

Women, Patriarchy & Work-life Balance: A Qualitative Study

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The study analyzes the effect of patriarchal values on work-life balance efforts of urban working women. It seeks to find out if the work-life balance efforts of the urban working women led to wellbeing. It is a qualitative study carried out in triads consisting of the respondent (woman), her spouse or a significant family member and an office colleague. NVIVO and DICTION were used for analysis. The study showed that Indian women upheld patriarchal values. To manage their occupations women showed their preference for a joint family over the nuclear family. Women handled work-life balance but the effort led to stress. Work gave them respect as an earning family member. Their motivation to continue to work gave them different coping methods.

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Introduction

One of the key themes under women's development is work-life balance. According to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development of UNDP¹, a key focus area is enhancing women's agency, capabilities and participation in decision-making processes. Patriarchal societies characterized by traditional gender norms have hindered the efforts of gender equality and work-life balance. It is interesting that the labor force participation rate for women in India is a U-shaped curve, with more women in the workforce at extremely low and high levels of income and education (Olsen & Mehta, 2006) and the majority of middle India displaying more traditional gender role norms (governed by patriarchy).

Upon analyzing the types of researches conducted we find that one stream of research examined the impact of globalization on female in workforce participation (Sonpar & Kapur, 2001) and the psychosocial perspective of gender

¹ UNDP Gender Equality Strategy 2018-2021 <http://undocs.org/DP/2018/21>

differences in work and family roles (Parikh & Shah, 1994). These studies focused on the perspective of role theory and examined work-family relations within urban settings. The second stream of research highlighted the existing norms of patriarchy and oppressive family life, growing religious fundamentalism underlying women's status in the country and subordination of women at work and home (Desai, 1994). There has been little or no cross-pollination between studies on work-life balance and those on patriarchy (Rajadhyaksha & Smita, 2004) with linkage to the wellbeing of working women.

Therefore, the present study seeks to examine the role of patriarchal values on the work-life balance efforts of the urban working woman and their wellbeing. The wellbeing of women was identified as a marker of a balanced life. The study has used NVIVO-11 and DICTION-7 for analyzing the data. The study aimed to contribute to the body of knowledge of women's development by linking together the frameworks of studies on work-life balance and patriarchal values.

Work-life Balance

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 work and family domains. The definition has many advantages. First, it shifts the construct from the psychological do-

main into the social domain, thereby making it observable and subject to observation. Second, 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 is 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).

The literature of work-life balance is broadly classified into efforts taken by organizations to help employees manage work-life challenges and attain a balance (Burke 2001; Ezra & Deckman 1996; Madsen 2003; Greenhaus et al., 2003; OECD, 2001) and also the efforts made by family members in enabling the women to achieve work-life balance (Bedeian et al, 1986; Lewis et. al., 2007, Van Daalen et al., 2006; Warren & Johnson, 1995).

The Indian Family & Patriarchy: A Slow Evolution with Changing Times

Traditionally, family structure in India (in particular Hindu families) is ex-

tended; however, nuclear families are also becoming more common in urban areas. Indian families are usually indulgent toward children and the aged. They are patriarchal with the eldest male member becoming head of the household. Patriarchy is a social construct specifying the socially and culturally prescribed roles that men and women follow (Ortner, 1978; Bharat, 1995; Ramu, 1987). The classic patriarchy found in the Indian sub-continent (Kandiyoti, 1988) is remarkably uniform and entails forms of control and subordination of women that cuts across cultural and religious boundaries, such as those of Hinduism, Confucianism, and Islam (Ortner, 1978). 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. Women are encouraged to bear (male) children to carry forward the lineage and to ensure that funeral rites are performed by the eldest son of the family.

Marriages in India also tend to be arranged for the young by family elders or kinship groups (Kakar, 1978). Even when young people in urban areas select their partners, approval is sought from parents and other family members. Partners are usually sought from within the same caste or religion or social class/status group (Rajadhyaksha, 2012). Divorce, although increasing, especially among young couples, is still largely uncommon in society.

