under weakened patriarchy, parents are keen to educate their daughters and hone them with professional skills before they are married off. The assumption is that employment will facilitate economic empowerment and help them earn more respect in their husband's family. The

economic empowerment of wife has undermined the value of husband being the sole breadwinner and wife as the sole caregiver. The employment of the woman is supported by the husband primarily for two reasons. First, the wife's income is perceived as secondary (additional) income with husband still being the primary economic provider which preserves the male supremacy. Second while the husband supports the wife's economic empowerment there is a tacit understanding that in times of family crises like care of the children when sick, attending to school meeting of the child and care of the elderly in the family, the wife will have to either take leave from office or if needed sacrifice her career. The husband's career is perceived as linear (progressing upwards in the organizational hierarchy), the wife's career is generally temporary with intermittent gaps for managing the family. Often domestic work is outsourced to domestic maids and this helps in work-life balance.

In India, most marriages are arranged between the families of the girl and the boy, though love marriages (those decided by the boy and the girl on their own) are also not uncommon. In both the types of marriages the bride (wife) is expected to display obedience to the groom's (husband's) parents and family.

Many times child care and care of the elderly necessitate the need in couples for once again staying together with parents-in-law. In cases of divorces too the parents stay with their now single grownup children to help them rear the grand-children.

Research Design

Keeping the above context in mind, the interview method was used for data collection. Initially, we interviewed seven working women to understand the emerging themes. Upon discussion with other experts, it was decided that we should also interview one family member (preferably the spouse) and one office colleague. Therefore in the subsequent interviews, we focused on

working women along with one family member (preferably the spouse) and one office colleague. Eight triads were interviewed. Each triad consisted of the following:

- the **respondent** (working woman).
- her **spouse/family member**
- **colleague** from the workplace.

Therefore in all 31 interviews were conducted (7 initial interviews on only working women and 24 subsequent interviews comprising of 8 triads). The age of women respondents varied between 25-47 years, two respondents had no children, eleven respondents had one child and one respondent had 2 children. All respondents were graduate and above, employed in diverse sectors like Pharmaceutical, Banking, Real estate, IT and Service Industry. The respondents were married working female. Their work experience ranged from 2 years to 19 years. Nine respondents were staying in nuclear families and six in a joint family.

The interviews were semi-structured and approximately the same questions were asked to all women respondents. There were a separate set of questions to be responded by the spouse/family member and office colleague. The interviews were recorded on the cell-phone. The approach of theoretical sampling was adopted (Goulding, 2005). That is the secondary questions were developed from the responses in an iterative manner. From the initial set of questions, the next set of questions was evolved and the iteration was continued until saturation was achieved. Each subsequent interview helped us identify the recurring behavioral challenges of work lifework life balance. All the interviews were recorded in English using smartphones with prior consent from the interviewees.

Data analysis

We used a two-step fine coding system in which the codes are derived inductively from interviews and ultimately agreed upon by the authors. Coding as a method helped in ‘meaning condensation’ (Lee, 1999). We extracted or abstracted the most relevant themes (called ‘codes’) from the data, arranged them in a hierarchy to record their relationships, and noted them in a dictionary for data analysis, to document their precise meanings. A code was assigned to a section of text where we identified a phenomenon present in it as a theme. The coded text length varied from a single phrase to multiple lines. The steps involved in coding were as follows: first, each transcript was thoroughly read and independently coded by both the researchers. Second, the researchers compared and discussed their independent coding to determine the final coding for the transcripts. Third, for those codings where the researchers did not have the same meaning, they approached a neutral third person for an opinion. This helped in alleviating researcher bias in the analysis. All the codes were then integrated into axial coding. Axial coding is the process through which the dynamic interrelationship of different concepts can be understood (Goulding, 2005). The analysis was carried out using NVIVO-11. Tables 1 and 2 shows the demographic description of the female respondents. Table 3 shows the key themes.

