

**EARLY TO RISE AND LAST TO BED:
THE SECOND SHIFT OF WORKING WOMEN IN PAKISTAN
WITH A FOCUS ON EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEM**

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Abstract

While making a comparison of nuclear and extended family systems in Pakistan, this research paper explores how working women in Pakistan cope with their responsibilities at home and at paid work. I use semi-structured telephonic and face-to-face interviews with eighteen educated working women belonging to different cities of Pakistan to investigate their lived experiences. My respondents belong to middle and upper middle class, and fall within the age group of 26 to 39. I find that Pakistani women in paid employment have a strong affiliation with their homes and housework and if they fail to properly perform their duties at home they experience a strong feeling of guilt, which is rightly pointed out in the western literature about women and work as well (Livingston and Judge, 2008; Guendouzi, 2006; Judge and Scott, 2006). This study also draws on Sancier's (1992) concept of "ethic of care" which is the main component of women's nurturing in Pakistan and which offers women a strong perception of caring of young, old and the home as their primary responsibility. It also gets manifested through this study that women in Pakistan have a strong perception that living in extended family system is much more difficult for them than living in the nuclear family system.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In Pakistan, gender roles are extremely divided between men and women. Men are considered to work for paid employment and earn money for the family, on the other hand, women are considered to stay at home and perform the housework. Recently, women's participation in paid work has increased and it has put forward many challenges for those who opt to the option of working outside the home for paid work.

Feminist research in the family context has focused on the work-family balance of working women in order to evaluate the impact of paid work on the family and vice versa. In Pakistan, a few researches regarding the problems of employed women (see Goheer 2003, Maqsood et al. 2005, Naqvi and Shahnaz 2003) are found but these do not really focus on the work-family conflict which the women face on everyday basis. My research is aimed to look at the problems working women of Pakistan face while balancing their work and family life. In addition I also wish to explore how different family systems i.e. extended and nuclear affect women in paid employment.

I argue that Pakistani women, who are in paid employment, give more importance to their roles as home-makers and they believe that living in extended family system is harder for them than living in nuclear family system.

I use western literature especially from UK and US, which analyzes the concept of work-family balance and work-family conflict for working women and apply it to the Pakistani women's situation. I also draw on psychological theories from UK and US settings in order to see whether it is applicable to Pakistani women or not.

In chapter two, I give the background of my research. I discuss the situation of Pakistani women and my research inquiries, the importance of this research along with the conceptual framework of my study.

In chapter three, I review the literature related to paid and unpaid work of women and its impact on them. I focus on studies that discuss how women in Paid employment deal with issues regarding work-family balance along with the studies related to family structures and dynamics. Further more I provide a detailed situational analysis of women in Pakistan.

In chapter four, I discuss the qualitative methodology I have used for this research. I present how the sample for my research is chosen and how interviews are done along with the details of my respondents. I also discuss the limitation of my research in this chapter.

In chapter five, I investigate the lived experiences of Pakistani women in paid employment in the light of eighteen semi-structured interviews. I divide this chapter in two sections related to my argument. First section, *The Responsibility Myth* discusses Pakistani women's strong internalization of housework as their responsibility which results in to a guilt feeling. Second section, *Extended vs. Nuclear Family System* deals with the feeling of Pakistani women about both the family systems and which one they prefer and why.

2. THE RESEARCH

2.1. Background

Pakistan, a country in South Asia, is mostly known for its conservativeness for women and girls. It is a Muslim country with almost 98% of Muslims. People in all four provinces follow the same cultural norms and traditions and share the same ideology towards women in general. Although, things regarding women have been changing in recent past, still gender is highly stratified along with extremely rigid and long established gender ideologies.

Participation of women in paid employment is quite low and mostly women are responsible for invisible and unpaid work at home (Kumar and Menon-Sen, 2001). The role of a woman as homemaker or housewife is quite common in Pakistan. With extended family system as a norm, cooking, cleaning, washing and taking care of children and elders are considered the primary responsibilities of a woman. A man is the bread-winner for the family and his role is limited to only this main task. Household responsibilities are not a concern for a man in Pakistan. It is the woman who has to take care of every thing regarding house and family from cooking, cleaning, washing to buying groceries, helping children in their education or any other task related to family which does not only include the immediate family of husband and wife but even the distant relatives.

If a woman is not good at household chores, she is considered by her husband, in-laws and society at large as not “properly groomed” by her parents and is considered good-for-nothing. Men prefer to marry women who know how to cook and clean and who know how to make a

house a 'home'. It is a common saying that if a girl wants to win the heart of her husband and in-laws she should know how to cook well. Child care is also women's responsibility and if a child is not well behaved it is always blamed on his/her mother who does not nurture him/her properly. Even after getting married, if a girl is not properly groomed according to societal expectations, it is always the mother who is blamed. So a woman's responsibilities are not limited to run the household properly but a lot more than that.

Recently women have been entering into the labor force and to some extent they are accepted in work place if not welcomed. According to ILO's report on *Employment Trends in Pakistan* (2007) female participation was 13.7% in 1999-00 which has reached to 18.9% in 2005-06 showing an increase of 5.2% in six years.

It is also important to note that in Pakistan traditionally paid work of a woman is not common and is mostly unacceptable by men and society in large. Women who are involved in paid employment generally do it because of poverty. Middle or upper class families do not like their women to work. In a study about Indian and Pakistani women's autonomy, Jejeebhoy and Sathar (2001) confirm that wage work for women of India and Pakistan is often unacceptable and poverty-induced.

Another important factor to notice here is religion. Women are considered to hide themselves from strange men and working outside home means that they will be in the world of strangers. Sharma (1990) maintains that the *purdah*¹ 'complex' in South Asia restricts women's public visibility. It is directly related to 'izzat' (honor) of the families and women who do not follow *purdah* are considered as immodest. 'Immodesty can be defined as to include the performance

¹ Purdha means veil or covering of face and body. It also includes hiding of something and in this case it is used to restrict women in their homes and not let them go out.

of work which brings them into contact with unrelated men' (Sharma, 1990, p. 231). Therefore, "honorable" families do not allow their women to go out and work in order to keep their honor intact.

2.2. Identification of Problem

The situation in Pakistan has been changing recently and women's literacy rate is increasing and as a result the rate of their entrance in paid employment is also showing an increasing trend. According to World Health Organization's (WHO) country profile of Pakistan, in 2006 54% of Pakistani population was literate² out of which 64% were male and 36% were female. Entrance of women in paid employment is a positive trend towards women's liberation in Marxist terms but it has put forward many challenges for working women. They are given choice to enter in the paid employment and share the burden of their husbands but the possibility that husbands will share wives' burden at home is minimal keeping in mind the patriarchal societal formation.

Working women in Pakistan, as in the rest of the world, have to face a double burden of managing home and paid work. As a result they have to maintain the equilibrium and balance between their home and working life (Maqsood et. al. 2005) which definitely is not easy. The most important fact here is that although they have been accepted to work outside home but their role as home-makers or mothers still stands firmly. Considering all these factors about Pakistani women in view and looking at what Hochschild observes in USA in the 1980's, we can see many similarities. Hochschild (1989) observes that women have changed rapidly in order to adopt the outside paid work but 'the jobs they went to and the men they come home

² Literacy is defined here as reading and writing ability of people with 15 years of age or over.

to have not changed – or not so much’ (p. xxi). In Pakistani society men have not changed at all because of the strong bifurcation of gender roles. Additionally, Pakistani society embarrasses those men by calling them sissy or womanish who take initiative to help their mothers or wives at the home.

Another very important point to be noted here is that working for paid employment is considered as women’s own choice in Pakistan and men usually say that they do not ask their wives to work outside the home and if they are facing problems in maintaining home and work, they themselves are responsible for it.

My research is not limited to only the problems working women face while balancing their work and family life but it also explores a rather complex phenomenon of the effect of the extended family system on working women’s lives. In Pakistan, the family system is a bit different from the one in western countries. Mostly, people live in extended family system commonly called as “joint family system”³ in Pakistan. Sons mostly do not leave their parents after getting mature and even after getting married and after having their own children. For instance, if someone has four sons, it is most probable that these four brothers with their families will be living in the same house along with their parents. Leaving old parents is a very shameful act in Pakistan and mostly sons do not leave their parents unless there is a compelling reason like getting a job in another city or so. On the other hand, daughters live with their parents until they get married and after that they live with the family of their husbands.

³ Therefore I will use the terms “extended family system” and “joint family system” interchangeably in my work.

Therefore, in this scenario, Pakistani women living in extended family system enjoy an absolutely different lifestyle and have entirely different lived experiences than those of western women. They not only have to take care of their husbands and children but many more people living in the same premises. It is commonly perceived that the extended family system enables the women to enter in the paid employment as the responsibilities are shared by many people in the same house. Similarly, they do not have to worry about many other factors for instance, care for their young children or cooking meals everyday, etc. (IFSHA, 2009). On the other hand, many believe that living in joint family system is not easy because one cannot enjoy a private life while living with so many people around and also that Islam does not encourage this system (Kutty, 2004). Also, a working daughter-in-law or sister-in-law has also a responsibility to come up with the expectations of mother-in-law and other in-laws. She is supposed to equally contribute to household chores as the other members of the house.

This research is based on how working women in Pakistan cope with their responsibilities at home and at work with a focus on the extended family system how it affects their lives. The research is aimed to find out whether different types of family systems make things easier or more difficult for working women. I argue that working women in Pakistan are imprisoned by a strong sense of responsibility for their homes and due to this strong affiliation with their home and their duties at paid employment; they do not satisfy the requirements of both of them. Additionally, for them living in the extended family system poses more problems.

2.3. *Research Question(s)*

The main research question for my research is that “How does second shift⁴ and the extended family system affect working women in Pakistan?” This question is analyzed by comparing the experiences of working women living in nuclear⁵ and extended family⁶ systems. The sub questions through which the main research question is explored are; how does working women in Pakistan balance the work-family life? What are the effects of paid employment on women and their families? How does extended family system affect working women’s family life i.e. the relationship among husband, wife and children? How does extended family system affect the life of working women at work place? How do working women perceive the impact of extended family system on their lives and the lives of their children?

On the basis of my research questions, I argue that Pakistani women in paid employment have a strong affiliation with their homes and the housework and if they fail to properly perform their duties at home they experience a strong feeling of guilt. In addition, they believe that extended family system poses more problems to them as compared to nuclear family system.

