

The Pursuit of Happiness: Gendered Experiences in Socio-Cultural Context of Pakistan



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**This thesis is submitted for the partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS: GENDERED EXPERIENCES IN SOCIO- CULTURAL CONTEXT OF PAKISTAN

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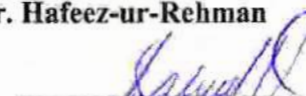
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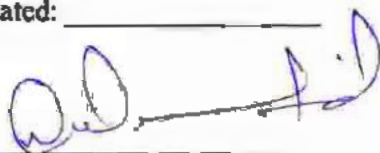
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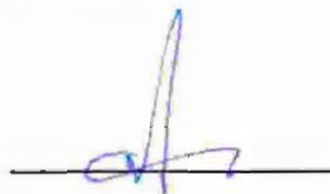


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Author's Declaration

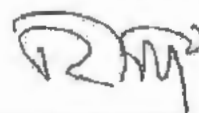
I, Saira Batool Reg. No: 3-FSS/PHDSOC/S14, student of PHD Sociology, Department of Sociology, International Islamic University, Islamabad, hereby declare that "The Pursuit of Happiness: Gendered Experiences in Socio-Cultural Context of Pakistan" is my own research work. The sources consulted or referred are acknowledged properly in-text. The research is entirely my personal effort done under the sincere efforts of my supervisor. No portion of the work presented herein has been submitted against a publication in any degree or qualification of the same or any other university or institute of learning.

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It is certified that Ms. Saira Batool Reg. No: 3-FSS/PHDSOC/S14 has completed her thesis titled "The Pursuit of Happiness: Gendered Experiences in Socio-Cultural Context of Pakistan" under my supervision. I am satisfied with the quality and originality of the research work. I allow the researcher to submit the dissertation to the concerned authorities for further process as per HUI rules and regulations.



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Abstract

This study aims to unveil the gendered experiences of happiness in the socio-cultural context of Pakistan by focusing on diverse social groups (married, divorced, remarried, separated & widow) having experiences in multiple domains of life including childhood, school life, marital relationship, family life, money, workplace and interaction with community and friends. It also investigates discourses of power in which happiness is embedded across various social and cultural contexts. Phenomenological interviews were conducted and discourse analysis have been incorporated to illuminate lived experiences of individuals in their day to day practices. Life history is used as a primary tool for profound examination of gendered experiences of happiness in individuals' life chapters. Face to face interactive dialogue was integrated in interviews to motivate informants to recollect their life experiences. Twenty life histories were conducted from those informants who had five to ten years duration in certain marital status at the time of interview. However, twenty semi structured interviews were conducted as a supporting data for the point of comparison to enrich the information and the intensity of feelings shortly after certain social phenomena occurred and construction of experiences. Poststructuralist approach was used for the analysis of interview data and its main focus was on informants' experiences, understandings and construction of happiness in their lives. The study found that happiness is a social experience which is embedded, fixed and rooted in various layers of socio-cultural contexts with regard to gender and social identities. These individuals continuously change their gender roles, social practices and identities with changing marital statuses and strive hard to get social recognition from the larger social context. Their happiness is largely positioned in relation with the power structure and they drive the meaning and interpretation of happiness from their prevailing normative order. The cultural structure is so fundamental that it seems impossible for individuals to isolate themselves from their socio-cultural context and independently narrate their self-constructed meanings of happiness. Men from all social groups are in

the position of power to relate their self-happiness in collectivists culture. On the other hand, women are more confined to their defined gender roles in performing social practices and their individual happiness is strictly attached with the institution of marriage and family life. The tyrannies of divorce, remarriage and separation are hard for women as compared to men which strongly adhere with power structure and limit their social activities in the pre-determined boundaries of culture. The social context provides sympathy to those individuals who belong to widow group however widow women have to prove their social identities according to the existing cultural notions. Hence, the construction of happiness is an outcome of dialectical process occurred in the life of every individual based on socially and culturally defined fulfillment of obligations and demands of rights irrespective of gender. Happiness is not a straight forward liner construct and it is universal and natural experience having many intricate social and cultural layers mainly embodied in gendered identities and their experiences.

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Chapter No. 1

Happiness: Conceptual Overview

The present research is aimed to highlight the social construction of happiness of diverse social groups of men and women in the context of Pakistan. This chapter preliminary introduces the phenomenon of happiness by providing a historical background of the term happiness and also locating happiness in socio-cultural context of Pakistan. I provide the rationale of choosing happiness as a research topic, the problem statement, research objectives, research questions and finally the significance of the study. The main argument of the present research is that happiness may be a natural phenomenon but its meaning is cultural. The research sociologically locates the socio-cultural construction and embodiment of happiness in marriage which is the main social institution of an eastern context. Therefore, my aim throughout this study is to explore happiness within the institute of marriage as socially and culturally dependent phenomenon.

The focus of this research is to explain how happiness is constructed through culture, identities and genders. In doing so, the research closely connects the experiences of happiness through masculinities and femininities. It also intends to look at the pattern of relationships between socio-cultural values and happiness with a specific focus on the right of power of individuals to define happiness. It also investigates discourses of power in which happiness is embedded across various social and cultural contexts as cultural dependent experiences of people. According to Foucault (1972/1991), individuals place their life experiences in dominant discourses to understand meaning of their lived realities in the existing social normative order to develop harmony in their lives. Reality is created by discourse itself, in accordance with what is said and who said it at each particular time in history.

Truly, happiness is one aspect of people's lives that can be understood through a variety of dominant social and cultural discourses. Happiness is not simply an internal feeling but it is constructed, formed, interpreted through culturally dominated ways of social life. The current research presents exploration of sociological literature, the collection and analysis of qualitative interview data - an examination of the ways in

which people give accounts of their experiences and perceptions of happiness and how they use a range of dominant discourses in producing these accounts.

1.1 Background of the Study

The concept of happiness is the most fundamental element of human lives. Happiness and sadness are two contrasting social feelings which have existence from the beginning of human societies. It is natural that human beings struggle to achieve happiness and escape from sadness by using multiple means. Research on happiness is not a new area but it has been explored and investigated from ancient time. Tracing historically, Aristotle in one of his most influential works the *Nicomachean Ethics* presented a theory of happiness over 2300 years ago that is still relevant today. Aristotle (1982) said that happiness is "the human good," and that everyone aims at it for its own sake and for its own sake alone (NE, 1.7).

Human beings may encounter many moments of happiness and sadness which are shaped by societal norms and values. The social and cultural context is considered vital for the survival and smooth functioning of society. Happiness is a relative social experience (Parducci, 1968; Veenhoven, 2010b; Veenhoven, 2011) and varies from person to person as well as depends on age, gender, academic qualification, culture and marital status etc. Perception of individuals about happiness is based on social construction of reality. All social phenomena are highly dependent on the existence of human beings and the existence of human beings is the basis of emergence of any society. Therefore, all social phenomena are external to human beings and these external factors constantly shape and reshape human experiences of happiness. These social experiences of happiness are based on multiple dimensions of human social life which includes; quality of childhood, nature of institution of family, education, marital life, career and interaction in diverse social circles.

Happiness is a conceptual construct that is in consideration of theorists and philosophers from long time and it has been practiced as a topic of interest for the past five decades. Researchers and social scientists have exposed myths about happiness (Adler, 2013; Ahuvia et al., 2015; Diener, Daniel & John, 2010), created effective positive psychological interventions (Forgeard et al., 2011; Johnston et al., 2012) as well as gathered enormous information on social and cultural happiness (Ford & Mauss,

2014). The Greek thinker and philosopher Aristotle (1934, p.67), defined happiness as an "activity of soul in accordance with virtue", supported by a long life, health and money. The second definition of happiness is mostly associated with sociologists and psychologists, who linked it with subjective well-being, quality of life and life satisfaction. They mostly refer happiness to subjective well-being and how people assess their lives outcomes with reference to satisfaction in their life's chapters. A renowned sociologist Ruut Veenhoven defined happiness as "the degree to which an individual evaluates the overall quality of his/her life-as-a-whole positively" (Veenhoven, 2013, p. 5).

Ancient, classical and contemporary conceptual and theoretical underpinnings suggest that happiness does not only rely on objective goods and services but it is mainly associated with the subjective experiences and comparisons of individuals (Easterlin et al., 2010; Eichhorn, 2011; Graham, 2009; Helliwell et al., 2015). Such as, happiness is concept that varies from person to person as well as age, gender, academic qualification, culture and marital status etc. Happiness is a result of comparison and contrast of those factors which are associated with human's life. According to Diener, Daniel and John (2010), life assessment is somewhat a conscious activity of continuous comparison between the present and ideal perception of one's life standards. Individual's perception about life is largely embedded in the social and culture context in which he/she is situated.

Happiness is also a variable across cultures and therefore, the notions of happiness are also explicitly culturally specific. So, it can be safe to say that empirical investigations (Bastian et al., 2014) conducted so far on happiness show significant cultural variations and do not indicate any universal pattern. Pursuit of happiness is highly complex in nature because multiple social and cultural means shape and link it with wellbeing of people (Ford & Mauss, 2014). Happiness itself is a multidimensional and complicated social phenomenon that has multiple means not only across cultures but between and within cultures (Harmon-Jones, Amodio, & Gable, 2011; Joshanloo et al., 2014; Oishi et al., 2013; Tsai, 2007).

Previous research on culture and happiness explained that people in collectivists' culture (especially East Asia region) are highly motivated to promote social commitments (McMahan et al., 2014) as well as involved in social and culture

experiences of happiness (Ahmed, 2010). In other words, in collectivist contexts compared to individualist contexts, a person who is motivated to pursue happiness is more likely to define happiness in culturally oriented, supported and socially constructed terms (Layous et al., 2012). These cultural theorists suggested that emotions being an important indicator of happiness is not only physiological outcome but emotions and feelings are located and grounded in particular socio-cultural contexts. They are completely saturated with culturally specific meanings and interpretations. (Brockmann & Delhey, 2013; Delle Fave et al., 2011). Individuals in Eastern cultural frameworks are highly provoked to adjust and fit themselves in the significant social relations. They are committed to social roles, social obligations and are ready to respond to social expectations producing an interdependent self (Zwolinski, 2010).