In the twenty-first century, with the spread of urban education, the classic patriarchy is undergoing slow changes.

The rise of feminism under different ideologies also influenced the expression of patriarchy. Feminists use the concept of 'patriarchy' to describe the power relationship between men and women (Elson, 1996). Liberal feminism, socialist feminism and radical feminism (Burgess-Jackson, 1995) are the three substantive schools most often cited (Lorber, 1997). Postmodern and post-structuralist feminism concentrates on the paradigm of language. Its concern is primarily to deconstruct existing language and texts (Hartsock, 1989).

Capitalism also contributed to two structural changes that facilitated women's liberation. First, the dissolution of agrarian patriarchal households liberated non-patriarchs, including women from the patriarch's rule. The weakening of kinship ties dissolved the key institutional basis of women's oppression. It thus created greater opportunities for women to participate in political, economic, social life with greater freedom and dignity. The second, the emergence of paid work also contributed to emancipation as women earned wages and became liberated from agrarian patriarchal households. Under weakened patriarchy, employment of wife is supported by the husband primarily for two reasons. First, the wife's income continues to be perceived as secondary (additional) income and husband still being perceived as the primary economic provider which preserves male supremacy. Second, while the husband supports the wife's economic empowerment, there is a tacit understanding in the family, that in times of family situations like for example care of

the sick family member, attending to school meetings 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 (Shu, Zhu & Zhang, 2013). To strike a balance between patriarchal values and career aspirations it has been observed among dual-career couples too, that women continue to undertake the responsibility for family duties (Abeysekera & Gahan, 2017; Munn & Chaudhuri, 2016) and men work long hours regardless of the salience of their work and family roles (Greenhaus, Peng & Allen, 2012). As a result, a dualism is promoted whereby the woman combines the covert societal/familial expectations (of family care and motherhood) with the desire to realize her potential (of career and growth) that she has derived through modern education. This dualism creates 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). As a compromise between patriarchy and career aspirations, 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 divided working women into different categories and created a 'preference theory' or 'preference

This dualism creates a conflict between caregiving responsibilities at home and satisfactory performance at work.

groupings.' Even though Hakim's categorization (1998; 2000; 2003a; 2003b; 2004) has been critiqued (Leahy & Doughney, 2006), it gives a fair understanding of the patriarchal challenges that women face when it comes to balancing work and family life. In our research, we have attempted to study how women are attempting work-life balance for wellbeing.

Research Questions

Based on our understanding of patriarchy and its emphasis on woman and motherhood we came up with two broad research questions:

1. How do married Indian urban working women succeed in achieving a work-life balance within the framework 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. Do work-life balance efforts of married Indian working urban women lead to wellbeing?

Research Design

The study adopted the interpretive genre of qualitative inquiry to engage with the respondents through the interview method. Initially, seven working women were interviewed to understand the emerging themes around work-life balance and experience of happiness. Upon discussion with other experts, it was decided that the interview should also cover one family member (preferably the spouse) and one office colleague.

This would help in overcoming possible social desirability bias (Johnson & Fendrich 2005; King & Brunner 2000; Huang et al, 1998). Socially desirable responding is most likely to occur in responses to socially sensitive questions (King & Brunner, 2000).

Therefore, in the subsequent interviews, along with the working woman as the key respondent, we also interviewed one family member (preferably the spouse) and one office colleague. Thus, the following eight triads were interviewed:

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

This enabled us to get a holistic picture of the context and the experiences of working women. A total of 31 interviews were conducted (7 initial interviews on only working women and 24 subsequent interviews comprising 8 triads). All the respondents were married and were working females. The age of women respondents varied between 25-47 years, two respondents had no children, eleven respondents had one child and one respondent had two children. Nine respondents were staying in nuclear families and six in joint families. All respondents were at least graduates and some had post-graduate qualifications. The respondents were employed in diverse sectors like pharmaceuticals, banking, real-estate, information technology (IT) and service industry. Their work experience ranged from 2 years to 19 years.