Table 1: Demographic description of seven initial interviews

S.N	Res pon dent	Age	Education	Industry	Job role	experience	child ren	Type of family
1.	Va	29	Graduate	Service	Manager	8	1	nuclear
2.	Rup	37	Graduate, MBA	Service	Supply Chain Manager	15	1	nuclear
3.	Anj	47	MBS	IT	Manager	17	1	nuclear
4.	AnK	25	Computer Engineer	Service	Manager	10	0	Joint

5.	Sh	29	Graduate	Service	Admin	6	1	nuclear
6.	Pr	30	Graduate, MBA	Automobile	HR	4	1	Joint
7.	Mj	46	CA	Banking	Manager	19	1	nuclear

Table 2: Demographic description of Eight triads

Resp onde nt	Categor y	Age	Qualificat ion	Industry	Job role	Expe rienc e	no. Of childr en	Family type
1Jos	woman	43	Mpharm MBa	Pharma	MMg	18.5	2	joint
	husband	45	MBA	Banking	Branch Manager	20		
	Mother	60+		not working	NA	NA		
2Mo	woman	29	CS	Company Secretary	Company Secretary	2	0	nuclea r
	husband	30	Graduate	Banking	Manager	5		
	parent- in-law			not working	NA	NA		
3Rut	woman	32	MSc ,MBA	Pharma	Research Analyst	8	1	Joint
	husband	33	Engg	IT	Team Leader	10		
	parent- in- law(mot her in law)	50+	Graduate	Banking	Officer	20+		
4Anit a Fds	woman	36	MBA	Banking	Officer	10	1	Joint
	husband	40	Graduate	Manufactu ring	Officer	10		
	parent- in-law	60+		not working	NA	NA		
5Maj	woman	43	Graduate	Banking	Manager	15	2	Nuclea

	husband	45	MBA	Banking	Manager	20		r
	parent-in-law			not working	NA	NA		
6Anit Lob	woman	37	MSW	Real Estate	HR	13	0	Nuclear
	husband	39	Graduate	Real Estate	Secretary	20		
	parent-in-law			not working	NA	NA		
7Sw	woman	43	MBA	Financial services	Manager	10	1	Joint
	husband	Divorced						
	parent-in-law(Mother)	70		not working	NA	NA		
8 Prat	woman	44	MBA	Service	Manager	15	1	Nuclear
	husband	45	CA	banking	Manager	20		
	parent-in-law	NA		not working	NA	NA		

NA: not applicable

The data was analyzed and put together under key themes given below:

I. Achieving work-life balance against the background of patriarchal expectations

a. Patriarchal value of giving preference to family over career:

All the respondents were of the view that family was more important than their career. Therefore they were open to allowing their careers to *take a back seat* if the need arose. The same belief is reiterated in the following quote:

'I would be the first one to take leave because I would not be at peace if my mother-in-law or my son is down with a major illness and I am sitting in the office and working'.

It is a reflection of socialization based on the gendered role and patriarchal value of children and family care to be the prime responsibilities of a woman. The Indian women have grown up learning the gendered values and so were seen to continuing to abide by them. The above theme also reflects the value of personal sacrifice for a cause (sacrificing of career for the care of

family) which is also satisfying and gives happiness since it removes the mental dissonance of not following the patriarchal values.

b. Guilt feeling for not giving sufficient time to the family:

A related theme which supported the theme of putting family ahead of career was the feeling of guilt of not giving adequate time to the family. Almost all respondents accepted that they felt guilty for not giving sufficient time to their family and children especially in cases where children were young.

The value of child care as their primary responsibility under the patriarchal values is internalized by the women. At the same time, women continue with their job which shows the fulfillment of the desire to work outside their homes contributes to happiness regardless of the amount of guilt/displeasure.

c. Support of the spouse:

Most of the respondents were actively living up to the challenges of work and home. They had the support of the spouse. The spouse praised the efforts of their wives in managing both work and family. But none of the spouses talked about sharing the daily chores at home. This evidence supports the gendered role distribution within the family.

d. Support of the maid:

Almost all the respondents hired a maid at home which eased their work. The support of maids in easing out daily chores was acceptable among all families studied.

d. Preference of joint family or extended family over a nuclear family:

The analysis of the themes showed that women who were staying in a joint family preferred it over the nuclear family. The preference for joint family helped them get the family support for childcare when they (female respondents) were at work. At the same time, the elders in the family got care and support to counter old age loneliness and sickness.

e. Work pressure in the office:

The respondents took their work seriously in terms of meeting the deadlines, schedules, and accuracy of work. It also shows that additional pressure in their efforts of work-life balance due to stretched and prolonged hours led to stress.

f. Organizational support for work-life balance:

Some organizations provide for the crèche facilities for young mothers. Others provided for light exercises like 'yoga' classes and 'Zumba' classes after office hours which acted as stress-buster. Some organizations also provided work- from- home facilities on certain days. While others allowed working from nearby branches of their offices. All companies provided statutory leaves like the maternity leaves. Some bosses were considerate and did not mind employees leaving early for the home in times of emergency.

g. The relevance of gender of bosses and support for work-life balance:

There were mixed responses about the preference of male or female bosses and their support for work-life balance. Some respondents preferred male bosses because they were perceived as considerate, and more understanding. While others found female bosses more comfortable to work with.