The measurement of happiness is controversial and debatable issue. Sociology as a major discipline of social sciences has little contributions towards research about happiness so far. They are mainly involved and more concerned with the scientific study of wellbeing of people in order to suggest policy implication. It is argued that sociologists are mostly unwilling to embrace subjective study of happiness due to the heavy influence of positivist research in this discipline along with some notable exceptions (Thin, 2014; Veenhoven, 2015a; Veenhoven, 2015b; Veenhoven, 2016). A several sociologists and researchers have relied on survey data to measure the level of happiness among people from diverse cultural orientations (Adler, 2013). The questions constructed in the questionnaires are highly influenced by researcher's definition, conceptualization and operationalization of happiness; therefore, it does not account individual perspective in it. It is also highly debatable that the meanings, understanding and experiences vary across countries and socio-cultural contexts (Graham, 2009; Veenhoven, 2015).

It has become conventional over the past few years that sociologists have made little contribution to the study of happiness (Abbott & Claire, 2012; Bartram, 2012; Veenhoven, 2015). Four anthropological collections on happiness have been appeared recently in quick succession (Best, 2001; Selin & Davey, 2012), but in sociology there is still a long way to go. Yet happiness, or well-being more generally, seems to be

treated in most sociological writing on policy implications as a commonsense issue that doesn't receive the careful attention of other issues (Bartram, 2012, p.16-17). The sociological research on happiness should be combined into two parts: a sociological lens and a happiness lens. The sociological lens requires attention to socio-cultural contexts how institutions, relationships, cultural scripts, and social learning influence happiness, facilitate the experience or understanding of happiness (Thin, 2014). A more demanding definition would be to insist on the explicit application of sociological theory, for example employing Durkheimian concepts of solidarity, or Marxian concepts of class or alienation in the analysis of the social factors affecting happiness (Thin, 2012).

Sociological research on happiness with qualitative approach is very rare due to predominance of survey method for data collection. However, qualitative research can be a more valid and reliable approach on individual's perception about happiness as According to Delle Fave et al. (2011), life narratives with the help of in-depth interviews explore subjective experiences of happiness. These subjective aspects of happiness cannot be clearly observed and addressed by quantitative research. A number of sociologists belonging to the sociological studies of well-being have argued that the comparative cross-cultural data is not only ethnocentric but also leave gaps in people's particular experiences. They further explained that survey research method on happiness imposes close ended fixed answers to construct questions that completely ignore individual's expression of their own life experiences (Mathews & Izquierdo 2009). These survey-based researches also overlook diversity of languages and cultures hereby measuring happiness with a standardized universal Performa ignoring socio-cultural contexts of individuals (Kroll, 2011; Thin, 2012).

Contemporary research on happiness is more inclined toward qualitative side and it is considered more appropriate in exploring and describing individual's cultural meanings and interpretation of happiness (Davies, 2015; Helliwell, Layard & Sachs, 2012). Qualitative studies that combine cultural perspective of happiness with theoretical analysis have discovered strong and critical dimensions between cultures (Bok, 2010) and considerably the ways and experience of well-being that are different for different people (Kroll, 2011).

There is plenty of sociological research on subjectivity that is mainly pathological, with a strong biasness towards noticing bad experiences. Happiness in sociology looks at the subjective experience of social goods. For example, simple survey research on social aspects of work satisfaction would exemplify the most modest variety of happiness sociology, since it would involve exploring positive subjectivity with reference to socio-cultural context (Joshani et al., 2014). A fully 'maximal' approach would entail more sophisticated research, perhaps applying sociological theories of class, alienation, and social identity to explore work satisfaction in relation to other life domains (family life, leisure) and in relation to the role of cultural scripts in facilitating meaningful life narratives (McMahan, Ryu & Choi, 2014). For some research purposes the modest approach may suffice, but the full potential of positive sociology will only be revealed by combining all features of the happiness lens with sophisticated application of sociological theory.

Social sciences research on happiness is mostly produced by psychologists and economists in recent era. Happiness has acquired a core 'psychological' meaning of subjective well-being, including the experience of good feelings as well as more reflective or 'cognitive' self-evaluation of one's life as a whole from the 20th century (Ford et al., 2014; Huta & Alan, 2015). It is useful to distinguish four aspects of the 'happiness lens': positivity, respect for subjectivity, holism, and a life course perspective (Thin, 2012). From these, the first two are the basic minimal requirements, and the second two could be seen as more demanding additions. All these aspects of happiness are in some sense socially constructed and hence proper subjects for social inquiry (Grossmann & Na, 2014). Even feelings which are experienced as private and 'raw' are understood and communicated in ways that are learned from other people and from cultural repertoires.

Despite all of the above literature and arguments, ideas of what 'happiness' actually means remain somewhat fluid, some might say that it is an emotion, triggered by events or occurrences (Turner, 2004), whilst others might argue that it is a longer-lasting 'state of mind' and part of one's identity and personhood. Thus, if these two ideas exist about what happiness is, then the determinants of happiness highlighted by economists may not necessarily impact on how happy people feel through the direct

causal links that they postulate. Rather, there may be a multitude of social and cultural processes that simultaneously come into consideration when a person feels and experiences happiness (Ford et al., 2014; Huta & Alan, 2015). Thus, happiness may be more complex a phenomenon than existing research has initially assumed. Those who do view happiness as a longer-lasting 'state of mind' or an aspect of identity may see the attainment of a fixed state of happiness to be the end-point of such a pursuit, whereby they would seek to be 'happy' people, whether or not this is achieved in practice. Simultaneously, however, people may experience happiness in response to an event as a shorter-term emotion yet would not consider him- or herself as necessarily a happy person overall (Abbott & Claire, 2012; Bartram 2012; Kroll, 2011; Veenhoven, 2015).

Happiness being a private, internal and subjective experience is shaped, interpreted and articulated by culturally specific ways of thinking, being and acting. When producing accounts of happiness, people commonly situate themselves within a range of dominant discourses (Foucault, 1991); in doing so that a shared sense of what happiness 'is' created. The use of discourse can assist in interrogating gendered experiences of happiness within dominant socio-cultural contexts. People position themselves in a range of dominant discourses (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, (ed.) 2001). One set characterizes happiness as a social, that is, as something biological, 'natural' or resistant to wider social changes across time and space. Another set of discourses characterize happiness as being located within a complex normative framework in which there exist cultural guidelines on the way in which happiness ought to be displayed and experienced (Fisher & Chon, 1989). The display of an 'appropriate' level of happiness entails a negotiation of two opposing norms that prescribe the undesirability of both persistent happiness and persistent unhappiness. Therapeutic discourse (Furedi, 2004), which is one of the most widely used discourses in the production of accounts of happiness, characterizes it as something individualized, internal and self-orientated.

1.2 Happiness in the Socio-Cultural Context of Pakistan

Pakistani culture is a beautiful blend of many cultures, sub-cultures and ethnic groups which highlights a profound effect of the neighboring countries including Turks, Persians, Afghans, Sub-continent along with the countries of Southern and Central Asia and Middle East. Pakistan is considered as a heart of cultural diversity due to its geo-political position and its inhabitants belonging to diverse backgrounds. The diversity of culture produces variety of rituals under various social structures produced from ancient invaders and colonizers. However, cultural practices are magnificent related to various ethnic and cultural groups in dress and food. Pakistani society is widely multicultural and multilingual but subcultures within society have several similarities and few differences.

Family is the most basic institution of any society which is the primary agent of socialization and also provides social support to its members. The institution of family in Pakistan still holds dominant position in individual life in the form of nuclear and joint family system. Marriage is a universal phenomenon in Pakistani society and consanguineous marriage is the prominent feature of the society (Afzal et al., 1994; Bittles, 1994; Shaw, 2001). The cultural context of Pakistan defines marriage as a relationship between two families rather between individuals (Fazalbhoy, 2006). Therefore, it is encouraged that marriage should be organized by parents but not by individuals themselves (Shaw, 2001). Marriages are considered to fulfill religious obligation for the formation of family and child bearing because reproduction occurs within marriage (Sathar & Kiani, 1986). Marriage (Johnson, 2006) is a constitutive of complex normative norms and values that are applied on all types of marriages in a specific society. A man and a woman as marriage partners have been socialized and consider marriage a moral binding between husband and wife. It is regarded the most exclusive event in the life of an individual after birth and before death. It guides people to regulate and organize their social life activities and also entitles people with cultural and religious legitimization to start reproduction process after reaching at certain age. Therefore marriage, family and widowhood are culturally acceptable while divorce and separation are undesirable notions of marital institution.

In the Pakistani context, effects of globalization and modernization are highly visible in the transformation of the institutions of marriage and family in Pakistani society. According to Fazalbhoy (2006) numerous changes are taking place in the institution of marriage range from the selection of spouse, arranged to love marriage, late marriages to ceremonies due to change in normative patterns and several other social factors. The expansion of mass media has played vital role in the form of increased individual choices, unrestricted mobility and shift in the cultural authority. Whereas, these changes do not involve in the total replacement of traditional structures of authority and domination in all most all social institutions because of strong socio-cultural and religious hold.

The current research attempts to develop knowledge and understanding about the contextual nature of happiness in the lives of individuals in which the institution of marriage has a significant place due to strict prevalence of socio-cultural nature of Pakistani society. The study extends its boundaries to all marital statuses attached with marriage such as married, divorced, separated, remarried and widowed for deep exploration of phenomenon of happiness and how it is formed in the social and cultural life of individuals.

This study attempts to expand sociological discourses available on happiness, an area considered under-represented in sociological discipline. The study claims that happiness is a phenomenon which has the central place in human lives which is naturally produced but it is shaped and experienced through external social and cultural settings with a specific focus on gender. Aristotle (1934) claimed happiness is an end in itself and it is apparent from our day to day practices and lived experiences that our intentions are directed towards achieving this end. Hence it is an area that needs to be explained to find individual experience to live happy life.

1.3 Why Happiness?

Happiness is a phenomenon that has been researched in sociological discipline through quantitative methodologies using standardized questionnaires which may overlook many hidden experiences of individuals. These quantitative methodologies are also developed on pre-determined notions of the researcher which do not fulfill the

purpose of phenomenon under study. The literature consulted so far is heavily based on research conducted through quantitative approach in which standardized questionnaires are used to measure the happiness of people. But as far as happiness is concerned a number of previous studies (Fave et al., 2011) show that individual specifically gendered experiences are better understood through more reflexive approach. Qualitative research is complex but unique in nature because it takes each individual as a complete social entity which needs an in-depth exploration of each and every aspect of the phenomenon of interest and its relation with social world as well as with his/her life.