Respondents were identified and interviewed using the researchers' networks. Each interview was around 50 minutes and consisted of semi-structured open-ended questions (Gabriel, 1998; Mano & Gabriel, 2006). All the interviews were recorded in English using smartphones with prior consent from the interviewees. The approach of theoretical sampling was adopted (Goulding, 2005) and the secondary questions were developed from the responses iteratively. From the initial set of questions, the next set of questions were evolved and the iteration was continued until saturation was achieved. The questions were broad-based and each subsequent interview helped in identifying the recurring behavioral challenges of work-life balance and wellbeing.

The interview guide designed consisted of questions to be asked to the respondent, her family member and the colleague (at work). The questions to the respondent were around demographics (age, education, marital status, number of children, nuclear/joint family, organization and sector of work, years of experience), experiences of patriarchy, coping with the pressures of job and family, family support, preference for career or family, decision making at home, feeling of doing justice to family roles and managing work, feelings of happiness and wellbeing, experiences and situations which give happiness, coping with stress, hobby and personal time, stress and health. The work-related questions were on themes like challenges at work, support extended by the organization through policies, superiors and

colleagues. Questions to the family member (spouse/mother-in-law) were around efforts of the wife/daughter-in-law in managing home and work, her role in decision making in the family, support extended to her for managing the home, shouldering domestic responsibilities while she is at work, her hobby and personal time, in situations of family emergency like illness and hospitalization expectations from the woman, situations and factors that made her happy. Questions to the colleague (at work) were around the closeness of the colleague to the respondent, frequency of interaction, their perception of the respondent's efforts in coping with work and domestic challenges, organizational support available (superior and colleagues), finding some personal time, coping with stress, higher studies and promotion opportunities, situations and factors that made her happy. The qualitative nature of the study provided the women time and space to give their responses and tell their stories in their own words.

Data Analysis

The analysis was carried out using both NVIVO-11 and DICTION-7.

For carrying out content analysis using NVIVO-11 the two-step fine coding system was used in which the codes were derived inductively from interviews and ultimately agreed upon by the authors. Coding as a method helped in 'meaning condensation' (Lee & Lee, 1999). The most relevant themes (called 'codes') were extracted or abstracted from the data, arranged in a hierarchy to record

their relationships and noted them in a dictionary for data analysis, to document their precise meanings. 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 codes 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).

Tables 1 and 2 show the demographic description of the female respondents.

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

1. Patriarchal Expectations
 - a. Family more important than career
 - i. Sacrificing career for family

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 quote from a woman respondent: "I would be the first one to take leave[the job] because I would not be at peace if my mother-in-law or my son is down with a major illness and I

Table 1 Demographic Description of Seven Initial Interviews

S.N	Respondent	Age	Education	Industry	Job role	Experience	Children	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 the Eight Triads

Respondent	Category	Age	Qualification	Industry	Job role	Experience	no. Of children	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	nuclear
	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	Engineering	IT	Team Leader	10		
	parent-in-law(mother in law)	50+	Graduate	Banking	Officer	20+		
4Anita Fds	woman	36	MBA	Banking	Officer	10	1	Joint
	husband	40	Graduate	Manufacturing	Officer	10		
	parent-in-law	60+		not working	NA	NA		
5Maj	woman	43	Graduate	Banking	Manager	15	2	Nuclear
	husband	45	MBA	Banking	Manager	20		
	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		

Key:MBA (Masters in Business Administration), CA (Chartered Accountant), MPharm (Masters in Pharmacology), MSc (Masters in Science), MSW (Masters in Social Welfare), NA (not applicable)

All the respondents were of the view that family was more important than their career.

am sitting in the office and working”.

ii. Importance of motherhood (childcare)

A related theme 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.

a. Respect of the parents in law

A woman was expected to pay reverence to elders (parents-in-law and other members of the extended family) through their inclusion in domestic decision making.

b. Household chores to be performed by the woman only

None of the spouses spoke about sharing the daily chores at home with the wife. The husbands, however, were appreciative of the wives executing the household chores. They were also aware of the double shift that the woman had to carry out to complete the tasks of work and home but stuck to gendered roles at home. "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" (*Husband*)

c. Domestic decision making

The respondents stated that there was joint decision making (along with their spouse) in the family. It appeared that the woman has to seek the approval of the spouse for all decisions made by her. Most of the respondents also stated that in many situations where she did not have the expertise or sufficient information on the subject (for example investment decisions for the future) the decision was made exclusively by the spouse. It was

also observed that in families where the respondent stayed in a joint family, the mother-in-law was also a key stakeholder in the decision-making process.