2.4. *Methodology*

This research builds on the lived experiences of working women living in the extended family system as compared to the nuclear family system in Pakistan. Therefore, the sample for my research consists of eighteen working women of Pakistan who live in extended or nuclear family systems. Ten of my respondents live in nuclear family system while the remaining

⁴ Concept of Hochschild (1989): the entrance of women in paid employment and at the same time their responsibilities to manage the household – one shift at work and second at home

⁵ Is the family composed of husband, wife with or without children (Fafo, 2009)

⁶ Is the family which has more than one nuclear families and lives together sharing eating, drinking and living conditions (Fafo, 2009)

eight live in extended family system. The chosen sample includes women from all four provinces of Pakistan.

According to ILO's report on *Pakistan Employments Trends* (2007) total labor force Participation is 46% out of which 18.9% are women. Moreover the female labor force who has attained the degree qualification is 5.1 as compared to 6.1% of male labor force. My sample is chosen from those 5.1% of degree holder females, most of whom belong to urban upper middle class women who are working for decently paid jobs.

Data for the research is mainly collected through semi-structured face-to-face and online/ telephonic interviews.

2.5. *Significance of the study*

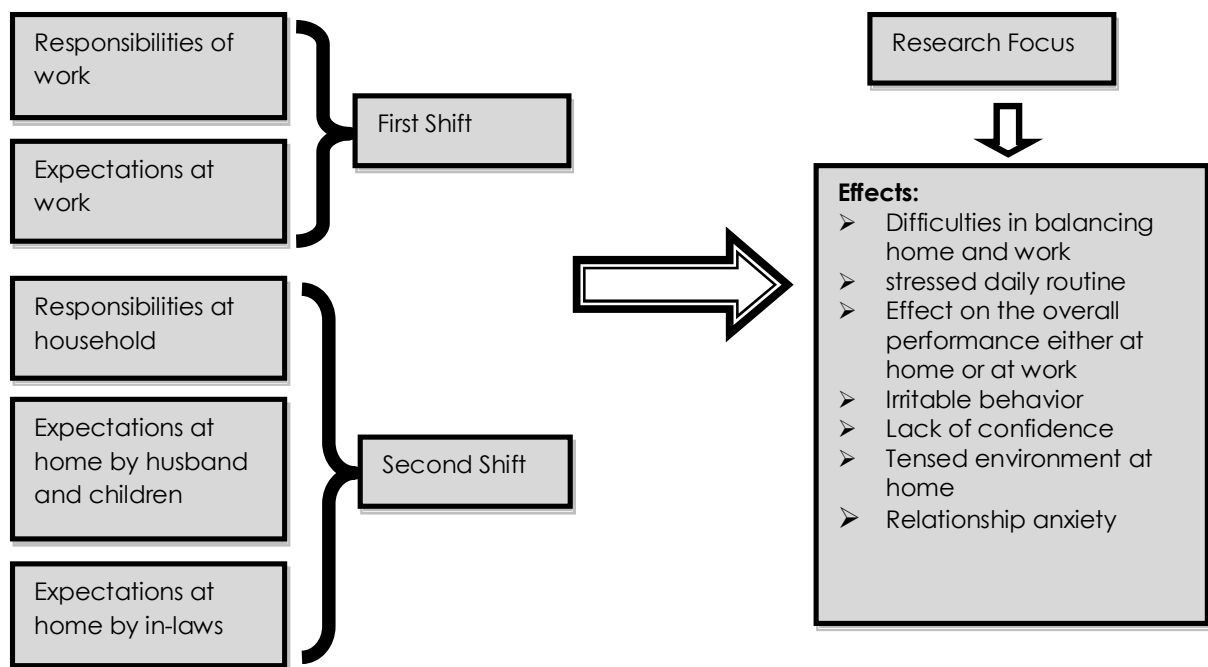
Although there has been a lot of literature available on working women's challenges and problems, especially in the context of nuclear families in the West (Livingston and Judge 2008, Guendouzi 2006, Barnett and Hyde 2001, Hochschild 1989, Judge, Ilies, and Scott 2006, Sancier 1992), it is hard to find a study on the problems they face due to extended family systems. This study is important as it focuses on Pakistan – an under-developed and highly gender-insensitive country. It is also important because the results generated through this study will provide a better understanding of working women in South Asia including Bangladesh and India as these countries share almost similar societal norms and trends as those of Pakistan. This research is unique as it looks at the issues that have rarely been explored before in Pakistan.

This research is important because there are a number of studies about women and their problems in general in Pakistan but the research about women, work and family is highly under-researched. There is no research found which shows how the extended family system affects women and especially working women in Pakistan. This is a fresh and up-to-the-minute topic as lots of women are entering the job market these days and women can realize and gain knowledge on how certain living styles pose comfort or stress in their lives. This research might help them think about taking actions which can improve their lives both at home and at work.

2.6. *Objective of the study*

The study is aimed to identify how working women in deal with their paid work at workplace and unpaid work at home. It also intends to explore how different systems of living pose different types of issues for women living in them. This study explores the problems working women face while managing their family and employment in the light of extended family system. Another important objective of this study is to show differences in lived experiences of women in different parts of the world. Pakistan, being a country in which gender sensitive programming is a relatively new phenomenon, offers a lot of potential to explore issues concerning working women.

2.7. Conceptual framework



The above mentioned pictorial description shows that women work two shifts, first shift at their paid work and the second shift at home, the unpaid and invisible work. This research focuses on how these two shifts affect working women in Pakistan especially in the context of the extended family system.

3. WOMEN, WORK AND FAMILY

The central concern of this research is the assessment of how paid work and family (specifically extended family) affect working women in Pakistan. This chapter is divided in three parts. Part one deals with the conceptual and theoretical concepts of the research which is working women and family life. Due to the fact that there are not many studies done on women and work in Pakistan, I mainly rely on the western literature in this part specifically UK and USA. Part two focuses on the construction of families and how different types of family system affect women differently. Third part contextualizes women's position in Pakistani society and focuses on the working women in Pakistan and their work-life balance.

3.1. Working Women and Family Life

It is true that all over the world women influx in paid employment has increased manifolds in recent years. Either it is developed, underdeveloped, or developing country, women are entering into employment in order to sustain in the society where inflation is increasing every day. According to ILO Press Release (2004) women are entering in the global labour force in record numbers but still, the explosive growth in the female workforce has not been accompanied by true socio-economic empowerment for women.

Work is highly gendered across the globe. Paid work is designed in a way that it suits men and not women (Acker, 1991). Work timings, working norms, and ethics are all developed for men who are not “entitled” to take care of children and other aspects of the family. Until recently, maternity leave or other issues related to women are often not taken care of by

employers which cause a lot of problems for women and sometimes even result in job loss. Employers, even in developed countries, have very limited understanding of the concept of flexible or family friendly working. Women who work 9-5 and take care of home and children are of no particular attention for employers. According to the work-life balance 2000 employer survey in UK (Hogarth et al 2000 cited in Houston and Waumsley, 2003) one in eight employers has no awareness of maternity leave regulations and that 76% never heard of government's family-work balance initiatives.

According to Livingston and Judge (2008) in a traditional gender role orientation, women are perceived as being "best" at responsibilities related to the family role, and men are perceived as being "best" at responsibilities in the work role but his work has a family component i.e. providing for the family. For women employment and family are two absolutely opposite grounds that have a zero sum relationship. Garey (1999) argues that work and family have an inverse relationship for women and in this relationship the more a woman is inclined towards her work (employment) the less she is seen to be oriented towards her family.

In most societies, as stated above, employment and family have been portrayed dichotomously and women are described as being either "work oriented" or "family oriented" (Garey, 1999). Livingston and Judge (2008) quotes Lott (1988) who describes that the effects of gender role orientation and gender can be explained through gender role theory, which states that there exist polarized gender roles, such that women are more identified with family role and men are more identified with the work role. Garey (1999), while researching working mothers in USA observes that these concepts of employment and family are not similarly related to men. A man has to earn 'for' his family. His work always has a family component in it. Therefore, this rule that one has to be either "family oriented" or "work oriented" does

not fit for men as for men employment and family are not separated from one another. On the other hand, the woman is the ideal family worker who remains in the family role, and only in the family role.

Garey (1999) quotes a study by Etaugh and Study (1989) to show people's reaction to employed women and it reflects the same fashion as maintained above. They asked 192 people in USA to rate personality and attributes of hypothetical mothers who are employed or unemployed. The responses showed that employed mothers were seen as more career oriented, selfish and less sensitive to the needs of others especially their family.

Although women have started working outside home but still home and family are considered her domains. In addition, it is also noticeable that there are prominent conflicts between work and family life in families in which both husband and wife are working. However, I would agree with Livingston and Judge (2008), who believe that this conflict affect women more than men. For example, "if one defines work to include both paid and unpaid (household activities, childrearing, etc.) work, American women work 5–7 hours more per week than do men (Sayer et al., 2004), and men's contribution to unpaid work has not sufficiently compensated for women's increase in paid work (Coltrane, 2000)" (Livingston and Judge, 2008, p. 207).

Glass and Fujimoto (1994) observe that men are more reactive to the expectation of the family through their paid work while women with their housework. Livingston and Judge (2008) also monitor the same phenomenon that work and family domain has been gendered and men are prominently the one who earn and women take care of home. According to them gender role orientation is a form of compliance with these expectations, or the way through which one

identifies with the traditional expectations of his/her gender role. In work–family research, gender refers to biological sex, but gender role orientation addresses an attitudinal identification with a role and is distinct from gender itself (Hochschild, 1989; Larsen & Long, 1988 cited in Livingston and Judge, 2008).

The family role suggests that women care for young and old in the family (Sancier, 1992). Gilligan (1982) identifies an ethic of care as the key element of women’s moral development (Sancier, 1992). This concept of care is mostly misinterpreted in almost all societies and it has been used to exploit women in order to elevate self-sacrifice. The societies, in general, are mostly patriarchal in nature and recognize the social need and importance of care and due to its importance and the hard work required for it, this duty of care of elderly and children has been assigned to women.

I would argue that women accept their roles as care-givers and home-makers and they do not wish to abandon these roles, but what they need to do is to find out ways through which they can manage their caring and home-making roles as well as their paid employment; in the absence of which their lives are characterized by guilt, confusion and stress. Kaden and McDaniel (1990) observe that in order to attain the work-family balance, women most often think and seek personal solutions rather than structural ones (Sancier, 1992). “The term work-family issues is still widely understood to be shorthand for issues that are primary concern to women: child care, parental leave, and elder care. Public policy and employers consider these issues to be problems that female workers bring to the workplace (Daniel, 1987; Epstein, 1970; Kamerman & Kahn, 1987)” (Sancier, 1992: p. 64).