II. Work-life balance activities leading to experience happiness

a. Decision making in the family:

It was found that respondents carried out joint decision making (along with their spouse) in the family where they (the respondents) were key players in decision making. Except in situations where she (the woman respondent) did not have the expertise or sufficient information on the subject (for example investment decisions for the future) that the decision was made exclusively by the spouse. It was also seen that where ever the respondent stayed in a joint family, the mother-in-law was also a key stakeholder in the decision-making process and the women respondents also welcomed it. This also points at the patriarchal values of giving reverence to seniors in the family through their inclusion in decision making. At the same economic empowerment of women had given them a voice in the decision making in the family which was satisfying to women and led to the experience of happiness.

b. Stress:

Almost all the respondents agreed that managing work and family gave them stress which was expressed in various shades from restlessness, and mood swings to minor effects like fatigue and exhaustion. All the respondents also accepted stress to be a part of their daily lives and tried to cope with it by resting and sleeping, taking the support of maids (domestic help) and family members to complete domestic work and generally trying to stay cheerful.

c. Dedication to work:

Most respondents were very dedicated to their work life. The colleagues interviewed have reported that their (respondent's) work was of comparable quality and output to that of a male colleague. The respondents experienced pride in their work which contributed to the experience

of fulfillment and happiness. The women respondents found their work challenging but worked hard and earned positive reviews from their bosses and colleagues which added to the experience of happiness.

d. Success at work and financial independence:

Financial independence was highly valued because it earned them more respect within family and society. It also gave them a feeling of accomplishment and empowerment.

e. Hobby and personal time:

Most of the respondents pursued some hobby in their personal time. Some used personal time to pursue higher studies. Almost all of them took time out to socialize with friends at least once a month which was a good relaxation.

f. Balanced life and happiness: an exertion of choice:

We found that all respondents were putting in extra effort for a balanced life by choice. All the activities were being carried out voluntarily. The expression of choice was gratifying- a mark of happiness.

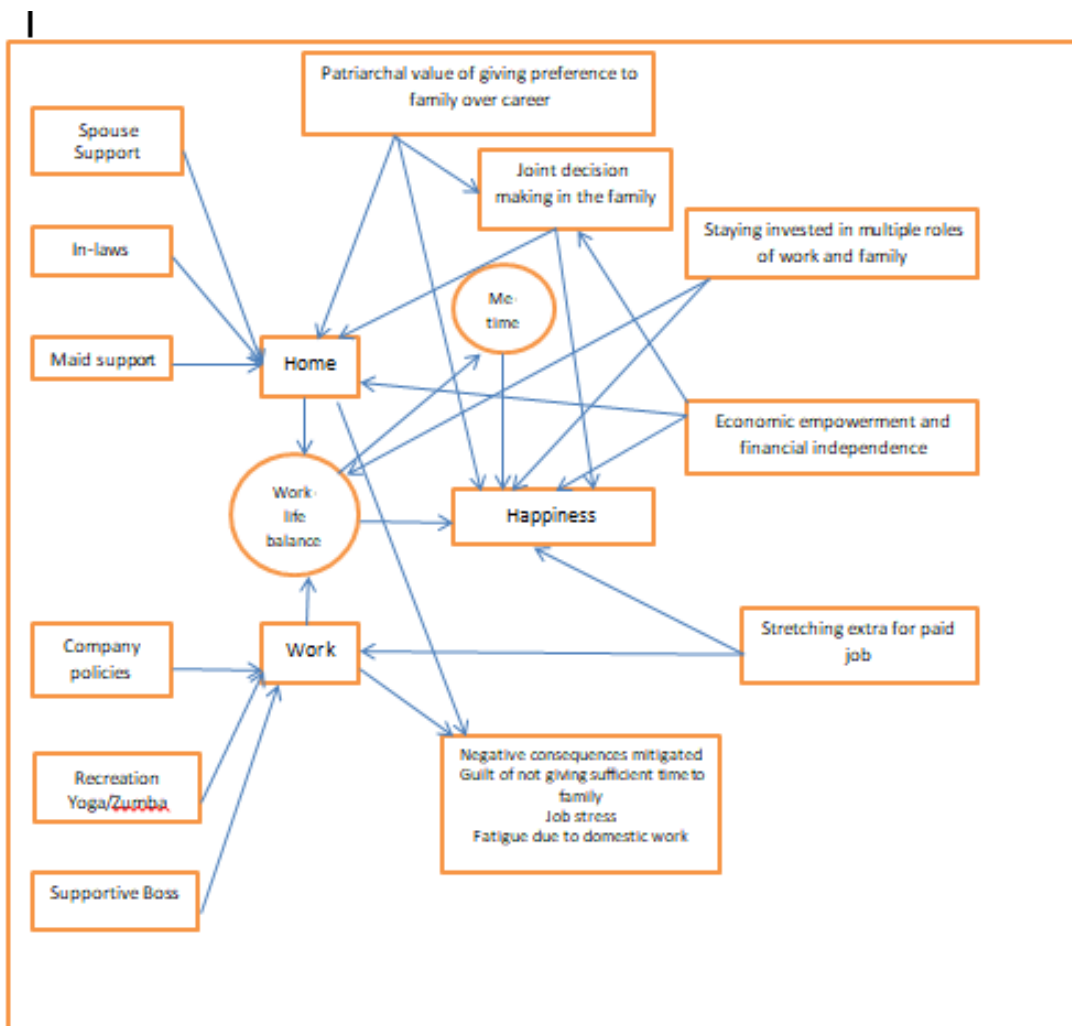
They also drew the support from their spouse and other significant family members (who were willing to help the respondents) which added to their enthusiasm for working and having a balanced family. Colleagues of the respondent in the organization also appreciated their behavior in the office. They found them hardworking and dedicated. Freedom of exerting choice added to the experience of satisfaction and happiness. Expression of choice was reflected in taking out time for themselves or some 'me- time'. They spent this time by going out with their friends (away from their work and family). They also used it to pursue their hobby. Few respondents used the time voluntarily to pursue higher studies for a brighter future.