2. Organizational Expectations at Work

a. No compromise on quality: Most respondents were very dedicated to their work. Almost all the office colleagues were appreciative of their commitment and quality of work. They found them hardworking and dedicated.

b. Long work hours and steep deadlines: All of them reported stretched timelines and prolonged working hours.

c. Commitment to work: The respondents took their work seriously in terms of meeting the deadlines, schedules, and accuracy of work. The women respondents found their work challenging and difficult. They worked hard and earned positive reviews from their bosses and colleagues.

3. Work-life Balance (Domestic)

a. Accepting to live in the joint family: Women preferred staying in a joint family over a nuclear family. Even those respondents who stayed in nuclear families appreciated the joint family because it provided support for child-care 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.

b. Accepting joint decision making: All the respondents agreed that the

husbands played a significant role in almost all the decisions of the home. The respondents were also supposed to include the opinion of the parents-in-law in day-to-day decision of household chores.

c. Willing to work double shift: Most of the respondents willingly shouldered the domestic chores to find time for professional work. None of them reported displeasure for spouses not doing household chores. All the women were satisfied that the children were looked after by the elders in their absence.

d. Support of maid: Almost all the respondents hired a maid at home for ease of work. The support of maids in easing-out daily chores was acceptable among all families studied.

4. Work-life Balance (Office)

a. Family-friendly policies: Some organizations provided for the crèche facilities for young mothers. Others provided for light exercises like 'yoga' classes and 'Zumba' classes beyond office hours which acted as stress-buster. All companies provided statutory leaves like the maternity leave.

b. Supportive bosses: Some bosses were considerate and did not mind employees leaving early for the home in times of emergency.

c. Flexi-time: Some organizations also provided work-from-home facilities on certain days. While others allowed working from nearby branches of their offices.

5. Stress & Coping

a. *Physical stress*: The double duty of home and work was found to be physically stressful to all the respondents

b. *Emotional 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.

c. *Coping*: 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) to complete domestic work and generally trying to stay cheerful. Most of them stressed upon 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.

6. Work & Financial Empowerment

Financial empowerment through a paid job was highly valued. Though as stated earlier that financial decision making was with the husband but being the earning member in the family, it accorded them respect within family and society: "Gives you more respect in societythe feeling of accomplishment and empowerment." (respondent).

DICTION-7 was used to analyze the word count. Since we had analyzed each interview transcript for content analysis

through NVIVO, we used DICTION to analyze and compare word count systems of three categories of data: all combined transcripts of women respondents, all combined transcripts of husbands and all combined transcripts of the office colleague. The scores obtained for each category, by the DICTION master category, are shown in Table 3

The first master variable 'certainty' indicates resoluteness, inflexibility, completeness and a tendency to speak 'ex-cathedra'. In comparison to the scores of husband (52.53) and colleague (52.31), the woman respondent scored low (45.82) on certainty. But on the variable of tenacity (confidence), the women respondent scored higher (54.1) compared to husband (42.56) and colleagues (41.84). The scores on tenacity perhaps contribute to women living up to the challenges of work and home. Inference: The domestic environment of patriarchal values made women less confident of themselves. They were also not very authoritative. On the variable of 'optimism', the scores of women on praise (9.98) are much higher than the husband's perception (5.41) reflecting that the husband is not very forthcoming in appreciating their work. The office colleagues are more appreciative of her (10.68). Inference: Women are experiencing stress of double shifts. So, they are low in affective states like happiness, excitement, fun and passion. The third variable is 'activity'. It refers to action and avoidance of inertia. Women respondents score low (47.46) compared to husbands (50.45) and colleagues (49.92). The scores of colleagues were very high (6.17) which