Milkie and Peltola (1999) quote Berk (1985) that “there are gendered “shoulds” and “musts” attached to how people spend time, and these likely affect gender differences in feelings of successfully balancing time commitments” (pp. 479-480). If these “shoulds” and “musts” are not performed properly, I argue that working women develop the feeling of guilt for violating a social standard of role fulfillment. Livingston and Judge (2008) maintain that the work–family conflict specifically, thwarts one from fully satisfying the demands of either the work or the family role, such that one is unable to completely perform in one, or both, of one’s key social roles. For instance, women believe in the “mommy myth” that they can manage it all and if they are not managing it well, it is their fault and not others (Douglas & Michaels, 2004 cited in Livingston and Judge, 2008). Livingston and Judge (2008) maintain that this feeling developed into an emotional response which is more like a guilt that they could not maintain the standard of either a “good worker” or “good husband/wife/mother/father/child” (p. 208).

Arendell (1999), Zimmerman, et al. (2001) and Suls, et al. (1991) also observe that for many women especially mothers, balancing both domestic and workplace roles within the constraints of a specific cultural milieu results in stress and feelings of guilt (Guendouzi, 2006). With regards to these negative emotional feelings of work-family conflict, according to Watson’s (2000) hierarchical structure of affect, the broad dimension of negative affect is indicated by the discrete emotions of fear, sadness, guilt, and hostility. Of these core emotions, the emotions of guilt and hostility seem most closely linked to work–family conflict (Judge, Ilies, and Scott, 2006).

Many believe that work-family research ignores the personality influences. Parrott and Harré (1996) note guilt is the assignment of blame in violating a cultural norm or rule (Judge, Ilies, and Scott, 2006). It is also important to look at the difference between *being* guilty and *feeling*

guilty (for breaking or violating a rule). It is also worth understanding whether or not the rule is just. If the rule is seen as just, then one would internalize the blame and feel guilty (Kugler & Jones, 1992 cited in Judge, Ilies, and Scott, 2006). If the rule is seen as unjust, then one may well be angry at being deemed guilty. Because work–family conflict involves a perceived failure to meet standards or obligations in the work or family domain, it stands to reason that guilt and anger will follow from work–family conflict, with the relative strength of these emotions depending on the degree to which the individuals believe themselves responsible for the conflict (Judge, Ilies, and Scott, 2006). The key finding of Judge, Ilies, and Scott (2006) is that work–family conflict generates specific emotional reactions in the form of guilt and hostility.

On the other hand, Caplan and Schooler (2006) argue that women’s self-esteem and self-confidence increases when they perform complex household work because of their strong psychological attachment to their home and family roles. Similarly Glass and Fujimoto (1994) observe that domestic work provides women with interpersonal rewards, independence in managing the work tasks and material rewards e.g. tasty food etc. as compared to paid employment. However, in the absence of the social prestige (which women get from the employment outside the home), and due to the never-ending nature of housework, women are more prone to depression and related maladies.

Another very important concept is the fairness and distributive justice regarding family work (Linda, 1991). Everywhere in the world, women believe that household is their responsibility and I argue that they are treated unfairly in order to make them believe it. In Pakistan also, it is very normal for a woman to assume that household work is her responsibility even if she is working outside the home all day. It is important for women to understand what they are

doing and what they deserve because of what they are doing. According to Linda (1991) three factors which contribute to the sense of fairness are outcome value⁷, comparison referent⁸ and justification⁹. Unfortunately, in my study, I found out that this sense of fairness for women is almost inexistent in Pakistani society.

I would like to discuss Barnett and Hyde's (2001) theories of gender, work and families and in order to explore Pakistani women's work and family life. They put forward two theories named traditional and expansionist theory. The traditional theory is based on functionalist and psychoanalytic theories. Under functionalist theory, they described that Parsons (1949), the eminent family sociologist, observed that family functioning is optimized when the husband specializes in market work and the wife in domestic work. Each partner then trades the fruits of her or his different skills, ensuring the stability of the marriage.

The psychoanalytic theory is based on the Freudian concept of Oedipal Crises, according to which, girls develop a feeling of incompleteness in them while growing up while men are highly competent and they have a healthy sense of themselves as a whole. Erikson follows the same concept and According to him, until a young woman marries, her sense of identity is necessarily incomplete. These theories imply that failure to successfully negotiate the early years and develop "appropriate" gender-specific behavior should lead inevitably to serious negative psychological consequences.

According to this theory, the characteristics required by men and women for reproductive fitness differed widely. Men who were aggressive and competitive and who did not invest

⁷ What do women value about family work and what are the valued outcomes of certain domestic arrangements (Linda, 1991).

⁸ What they actually deserve. It is not about what they desire as in valued outcome but what they deserve out of what they are doing for the family (Linda, 1991).

⁹ It refers to the appropriateness of the producers about the outcomes (Linda, 1991).

heavily in their offspring would be successful, whereas women who were nurturant and caring and who invested heavily in their offspring would be successful. Thus, the highly differentiated gender roles that typified the family are viewed by socio-biologists as genetically programmed—a result of human evolutionary history (Barnett and Hyde 2001).

The expansionist theory given by Barnett and Hyde (2001) articulates about the beneficial effects of multiple roles by both men and women. They provide four principles for this theory, which are as follows;

First, multiple roles are, in general, beneficial for both women and men, as reflected in mental health, physical health, and relationship health. Second, a number of processes contribute to the beneficial effects of multiple roles, including buffering, added income, social support, opportunities to experience success, expanded frame of reference, increased self-complexity, similarity of experiences, and gender-role ideology. Third, there are certain conditions under which multiple roles are beneficial. The benefits of multiple roles depend on the number of roles and the time demands of each. Fourth, psychological gender differences are not, in general, large or immutable. The natures of women and of men need not force them into highly differentiated roles. (Barnett and Hyde, 2001)

It is essential to notice that the principles reveal the current historical period and, therefore, are shaped by current norms and roles. According to Barnett and Hyde (2001) cultural norms (i.e., definitions of acceptable and unacceptable behaviors) can affect role practices, which can in turn affect capabilities and subjective role quality. If cultural norms change, then these principles may require amendment. Moreover, the abilities and personality characteristics

required by certain roles are related to historical period and to cultural definitions and, therefore, are subject to change with changed experiences, expectations, and contexts.

Having discussed that, the next point I will stress is an egalitarian approach to work and family which compliments the expansionist theory of Barnett and Hyde (2001). An egalitarian gender role orientation makes it easy for individuals to identify with both work and home spheres. According to Hochschild (1989), egalitarian individuals believe that men and women should identify equally with their contributions to both work and home, whereas traditional individuals prefer men to identify with the work sphere and women with the home sphere. Egalitarian individuals are distinctly defined as those who believe that both men and women should devote equal time to both the work and home spheres (Hochschild, 1989).

As far as women and work are concerned, it is true that women are provided with opportunities to enter in the labour force but the labor women have to face at home is still overlooked. Employment opportunities provide women with income and self-confidence but double their workload. According to Hochschild (1989) the entrance of women in paid employment and at the same time their responsibilities to manage the household have resulted in a 'second shift' of work for them. She maintains that most of the men she interviewed or observed agreed that this "second shift" of work at home is a women's issue. According to her women work an extra month of twenty-four-hour-days in a year than men which results in to a huge 'leisure gap'¹⁰ between men and women.

'Stalled Revolution', the concept posed by Hochschild (1989) is also worth discussing here. She referred to the fact that the influx of women in the paid work has not been accompanied

¹⁰ Hochschild (1989) maintains that as there is a wage gap between men and women at work, there is leisure gap between them at home as women spend most of their time at home working while men rest or watch TV.

by the understanding of marriage and work that would have helped in making this easy for women to manage this transition. Men, although fine with the full time jobs of their wives, make less and sometimes no effort to help them at home. The phenomenon is even worse in developing countries; especially in Pakistan, where men are socially restrained to do any household work specially cooking, cleaning and child care and due to the extended family system other women at home do not let them do that even in the absence of their wives. A man in the kitchen becomes a source of embarrassment for their female counterparts. Moreover, I would like to refer to the concept of “Emotional Labour” also proposed by Hochschild (1983) which is the management of one’s feelings and emotions in order to display certain required bodily gestures. Although, this concept is related to the paid work setting, I would use it to discuss Pakistani women’s management of feelings while living and dealing with a large number of people in Extended family system.

I would refer to Milkie and Peltola (1999) who maintain that although there are many researches which focus on the balancing of work and family, there are fairly limited researches about the subjective feeling of women about managing work and family. I agree with them and I would like to look at how working women in Pakistan feel while managing their work and household responsibilities.

3.2. Family Types and Roles within Family

In the first section, I have tried to relate how different sociologists and psychologists reflect about work and family balance while women are working in paid employment. In this section, my main focus is on the development of families and different types of families across the globe and how these family types affect women differently. In Western countries, living in

joint or extended family system is not a common practice. In most developing countries and especially South Asia, which is the focus of my research, extended family system is the most common form of family structure.

Laslett (1982) argues that, household composition and structure actually depend upon family strategies. From a “family strategies” perspective, the household is a potentially flexible unit whose composition can be varied as part of a conscious effort of its family members to increase family resources. Numerous studies have demonstrated empirically variation in household composition in past times and suggest that the inclusion and exclusion of non-nuclear family members—both kin and non-kin was used to meet the family’s changing needs (Laslett. 1982).

According to Bowen (2009) families are systems of interconnected and interdependent individuals who cannot be seen in isolation from the family system. According to him each individual in a family has a certain role to play and everyone has to obey the rules of the family. Maintaining the same roles and behaviors within the system help the system to function properly. The change in roles may push the family towards a different equilibrium and it might also result in dysfunction as one might not be able to perform a certain changed role for a longer period of time.

Family systems evolve with time and circumstances. Before the industrial revolution in the west, families were more closely knit and people more closely related to each other. After the industrial revolution, people moved toward towns and cities and here they had to make a living without the welfare from the government at that time. It gave rise to the extended family system which helped people to live together and share their financial burdens as well

as share a support system for all the family members. As soon as welfare system started, people started moving toward nuclear family system as it helped them keep their autonomy (Jay, 2004).

Although they started living separately but still they kept in contact with their relatives. Some sociologists called this type of family system as “modified extended system” and other used the term “dispersed extended system” (Jay, 2004). Afterwards nuclear family developed into a system which consists of a married couple and their children with very few interactions with other relatives. "Nobody has ever before asked the nuclear family to live all by itself in a box the way we do. With no relatives, no support, we've put it in an impossible situation" (Mead, 1978).