Table 3: Key Themes

S.N.	Theme	Representative Quotations
I	Achieving work-life balance against the background of patriarchal expectations	
i.	the family is more important than their career	allowing their careers to ‘ <i>take a backseat if the need arises</i> <i>‘as a working mother, the guilt never leaves me</i>
ii.	Support of the spouse	<i>In the morning she is completing all the chores and going to the office, coming back and completing her home chores again and at night she gets tired but still is fresh is supporting her family in a very good way</i>
iii.	Support of the maid	maid at home which eases out their work
iv.	The preference for joint family	get the family support for looking after their kids when they (female respondents) were at work. elders in the family got the support especially when they were ill
	Work-life balance in the office/workplace	
i.	dedication to work	as good in quality and output as that of a male colleague felt pride in their work worked hard and earned positive reviews
ii.	Handling work pressure	<i>a lot of work pressure and a lot of deadlines</i> prolonged hours
	work-life balance efforts in the office/workplace lead to the experience of happiness	
i.	meaningfulness	<i>gives you more respect in society’</i> the feeling of accomplishment and empowerment.
ii.	engagement	Practices light exercises like ‘yoga’ classes and ‘Zumba’ classes after office hours which acted as stress-busters
iii.	Balanced life	work- from- home facilities leaving early in times of emergency statutory leaves like the maternity leaves
II	Work-life balance activities leading to experience happiness	
i.	meaningfulness	personal sacrifice for a cause (sacrificing of career to care for family

		<p><i>Care of the elderly</i></p> <p><i>and at night she gets tired but still is fresh is supporting her family in a very good way'</i></p>
ii.	engagement	Are key players in decision making at home
iii.	Balanced life	<p>family decisions are taken jointly with spouse and parent</p> <p>women have a voice in the decision making in the family life</p> <p>support of the maid</p>
iv	balanced life by choice	<p>drawing the support of their spouse and other significant family members</p> <p>Colleagues of the respondent in the organization also appreciated their behavior</p> <p>Colleagues of the respondent in the organization also appreciated their behavior</p> <p>finding some time for themselves or some 'me time'</p>
v	gratification	<p>Financial independence</p> <p>Decision-making rights at home</p> <p>Recognition at the workplace</p> <p>Raising children along with a job</p>
vi	Handling imbalance	<p>pursued some hobby</p> <p>to pursue higher studies</p> <p>go out with friends at least once a month</p> <p>finding some time for themselves or some 'me time'</p>