Table 3 Diction Word Count

	Master variables		Subaltern variables						
	Certainty	Tenacity	Leveling Terms	Collectives	Insistence	Numerical Terms	Ambivalence	Self reference	Variety
Woman	45.82	54.1	5.19	6.15	33.42	2.88	26.04	39.23	0.47
Husband	52.53	42.56	25.94	4.22	9.08	2.87	20.61	9.08	0.51
Colleague	52.31	41.84	15.32	3.99	14.22	3.04	13.92	10.75	0.44
	Master variables		Subaltern variables						
	Optimism	Praise	Satisfaction	Inspiration	Blame	Hardship	Denial		
Woman	51.03	9.98	2.69	1.82	0.97	1.81	7.87		
Husband	51.52	5.41	10.29	2.84	0.31	4.43	11.16		
Colleague	50.56	10.68	11.71	0.17	1.23	4.53	18.86		
	Master variables		Subaltern variables						
	Activity	Aggression	Accomplishment	Communication	Motion	Cognition	Passivity	Embellishment	
Woman	47.46	0.69	15.15	1.69	0.75	10.68	2.94	0.72	
Husband	50.45	1.2	10.2	2.84	5.03	5.21	5.1	0.37	
Colleague	49.42	1.57	9.42	6.17	1.6	8.56	1.88	0.61	
	Master variables		Subaltern variables						
	Realism	Familiarity	Spatial Terms	Temporal Terms	Present Concern	Human Interest	Concreteness	Past Concern	Complexity
Woman	52.61	124.69	14.32	15.81	14.81	23.42	12.36	1.94	3.73
Husband	53.43	91.63	10.01	26.42	17.26	66.59	7.01	2.06	4.02
Colleague	49.74	97.12	4.62	16.01	15.61	58.69	10.51	5.99	3.96
	Master variables		Subaltern variables						
	Commonality	Centrality	Cooperation	Report	Diversity	Exclusion	Liberation		
Woman	48.71	0.81	0.62	0.75	0.69	0.88	1.25		
Husband	48.62	0.63	0.75	1.44	1.43	0.61	1.65		
Colleague	50.65	0.86	8.99	2.14	1.62	1.19	1.87		
	Master variables		Subaltern variables						
	Insistence	Embellishment	Variety	Complexity	Activity	Optimism	Certainty	Realism	Commonality
Woman	33.42	0.72	0.47	3.73	47.46	51.03	45.82	52.61	48.71
Husband	9.08	0.37	0.51	4.02	50.45	51.52	52.53	53.43	48.62
Colleague	14.22	0.61	0.44	3.96	49.42	50.56	52.31	49.74	50.65

may mean that at work, women were more in-control through communication and aggression (1.57) and were also competitive. Inference: Women respondents found themselves low in competition, aggression, communication and social interaction. Since women are high on positive energy, they use more of adjectives to describe their actions while men use less of adjectives (embellishment)

Women were more in-control through communication and aggression (1.57) and were also competitive.

The fourth variable is 'realism'. It refers to immediately recognizable matters that affect everyday lives. Inference: There is not much difference in perception towards life concerning this factor. The fifth variable is 'commonality'. It refers to the agreed-upon values of a group and rejecting idiosyncratic modes of engagement. Here the values of the colleague are the highest (50.65). Inference: The high scores of colleague perception of the women respondents in comparison to the husbands clearly show that job gave more freedom to women at the workplace than their homes.