Even though in the West families moved from extended to nuclear family systems, in certain parts of the world extended family system is still the most common form of family structure. Extended family is an expansion of nuclear family in which parents and children stay together and it is usually built around a unilineal descent group. A unilineal descent group is one in which the descent is either from male or female line. In South Asia especially in Pakistan, the descent is usually from male line. In Asia the extended family mostly consists of the nuclear family of the head of the household, his unmarried daughters, his sons and their families, his sons' sons' families and unmarried daughters, and so on (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2009).

The traditional family system in South Asia especially in Pakistan and India is joint/extended family system. Freed (1982) observes that the problem with joint family is the controversy of defining it (Satadal, 1994). The incidence of nuclear family is considered a new development in Indo-Pak and many believe that it is not disintegration of joint family but a “mere

milestone” in the way of development of joint family (Gould, 1968 cited in Satadal, 1994). According to Satadal (1994), another view about the development of nuclear family system in India is the urbanization and industrialization because nuclear family is better suited to the demand of modern economies (Goode, 1963 cited in Satadal, 1994).

In joint family system, every family owns their own bedroom and sometimes a separate room for their children. According to Mandelbaum (1948) the life of the family mostly goes on in one or two large rooms where family member sit, eat, meet and spend their times. “Privacy in the western sense is minimal” (Mandelbaum, 1948: 123) in joint family system. Although, this is an old study but still the extended family exists on the same lines in Pakistan and India.

Satadal’s (1994) research confirms that joint family is most common in rural areas as the cities and towns are developing in order to capitalize maximum resources. Yet in Pakistan joint family system is still fairly common. The governing male in the house plays a significant role in the family unit. One of the main advantages of a joint family system is the availability of a large workforce for occupations which demand one, like agriculture. Also, housing costs are shared. There is usually a joint economic production from the male members of the household (Taqui, Itrat, Qidwai, and Qadri, 2007). Women mostly stay at home and take care of young and elders at home and also maintain the overall system of the unit in terms of providing food, cleaning, washing and other related chores.

It is a common assumption as well as a well perceived norm in Pakistan as in other parts of the world that family work is a woman’s responsibility. I argue that women in Pakistan have agreed upon this role and they have internalized these responsibilities as a part of themselves.

Pakistani men are generally brought up in a way that they are not allowed to do household chores like cooking, cleaning, washing etc.

3.3. Women and Work in Pakistan: The Contextual Framework

In this section, first I will present the general situation of women in Pakistan and in South Asia and then I will discuss the scarce literature available about Pakistani working women and work-life balance.

3.3.1. Situational Analysis of Women in Pakistan

Pakistan is predominantly a patriarchal society. Men and women are divided into two absolutely different spheres. Home is defined as women's part while the outside world belongs to men. According to Asian Development Bank's (ADB) report (2000) this false ideological demarcation between public and private, inside and outside worlds is maintained through the notion of honor and institution of purdah in Pakistan. The women in Pakistan have very limited mobility. While researching women's autonomy in India and Pakistan, Jejeebhoy and Sathar (2001) included five places¹¹ in their mobility index to explore how many places women can go unescorted. According to them, a woman in Punjab, Pakistan can visit only 1.4 places without an escort. Mostly it is preferred to go out only when you are accompanied by a male person, either your brother or father.

The spread of patriarchy is not even in Pakistan. Women's subordination and oppression vary across classes, regions and rural/urban setting. Patriarchy is most severe in rural and tribal areas where women are not allowed to go out to get education. They are married at a very

¹¹ Those five places include health centre, the community centre or market, house of a relative or friend, a fair and the next village/town.

young age and even bought and sold in marriages. They are allowed very little choices and their lives usually end up among the four walls of their homes. On the other hand, women belonging to the upper and middle classes have increasingly greater access to education and employment opportunities and can assume greater control over their lives (ADB, 2000).

Women are highly dependent on men for their needs and requirements. The system of Pakistan does not support single women. According to the official statistics, in 1996-97 women-headed households were only 7 percent of total households (ADB, 2000). Pakistani women suffer from all forms of poverty because of their low social and economic status, low education and their dependence on men. Very few women participate in the state structures and decision-making bodies and these women come from the elite class, mostly relatives of the in-government officials. In this way, Pakistani women suffer the dual oppression of class and sex (Harrison, 1989). According to Harrison, women who have opportunities of education and freedom belong to a ruling class which implicitly benefits from the exploitation of the lower classes, be they women or men. “The women who protest most loudly are those who are least oppressed” (Harrison, 1989: p. 16).

Violence against women is also a common practice. According to Asian Development Bank’s report on women in Pakistan in 2000, the official figure for murder of women during 1998 was 1,974; majority of them were victims of their own relatives—husbands, brothers, fathers, and in-laws. The violence against women is institutionalized in order to maintain the status quo of male dominance. It is used to assure that gender norms are followed. In certain parts of Pakistan, even driving a car or talking to a strange man brings shame upon family and the woman has to face humiliating consequences (Harrison, 1989).

3.3.2. Women and Work in Pakistan

The prevalence of women labor force participation is very low in Pakistan. Following table shows women's participation in labor force including relevant figures from Pakistan.

Box 1: Global labour market: Percentage of female labour

- In Europe, the activity rate of women in the labour market has increased in the last two decades.
- In Denmark it is 46.9 per cent.
- In the Netherlands it increased from 24.2 per cent in 1975 to 40.6 per cent in 1993.
- In the USA and Canada it grew from 37 per cent and 32 per cent respectively in 1970 to 45 per cent in 1990.
- In Pakistan it merely increased from 6.6 per cent in 1968/69 to 13.6 per cent in 1996/97.

Sources: *UNDP Human Development Report*, 1987; *World Development Report*; World Bank 200/2001; Federal Bureau of Statistics.

Source: Goheer, 2003

According to ILO report on Employment Trends in Pakistan (2007) 18.9% women were in labor force by 2005/06. Comparing the most recent figure with the one in 1996/97, there is merely an increase of 4.3% in female labor force participation in Pakistan in almost a decade. A major factor, as stated earlier, which restricts women's visibility, is the incidence of "purdah" and women who go out for work are considered immoral and of loose character.

Naqvi and Shahnaz (2003) argue that in Pakistan, whether women should participate in labor force depends on a number of factors e.g. their age, education and marital status along with the presence or absence of a male head in the family, income level of the male head and age of their children. They cite the research of Shah et al. (1976) who study the effects of different demographic and socio - economic variables on labour force participation in all provinces of Pakistan. The results illustrate that women's decision to participate in income generating

activities is inversely associated with child-women ratio¹² and the nuclear family type. On the other hand, Shah et al. (1976) come up with the results that economic participation has a positive relation with marital status, dependency ratio and literacy rates of women (Naqvi and Shahnaz, 2003).

In the past, the issue of women holding public office was also much debated in Pakistan¹³. According to Harrison (1989) Maulana Maududi, a religious scholar advocated that women should not be allowed to take up any public office where they were likely to come into contact with men and women should not be allowed to have any important position such as the head of the state. According to him, Maulana Maududi also recommended that only men and educated women be given voting rights. Harrison (1989) also quoted Dr. Israr Ahmad, a member of the “Council of Islamic Ideology”, who in an interview in March 1982 said that in a truly Islamic state all working women would be retired and pensioned off. He also said that it was better to embrace death than to live in an age where women were running affairs of state (Harrison, 1989).

Having said that, it is clear that the possibilities of women’s work outside home are very few in Pakistan and even those who are employed belong to either middle or upper class or are well educated and highly motivated who do not care what the society declares about them. However, whether women work outside or not, household work is always considered as women’s work in Pakistan and mostly it is invisible. According to Wolf (1992) ‘A Pakistani woman spends sixty three hours a week on domestic work alone, while a Western housewife,

¹² i.e. the more the children w woman has, the less are the chances to get into paid employment.

¹³ Although Benazir Bhutto became the first women prime minister of Pakistan, here the purpose is to show the conservative ideology of Pakistani men.

despite her modern appliances, work just six hours less (p. 23).’ However, these six more hours of her work, results in 24 more hours a month and 288 more hours a year.

Women in Pakistan are considered responsible for meeting the needs of family and household. Bearing and rearing children is women’s task. Household and family roles play an important part in the relationship between women and employment (Stichter, 1990). Stichter argues that household factors are both important and essential because they directly affect women’s participation, time spent in labor market and their earnings.

The family system also contributes a lot to women’s dependence and reliance on others and their decision to work or not. As stated earlier, in Pakistan the most common form of family system is extended family system. In a study carried out in Punjab, Pakistan in 2001, which studied 250 to 300 households showed that 57% of respondents lived in non-nuclear family setting with their mother-in-law or other in-laws (Jejeebhoy and Sathar, 2001). In most cases, women seek permission from their husbands and in-laws if they want to work. Many men do not like that their wives go out for work because of their ego problem, fear for neglect to children and female ill health (Maqsood, et. al. 2005). Others fear their wives’ employment only because of the stigma attached to working women.

It is not always only husbands who criticize and reject women’s work for paid employment but also other relatives and in-laws. Hafeez (1989) describes that the in-laws of a woman criticize her paid employment because of the fear that she will lose morals, will become independent and will forget her “real”¹⁴ status (Maqsood, et. al. 2005).

¹⁴¹⁴ Real status as a suppressed daughter-in-law and as a home-maker

Working women in Pakistan, as in the rest of the world, face a double burden of paid and unpaid work. There are not a lot of studies about Pakistani women and the double duties they perform at work and at home. Ramu in his book *Women, Work and Marriage in Urban India*, argues that employment outside home has not affected the role of middle class women in India i.e. the family role assigned to them. According to Seymour (1991), Ramu notes that these women identified themselves with their domestic sphere and were “traditional” in any way. On the other hand, Ramu observes that the husbands of working women were characterized as “modern” because they allow their women to work. The irony here is that men’s modern attitude did not extend to performing household duties (Seymour, 1991).

It is also important to note that working and non-working women show different patterns of behaviors. Ramu, as reviewed by Seymour (1991) observes that wives in households where both husband and wife are working are more independent than in single earning households. According to him employed wives have more autonomy and freedom with regard to their dressing, friends, visiting friends, and on spending money on themselves than unemployed wives. Similarly employed women have more egalitarian relationship with their husbands, they participate in decision making with regard to finances and other family issues than wives in single earning household do. In dual earning couples, recreation is also enjoyed together when compared to single earning couples. Employed wives also report a higher level of marital happiness than do full-time housewives (Seymour, 1991).