Figure 1: Flowchart of Work-life balance and Happiness for Working women in a Patriarchal setup



Discussion

The research was aimed at studying the relationship between work-life balance and happiness of working women within the framework of patriarchal values explored through two research questions. Work-life balance was defined as the fulfillment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his/her role related partners in the work and family domains (Grzywacz & Carlson, 2007). Happiness was explained through Desire theory, Objective list theory (Seligman and Royzman, 2003) and Balanced theory (Sirgy and Wu, 2009). The first question addressed in the study was how do married Indian working women succeed in achieving work-life balance against the background of patriarchal expectations of motherhood which restricts women's mobility and burdens them with the responsibilities to nurture and rear children and raise a family? The second question was how does work-life balance activities of married Indian working women lead them to experience happiness?

Our study showed that women have upheld the patriarchal value of putting family over career. This does not mean that today's Indian women do not want to work for a career. What it means is that women prefer having a career but they are also willing to sacrifice their career or allow their career to take a back seat if needed for looking after the children and the elderly. It was observed that there was a general preference for the joint/extended family over nuclear families. The advantage for this preference was that the elders in the family (grandparents) babysit while the woman is out for work. In return, the elders were also cared for and they do not feel lonely. The woman also puts-in extra effort to complete the daily domestic chores every morning before going to work and finishes remaining chore after coming back from work. Though this adds to the stress yet it is welcomed. This behavior is in line with the Desire theory (Griffin1986) of happiness which states that happiness is a matter of getting what you want even if there are some

displeasures attached. It also supports the Object list theory (Nussbaum 1992; Sen 1985) which stresses on a meaningful life than just living for self-pleasure. Their effort in completing domestic work and managing paid work was also appreciated by the spouse. There is a clear demarcation of role expectation by the woman and the family members from each other including the domestic help (maid). The efforts in maintaining a work-life balance by specifying role expectations (within the family) are not only mutually engaging but also meaningful to the woman and the family members. Though the woman has to put in extra effort and time to manage the chores at home along with the office work, she does it willingly. This shows her engagement with family life which is very satisfying for her.

Our analysis of the interviews showed that working women were dedicated to their work life and their performance was no less than that of men. Like men,, they too faced long hours at work and stringent time schedules. In return, the organizations too looked after the needs of the working women by offering varying services like crèche facilities for the young mothers and opportunities for light work-outs after office hours which acted as stress-busters. Some organizations also provided work- from- home facilities on some days/weeks of the year. All companies provided statutory leaves like the maternity leaves. Some organizations were considerate and did not mind employees leaving early in times of emergency. Here mutual role expectations and its fulfillment by working women and their organizations were evident.

The analysis showed that workplace success gave financial independence and empowerment to working women which in turn earned them the respect which they valued a lot.

It was observed that all respondents were willingly putting in extra effort for a balanced life. It was not out of pressure or compulsion. They were also drawing the support of their spouse and other significant family members (who were willing to help the respondents) which added to

their enthusiasm for working and having a balanced family. Colleagues of the respondent in the organization also appreciated their behavior in the office. They (colleagues) found them hardworking and dedicated. There was generally no spillover of domestic problems in the office. The freedom of exerting choice added to the experience of satisfaction and happiness. The financial independence and empowerment through paid- work had its impact at home and the women were equal partners in the decision making for running the home.

Using the concept of balance and imbalance (Sirgy & Wu 2009) our study showed that working women experienced imbalance due to the struggle to handle work-pressure and living the patriarchal value of childcare as their primary responsibility. It often led to guilt. So women countered imbalance arising from work by participating in physical exercises and recreations organized by their organization. The analysis also shows that '*restlessness, and mood swings*' and '*fatigue and exhaustion*' arising out of work was mitigated by taking rest. They also appreciated bosses who are empathetic and considerate towards them in times of family emergency. Guilt was addressed by either choosing to stay in a joint family where children were cared for in their absence or keeping a maid for child-care and domestic work. Expression of choice was evident among them where they consciously extracted some time for themselves or some 'me time' or personal time away from their work and family. Some used their spare time to pursue a hobby or to pursue higher studies for a brighter tomorrow. In the workplace, job mastery and supervisor support appeared to be crucial. In private life, emotional support, i.e. having a good relationship with family and friends and minimal spousal conflict regarding domestic chores had a positive impact on work-life balance and satisfaction. Emotional workplace support appeared to have a complementary relationship and that both were needed for a high level of work-life balance satisfaction. Here the support of maids and domestic-help were

an added support.