Discussion

The research aimed at studying the effect of patriarchal values on work-life balance efforts of married Indian urban working women and its impact on general wellbeing. Our study gave us rich data to understand the same. We found that women faced no overt

resistance to their opting for paid work outside the home. Most of the respondents were highly educated and were employed in medium to senior management positions in the organizations. They were staying in joint families with their husbands and parents-in-law. Therefore, at the superficial level, all seemed fine with women working shoulder to shoulder with men. But on deeper analysis, we found unequal power relationships at home. The roles were gendered whereby childcare was the responsibility of the woman. Since women too were brought-up and socialized under the patriarchal mindset, they also appeared to accept gendering willingly. It was observed that they showed a willingness to sacrifice their careers for childcare if a need arose. None of the women broached the idea of negotiating childcare responsibilities with their husbands to keep their jobs safe. We found that men looked after the financial responsibilities of the house while the rearing of children was the responsibility of the woman. The unequal power relations are also displayed in domestic decision making where all women agreed that major decisions were done mainly by their spouses. Thus, the women despite being an earning member, did not enjoy empowerment and decision making. The women thus appeared to be living the patriarchal values. The women respondents were also observed doing a 'double

The women despite being an earning member, did not enjoy empowerment and decision making.

shift' of daily work (domestic chores and office work). The spouses were very appreciative of their hard work but did not share the responsibility of household chores. This is another example of the gendering of roles. In our study, gendered roles due to patriarchal values prevented egalitarian role distribution at the domestic front, making it disadvantageous for the working women.

Our second analysis through the DICTION software supported and validated the above findings by adding more richness and meaning to it. We found that women expressed lower confidence, higher ambivalence (uncertainty) and less authoritative behavior. This supports the subservient position of women at home. Husbands were less appreciative of the women which added to their ambivalence. Husbands also showed a higher appreciation of values like faithfulness, self-sacrifice, honesty and dedication from their wives. These qualities nurture patriarchy. Women respondents found themselves low in competition, aggression, communication and social interaction. This is the fallout of gender subservience at home. Since women were high on positive energy, they used more of adjectives to describe their actions while men use less of adjectives (embellishment). Interestingly, the office environment made women respondents confident. Women respondents were found to

Work-life balance under patriarchy was more demanding and contributed less to wellbeing.

show low scores on happiness, excitement and passion primarily due to the double shift which is stressful. Therefore work-life balance under patriarchy was more demanding and contributed less to wellbeing. Women handled home and work differently for managing the work-life balance.

Contribution to Theory

The study supports the viewpoints of liberal and socialist feminism. Marxist and socialist feminisms severely criticize the family as a source of women's oppression and exploitation. From the perspective of postmodern feminism (Lorber, 1997) our analysis through DICTION shows that the milieu of the respondents (their family and workplace) is changing. For some aspect of the social setup, women have acquired fair treatment if not equality like at the workplace. But for the domestic front, things have not changed much even though women are educated and skilled.

Managerial Contribution

Today when organizations are attempting to create happy employees and encourage workplace happiness, the issue of work-life balance needs to be taken seriously. Non-monetary retention strategies like flexi-time, work from home, and gig working can further help in attracting women to work and also contribute to happiness and wellbeing. It would also resonate with the millennial mindset which thinks work not an end but a means to an end. Care should be taken that the HR policies are gender-neutral.

Social Contribution

The study shows that the condition of Indian women at the domestic front has not changed much. Despite the spread of education, the unconscious biases of gendered roles and patriarchy are still strong. It also shows that organizations are adapting to change much faster than the home environment. The education system in India seems to be providing job-related skills but doesn't seem to address social ills. More studies and interventions are needed for managing the changes at the domestic front.

Organizations are adapting to change much faster than the home environment.

Strengths, Limitations & Future Directions

The strength of the paper lies in the methodology. The study was carried out in triads consisting of the woman (as the key respondent), her spouse/ mother-in-law and one office colleague. The advantage was that we were able to rule out social desirability bias and objectively studied the issues at hand. The limitation of the study was that it was conducted only in Mumbai, India. Conducting a study in different cities of India and among different socio-economic sections (SES) across the country, and also among different sectors of the industry may allow better generalization of findings. Our study did not include single mothers (divorced, widowed). It would be interesting to find out how they cope with the

patriarchal mindset. The colleagues interviewed were also women. Future studies can focus on the perception of male colleagues and the respondents' work-life balance efforts. In our study, we took the cross-section data and linked it to the experience of wellbeing. For a more robust conclusion, longitudinal studies can be carried out to study the relationship in greater detail. The world is changing and the future holds a good opportunity for a balanced life for women

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