It is definitely difficult for women to maintain a balance between work and family especially when men are least bothered about what is happening in the house and who takes care of all the things which come to them ready made. In a study conducted by Maqsood, et al. (2005) more than 60% employed women in an industrial city of Pakistan called Faisalabad, confer

that they have problems managing household and children along with work. About the attitude of their parents and/or in-laws toward their work, 28.6% married women's perception was that their in-laws never had a favorable attitude towards their jobs. While 13.4% women perceive that their in-laws have an indifferent attitude towards their employment.

Although there has been a lot of literature available about working women's challenges and problems, it is hard to find any study which specifically focuses on the working women and different family structures. Most research on work and family has been done considering only the nuclear family system. In my view my research is unique because in this research I am motivated to find out how Pakistani women perceive their working-life balance and the formation of their families especially the extended family system, keeping in view all the constraints and problems they face which are discussed above.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. The Approach

The first step to gather appropriate data for one's research is to select a suitable and proper method. Harding (1987) describes method as a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence. Feminist scholarship believes that traditional quantitative theories of research are not descriptive enough to fully explain the experiences of women and therefore are not good tools for researching women (Harding, 1987). On the other hand, Stanley and Wise believe that "methods themselves are not innately anything" (1993: 159) but the appropriateness of methods with the research question.

For my research, my main task was to examine what problems working women of Pakistan are facing in order to maintain their work and family balance especially how the extended family system affects their working and house lives. Therefore, it was quite clear that working women of Pakistan are my main respondents. As I was based in Hungary for my studies and working women of Pakistan were definitely in Pakistan, it was a hard question how to contact them and how to select women who are willing to participate in my research. Online or telephonic interviews seemed to be the only options.

Another important question was that even after contacting working women through different references how a rapport would be generated and how they would share their working and house life experiences with me. Additionally, whether telephonic or online interviews will give me reliable and authentic data on which I can generate a whole research or should I use quantitative methods like survey questionnaires to gather the data. I was also a bit concerned

because I knew that a well designed and executed quantitative study is much less harmful for women than a poorly executed qualitative one (Kally et al. 1994 cited in Letherby, 2003).

I was sure that survey questionnaires would not generate the results I want to achieve out of this research, therefore after considering the issue from different angles, it was decided that I am conducting online and telephonic interviews because it was the only option available at that time. I decided to generate a good rapport with my respondents in the beginning by emailing them in details about myself and about my research study and asking them to feel free to ask whatever questions come to their minds regarding my research. It was assumed that if I would get positive replies to my emails, I would start contacting those women through telephone in order to interview them.

Therefore, the main method I started using for my research was telephonic interviews. During the process of conducting those interviews, I realized that it was not helping me a lot to generate a good study and I decided to travel to Pakistan in order to carry out this research. Therefore, now this research is based on telephonic as well as face-to-face interviews with Pakistani working women. In addition, knowing the importance of one's own lived experiences in feminist research, my own experience as a working woman and living in an extended family system while I was in Pakistan is also a way through which I have analyzed the problems and issues of working women of Pakistan.

4.2. The Sample

The research has been based in Pakistan with the main focus on middle class married working women. A sample of eighteen working women in total has been selected, who were married

and living in either extended or nuclear family systems. The age of those women ranges between 26 and 39. Out of eighteen, eight interviews were conducted through telephone while ten interviews were face-to-face. Ten working women of my sample were living in nuclear family system although three of them had previous experience of living in an extended family system. Eight women were living in extended family. The extended family in some cases was as large as consisting of more than 10 people in one household. All of my respondents had children ranging from age 1 to 12 except one who had no children.

The respondents of my study belonged to different cities of Pakistan, with more than fifty percent from the capital Islamabad. The respondents included women from a number of different professions such as teachers, researchers, accountants and one business woman. The majority of them do a 9-5 job which sometimes involved late stay and some extra hours. Two of my respondents were in teaching profession with a job timing ranging from 7:30am to 2:30pm. One of my respondents was involved in a business with her husband and according to her she had flexible timing.

4.3. The Interview

Eighteen individual semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to collect data. Interviews were conducted using two languages i.e. English and Urdu¹⁵ depending upon the respondent's will and level of comfort. The interviews lasted from forty five minutes to an hour and sometimes they were not in one go especially when I did telephonic interviews. Face-to-face interviews were mostly conducted at the workplace of respondents except one

¹⁵ Pakistan's national language

for which we met in a restaurant. It is noticeable that women usually do not feel comfortable taking a stranger home or to their private sphere.

The interview was based on the broad question of how second shift and extended family system affect the work-family balance and overall lives of working women in Pakistan. This question was then sub-divided into several themes which include work-life balance and women in Pakistan, extended family and working women's family lives, extended family and working women's work lives, the perception of women about their work-life balance while managing family affairs especially in context of extended family system, and advantages and disadvantages of extended and nuclear family systems for working women in Pakistan. The interview questions were based loosely around the above mentioned themes. As described in chapter two Pakistan has a very conservative society as compared to the western countries, it was important to keep all cultural sensitivities in mind while exploring social issues.

Before starting the interviews the respondents were informed about the background of the study including its purpose and main themes. They were also informed that all the information that they provide would be kept confidential. They were assured that their names, organizations, job titles, and cities will not appear either as real in the study. All the interviews were recorded after seeking permission from the respondents, except the first three due to unavailability of recording software. Afterwards they were transcribed in order to use them for analyses.

My personal lived experience as a working woman living in an extended family helped me to understand the issue more closely and to actually relate with my respondents. I have used my personal experience in certain parts of my analysis where I have assumed that it is necessary.

By personal experience, I meant what Foss and Foss (1994) indicated in their article *Personal Experience as Evidence in Feminist Scholarship*. According to them it is “the consciousness that emerges from personal participation in events” (1994: 39). Therefore, I felt it a must to also give voice to my experiences which I have gained while living and working in an extended family.

4.4. Limitations of the Research

One of the many challenges faced during the research was to find appropriate sample for the study. My initial plan was to find out equal numbers of women in both family systems i.e. nuclear and extended but in the beginning of my research I found out that many women who work for paid employment do not live in extended families. It was a finding in itself for my research which might suggest that women living in the extended family system either do not get a chance (in terms of workload at home) or are not allowed to work outside their homes. It also suggests that extended family system is more traditional in nature with regard to keeping women in the confines of the house.

Therefore, finding appropriate women for the research took a lot of time. Another challenge faced during the research was telephonic interviews. I did not expect that I would face so many problems doing the interviews on telephone. I could not record initial three interviews because I did not get any such software to help me to record telephone calls. Other than that, women I interviewed through telephone seem more reserved and to-the-point than those of face-to-face interviews.

5. WORKING WOMEN'S LIVED EXPERIENCES: AN ANALYTICAL GLANCE

In chapter two, it has been discussed that the change women brought in workplace by entering in the labour force has not been accompanied by any change at home in the context of sharing home tasks with men (Hochschild, 1989). This chapter provides the analysis of lived experiences of women in paid employment Pakistan, their issues and problems, their strategies how to cope with those issues and their management of work and family balance especially in case of extended family system. This chapter also looks at the issues such as women's perception of participation of men in housework and childcare and role of family members in case of extended family which affect working women's lives.

My main argument is that Pakistani women in paid employment¹⁶ believe that household work is their main "responsibility". They view their paid work only as a means to gain independence and to have some free time for themselves away from their families and nothing more than that. In addition, they have a common perception that in extended family system their lives are harder than in nuclear family system as it is intricate to comply with everyone's expectations while living in the extended family system. They believe that extended family offers stringent time schedules which are difficult to comply with.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. Part one is about the "responsibility myth" which makes women in Pakistan believe that taking care of home and family is their

¹⁶ I do not use the word working women in my analysis as it is in itself a stereotypical notion and manifests only the paid work of women as work. However, I believe that all women fall in "working" category because of the work they do at home even if they do not work for paid employment.

responsibility in no matter what circumstances they are in and if they cannot perform their duties they develop a feeling of guilt which results in depression and anxiety. Part two describes the family dynamics and the experiences of women in paid employment while dealing with those dynamics along with a comparison of how extended and nuclear family systems affect them differently.

5.1. The “Responsibility Myth” vs. Paid Employment

In this section, I argue that while living in extended family system, women working for paid employment in Pakistan are provided with an environment which facilitates the internalization of the feeling that it is their “responsibility” to work at home and take care of children and elders. This “responsibility myth” like the “mommy myth” (Livingston and Judge, 2008) is so much engraved in their souls that often they have a strong feeling of guilt when they do not manage their duties at home properly.

I present how Pakistani women involved in paid work have readily adapted their roles as home-makers and employed workers. I argue that although Pakistani women have started entering into the public sphere by acquiring education and getting into paid employment, they still stick to the stereotypical division of household labour in which they are responsible for taking care of every aspect of home and family. Furthermore, women in Pakistan are not really career oriented in a sense that they look at their working career in a way which gives them confidence and opportunity to see the world and nothing more than that.

5.1.1. “*Everything is Fine*”: Working Women Defending Their Responsibility

Women in Pakistan are brought up in an environment which, in Sancier’s (1992) words offers the ethic of care as the major aspect of women’s moral development. Even if they work outside the home, they believe that it is them who have to change themselves or their routine in order to manage their caring responsibilities at home and their duties at employment. They work extra hours in nights or on weekends in order to keep their home and family in shape during the week while they are at their paid employment.

Almost all the women that I interviewed started off with a very defensive tone when they were asked about how they manage their house and paid work at the same time. They were always very self-protective in the beginning of the interview which I interpret that they might have felt that I am questioning their ability to fulfill both their roles at the same time i.e. the role as the home maker and the role as employed worker. Their tone depicts that almost all of them have to face certain circumstances on regular basis in which they have to verify that they are doing fine while managing household and the paid employment.

I argue that the issues below best describe that Pakistani women who do paid work, have a deep-rooted feeling that they can perform every task at home in addition to the job responsibilities at work. I also argue, in line with Sancier (1992), that they adopt “personal solutions” to resolve their work-family problems instead of asking for structural ones. If they could not manage to do that, they consider it as their failure and try to conceal it from the community and struggle to demonstrate that everything is fine with them. Most importantly, they start exhibiting a defensive attitude towards people who inquire about their management skills.

I observe that women have to go through the “work-family conflict” (Livingston and Judge, 2008) quite often which makes them realize that they do not fulfill their responsibilities according to the prescribed standards. In the interviews when my respondents talk about their work either at home or at work place, they always start as if they did not have any problems. In addition, they also try to make it apparent that things are not difficult for them. Their style and tone illustrates that they are highly concerned about their management of work at home and at their paid employment.