My life trajectory positions me in a way that allows me to conduct research on happiness in this thesis as a personal project. I am a married woman having two kids, working in a prestigious public-sector organization and pursuing doctoral degree with great support and cooperation from my family and educational institution. My husband is also highly qualified and pursuing his career at top managerial position. I am only child of my parents and they both are educated and have retired from their respectable occupations. My purpose to introduce family background in above lines is to mirror the indicators of happiness in any woman's life. Social relationships are the critical element in individuals' conception of happiness and also considered as a source of happiness (Lu & Shih, 1997). However, it is also true that my socialization at my parent's house educated me to learn social relationships and to play multiple roles in my daily life (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). It also guided me to learn expected roles and obligations to meet marital relationship (Carroll et al., 2009; McNulty & Karney, 2004). I never claim that I am unhappy person but there are countless feelings in my day to day life which sometimes make me happy or unhappy. I keenly observe my life as a woman that these experiences are gendered and occurred in the context in which I am living. As a woman from Pakistan context, I claim that my construction and experiences of happiness are highly contextual and compel me to think how and why such a private phenomenon becomes social and cultural in nature.

These thoughts compelled me to choose happiness as my research topic in doctoral degree to explore my quest about happiness in individual's life. I started thinking about my whole life and started critically analyzing happy and unhappy

moments that I had experienced throughout my life. What are the moments where my happiness is contextual and where it is free from social world around me? What are the elements of happiness in married life? I asked myself several times during the research process, are kids the only ultimate source of happiness? I have two kids but still why am I not happy? I am allowed to pursue academic and professional career but why am I not satisfied? I have complete mental compatibility with my husband and a complete support system is available at home from my parents and husband. I never spent my married life in joint family system. I am free to spend my life within boundaries defined by my husband but it never made me unhappy because I am completely aligned with him on all life issues and the relationship between me and him is the most valuable and precious thing of my life. Despite these privileges, I am not spending my life with at its fullest and feeling a sense of deprivation. This urged me to start thinking about other women around me who are married and have multiple social issues. I wanted to uncover their day to day lived experiences and their efforts to keep their marriage safe and intact.

Being a married woman with kids, I feel the decision of divorce and separation is difficult for a woman for a number of social and personal reasons and this made me curious to explore the factors that compel and lead them towards broken marriages which are related with social stigma and taboo to create unhappiness in any person's life. I also have a close interaction with a separated woman in my own family which developed an eagerness to disclose those hidden realities of her life which forced her to stay in separation throughout life but never desired to end relationship. Being a student of sociology, I observed her social behavior and actions which showed that she is protecting herself from the uneasy gaze and questions of people related to her marital life. I found that to be married and make marriage successful is the ultimate happiness of women in traditional societies. I also know many well settled professional women who are source of inspiration for me but every time when I discussed their achievements with my friends or colleagues, they spontaneously questioned the benefits of these achievements in the absence of successful married life. These statements increased my curiosity to unveil the societal remarks about their lived experiences. How do women feel about their lives and relate their failure in one aspect of life with achievements? This also directed the phenomenon of interest towards how do they construct their

interpretations of happiness while confronting on multiple grounds of life? These all questions took me to another level of expedition to inquire the lives of those women who have been remarried and after having the experience of married lives how are they compelled to re-enter in this institution again. Whether this is their own choice or some other social forces enforced them to remarry, I also added the category of widows in the research who are considered sympathetic in the eye of society and I wanted to know their sources of happiness in this status. Sociologists have also emphasized and highlighted that happiness is a multidimensional and multi-factorial social phenomenon. Happiness has profound effect on different aspects of the life of a social actor and it is influenced by cultural context. Happiness must be understood as "socially situated" (Illouz, 1997, p. 61), experiences for different social groups experiencing different historical, social and cultural settings. Social relationships are the critical element in individuals' conception of happiness and also considered as a source of happiness (Lu & Shih, 1997).

These questions motivated me to explore how women feel their happiness at different stages of life and this was also the misconception in my mind that happiness of women is only affected due to their gender and defined roles in society. Through discussions with intimate relations like my husband and father, I found that their construction of happiness is totally different from mine and is gendered in their patriarchal image and authority. This made me more inquisitiveness to unveil life experiences of men living in various marital statuses and their interpretation and construction of happiness. The Italian sociologist Giampaolo (2009a) argued that the perception of individual is related with their living conditions and is called satisfaction while the evaluation of life with social relations is defined as happiness. I decided to conduct research on gendered experiences of happiness rooted in socio-cultural context of Pakistan through qualitative approach. This research implies life history interviews which are conducted using phenomenological approach and discourse analysis is used for seeking deeper knowledge and understanding of happiness. These qualitative approaches for data collection and analysis are incorporated to get thoughtful acquaintance that how happiness is experienced and visible in the lives of men and women under social and cultural order.

1.4 Problem Statement

In this study, I intend to unveil and explain the gendered experiences of happiness of diverse social groups (married, divorced, remarried, separated & widow) situated in the socio-cultural context of Pakistan in multiple domains of life which include childhood, school life, marital relationship, family life and kids, money, workplace and interaction with community and friends. All these dimensions of individual life have been unveiled through phenomenological interviews and discourse analysis which is incorporated to illuminate lived experiences of individuals in their day to day practices. Post-structuralism is used as a research paradigm, which views discourse as a language in use, containing those features of language like uses of symbol (Walkerdine, 1984) and sentence structure (Derrida & Stiegler, 2002; Foucault, 1988). Meanings of language are constructed by association about which Derrida labels 'intertextuality', and continuously compared with other related terms (Derrida, 1992). Social realities are created through individual experiences but this research aims to identify some essential reality which is based on gender and reflecting its contextual nature with regard to happiness. In the frame of Post-structuralists paradigm, the dimensions and subjective experiences of happiness can be interrogated through the understanding of the relationship between individual's perspectives of happiness within dominant socio-cultural contexts.

The study attempts to present sociological analysis of the phenomenon of happiness which is social, cultural and gendered in nature. The purpose of research is to produce individuals' accounts based on experiences of happiness in their married, divorced, remarried, separated and widowed lives which is socially and culturally driven. The study takes its conceptual and theoretical strength from classical and contemporary sociological literature to provide a justification that happiness is shaped, experienced and interpreted through social and cultural processes. However, the detailed accounts of individuals are presented in next few chapters to reveal that happiness is not private, internal experience but it visible, shaped, interpreted and articulated through social and cultural practices.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1. To investigate how happiness is perceived and experienced by selected individuals.
 - 1.1 To assess men's and women's happiness across a number of life domains including their marital relationships, work, financial situations, and community and friends.
 - 1.2 To explore how different marital statuses (married, divorced, widowed, separated & remarried) influence the phenomenon of happiness experienced by individuals.
 - 1.3 To examine how culture influences happiness.
 - 1.4 To unveil whether there are gender differences present in experiencing happiness by diverse social groups.
2. To analyze how individual experiences of happiness differ from the ideal standards of life.

1.6. Research Questions

1. How is happiness constructed, performed, experienced and represented by individuals?
 - 1.1. How do different identities and gender influence happiness?
 - 1.2. Is happiness experienced differently by women and men with different marital status (married, divorced, widowed, separated & remarried)?
 - 1.3. How does socio-cultural context produce dominant discourses and construct the meanings of happiness?
 - 1.4. Do money and workplace influence the experiences of individuals regarding happiness?
2. How does individual's life illuminate differences in their experiences of happiness in relation with ideal standards of life?

1.7. Significance of the Study

Previous literature on happiness draws an attention of many sociological theorists and researchers to directly focus on the social conditions and its link with the variation of individual happiness. One of the vital ambitions of sociology is to contribute such a research on happiness that ultimately designs a socially conducive, balanced and stable society. Practical and realistic research on happiness which focuses on the social environment as well as the maximization of well-being for each individual is the need of current era. The study of happiness in sociology has remained an under researched area (Kroll, 2011), despite its place in classical sociology. Although happiness is implicit in Weber's work on the ways in which life was shaped by religious ethics and stresses people to live a life that otherworldly salvation was granted (Weber, 1904 & 2002). Similarly, Durkheim's work suggests that people seek happiness and well-being through a new moral order characterized by rituals and community (Durkheim, 1912/1961) and Marx's theory of alienation viewed workers in capitalist societies as being distinctly unhappy because of alienation and an inability to realize their species-being (Marx & Engels, 1988). Nevertheless, few studies of happiness exist in sociology but it is traditionally preoccupied with pathologies such as pain, suffering and broad social problems. Therefore, current research develops an understanding about happiness which is mainly linked with the mainstream studies of sociology such as poverty, social problems of individuals and social groups, unemployment, etc. but unfortunately, happiness is not highlighted as social experience. The current research has provided an insight to develop an understanding about social and cultural construction of happiness in individual's life.

Happiness is a phenomenon that is constructed and shaped by external socio-cultural patterns in which power structure and power relations are dominant. Sociology is interested to unveil macro level grand structures of society and the way they function while interacting with many social institutions. However, I am interested to look deeply how micro-level social phenomena and the social actions of individuals are shaped by macro level power structures. My stance is that happiness is natural but its interpretation and construction is cultural. The feeling of happiness is not independent of surroundings in which an individual is operating. Human beings are embedded and interrelated with their social world and their behaviors are shaped by external social factors. The

happiness of any individual is based on the fulfillment of practical and strategic needs in any social relationship.

The present research provides an ample and thought-provoking empirical evidence on proposed research questions which contributes to the existing body of sociological knowledge on happiness. Happiness as a phenomenon is hidden under several socio-cultural layers shielded by power structure and supported by power relations in individual's life. However, I have inquired tip of the iceberg about the phenomenon of happiness using qualitative lens but this takes a further long journey for unpacking many hidden gendered experiences of individual's life which is wrapped in happiness. This research is a road map for social scientists specifically sociologists to unveil more areas of happiness through sociological lens in multidimensional aspects of people's lives. Hence this research is an attempt to develop a more comprehensive and broad understanding among sociological community about happiness being an under researched area in the discipline of sociology.

1.8. The Plan of Chapters

The thesis consists of seven chapters, chapter 1 presents the overall picture of the thesis in general and background of research on happiness mainly within sociological perspectives in particular. This chapter also highlights the negligence of sociological disciplines in exploring the phenomenon of happiness through sociological lens. It also outlines the research questions and research problem for readers to clearly understand the purpose of this particular research.