All the respondents valued success in their work life and financial independence they achieved. Our study showed that working women were putting in sincere effort in attempting to achieving the same with the support of the family and to some extent the organizations too. The exertion of choice helped them to carve out the life they wanted to experience happiness.

The respondents were very proud of discussing their efforts for a work-life balance which points at the experience of happiness. The spouse and significant family members (mothers –in –law) were also appreciative and supportive of the women respondents' efforts at attempting work-life balance. This behavior is indicative of changing trends in patriarchal values and gendered roles in educated Indian society. So while care of children and family was still the prime responsibility of the woman, the family members were willing to support her so that she could move out of the boundaries of her home and earn a living. The benefits of the same were multiple. First, the woman was more confident in herself. Second, the greatest patriarchal value of care of the children and the elderly to be carried out by the woman was upheld by the working woman. This was welcoming to the husband (spouse) and the mother-in-law (the family). Third, the exertion of freedom of choice to paid-work and financial independence added to the happiness.

Since balance is important in the experience of happiness we found that respondents preferred organizations which had policies of supporting work-life balance and were also appreciative of bosses who were empathetic toward women and their challenges at the home front. At the same time, women respondents showed full sincerity towards their work which points at their professionalism. Our study suggests that even in the absence of formal work-life balance practices; family support, spousal support, and office colleague's understanding and support played a large part in promoting balance in working women's work-family life. Since the woman

was successfully invested in multiple domains she continued to get some success and achievements from each which led to balanced happiness. Therefore there was always an effort to attain all-round satisfaction thus leading them to experience happiness.

Theoretical Implication:

The study has supported the happiness theories of Seligman and Royzman (2003) and Sirgy and Wu (2009). We found that happiness was close to contentment, the fulfillment of a meaningful life and staying invested in multiple life domains. The spillover of success from one domain helped them to counter the experience of failure in some other life domain. In order to stay contented and happy in their day to day lives, working Indian women were willing to put in extra effort to not only keep the family satisfied but also find time to paid work. Career and work gave them financial independence and experience of empowerment which led to an engaging and meaningful life.

The study also supports the ‘preference theory’ (Hakim 1998; 2000; 2003a; 2003b; 2004) by linking the work-life balance initiative with the ‘adaptors’ description in the preference theory. Women in employment have changed gender relations within the family, in the redistribution of housework, and shared decision-making.

Managerial Implication:

The managerial implication of the study lies in strengthening the HR policies in organizations so that a woman could contribute constructively to working in organizations. Based on the work of Mehra (2002) organizations should realize that women bring ‘unique style and attitude’ to the workplace. Organizations should channelize the energies of women managers in such a manner

that their skills and interactive style of leadership brings gains to the organization. This will not force the women leaders to join the 'boys club' and adopt a masculine style of functioning but bring their unique abilities to manage organizations.

Approaches like telecommuting can be emphasized to retain women talent. Care should be taken that the HR policies are gender neutral. For example, not only the maternity leave but also the paternity leave needs to be encouraged so that both the parent can take turns in rearing the child and thus put less pressure on the working mother. Today when organizations are attempting to create happy employees and workplace happiness, the issue of work-life balance needs to be taken with more seriousness. The definition of work life should be stretched beyond the care of the family and also include other aspects of life like sports and hobbies. This will make work life more appealing to categories of employees other than women. This line of thought will also be in sync with the millennial mindset which thinks work not an end but a means to an end.

Strengths, Limitations and Future Directions:

The strength of the paper lies on the fact that the study was carried out in triads consisting of the woman (as the key respondent), her spouse or spouse's mother and one colleague from her office. The advantage was that we were able to objectively study the issues in hand. The paper focused on changing patriarchal values where women were allowed to work provided they also took care of the family. In this endeavor, the significant family members were supportive of the woman. This led to the experience of happiness

The limitation of the study is that it is conducted only in Mumbai, India. Conducting a study in different cities, also a different sector of the industry may allow the generalization of findings. In our study, we took the cross section data and linked it to the experience of happiness. For a more

robust conclusion, longitudinal studies can be carried out to study the relationship in greater detail. Future implications of the study are to expand the research on linking happiness to work-life balance especially when technology is reshaping the way homes are run and businesses are carried out in organizations. Automation is saving time both at home and at work. Therefore time management can improve and lead to more happiness.

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