“I don’t think I am having a lot of problems” or “no it is not that difficult, if you plan accordingly” or “I am satisfied at the end of the day, and that is what matters to me” or “you know, it is not tough, it is just that you properly schedule yourself” are some of the examples of how women start talking about their work-family balance. It clearly demonstrates that they believe or at least want others to believe that nothing is a problem for them and they got all the skills required to manage their work. Until my respondents develop a sort of comfort level talking to me and to know that I am one of them, most of them did not share how they feel about their responsibilities at home and work.

I noticed after interviewing Pakistani women working outside their homes that they have got a constant problem of managing home and paid work at the same time. Sometimes they could not fulfill some assignments at work because of their responsibilities at home and sometimes their home suffers because of the hectic routine at work.

I won’t say that it happens everyday but sometimes I cannot reach office at time because of my morning duties or cannot help my children for their exams because of coming late from

office. But it does not happen regularly, these are some exceptional cases (Kousar, Researcher).

From this account it is evident that she confirms the work-family conflicts but her repetition that it does not happen regularly, manifests her fear of being blamed if it happened everyday or on regular basis. I argue that they constantly struggle to balance their public and private spheres which is like a battle that they fought everyday and it is this phenomenon which makes them talk defensively about their ability to manage their tasks.

In order to show that they are not the traditional women who are controlled by their husbands or families, they also try to show that they like the things they do e.g. they like cooking or cleaning and it is not that they are doing it forcefully or under some pressure that they have to do it. They express that they like to cook themselves because they do not like the taste of food from outside or from someone else's.

Why waste money on food which I don't like and I don't know who is making it and how. I like cooking because I know that my family likes the food I cook and then I myself am confident that I am giving my family healthy food (Samia, Credit Officer).

From this quote it is clear that they believe that they feel happy that their family likes the food they cook. Here it is also important to note the factor of satisfaction because of the praise or admiration they get from their family in response to their hard work. In addition, they also confirm that they themselves are the ones who can not tolerate untidy and unclean home. I argue that it reflects that they are scared of giving people the idea that they have weak skills in managing home on their side.

It is important for me to keep my house clean. If I am coming back from office and my room is a mess, I myself will feel uncomfortable. It is not that my husband asks me to clean the house but it is me who does not stand mess and clutter (Sehrish, Development Officer).

Here the statement that her husband does not ask her to clean the home shows that again she is being defensive in order to prove that she herself is responsible for what she is doing.

5.1.2. “Who Will Do It If I Won’t”: The Internalization of Separate Sphere and the Guilt Within

In this part, I argue that women in Pakistan have a strong internalization of the differentiation of gender roles. They believe that home is their sphere and they are the ones who have to manage it. In addition, for independence and self-fulfillment, they also want to work outside the home for paid employment.

I completely agree with Guendouzi’s (2006) observation that non-fulfillment of their roles at the home and workplace results in a feeling of guilt in working women. What I analyze from my respondent’s defensive attitude is that in the back of their mind they go through the same feeling of guilt due to not fulfilling their social roles properly. This guilt arises due to many factors for the Pakistani women and especially the ones who work as employed workers. I argue that the guilt mainly develops because women of Pakistan in general and women in paid employment in particular are still following the traditional norms as described by Barnett and Hyde (2001) in their traditional theory of *gender, work and families*¹⁷. Pakistani women have

¹⁷ Please refer to Chapter two for details.

a strong internalization of the feeling that the house or the private sphere is women's part while working outside the home or in public sphere belongs to men's duties.

Generally my respondents do not complain about the hard work they are doing while managing their duties at home and their work outside the home. Whenever they talk about their work they talk in a way that shows that they *have* to do it and it is not something which they can think they should not be doing. On the other hand when they talk about their husbands, they show that by going to work their husbands are already doing enough for their homes and families. Therefore there is a clear inconsistency of how they think of themselves and their husbands.

In fact cooking or cleaning is my responsibility and I know it. I cannot think of my husband in the kitchen (laugh) you know how bad it feels. Although when during some weekends I go to my mother's place he has to take care of himself and then it makes sense that he goes to the kitchen (Razia, Office Manager).

Here it is apparent that the respondent has a very strong feeling of the separate spheres for men and women. On the other hand, it is also noteworthy that for the practical reasons, this ideology can be bent which is proven by her saying that when she is not at home, her husband has to get active in the private sphere in order to survive (to get food). Although, in the next question whether he cooks when she goes to her mother's place, I got to know that even in that case she cooks the food and freezes it and her husband only has to warm it in order to eat. It is also perceptible that due to the strong bifurcation of private and public spheres, and the well-built internalization of the fact that women are responsible for cooking and providing

food, women have to cook in advance to prove that they perform their roles without any break even when they are not around physically.

Another woman tells me that she thinks it is shameful for her if her husband works in the kitchen while she relaxes but this feeling does not work for the husband. It is again because of the strong feeling that the kitchen is women's place and "a man in the kitchen" is not an honorable thing for a woman. There is also a clear contradiction between how women think about themselves and their husbands. They believe that their husbands need time to rest and relax but women *have* to perform their duties. When a woman is asked why her husband is entitled to relax after coming back from work, she tells me,

It is the matter of fact that cooking is my duty, and I should be doing it. After coming back from work if he reads news paper or watch TV, it is important for him as he should know what's happening in the world (Parveen, Data Entry Officer).

They have well composed excuses for their husbands that they need to relax in order to perform well at work. Moreover, women do not think that they should take time out for relaxing or for themselves but they think that their husbands need some relaxing time after work.

The realization of men's hectic work is much more apparent in the narratives of my respondents than their own.

After work, he sometimes goes for swimming or some other relaxing activity. He needs this because his work is very hectic. He has to go to a lot of different places during the day

because his job is related to marketing and sales. So I think he needs such activities

(Summaira, Front Desk Assistant).

Therefore the value and importance of men's work outside the home is quite apparent.

Women engaged in paid work also share that they think that men do not have certain skills needed to take care of home. Many women show that they have no expectation from their husbands in terms of household work because their husbands lack those skills which are required to keep the household going.

When my mother-in-law is ill, what my husband can do is to bring medicine but he does not know how to take care of an elder, and obviously it is my responsibility to take care of her

(Sehrish, Development Officer).

One important point to note here is the "obviousness" of her "responsibility" and second is the feeling that her husband does not know how to take care of someone or how to do the household work. I argue that this perception that men cannot do household tasks is an immense reason for women believing that household chores are their responsibility.

Other factors which develop the guilt within women are the feeling that they are failing in managing their role as home-makers and also that they are not giving enough time and care to their children. These two factors are also related to their feeling of not fulfilling their responsibilities properly. It is interesting to note that none of my respondents uses the word guilt but mostly they talk about feeling uncomfortable when they fail to fulfill some

“important” duties. In response to a question on how she feels when she could not manage her home properly, my respondent tells me;

Although I try my best to keep my house in order, and manage my work properly, if I am not successful at the end of the day, I would definitely feel bad (Pakiza, Business Woman).

Another woman tells me;

If some relatives are visiting us and my house is messy, they would definitely think that I am not caring for my house properly and that would be a shame for me. You know how people think about you, that you are lazy and things like that (Farah, School Teacher).

I argue here that women start blaming themselves for things which are not under their control and which they believe that they are responsible for. They believe that those things are happening due to their negligence. I did not find a single woman among my respondents who blames her husband for not fulfilling any responsibility or who expects that the things she is failing to manage can be managed with the help of her husband. On the contrary, they assume that their husbands can get angry or unhappy because of their failures and if the husbands are not showing such feelings it is also a favor from them.

No, my husband is very understanding and he won't say anything to me if my child is not getting good grades at school, but I myself feel uncomfortable why it is happening (Mahjabeen, Accountant).

It also gets manifested here, that they blame themselves for not achieving something, they think they should be achieving or it is them who are responsible for achieving that thing. The above stated quote shows that she does not expect her husband to help their child in studies but herself and if the child does not get good result, she is responsible and not her husband. It also describes that she thinks that if her husband does not show any anger about the child getting bad grades, he shows understanding. But she does not expect her husband to help the child as she has so much to do at home already.

Whenever the women are asked that how they feel when they are not able to comply with the responsibilities at home and/or at work, they use the phrases like “I feel bad” or “I feel tensed and angry” or “it feels very depressing” or “I sometimes even start crying when I am not doing ok or when I am not performing well”. It is apparent here that the guilt that these women feel because of not fulfilling their so-called responsibilities affects them very negatively. They blame themselves and as a result experience depression, tension and anxiety which in turn affect their overall health.

5.1.3. What about Paid Employment???

In this sub-section I argue that most Pakistani women in paid work have such strong bond and association with their homes and the related responsibilities that it is difficult for them to disconnect even if they are physically away from their homes. In addition, I also maintain that there is an obvious contradiction of how Pakistani women think about their paid work and their household work.

Working women who work outside their homes have a continuous feeling that if they are allowed to work for paid employment they are offered something extra or are given a favor from their husbands or families due to which they do not really acquire a satisfaction out of that work. Ramu's (1989) definition of "modern" husband (reviewed by Seymour, 1991) depicts the true picture of Pakistani husbands. They have done a great favor and showed open-mindedness by allowing their wives to work outside the home but their modernity did not allow them to share household responsibilities along with their wives.

I have been given the opportunity to go out and work, to be confident, to know what the world offers to me, but it does not mean that I use my right in a wrong way and forget what my responsibilities are (Farah, School Teacher).

From this quote, it gets manifested that women believe that if they are allowed to go out for work, they are given something extra which is a big favor for them and they should not put their husbands and elders in to a difficult position by not fulfilling their responsibilities and duties at home. One other respondent tells me;

I have seen my mother and grand mother spending their whole lives within the confines of a house helping us to get good nurturing and helping our fathers to relax after their hard work outside. I know and believe that if I am working outside home, it does not mean that my house no more belongs to me. I have been given more opportunities so I have to work hard to avail maximum benefits (Rafia, Admin Assistant).

Therefore there is a strong feeling that working outside family home is something exceptional and if they were given this "opportunity", they should be fulfilling it responsibly. The feeling

of guilt arises when they find it hard to fulfill their duties at home. Another thing which gets manifested here is that they do not look at their work outside home as one of their rights but a favor. Both of the women quoted above use the word “opportunity” and I interpret it as they think that they are the privileged women who have been given this opportunity and in this case they are exceptional or may be superior to the other women who are not given this chance.

As being a woman from Pakistan, who has been working after getting married, my own experience of my society tells me that men use these granted “opportunities” to women in order to humiliate them. If a woman could not manage her home properly, she is made to feel ashamed that although she is doing what she wants (paid employment outside the home) but could not do what she is supposed to. These things also affect women a great deal and the feeling of guilt gets stronger.