Chapter 2, traces historical and contemporary international and national literature on happiness from diverse contextual orientations along with theoretical perspectives. This chapter provides detailed conceptual and theoretical frameworks based on feminist and discourse literature to get deeper understanding about the social and cultural context of Pakistan for later chapters. The detailed literature helps the sociological understanding of happiness through phenomenology with discourse analysis. It also examines a sociological perspective of happiness in order to understand the narratives of individuals about their construction of happiness rooted in their specific contexts within their individual lives.

In Chapter 3, the research plan of the entire study is presented with a purpose to guide reader about tools and instruments used in research along with narrating field experiences to connect findings with mainstream field practices. I offer my own detailed life trajectory to clarify a dichotomy of researcher and researched. It also provides an accountability mechanism for me as a researcher to elucidated my diverse positionalities as an insider and outsider among various diverse gendered groups. The other significant purpose of narrating my own life story and fluid positionalities throughout the entire research guide readers to understand my efforts to remain unbiased in narrating the life stories of research informants. It is referred in discourse analysis of data in upcoming three consecutive chapters with a purpose to unveil power relations between the researcher and researched in qualitative research.

Chapters 4,5 and 6 basically unveil the layers of individual gendered lives in their interpretation, experiences and construction of happiness. These chapters give an understanding about the experiences of individuals through discourse and unveils those narratives which are embedded in power structure. These also provide a comprehensive analysis how power operates in specific socio-cultural contexts and constructs the experiences of happiness which are gendered, and powerfully structured in individuals' life journeys.

In Chapter 7, I have offered a detailed discussion on the phenomenon of happiness presenting the empirical findings through discourse analysis with a purpose to relate it with research questions and theoretical frameworks along with summary and conclusion. It examines and explains the major findings of current research and connects it with previous literature from various social sciences disciplines. This chapter provides the readers a wider discussion on the narratives of individuals from Pakistan and their gendered lives in relation to happiness within the broader social and cultural context.

Chapter No. 2

Theoretical Foundations of Happiness

This chapter explores scholarly work on the phenomenon of happiness conducted in different social sciences disciplines generally and in sociology particularly. Classical sociological work mainly neglects happiness as field of research in sociology even though classical sociologists (Durkhiem, Marx and Weber) did discuss it but contemporary sociological discourses are more active in happiness research. This chapter mainly focuses on contemporary sociological theorist and researchers working on happiness (such as Ahmed, 2010; Bartram, 2011; Cieslik, 2013; Frawley, 2015; George, 2010; Hyman, 2011; Kroll, 2011; Nuvolati, 2009a; Veenhoven, 2011 & 2016 Thin, 2014) with a purpose to understand the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the current research. This chapter discusses the dichotomy of quantitative and qualitative sociological research specifically in the areas of happiness to get an understanding about the direction of sociological research. This chapter also offers and introduces the readers with theoretical perspectives through which current research takes its conceptual and theoretical strengths. Finally, the purpose of this entire review is to provide research related evidence on happiness mainly from sociological studies and research gap identified in other social sciences disciplines which claims that happiness is socially and culturally constructed and never be isolated from its particular context in the lives of individuals.

It is widely recognized and accepted that literature on happiness is mainly produced by psychologists and economists, while social scientist from sociology and political science are also developing an interest in happiness studies (Diener et al., 2010; Helliwell, Layard & Sachs, 2012). Before discussing important theoretical perspectives regarding happiness, one point needs to be discussed. In earlier literature happiness is mostly perceived as an important component of subjective wellbeing. Subjective wellbeing is mostly understood as pleasurable and non-pleasurable emotional state. Happiness more explicitly considered as the feature of emotional state of a person (Diener et al., 2010). At the same time life satisfaction and quality of life are also considered as critical indicators of the subjective wellbeing (Tella et al., 2004). By keeping in view all these considerations, I try to include pervious scholarly work on

happiness with all dimensions namely subjective wellbeing, life satisfaction and quality of life

2.1 Historical Overview of Classical Theories of Happiness

Happiness is a highly valuable asset in current day society. People are not only highly concerned about happiness in their lives due to extremely competitive environment but the governments all around the world are aiming on those policies and programs that create an environment of (Bentham, 1982) greater happiness for a greater number of citizens. This classical philosophical notion of happiness is important in finding out the important determinants of happiness scientifically (Veenhoven, 2011). In this context, happiness is commonly understood as how one evaluates one's life as a whole positively in the absence of negative effects.

The historical overview of six classical philosophers is considered more significant in exploring sources of happiness over two hundred years back. Socrates defines happiness as moral courage that is more important than physical courage. According to him if we are doing rights things irrespective of other peoples' concern will leads us to happiness (Stokes, 1992). Another philosophers Epicurus argues that elements of happiness in one's life are friendship, freedom and compliance to cope with issues regarding money, poor health and death (Freedman, 1978). Seneca argues that highly contested illogical expectations and readily accepts evils without hesitation. Montaigne explains happiness can only be interpreted through personal experiences and harmony between heart and mind. Schopenhauer and Nietzsche suggested that happiness can be achieved through coping with failure and suffering. Previous scholarly work on the nature and pursuit of happiness is established of two opposing philosophical concepts: hedonia and eudaimonia (Grinde, 2012). The hedonic viewpoint recommended that increasing one's pleasant moments are the way to happiness and eudemonic supported that living a quality life (virtue) and recognizing one's intrinsic talents are the way to wellbeing (Fave, Massimini, & Bassi, 2011).

Aristotle called eudemonia is living a life of virtue supported with health, money and other assets. Literally this means "being blessed with a good daimon". It means "a divine guard" (Aristotle, 1982 p. 48). Critically comparing Aristotle's definition of

eudemonia and happiness in contemporary world is not the internal state of a person but an activity involving different interacting factors in life. Aristotle does not defined happiness as an experience but a type of life one lives. In this sense eudemonia and happiness are the aims of one's life and the essence of human functioning.

Utilitarianism as a theoretical and philosophical paradigm is highly influenced by Bentham (1982). According to him our life is ruled by two masters, the principle of pleasure and the principle of pain. Naturally all human beings are striving for maximum pleasure and minimum pain. All our actions are basically grounded and motivated by those dealings that wants pleasure and avoid pain. In this sense all our actions are continuously proceed in a form of sequence that leads us towards pleasure and away from pain.

2.2. Social Sciences Disciplines: Approaches to Happiness

Quite a number of the pioneers in happiness research are economists, and a core concern of the field is the relationship between happiness, income and economic growth. A touchstone of the literature is the "Easterlin paradox": those with higher incomes are happier than those with lower incomes, but an increase in one's income generally does not lead to an increase in happiness (Easterlin, 2001). On this basis, Easterlin asserts that economic growth contributes nothing to happiness, at least in countries that are already relatively wealthy. This conclusion has been challenged via a different reading of time-series data by Stevenson and Wolfers (2008), with a rebuttal by Easterlin et al., (2010) that includes the assertion that even for developing countries growth might not matter for happiness (Christoph, 2010; Headey et al., 2008).

Several basic psychological processes help explain why rising incomes do not generally bring increased happiness. One is the notion that we adapt to the higher level and do not experience lasting subjective benefit – neither from the income itself nor from most of the purchases we make with it (Frederick & Loewenstein, 1999). A related issue is aspirations: a higher income might lead to greater happiness if it matched our aspirations for income, but a higher income is typically followed by raised aspirations, for further increases; the gap doesn't close, and our happiness does not change (Easterlin, 2001; Stutzer, 2003). A third process is social comparisons,

reflecting the fact that income is in part a positional good: it matters not only in enabling consumption but as a marker of status. If one's income rises in line with the increases of others, then one's ranking remains unchanged, with corresponding implications for happiness (Boyce et al., 2010). Even upward mobility does not guarantee greater happiness: an increase in position leads many people to compare themselves to an even higher reference group, instead of gaining satisfaction from advance relative to a stable reference group (Clark et al., 2008). Even the cross-sectional association between income and happiness is weak, relative to associations with other factors (Ball & Kateryna, 2008). Other factors, some of which are clearly more influential than income, include health, employment, marriage, religiosity and sociability. Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory (1954) explains that happiness mainly rests on the provision and satisfaction of basic needs. According to him happiness of a person is dependent on the objective goods available to him/her. According to Michalos (1985) the compare and contrast between the relative standards and conditions available to human beings actually determines their happiness. Their point of happiness is measure with the reference standard.

The core assumption of the cultural approach suggested that people's happiness is largely determined by the prevailing socio-cultural collective norms and values. Dramaturgical theories see social behavior as a dramatic presentation, in which actors (or individuals) are governed by a cultural script. This script includes ideologies and social norms and rules; in the case of emotion, such scripts prescribe the ways in which particular emotions ought to be experienced and expressed. If ever rules are broken, individuals may lose face and attempt to make up for or repair the breach, either by making some kind of apology, or in some other way (Goffman, 1959 & 1967). Erving Goffman pioneered the dramaturgical approach in sociology more generally in a theory of social interaction on a micro-level whereby individuals seek to present their selves to others in a way that accords with cultural norms, values and expectations. Although he did not study emotions in depth, he did write about embarrassment, and suggested that it comes about when an event occurs that leads an individual to display inappropriate behavior or characteristics for the situation they are in, that is, that which does not accord with the norms or expectations of the situation (Goffman, 1956).

Theories on life satisfaction suggest that life contains positive attitude towards one's own existences as a whole (Sumner, 1996). Rojas (2007) classified multiple theories of happiness in to two types. Firstly, happiness is an outcome of external factors and secondly happiness is an outcome of inner state. Externally happiness comes from material goods and internally it is the product feeling of a relationship with some divine power. Suh (2002) argued in favor of social constructionist perspective that argued the social construction of reality and how people make sense of things by using collective norms and values. In this regard happiness is also the social construction and can compare with collective notions. People living with an intimate partner are happier than those who are single (Helliwell, 2003). However, there is substantial variation among individuals, and for some marriage does lead to a lasting increase in happiness (Lucas et al., 2003). A more persistent negative effect follows from unemployment (Lucas et al., 2004). Religion matters, in part as a venue for sociability and it is beneficial in these terms only for those with a strong religious identity (Eichhorn, 2011; Lim & Putnam, 2010). Age is typically significant, a U-shaped relationship indicating declining happiness in early adulthood, followed by an increase after middle age; this age (stage in life) effect is robust even when disentangled from period and cohort effects (Yang, 2008). Brockmann (2010) finds a "cubic" pattern in which happiness declines again in old age, particularly among women. It is even more difficult to defend generalizations about race/ethnicity, given different patterns in different countries.