Another thing which is quite common in all the women I have interviewed is that they did not feel a great deal of accomplishment in what they do at their paid work. Many of them did not talk much about their work and their achievements. On the other hand, working and achieving something at home brings a lot of satisfaction and accomplishment in their lives. This finding confirms with Livingston and Judge’s (2008) observation that women identify more with their family roles. It is again an evidence of Pakistani women’s compliance with the traditional theory of Barnett and Hyde (2001).

Following quote seems to establish that for women in paid employment Pakistan, in Livingston and Judge’s (2008) words, family does not interfere with work but work interferes with family.

I feel very relaxed and happy if my home is in order and my children are neat and well behaved. All my tiredness just ends when my husband or my mother-in-law praise me that I know how to keep my home and family in proper shape, although I am working full time
(Rafia, Admin Assistant).

“Although I am working fulltime” shows a feeling of pride which is not for the full time paid work she is doing but with regard to the accomplishments at home. Also, the praise she is getting from her husband and other family members is a source of motivation for her to keep it up. It provides her the fuel to keep moving. I argue that women in Pakistan are psychologically more attached to their family roles as compare to the one at the workplace. Rafia’s “tiredness ends” because her self-confidence elevates after listening to the praise from her family. Rosenberg (1979) confirms this phenomenon when he proposes that self-esteem should be high when one successfully performs the roles which are psychologically central to him/her (Capalan and Schooling, 2006).

I also argue at this point that women of Pakistan are trapped in this delusion of praise and admiration which build the perspectives with which they look at the world around them. This delusion helps them feel happy and satisfied with the work they are doing and also makes them think that it is the way things ought to be and encourages them to continue doing things in that way.

For some of them paid work is not important for the money or the opportunities it offers them but to have an escape from the surveillance and observation from their in-laws. One of my respondents, who lives in an extended family with nine family members tells me;

My job is important to me and I know that it provides me with autonomy and freedom but I must say that it is hectic and tiresome for me. Sometimes I think that I should quit and stay at home but then the idea of staying at home also harasses me to how will I spent the whole day there (Rabia, Programme Associate).

Her statement clearly identifies that paid work in it-self is not of much importance for her and she realizes that it offers her a reasonably tough routine. The reason she does not quit her paid work is to spend the whole day with her in-laws which she does not find very comfortable. In the next section, I will be explaining why women in paid employment do not feel comfortable and relaxed at their homes while living in extended family system.

In summary, in this section I have presented that women in Pakistan who work outside their homes for paid employment, are living in a responsibility myth because of their strong internalization of separate sphere ideology which results in to a feeling of guilt and aggression. These women demonstrate a clear understanding that their homes are their responsibility and they have to fulfill their duties as home-makers in any case. Working outside the home does not reduce their responsibilities at home rather add to them. In addition, they do not feel the accomplishments at their paid work as real accomplishments. On the other hand their household work brings a lot of satisfaction in their lives and they really cherish it. It is also apparent from the discussion above that women employed in paid work believe that they belong to their homes and their homes belong to them. However, in the following section, I will argue that while living in extended family system, the feeling that “their homes belong to them” is not very strong because of many families living in the same house.

5.2. Extended Families vs. Nuclear Families: Working Women's Melancholia

Before going into what I argue in this section of my research, I would share the initial finding of my research about the extended family system. In the beginning of my research, while finding appropriate sample for my research, I came to know that mostly women I contacted were living in the nuclear family system. My initial plan was to select equal numbers of women in both family systems but I ended up with more women from nuclear family system than in the extended family system. This finding suggests that women living in the extended family system either do not find it easy to work for paid employment outside the home or they are not allowed to work outside. It also suggests that extended family system is more traditional in nature with regard to keeping women within the confines of the house.

In this section, I will argue that Pakistani women although realizing the benefits of extended family system do not like living in them. They have a common perception that extended families pose more problems to them than nuclear families. Women, both living in extended family as well as the ones living in nuclear family, confirm either in a straight forward way or between the lines that joint family system has a lot more expectations and responsibilities to fulfill that it gets harder for women who do paid work to comply with all those.

It is lucid that compared to nuclear family, extended family comprises of more people. Families of many people live in the same premises and women are the ones who have to take care of all the people living in there. Number of family members varies according to the number of brothers and sisters one has. In my respondents' cases, extended families range from as small as only three members to as many as sixteen members. I, myself, was living with thirteen people in the same house after I got married.

It is common sense that all these people, who live together in a family house, do not have same likes and dislikes. This, in turn, increases the work burden of women who are responsible for satisfying the needs of the members of the household. It also advocates that then women have to come up with time schedules which suit everyone in the house. It, subsequently, poses that if people are not complying with those routines, women have to work more. In this scenario, women bear a double responsibility in extended family system. They have to struggle really hard on a day to day basis in order to manage their multiple roles as a family member of all the people in the house as well as the wife and the mother. Salaried women are no exception; instead they have more roles, one at paid work too.

5.2.1. Lack of Flexibility

Most salaried women openly share that it is hard to have a flexible routine while living in joint family system. They criticize the fixed schedules and tight time tables of extended family system that are strict and bothering at times. They maintain that they are not afraid of doing work but it is only that they wish to do it in their own manner and with their own time schedule.

It is not about work load, but about your own way and your own will of doing things. For example if I need to rest at a time and want to do cleaning afterwards, I know that someone else will do that and then I will feel bad about it. So I have to do cleaning at that very time. So I think in extended family system you have to come up with the timings and routines which are suitable for others too. It's not that that you can do things when you want and in the way you like. (Sehrish, Development Officer)

Therefore, extended family does not allow them to perform their duties in a flexible way. In addition, it is also apparent from the quote above that again there is a guilt feeling related to that. Women are not just afraid of not doing things at time which is set by the family but also that someone else will do it and then they will have to suffer for that too. Here it is important for me to make clear, what I meant by suffering. It is the inappropriate behavior of the family members which these women have to bear because of unfulfilling or delaying the duties at home which cause a feeling of guilt. Following two statements will explain it;

It is not that they scold me but they do not talk to me properly. I mean you can feel from their attitude that there is something wrong. It is very stressing at times that you don't even know what happened and nobody is telling you either (Aamna, Doctor).

My sister-in-law (wife of husband's brother) starts making comments like "you are special" or "you are not like us who stay at home all day long", it just gets so on your nerves and you start feeling ridiculous. My mother-in-law is good, she never says anything but sometimes when you are not following routine, you can feel her mood also a bit annoyed (Warda, IT Officer).

Suffering in this case is the bad mood or behavior of the family members which they have to bear. Some of the family members show it by telling one that she does not do what she is supposed to do and some do not talk to one properly and taunt and ridicule her at times. In order to get rid of such situation, women have to make up for it by doing extra work.

*When you live in joint family, you have to bear such things, but in my case it does not prolong because I compensate by cooking next day or if there are guests I will do the dishes after they leave and clean the house so in this way but you know you **have** to do it this way, you have to bear the bitterness of people because everybody thinks that if she is going to office, she is going for herself why should we suffer (Kashaf, HR Officer).*

Here again, the feeling that they work outside the home for themselves is important to note. Women have to face it constantly that working outside the home is their choice and if they work at a paid employment, they do not do something extra-ordinary that they can leave their household duties aside. Moreover, it is also significant that they not only have to face tight schedules at home but at paid employment too. There is no escape either.

Pakistani women who work for paid employment and live in extended family system have to be conscious all the time that they do not do such a thing which can give reasons to others to complaint. They have to fulfill their duties at respective times and without making others realize how tired and exhausted they are.

I work 9-5 and it takes around twenty minutes to reach home so I get really tired by the time I reach home. But I have to go to kitchen as soon as I reach home, to help my sister-in-law in making dinner. I do not cook but I help her by cutting vegetables or by making salad. I know if I don't do it, they will think that I am not concerned and that I am playing no part in family work (Asma, Cashier).

It suggests that Asma has no time to rest after she gets back home due the pressure that if she is not in the kitchen after her paid work, she would be considered unconcerned about her

home and family. There are such “small” things, as it is frequently referred to in Pakistani society, which make the lives of these women depressing and much worse than the women living in nuclear family.

Moreover, women living in extended family inform that as they are not that productive at home during the week, they compensate it by working full time at home during weekends. Most of them make clear to me by telling that because they do not cook and clean during week so cooking and cleaning is their responsibility during weekends. Therefore, technically they have no day off from work. Kousar, who works as a researcher at a local NGO, informs me with an extremely gloomy tone, when asked about how she spends her weekends;

Oh, my weekends are much more hectic than my week days. I have to cook, clean, wash, iron my and my husband's cloths, go for shopping (if needed), and visit relatives. I start freaking out as soon as weekend gets closer (Kousar, Researcher).

I assure, from my own experience that it is a true picture of married employed women of Pakistan. On weekends, they not only have to satisfy the family requirements but also the cultural and traditional values. Visiting relatives and inquiring about their good and bad times is a very important duty of Pakistani women. The relatives are not just the first relatives but the second, the third and sometimes even the fourth relatives from both their maternal and paternal sides. And if one is not keeping in touch with them, people think that she is discourteous and rude and has no respect for the norms and values of her society.

Most of the women, who live in nuclear family, share that at least they have their own schedules. For them it is a big relaxation that no one is keeping a check on them and they can do whatever they want to do at whatever time they like.

In nuclear family, I can decide what to do when, for example I do washing once a week but in joint family you can not leave things pending, otherwise you listen from others that look at her she did not clean her room yet or she did not do washing today or bread is not properly cooked and all these things (Pakiza, Business Woman).

Pakiza's statement again confirms that nuclear family gives more flexibility and choice to salaried women than joint family. One has to be alert all the time while living in extended family about her environment and her belongings so that no one has a reason to talk about her weaknesses.

By working outside the home, women have to go through many more challenges in extended family system than in nuclear family system. Almost all the women have the same perception that nuclear family system makes it easier for them to carry on. Some women also share that their husbands have become much more understanding after they have moved to nuclear family and that nuclear family gives more options to husband and wife to develop better understanding of each other.

Nuclear family is much better than joint family because you have more understanding from your husband for example he understands that I am coming back from work and I am tired. Secondly, in nuclear family you know that you and your husband are working in this way and we have these needs and then you can modify your routine according to that and you start

adjusting to that and you do things as you please but in joint family it is not this case (Samia, Credit Officer).

Therefore, in this way, they not only get the understanding from their husbands but also start feeling relaxed. Their overall routine starts getting flexible and they find ways to modify it according to their needs and requirements. In addition, it suggests that here they only have to worry about one person, i.e. their husbands and/or their kids and they can come up with ways in which they can easily assure that their family's requirements are met.

5.2.2. The “Emotional Labour”

I argue that women employed in paid activities have to make extra efforts to make the members of the big extended family happy and in order to do that, they sometimes have to sacrifice their valid wishes. They do not enjoy complete control over their lives while living in extended family system instead they have to carry out additional labour which in Hochschild's (1989) words is “emotional labour”. This emotional labour causes stress in their lives and they do not enjoy a healthy psychosomatic life. The tradition of respecting elders and not disagreeing with them also play a part in their lack of being in charge of their own lives.

Interestingly, most women believe that nuclear family system requires more physical work than joint family system. My respondents share that they prefer to live in nuclear family system although it requires them to work more. They cogitate that nuclear family might ask more effort from them as in this case they are alone to look after their houses but it provides them with those relaxed routines and peace of mind.

You have to do more physical work in nuclear family I think, but you have peace of mind and that makes you feel good and you feel fine while doing that work (Kashaf, HR Officer).

Later when she is asked that why she thinks that she has to do more physical work while living in the nuclear family system, she enlightens me by telling;

You know, when I was living with my in-laws, I never cooked during week days because the meal was cooked during the day and we use to eat the same for dinner. So what I had to do maximum was to make salad or to help my mother-in-law in making bread but now I have to cook everyday along with all the other tasks like doing dishes, washing, cleaning etc. But I like it more here.

It suggests that women have this understanding and realization that in nuclear family system they have to do more physical activity but have peace of mind which helps them keep working and not feel bad about the amount of work they have to do. What I argue here is that salaried women enjoy more independence while living in nuclear family and it gives them more fulfillment and satisfaction and this is why they do not mind working more or working long hours even after their paid employment.

As many respondents use the same word “peace of mind or mental peace”, I asked them how they define peace of mind and what do they mean by it, following are a few answers I got from them;

By peace of mind, I meant that I have no extra tensions to worry about. For example, I don't have to worry about how to talk to my mother-in-law in order to get permission to go to my mother's or my friend's house. Similarly, I don't have tension that my children have to study and their grand father has taken them to the playground (Asma, Cashier).

You know in joint family, other's tensions are your tensions too. If my brother-in-law is not getting a good job or if my children got better grades than other's. You know you cannot celebrate your achievements. You have to be concerned about others all the time and it sometimes makes you feel you have more tensions and in this way you lose mental peace (Mehvish, Business Development Officer).

I feel that my life is under observation all the time [laugh]. Everyone keeps a check on you, what you wear, what you eat, how much you spent on cosmetics etc. If I am wearing better clothes than my other sisters-in-law I feel guilty or if my husband and I are eating out, we have to find excuses to show that we were invited by friends or so. So these small things make us tensed and we do not enjoy a peaceful state of mind (Rabia, Programme Associate).

All the above statements support that women believe that they get more tensions in extended family because they have to consider so many different circumstances for their simple actions. Moreover, they have to answer about every thing they do. The guilt factor is also there which makes them psychologically sick and which results into tension and depression. Other factors like more or less income than other household members, schooling of children or even one's way of dressing become sources of tension and destruction of mental peace. It is noteworthy here that none of them talk about anything related to household work while talking about peace of mind.

It suggests that it is not work but the feeling that people are observing every part of one's life which bothers these women. Women have to face scenarios in which they feel that they have been monitored all the time. They feel that their routine from morning to night is observed. It is also important to note that even the way of dressing is interfered by in-laws and they are told what sort of dress they should wear.

Other than their own lives, my respondents' narratives clearly demonstrate that they have less power over their children's lives as well while living in extended family system. Many of them were of the view that grand parents spoil their children by giving them extra love and care. Similarly, they also maintain that if one child in the house is bad-mannered, it helps others develop the same sort of attitude and it becomes a constant source of tension and anxiety in working mothers' lives.

Women working outside their homes have to leave their children at home, in the custody of their parents-in-law or whoever stays at home and it is very important for them to be satisfied by the company their children are enjoying. Many women inform that they are highly satisfied that their children are in safe hands while they are at work but at the same time they share that they fear that their children are getting extra love and affection from their grandparents or uncle and aunts. The reason for worrying about it was that the children then use their grandparents to get things which their parents might not suggest for them.

My father-in-law is crazy about children. He loves them a lot but he did not realize that his love is sometimes not good for the children. Last week my child had exam and I wanted him to study in the evening but he started crying and then his grandfather took him from my room to

his room and kept him there for an hour or so because whenever I went there to ask him to come back and study, my child started crying and he knows that his grandfather cannot stand his crying. So I got really angry. Sometimes it gets very miserable for me because my child does not do what I want him to do because of his grandparents (Sehrish, Development Officer).

Sehrish's detailed account shows her helplessness in matters which she thinks are really important for her child. It also confirms that interference from in-laws is a common trend in extended family system. It also demonstrates the tension and anxiety women go through during such uncontrollable circumstances. This is only one of the events in Sehrish's life but I argue that women living in extended family system in Pakistan have to face many more similar challenges in their daily lives.

Another concern shared by employed women living in extended family system is the schooling of their children. In extended family system, sometimes, women have to respect the decision of elders about the schooling of their children as well. Some mothers I talked to were highly unsatisfied with the quality of education their children were getting which is constant bothering feature in their lives.

My husband and I get good money from our jobs, and we can afford to send our children to good schools but my children have to go the same school as other children in the house are going because my brother-in-law does not earn well (Kashaf, HR Officer).

This quote shows that in extended family system people especially women have to give more sacrifices even in the matters like children's education. It is understandable that not all the

people in the house earn the same but everyone has to follow the same living style. In this way, even if you get more salary, you are not in a position to use it in the way you want and in this case, it is your children's education. It is understandable that this situation cause hard feelings in women's mind.

5.2.3. Other Side of the Story

Pakistani women in paid employment also consider the beneficial affects of the joint family system in many ways. Women have clear consciousness that joint family has a lot of benefits to offer. They share that they do not have to worry about making meals, they can leave their children home without any difficulty, they get good care when they are ill, they can ask help from people whenever they need some, they can get good guidelines and information from elders and so much more. Some discuss that it gives them real pleasure to serve the elders. Some also share that having elders in home bring blessing from God. Although what still bothers these women is that they do not enjoy complete freedom to express what they want. Many women shared that there are many good sides of extended family but still they wanted to live in nuclear family to enjoy a less tensed life.

I won't say that joint family is worse because there are quite a lot of benefits like if you are ill, you can rest and people can take care of you while in nuclear family you have to do things, look after the kids even if you are ill. Similarly you get good tips from elders but I would say there is no mental peace in joint family; you have more tensions (Sehrish, Development Officer).

In this way, it is evident that they have complete realization of the good sides of extended family system but they also recognize what is not fine and what is bothering them. The point I want to make here is that salaried women in Pakistan intend to live a peaceful and independent life style but in extended family they do get many advantages but not the peacefulness and contentment they desire.

I also observed that women who are living in nuclear family value extended family more than women living in extended family and vice versa. It suggests that no one is completely happy with whatever type of family they are living in. Similarly, it proposes that both family types have their pros and cons and one has to face some challenging circumstances in order to reap the maximum benefits of any of these systems.

In the conclusion of this section, it is clear that women working for paid employment in Pakistan have to face strict rules and regulations while living in extended family system as compared to the nuclear family system. Salaried women value an independent life style for which they are ready to work hard but at the end of the day they expect to enjoy an understanding environment along with the flexibility of work schedules and they believe that the nuclear family system promises it all.

6. CONCLUSION

In this research paper, I have presented the situation of salaried women in Pakistan in a perspective of work-family balance. I have explored the matter in the context of extended family system and located employed women's problems in this particular scenario. I also compared the differences Pakistani women involved in paid work face while living either in extended or nuclear family systems.

In this study, I have offered the accounts of salaried women in Pakistan how they feel about the extended family system and what strategies they use to cope with the issues within extended family system. Due to the fact, that there are not a lot of studies available about extended family system and women's problems in Pakistan specifically and about extended family in general, I basically relied on the western literature about work-family conflict mostly available in the context of nuclear family system (Livingston and Judge 2008, Guendouzi 2006, Barnett and Hyde 2001, Hochschild 1989, Judge, Ilies, and Scott 2006, Sancier 1992).

I have argued that women engaged in paid work in Pakistan have generated a "responsibility myth" to believe that taking care of their homes and families are their responsibility due to a strong recognition of separate sphere ideology. My results have confirmed the propositions of Livingston and Judge (2008) and Guendouzi (2006) in that by not fulfilling the domestic and workplace roles within the prescribed standards they have set for themselves women go through an intense feeling of stress and guilt.

At the same time, these women have adopted an attitude to demonstrate that they can manage their responsibilities without any problem. I argued that they have to protect their image as a home-maker quite often and this is why they exhibit a defensive attitude whenever they are asked about the management of their responsibilities at home and at work. This also develops a feeling of stress and anxiety in these women.

I have presented that salaried women in Pakistan still live in an extremely gendered society, where gender roles are highly stratified between men and women. Women characterize their husbands as modern and open-minded because they have allowed them to work outside the home, which confirms exactly what Ramu observed in Indian society (See Seymour, 1991). Women who participate in paid work believe that they should not disappoint their husbands and family by not performing their roles at home properly because of their paid employment. In addition, I argued that these women identify with their homes a great deal and their accomplishment at the home provide them with more satisfaction than the potential ones at work.

With regard to extended family system, my results indicate that Pakistani employed women are not satisfied with the environment of extended family system. They believe that in extended family system they have to bear everyone's (who are living in the same premises) interference in their lives. They complain about strict routines and timetables while living in extended family system. In addition, they do not feel comfortable in extended family because they feel that they are constantly observed by the other family members. These factors result in to anger, tension and depression in these women.

On the other hand, salaried women show a clear penchant for nuclear family system. I have argued that they consider that living in nuclear family not only provides them with peace of mind but also a flexible routine where they can do things according to their ease. Although they have shown that they completely understand the benefits of joint family system in terms of family support, they did not value those benefit more than their independence of performing household activities and a stress free environment (which they believe they can get in nuclear family system).

It is crucial to acknowledge that there are not many studies which explore the issues and concerns of women who are engaged in paid work in Pakistan specifically within the scope of household. I believe that much more needs to be explored. To understand better how society and prevailing social roles affects salaried women in Pakistan, a potential further direction, according to my study, could be to research the psychological problems these women of Pakistan face due to the household composition and dynamics especially in the extended family system.

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