2.3. Happiness: Qualitative Vs Quantitative

Measurement of happiness is a more contentious issue. A large number of researchers use data from surveys (e.g. the World Values Survey) where respondents are asked to indicate their happiness on a scale that might consist of three or four or eleven points. The question itself does not include a definition; the assumption is that people know for themselves what happiness is and indeed that it would be undesirable to impose a researcher's definition. Since definitions and understandings can vary across cultures and countries, omitting a definition can also enhance possibilities of using survey data for cross national comparative research (Graham, 2009). The predominance of survey data in happiness studies inevitably raises questions of validity.

Addressing those questions in abstract and general ways is probably not a productive exercise; data are not inherently good or bad in themselves. The relevant issue is whether particular data are useful for addressing particular research questions (Davidson, 1992). There are also other forms of data on happiness, including “experience sampling” (Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003), where research participants are asked to record their happiness levels numerous times a day, prompted at random times by a pager; advantages over standard survey approaches include avoidance of distortions rooted in delayed or extended recall. A variant is the “Day Reconstruction Method”, which asks participants to construct a diary of activities and emotions for the preceding day, a less expensive method that also causes less disruption to normal daily life (Kahneman et al., 2004). Diary methods can also give us information about variation in individual experience over time (Gershuny, 2012). Qualitative research on happiness is less common (which again could be a reason for sociologists to engage with and contribute to the field). One possible reason is the notion that gaining data on people’s perceptions about determinants of happiness might not be a reliable way to learn what actually leads to happiness; on the other hand, identifying and exploring discrepancies of this sort would likely be an interesting exercise. Another key question, for which qualitative research is arguably more appropriate, is how people understand and define happiness. Delle Fave et al. (2011b) found, via open ended questionnaires, that respondents viewed happiness primarily in terms of inner balance and harmony, a dimension that does not commonly find expression in more conventional happiness research (Lu & Shih, 1997). Some qualitative research in sociology, while not identifying with happiness studies nor specifying happiness as a topic of investigation, nonetheless includes attention to subjective/affective experience in ways that show complementarity to happiness studies: Furlong and Cartmel (2007), for example, describe the “subjective discomfort” that can accompany young people’s experience of increased risk. The example raises a more general question of what is to count as “happiness research”.

The phenomenological anthropologist Michael Jackson puts it in his recent book on ethnographic approaches to wellbeing, we need to understand this, not as a settled state but as a field of struggle (Jackson, 2013b). Biography is not just about reporting and generating meaning for the protagonists of life stories. Listening to,

narrating, and analyzing life stories are key means for developing interpersonal concern and empathy. Life stories are among various ways in which we can show prudential interest in the goodness of other people's lives. Asking and telling about well-being is not just expression of pre-existing facts: our happiness, or at least our affective competence, requires explicit everyday recognition from other people. Szalai (1980) pinpoints one of the paradoxes of wellbeing when he notes that in most cultures there are standardized greetings in the form of wellbeing enquiries. Humans are uniquely and universally concerned about wellbeing and seem to believe in the possibility of making and expressing homogenized assessment of the multiple domains of wellbeing within cultures.

Scholars of wellbeing have argued that the effect of culture on wellbeing is not especially pronounced. The psychologists Diener, Oishi, and Ryan (2013) analyzing two large samples, maintain that there is a difference of variance in life satisfaction, with much of the rest due to individual differences within societies. Scholars such as those cited above are well aware of the problems in using surveys and statistical measures to compare wellbeing across cultures, societies, and nations, but again, because their professions are based on the use of statistics, they attempt to address these problems by using still more surveys and statistical manipulations. This is not meant to in any way disrespect the scholars mentioned in the previous paragraphs, who are pioneers in the study of happiness in their disciplines and who have done very significant research. It is only to suggest that perhaps the answer to the problem of cross-cultural statistical measurement lies not in further statistical measurement, but rather to move beyond such measurement. If cross-cultural statistical measurement of wellbeing cannot fully explicate sociocultural difference, as all the studies thus far discussed seem to indicate, then other kinds of explication become necessary. In interpreting statistics purporting to compare wellbeing across societies, anthropologists and linguists and other scholars who have expert cultural knowledge of these different societies must be consulted; otherwise the meaning of the data will remain open to question (Brightman, 1995). There are two levels of problems that must be dealt with in the cross-cultural statistical measurement of happiness. The first is at the level of translation: the term for 'happiness' or 'life satisfaction' in one language may have

subtly different nuances than that in another, affecting the data arrived at in surveys; this problem may be in some cases uncorrectable, but at least it must be acknowledged. But the problem is not only linguistic. There is also the broader problem of cultural understanding, whereby the cultural context of happiness and wellbeing must be fully unpacked in any given society in order to understand statistical measurements of happiness in that society (Mathews, 2012).

The cultural shaping of the individual takes place at three levels (Mathews, 2000). At the deepest level, there is that which is taken-for-granted: this is the shaping of one's native language and of habitus; this is made up of culture as 'the way of life of a people,' but also of culture as 'the information and identities available from the global cultural supermarket,' if the idea of free choice as to one's self and happiness is assumed and unquestioned. This level cannot usually be questioned, unless a profound enlightenment or a wrenching life event brings it fully to consciousness: we can't get at our taken-for-granted unless it is brought to light and examined, but this may be traumatic or simply impossible. Consider, for example, how difficult it is for us to understand how our native language shapes our thinking: even if we are bilingual, we cannot easily analyze this realm because it is too deeply lodged within our minds. At the middle level, there is that which one has no choice but to follow; at this level, unlike the deepest level, the individual consciously understands the shaping he/she must follow, but can do little to resist; the level of institutional and social rules and pressures. These levels have direct implications for happiness. At the deepest level of one's cultural shaping are likely to be found those cultural patterns and shaping of language, gender, social class, and familial background that largely determine the basic conditions for happiness.

Culture thus matters, but the meaning of culture has of late become much more difficult to pinpoint than was earlier assumed. The cross-cultural comparison of happiness on a country-by-country basis using only statistical measures is insufficient; there are too many contextual elements that are left out, such as those discussed above. In every society, there is both a particular broad cultural context, and also substantial individual differences, which are apparent in individuals' choices from the global cultural supermarket. These individual differences may seem to lessen the importance

of culture as conventionally conceived of: since individuals can increasingly to some extent pick and choose their cultural shaping, why should we be so concerned about conventionally defined cultural differences? However, in a broader sense, culture's contemporary complexities make all the more important the inclusion of culture as a variable. Without this inclusion, we cannot understand the range of different individual comprehensions, motivations and lives lived within common cultural frameworks. We must understand not only conventional cultural differences, but also how these shape individuals' arrays of choices from the cultural supermarket.

For this reason, cross-cultural analysis of happiness must be done on an individual basis through ethnographic interviewing, as well as on a statistical basis through cross-cultural surveys. This makes research on happiness more difficult; but through cross-cultural surveys coupled with close interviewing of a range of individuals, culture in all its complexity can appropriately be considered. Interviews of individuals, done in depth and thoroughly analyzed, can bring a great wealth of knowledge about the complexities of individual lives as lived within their cultural, social, and institutional contexts, knowledge that statistical data alone cannot provide (Bernard, 2002). These interviews should be analyzed not in terms of statistical analysis but in terms of discourse analysis, the close examination of what interviewees say and how they say it. The analysis of these discourses, in all their complexity, can provide a thorough sociocultural grounding to the uncontextualized statistics of so many psychological, sociological, and economic cross-cultural analyses of wellbeing.

Interviews would need to be recorded, transcribed and translated, with notes taken as well concerning individuals' facial and bodily responses to questions and expressions of emotion. In addition to these interviews, researchers would need to examine the prevailing popular and scholarly writings on happiness in each given society, scouring self-help books, magazines, movies, and television to find out what the prevailing discourses of happiness and wellbeing are within a given society. Investigators also would need to understand the historical backgrounds of each given society, including religious belief, gender and familial relations, traditional social class formations, and so on. This must be understood before interviewing takes place, so that researchers can comprehend in advance the historical, sociocultural, and mass-

mediated worlds of interviewees. It is essential that the interviewer thoroughly understand both the spoken and written language of interviewees, so that the nuances of interviews can be comprehended without the need for interpreters, and so that interviewers can thoroughly investigate the literature and mass media of a given society. In short, interviewers should not be globalists hopping from society to society; rather, each should be an expert on the society being investigated. Interviews may be analyzed in accordance with the theory of culture offered earlier, with its different conceptions of culture, and different levels of the cultural shaping of the individual. Or another theoretical basis could be used, as long as it gives suitable weight to the complexity of culture today, in both its traditional and contemporary aspects.

Discourses of happiness need to be fully analyzed, in accordance with both interviewees' accounts and also with mass media and other sociocultural representations; these discourses would need to be fully analyzed in the context of culture in both of the senses I have discussed. In this way, a full cultural portrait can emerge from the interviews conducted in a given society, a portrait that can give a rich contextual backdrop to the findings of statistical surveys. In the final analysis, statistical survey results and ethnographic findings will need to be combined so that the former can provide the latter with breadth, and the latter can provide the former with depth. Only through this analytical combination can the statistical and the ethnographic be fully and usefully merged in arriving at suitably subtle and nuanced portraits of happiness in different societies. Understanding the interdependent relationships between external and internal influences on happiness is of clear relevance to theorists. An interactionist approach can serve as a lens that allows us to see how happiness emerges from, and is embedded in, a rich network of interactions, including internal and external factors. Interactionism encompasses two related views of what we might call felicitation—the causation and promotion of happiness (Helliwell et al., 2012) explanatory interactionism attempts to explain the causal processes by which happiness arises, while strategic interactionism attempts to identify practical strategies for promoting happiness. Externalist approaches are based on the proposition that there is a relatively straightforward transmission of external conditions and events to internal happiness.

Externalism has previously operated in most cultures as the default mode for governments, businesses, and several social organizations that see their main role as that of raising 'living standards', i.e. material and social conditions. Since individuals are also assumed to be fully informed and rational, and their preferences fully revealed by their choices, the only way to promote wellbeing in this approach is through external conditions (Glaeser, 2011; Hausman & McPherson, 2006). Provision of enabling environments and resources is only one part of a complex route to the enhancement of less tangible goods such as long-term enjoyment, meaning, and life satisfaction. The flow of benefits from improvements in external living conditions has to work in synergy with people's psychological resources. Community development that enhances collective hope and pride will tend to work more effectively than top-down planning (Appadurai, 2002).

Externalist approaches, by their very nature, can undervalue the very psychological processes that are, themselves, implicated in happiness. For example, externalist strategies often face problems such as hedonic adaptation, social comparison, poor affective forecasting, irrationality, and the costs of choice. Hedonic adaptation means that there are often diminishing returns to the removal of discomforts and to the provision of comforts (Shane & Loewenstein, 1999; Tweed et al., 2012). Social comparison means that if relevant other people improve their access to external goods, our own mental benefits from similar improvements may be diminished (Diener et al., 1995a; Hirsch, 1977). Failures of affective forecasting mean that we want and strive for things that will either make us unhappy or will contribute less to our happiness than we imagine (Dunn & Laham, 2006; Haybron, 2008; Wilson & Gilbert, 2005). There are systematic misapprehensions in people's beliefs about the relations between wanting, liking, and learning (Berridge & Kringelbach, 2013). Cognitive biases induce a variety of predictably irrational and otherwise suboptimal choices that can undermine the pursuit of our goals (Haybron, 2008; Hsee et al., 2003; Kahneman, 2011). Finally, simply having a large number of options can be costly, for instance leaving us less happy with what we do have (Schwartz, 2006). Among the subtlest and powerful interactions are those that occur between the individual and society.

7.24.59.7

Cultural contexts and scripts influence our emotional experiences and self-evaluations including those representing the well-lived life, and the disapproval of specific kinds of hardwired desires and gratifications. Interestingly, personal choice and behavior have a reciprocal influence such that individuals, in turn, also impact the change of societal norms over time. Cultural influences are sometimes overlooked as internal-external interactions because they are often experienced as if they were happening only within the mind. People frequently view their own values and choices as completely internal phenomena without adequate appreciation of the powerful influences of external cultural processes. For example, Oishi and Diener (2001) found that people from different cultures remembered events—especially those related to personal performance along cultural lines and that these memories, in turn, affected their subsequent choices. Studies of social contagion suggest that many behaviors and outcomes, including obesity, smoking, happiness, unhappiness, and divorce, ripple through social networks like a virus (Christakis & Fowler, 2012). To a surprising extent, our behavior and states of mind are shaped by the social and physical environment (Haybron, 2014).

2.4. Happiness: A Sociological Perspective

Sociological perspective of happiness displays the wider and comprehensive aspects of subjective well-being (Bartram, 2011) which can only be understood and comprehended through, from and within its social context (Illouz, 1997). The current research aims to understand happiness as a social phenomenon which shapes individuals' experiences of life and act as a system of formal and informal social control (Ahmed, 2010). However, sociologists also define happiness a positive assessment of an individual about his/her various aspects of life (Nuvolati, 2009a; Veenhoven, 2010). Hence in sociology, happiness is more the matter of living conditions as a general view of wellbeing but it is a phenomenon that is completely rooted, situated, and embedded in diverse social institutions, actions, relationships and identities and continuously producing various meanings and construction of happiness depending on its context which is social and cultural in nature.

Sociology's skepticism towards approaching happiness as a domain of investigation can be traced to the early works of Marx and Durkheim (Cieslik, 2013).

Both Marx and Durkheim have argued that modern societies fabricate new wishes and needs, while encouraging an individualistic lifestyle that often equates consumerism with the key to being happy. Few contemporary sociologists (Abbott & Wallace, 2012; Bartram 2011; Cieslik, 2013; Veenhoven, 2010) have attempted to root the dearth of sociological approaches to happiness research. Veenhoven (2011), on the other hand, associates the absence of happiness research in sociology with three motives, which are pragmatic, ideological and theoretical. They are pragmatic because sociologists are generally concerned with human behavior rather than with emotions, ideological due to the discipline's preference for certain types of measurements and they are theoretical particularly due to how happiness is defined by sociologists, some consider it akin to a 'whimsical state of mind' (Veenhoven, 2010).

Hyman (2011) observes; for sociologists, happiness appears to be an elusive emotion, a state or a process. Just like love, happiness is 'knowable only intuitively, at the level of feeling' (Jackson, 1999), it is something that humans experience at the level of the nervous system, and that makes it a subject that 'sits outside of the scope of sociological inquiry' (Hyman, 2011, p.106). Furthermore, some sociologists (Cohen & Taylor, 1976; Furedi, 2004; Lasch, 1979; Rieff, 1966) question both the place and the attainability of happiness in contemporary societies. Sociologists are inclined towards critically engaging with more 'negative' topics, like alienation or vulnerability, and view the act of researching happiness as naïve, partly due to the impression that happiness studies are a 'ground marked out by self-help writers' (Bartram, 2011, p. 18).

Bauman (2008) in his book associates happiness with good feeling by virtue of underpinning the fluid and dynamic cultures. Similarly, Hochschild (2003) also sees happiness as problematic evoking some of the same concerns that happiness has lost its deeper sense and meanings as a result of long-term processes of commodification of life. Traditionally, sociology has been known to be the study of social problems, of the structure and functioning of human society, being generally concerned with issues pertaining to the sphere of the pathological. Happiness research stems from the discipline of psychology, partly as a backlash against the prominence of 'negative' concerns, but this kind of focus on dysfunction has also characterized sociology 'where

one finds a central role for concepts such as anomie, alienation, disenchantment, inequality and (more recently) vulnerability' (Bartram, 2011, p. 15).

Furthermore, a study of happiness, wellbeing or human flourishing appears to not sit well with any particular sociological subfield (Hyman, 2011). Scholars have also argued that happiness has actually been a concern of societies and has been relevant to the study of society (Frawley, 2015), however social scientists have only recently showed a renewed interest in happiness after a long period of being concerned with the negative. Happiness can thus be explained by sociologists' long-held 'preoccupation with misery' (Veenhoven, 2006, p. 4), despite it having a bearing on '19th century founding fathers of sociology' (Veenhoven, 2006, p. 3).

Reeves (2009, p. 24) describes that social sciences discipline in happiness is profoundly 'over-researched and under-theorised'. Over the past twenty years, happiness research across the social sciences has produced a large array of empirical results, from measurements and causes to correlates and determinants, however the ways in which these empirical results can be integrated into broader theoretical narratives remain uncertain (George, 2010, p. 332), while others suggest that sociology, by contrast, is academic discipline rich in theories relevant for wellbeing (Kroll, 2011). Moreover, sociologists could contribute to happiness studies (Bartram, 2011).

Sociological accounts of happiness and of happiness studies not only fill gaps in the academic literature, but also have their place in contemporary societies, in public discourse, at policy level, and in political debates. Sociologists might be especially well suited to look into the ways in which people's perceptions of and actions on happiness vary, and analyze the observed variance with conventional sociological methods and tools – look at inequalities, power relations and other core sociological variables and concepts (Ahmed, 2010; Illouz, 1997). Sociologists are particularly well equipped to contribute to happiness studies given their traditional emphasis on social context (Frawley, 2015).

A substantial body of interdisciplinary scholarly literature recently produced mainly in the second half of 20th century (Frey & Stutzer, 2007). However, main problem lies in the methodological status of happiness studies between quantitative and qualitative approaches. Happiness research is heavily occupied by quantitative

researcher but (Cieslik, 2013; Hyman, 2014) stated that qualitative research on happiness which actually explores everyday life practices of individuals are scarce in sociology and which is also the main reason that happiness is less prominent area in mainstream sociology (Bartram, 2011). The Oxford Handbook of Happiness (2014) is the clear depiction of this neglect and considered as one of the comprehensive books published on happiness but this book does not include a single sociological research on happiness. Similarly, the six-volume set published on well-being (2014) has not a single article on sociology of happiness. The World Book of happiness (2010) published 100 research articles from 50 countries but includes only two contributions from sociology. However, sociology's main domain is to study the social behaviors of human social groups and every individual wants to enjoy and live happy life as an eternal goal of their lives.

The contemporary sociology lacks research studies and the field of happiness is sociologically under represented and under researched area in the field of social sciences despite its place in (work of Weber, Durkheim, Marx, Simmel and Comte) classical sociology. In social research, happiness matters *descriptively* (it is a core theme in people's everyday understanding of how people and experiences differ). *Analytically*, it matters because happiness and the pursuit of it are important causes and outcomes of social processes. And it matters *evaluatively*, because it is central (if not always explicitly so) to the justification of ways of doing things and to the assessment of how well things are going (Jugureanu et al., 2014). If social research is inadequate without happiness analysis, the inverse is also true: happiness scholars from other disciplines need to explore how happiness is socially constructed. Happiness is facilitated, expressed, pursued, and inhibited in particular socio-cultural contexts. Happiness scholarship requires participation of the full range of social scientists. In short, sociology and happiness scholarship need each other.

The economic and psychological approaches to happiness studies have largely informed the sociological research on happiness of the last two decades. Frawley (2015) puts together a list of scholars in the field, classified according to their research interests. For research on correlates and contributors to happiness, Frawley identifies the work of Burt and Atkinson (2011) on hobbies that lead to 'flow' – a concept first introduced by psychology professor Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1991); Hsieh (2011) on

happiness, income, and the life cycle; Schnittker (2008) on genetic endowments; and Firebaugh and Shroeder (2009) on money and social comparison. Others explored happiness levels in certain populations, mostly by conducting quantitative research, for example Radcliff (2005) on union members, and Freedman et al. (2012) on older people with disabilities. And some scholars have looked at happiness and wellbeing in the context of health promotion, a topic of increasing importance – among others Carlisle and Hanlon (2007); Carlisle et al. (2009); Kobau et al. (2011). Apart from the work produced by the above-mentioned scholars, sociological research on happiness and wellbeing continues to be published in journals like *Social Indicators Research* and the *Journal of Happiness Studies*, which are ‘niche’ publications (Frawley, 2015), but also in special issues in more general or mainstream publications, such as the recent *Sociological Research Online* edited special issue on happiness studies (Cieslik, 2013).

Extensive work has been done on determinants and correlates of happiness. One of the most researched areas includes correlations between income and happiness, an area influenced by studies in behavioral economics. Other factors that influence happiness levels to a larger extent than income does include health, employment (specifically, the avoidance of unemployment), marriage or stable intimate partnership, religiosity and sociability (Bartram, 2011); cross-sectional studies would often give different results than longitudinal studies. Married people or those living together with a partner in a stable relationship are happier than single people, however as people are different, for some marriage can lead to a long-lasting increase in happiness (Lucas et al., 2003), while for others happiness can decline after the initial stages of the relationship and sometimes return to the pre-relationship happiness level (Helliwell, 2003). Unemployment is one of the strongest predictors that correlate inversely with happiness levels (Clark & Oswald, 1994; Lucas et al., 2004). And religiosity can also influence happiness, however being moderated by a social context (Bartram, 2011), and it is mostly conducive to happiness for those people who have a strong religious identity (Lim & Putnam, 2010).

In terms of key demographics, there are few that make ‘unambiguous independent contributions to happiness models’ (Bartram, 2011). Bivariate analyses show that women are on average happier than men, but the difference in happiness tends to be insignificant in other more complex analyses, depending on the control

variables (Dolan et al., 2008). Age also correlates with happiness levels, and a large number of studies show a U-shaped relationship, meaning happiness declines in early adulthood, and then increases after middle age. In recent years, several scholars (Bartram, 2011; Safi, 2010) have expressed an interest in the effect that migration has on happiness levels and found that immigrants tend to be less happy than natives; this phenomenon is difficult to explain due to it not being a straightforward causal relationship, so it can be either because migrants have unrealistic expectations about life in their new country, or because these people already experience lower happiness levels before migrating. Apart from the key demographics, correlates and determinants reviewed in the above two paragraphs, researchers have investigated the effect of culture on happiness and wellbeing levels (Lu & Gilmour, 2004; Oishi et al., 2013; Suh & Oishi, 2004; Uchida et al., 2004).

A clearer finding emerges in relation to immigrants, who are generally less happy than natives (Bartram, 2011; Safi, 2010). Social capital and civic engagement, for example, are typically found to have a positive association with happiness, but a moderate average effect can be decomposed into a strong positive association for men and childless women and no association at all for mothers (Kroll, 2011). Income can be treated as a contextual factor operating at sub-national levels as well: Firebaugh and Schroeder (2009) find that individuals are happier when they live in richer neighborhoods (which have more/better amenities), particularly when those neighborhoods are located in poor counties (thus facilitating favorable downward comparisons). Context can also affect the association between individual factors and happiness, as indicated in discussions above of religiosity and materialism (Frey, 2008), though effects are typically small (Yang, 2008). The most important contextual factor is culture.

Uchida et al. (2004), drawing implications from empirical research by others, suggest that differences in culture have implications for the meanings people ascribe to happiness as well as for motivations and determinants. There are significant internal variations in diverse cultures, and there is clearly much more that could be done to understand the relationship between culture and happiness (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). A few minutes reflection on our own lives illustrates that caring for people and seeing the happiness we can create for others as well as receive ourselves are at the heart of

much of what we do in life. The majority of the interview data reveals that important relationships in their lives and their significance for their wellbeing. This sort of 'social happiness' (Thin, 2012).

One of the influential writers Sara Ahmed (2010) represents happiness in empirically simplistic ways in order to advance her own arguments about the oppressive nature of modernity. Ahmed employs Foucault's work to understand happiness as a discourse where power relations work through language and practices to shape patterns of domination. She suggests that discussion of happiness in families and in the media may seem innocuous, but popular images of a 'happy life' can symbolize linguistically what are socially acceptable identities and lifestyles – normalizing marriage, children, heterosexuality, waged employment and so on. Ideas of happiness and notions of happy lives function here as powerful moral signifiers of right/wrong ways of living, in the process framing practices that marginalize minorities (Ahmed, 2010). Ahmed's (2010) account of happiness as discourse constructs actors as caught in powerful webs of language/practices that offer little insight into resistance and coping strategies. Hence qualitative research can illustrate the several different ways that people creatively manage their lives as they navigate constraints and conflicts in an effort to flourish.

2.4.1. Happiness and Culture

Happiness and culture come into existence through conversations and nonverbal interactions. We collude with others to make them happen by developing the stories through which we both interpret and shape our experiences and our relationships. This means that in doing research into the subjective experience of happiness and culture we are engaged in generating the processes we want to learn about. Happiness researchers aren't just capturing information about a pre-existing reality; they are participating in people's construction of what happiness is. In this era of surveys, we now think of happiness, in part, in terms of scales and of graphs purportedly depicting growing national 'gaps' between happiness and wealth. Although we may worry about deficiencies and losses of both culture and happiness, there is a key difference: culture is part of our expected inheritance and milieu as humans, whereas happiness is something that we must deliberately generate. People interpreting the goodness of lives, count their blessings, pains, position relative to former selves or expectations or

significant others and recount past and future. Most survey-based academic papers give details of the survey instruments and population samples used, but do not even hint at the heuristics or thin-sliced self-narratives by which respondents may have arrived at their numerical self-evaluations. Happiness is essentially a psycho-biographical concept, a lens through which we think evaluatively and narratively about people's selves and lives. The enjoyment of life becomes significant, and is culturally legitimated and structured, through life reviews and life stories.

Happiness oriented from socio-cultural dimensions of any society is based on individuals' experiences as described by social constructionism that how individuals make sense of things. It is widely accepted that individual constructed mental images by using extensively prevailing notions around them. In this sense happiness is considered as social construction deeply embedded on prevailing social and cultural notions like 'emotional' (female) and 'objective' (objective). A common explanation of this argument relates happiness with the customary beliefs that continuously making individuals experiences throughout their life (Kroll, 2011). Cultural perspectives are the critical element in happiness studies (Brockmann & Delhey, 2013; Delle Fave & Bassi, 2009; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006; Koopmann-Holm & Matsumoto, 2011;) argues that the authority of culture is beyond any control as it is completely embedded and understand 'a particular way of life' (Williams & Best, 1982, p. 90). Therefore, culture can not only understand as one of the factors that may contribute in the happiness of individuals, rather it is the cardinal factor: 'culture can be a major force constructing the conception of happiness and consequently shaping its subjective experiences (Lu & Gilmour 2004, p. 271). In other words, individuals belong to different cultures embrace varied notions of happiness including, its definition, nature, meaning, ways of acting, interpretation and even their thinking process is highly culture dependent (Lyubomirsky et al., 2011; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

All humans depend heavily on society for the achievement of happiness: from the early days of survey-based happiness research, good social connections have consistently been most prominent among factors correlating with self-reported happiness (Ferriss, 2010; Wah, 2014). Moreover, our experience and understanding of happiness is socially constructed. We can't conceive of happiness, let alone consider

whether or not we are happy (Joshnloo et al., 2014), without the culturally transmitted happiness narratives and social relationships that allow us to express happiness and experience it inter-subjectively (Morris, 2012; White & Shreya, 2014).

In their personal lives, most social scholars are no doubt intensely interested in happiness and in helping to bring about social progress but this are far from evident in their academic work. Systematic interest in social progress has been developing since the 1990s with the development of 'social quality' and 'social well-being' research (Gasper, 2011; Thin, 2012). In policy and in public and corporate practice the concept of 'social value' has become highly influential in some countries such as UK and USA (Cox, Bowen, & Kempton, 2012). Happiness, arguably humanity's most important and fascinating capability, emerges from particular social and cultural contexts (Haller & Hadler, 2006; Morris, 2012; White & Shreya, 2014). We also get to know about it through cultural repertoires and social interactions. Like the self and the mind more generally, happiness is experienced as if it were happening momentarily in our heads, but this is an egocentric illusion because the real action is distributed across space and time, and between multiple actors. Happiness is culturally imagined, socially constructed, interactively discussed, compared, and narrated, and highly communicable. We can measure self-reports, but we can't measure happiness directly because it just isn't that kind of factual entity. Nor is happiness just a property of the self-reporter's brain: life appreciation may seem to be built psychologically, from the 'inside out', but we develop these abilities and dispositions interactively. Our sense that we are happy (or not) and that our lives are good (or bad) emerges through complex interactions between brains, bodies, socio-cultural contexts, and physical environments. Happiness scholarship in sociology will therefore remain significantly handicapped until sociologists bring their methods, their analytical approaches, and their knowledge to bear on the cultural and social construction of happiness. Conversely, sociology will remain embarrassingly biased and unproductive if it persists in ignoring the need for subjective study of how individuals construct, define, achieve and experience really good lives in really good societies.

Hence, culture pervades everything we do. Specific cultural practices, however, have values for specific people in relation to their purposes. Although culture is sometimes considered all too pervasive to define, looking at development through a

cultural lens means paying more than usual attention to the learning, knowledge and communication processes by which we collectively generate values and meanings. Key aspects of our lives, like money, deities, and norms, are constantly shifting in value and meaning according to their engagement in human exchanges and performances. They are also associated with particular context and historically social groups, locales, disciplines and networks. Development practitioners need to think about how people's preferences, capabilities, and ways of thinking and doing things are socially constructed, learned and changing. If we want to improve wellbeing, we need to remind ourselves that anything cultural can be either maintained or changed through conscious choice. If no aspect of culture is fixed for eternity, neither need it be lost through negligence or greed.

For both pragmatic and moral reasons, we must also respect the fact that cultural processes involve deeply-held attachments to symbolic forms of expression and to more intangible indigenous and spiritual beliefs. Culture is also associated with some of our most treasured achievements, collective sense of belonging and sources of meaning. All too often used perniciously to defend unjust and harmful practices, or arrogantly to claim or justify class and gender discrimination, culture is a power-laden concept. Good or bad, it clearly matters a great deal for our happiness and wellbeing.

Though culture has been essentialized in the past (treated as a single fixed entity or coherent structure associated with specific places and/or groups of people) (Malinowski, 1939), contemporary anthropologists and cultural sociologists treat culture as an ongoing fluid process. They are critical of the problematic way human differences were conceptualized as a diversity of separate cultures, each with its own coherently bounded culture containing shared meanings, values and beliefs (Abu-Lughod, 1993). Rather, people are constantly accepting or rejecting cultural information, meanings, and values from multiple sources. On the other hand, culture isn't entirely chaotic. It is patterned to some extent, but the presence of cultural coherence and consensus often comes from people with a powerful vested interest in this construction. Further, culture is not fixed or static, but constantly adapting in response to globalization, technical change, climate change, policy reforms, geo-political shifts, etc. Nor is isolated and disconnected from global forms of social,

political and economic processes that connect even the most isolated contexts from a wider world (through migration, education systems, globalized media, etc.) (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997a, pp.2-3).

Cultural analysis means to think about the construction of our identities, values, knowledge, and behaviors, but also our ways of learning and communication, cognitive styles, and symbolic representations, meanings and relations of power. The concept of epistemic cultures, originally developed for the analysis of social relations and knowledge production among scientific communities (Knorr-Cetina, 1981), may be useful to this chapter. This refers to the strong patterning of knowledge and beliefs among persons who share similar sources and modes of knowledge (Knorr-Cetina, 1981). Collective action and identity claims, like science, are often pursued in groups that mutually reinforce cultural beliefs, ways of thinking, acting and networks (Latour & Woolgar, 1979).

Socio-cultural institutions are cultural patterns, practices or relationships that are created, organized, reinforced and transformed by different epistemic cultures. They include kinship and family; political, legal and governance organizations; spiritual and religious organizations; economic systems; work and modes of production; social organization (marriage, status, authority, safety nets, etc.), education, health, etc. Socio-cultural institutions, like culture, are rarely fixed and bounded, but are actively negotiated, transformed and resisted over time. They are also inseparable from people's values, beliefs and meanings about the world, and are related to wellbeing and happiness in many ways. At the same time, they are often not obvious and sometimes hidden from view, except to sociologists and anthropologists who systematically study them. They are infused with relations of power, which drive them and pattern actions and behaviors. It will be useful for future analysis and assessment of culture to consider exploring the way different women, men and children engage in cultural capital and institutions, including both the breadth and depth of such engagements through quantitative and qualitative methods.

Looking at cultural processes through a happiness lens means that we interpret the values, power relations, meanings and justifications underlying cultural processes

with respect for how people experience them. A happiness perspective requires us to reject naïve fundamentalism, traditionalism, or modernism: cultural values, practices and beliefs are never valuable or virtuous simply because they exist, because of claims they are divinely inspired, or based on a modernist zeal for cultural innovation. Creativity and culture-sharing, like indigenous practices, are not necessarily good in themselves but need to be assessed in reference to people's subjective experiences and their contribution to wellbeing.

Nearly all humans want not only personal happiness but also to live in what they perceive to be a good society, and in order to fulfil these needs, both of these preferences require culture. Since we are uniquely cultural beings, culture in this very diffuse sense has intrinsic value (Helliwell & Want, 2012; Tay, David & Diener, 2014). This matter because we should not instrumentalize cultural capital (or social capital) as if it mattered only insofar as it affects the economy. Living in what is perceived as a good society, facilitated by roughly similar cultural practices of which we are proud, has intrinsic value (Mogilner, Kamvar, & Aaker, 2011). We value the quality of our social and cultural environments more for their direct contributions to our quality of life and wellbeing than for any indirect benefits that might flow from them. For example, a friendly, supportive, calm, lively, and purposeful school or workplace climate or culture may well be valued by school boards or employers primarily for its productivity dividends, but for schoolchildren and work staff these environmental qualities matter intrinsically (Bond, 2013).

Since this cultural attribute applies to both good and bad qualities, we can't afford to assume that either culture or cultural diversity are intrinsically good. Culturally practiced humiliation or torture of people or animals has always existed but there is no intrinsic value justification for such practices. We also need to consider that what might be viewed as good for one group of people or even within a particular epistemic culture, may not be perceived as such by others, both within or beyond the group. This must be defined reflexively, noting that power and status inequalities often restrict some people's ability to express their true feelings about the experiential value of cultural practices.

However, questions arise about who defines the collective good, and on behalf of whom. As such, perhaps the most important implication of using a happiness lens in policy-making is the insistence on transparent evaluation and analysis of everything we do by reference to an ultimate collective goal of happiness, defined by scientifically accepted domains. Using this evaluative lens, no aspect of culture can be defended solely in terms of its intrinsic value. It is most important that the collective is defined reflexively, keeping in mind relations of power that might marginalize certain groups of people. In short, promotion of existing or new cultural practices, beliefs, or artefacts must be done with reference to their contributions to happiness.

Rather more controversially, it can also be argued that cultural diversity is in general more benign than cultural homogeneity because it allows a wider variety of ways in which people can flourish. In any given cultural context, some people's personalities will fit better (for optimizing their wellbeing) with dominant cultural traits and power relations than others do. Culturally diverse societies (and organizations like schools, communities, and workplaces), therefore, which effectively offer a wide variety of values and of valued occupations, are likely to perform better at facilitating wellbeing than more restrictive and homogeneous cultures in which a smaller set of values and valued occupations or products are dominant because in more diverse societies more people will be able experience a sense of cultural fit, personality-cultural match or cultural consonance (Fulmer et al., 2010; Ratzlaff et al., 2000; Reyes-Garcia et al., 2010a).

A diversity of cultural options can make individuals more resilient to the inevitable shocks of life, while also making groups more resilient in the face of major socio-economic or environmental upheavals. Nonetheless, diversities (for example language barriers, value confusions, intergenerational contradictions, mutually exclusive norms) often come at a high price in terms of social harmony and personal sense of wellbeing or meaning. Since culture is diverse, its quality and its influences are what matters, not its diversity per se. Cultural diversity must, however, be traded off against the benefits of shared cultural values.

Nonetheless, human lives are in general enriched through exposure to diverse cultural practices, cultural products and knowledge forms, and impoverished by restriction of such exposure. Our lives can be enriched through such exposure even if we reject many of these as unappealing. Intercultural empathy is becoming ever more important in a culturally globalized world, so we all need to learn to understand and respect diverse cultural practices even if we don't like them. Conversely, our wellbeing can be harmed when others deliberately or unintentionally disparage our cultural practices or restrict our freedom to express our sense of cultural identity.

2.5. Theoretical Underpinnings: A Guide to Current Study

Some sociologists have been keen to integrate notions of wellbeing (such as life satisfaction and quality of life) into their work, notably in the fields of development and globalization (Ho, 2014), employment (Warr, 1984), health (Baldwin et al., 1990; Bradshaw, 2011), young people (Robb, 2011) and longitudinal studies of household change (Gershuny, 2012). These uses of wellbeing allow for the analysis of various domains of life whilst avoiding the normative assumptions that inform more popular notions of subjective wellbeing that regard happiness as a moral imperative. Quantitative methodologies however have tended to dominate this work and with it concerns for the measurement and causes of subjective wellbeing which can abstract from our more nuanced everyday experiences of happiness (Hyman, 2011; White, 2009;). Though these survey approaches have generated some valuable insights there is a need for more qualitative and biographical research that explores happiness as a social process involving struggle and negotiation in everyday life. Influential writers such as Ahmed and Furedi inspired me in this quest of happiness to understand experiences of happiness by ordinary people. Though there is a history of sociological research usually involving surveys into life satisfaction and subjective wellbeing there is a need for a much more ambitious theoretical and methodological engagement with the multiplicity of ways that happiness features in our lives.

Happiness operates as a process of everyday accomplishment whereby individuals employ practical reasoning in their daily lives. Such a conception may appear as inward looking but these reflections on, and experiences of happiness were

also rooted in the social relationships and reciprocal acts of compassion, altruism and duty. Happiness was very much a part of biographical projects and reflected the tensions and conflicts between actors' values and pursuit of their interests in the face of wider social constraints and regulation. Hence to promote a greater sociological understanding of happiness we do need to disentangle the complex ways happiness is experienced in everyday life from happiness is deployed and often (mis)represented by numerous sociologists.

The above-mentioned theoretical perspectives in previous headings explain multiple dimensions of happiness as well as life satisfaction and subjective wellbeing. However, the current research is intended to incorporate phenomenological and ethno-methodological theoretical underpinnings taken from famous Canadian sociologists Dorothy Smith for the theoretical and methodological conceptualizations. Smith in her theoretical orientation emphasizes in the real activities of people, experiences they gain while performing number of activities, the ways people used to understand and attach meanings to the social world in which they are operating. She mainly focuses on women and feminist standpoint by using Marxian analysis (Adams & Sydie, 2002). She stresses on the need of sociological theory that gives more importance to everyday experiences of people and specifically women and all those who are in subordinate position. She has strongly taken in to account of women standpoint that contains bifurcated consciousness, their daily experiences and the way relation of ruling are created and authorized. One of her main concerns is to criticize that mainstream sociology is totally and clearly male oriented methodological and conceptual foundation. For Smith (1989, p. 371), "All knowledge is knowledge from a particular standpoint and what which has been claimed as objective knowledge of society conceals a male bias". She questions the objectivity of sociological knowledge, especially when it uses concepts constructed by "the practice of government" such as "mental illness, crimes, riots, violence, work satisfaction, neighbors and neighborhood, motivation, and so on." (Smith, 2005, p. 15). In all these points, she takes a postmodern vision that social theory should not be totalizing and, somewhat like Foucault, that social power is exercised through multiple sources such as texts and organizations.

In his theoretical orientations Foucault did not studied language but use of discourse in language, it is the creation and construction of knowledge through language. According to Hall (1997) Discourse is a very multifaceted concept to recognize and grasp. However, primarily research used Foucauldian discourse analysis for data analysis and Dorothy's standpoint methodological and theoretical underpinnings for data collection and connecting findings with research questions. Discourse analysis uses usual data collection techniques to create texts that can be analyzed indirectly from a particular understanding of discourse analysis. These texts could be interview transcripts, newspaper articles, observations, documents, or visual images. The textual material needs to be reasonable as well as acceptable in a sense how and why they are selected, how it is collected and how it will be interpreted (Van Dijk, 1998).

This research aims to incorporate post-structuralism as a research paradigm, which view discourse as a language in use, including such aspects of language as uses of metaphor (Walkerdine, 1984) and syntax (Derrida & Stiegler, 2002; Foucault, 1988). Meaning is established by association, through what Derrida, in particular, calls 'intertextuality', and by contrast and differentiation from other related terms (Derrida, 1992). Social realities are thus constructed on individual experiences rather than reflecting some underlying reality whose meaning has to be 'discovered' or 'revealed'. The dimensions and subjective experiences of happiness can be interrogated through the understanding of the relationship between individual's perspectives of happiness within dominant socio-cultural discourse. The current study intends to explain how or why these specific dimensions are important for happiness, and how they are experienced on everyday level. The study attempts to develop a more sociological and cultural understanding of happiness in relation to these dimensions at the level of gendered individual experiences. The main argument of the present research is that the happiness is natural but its meaning is cultural. Therefore, I construct my stance throughout the study is to explore happiness within the institute of marriage is socially and culturally dependent as well as it varies with individuals having different marital status with reference to their gender. The focus of my research was on the exploring how happiness is constructed through culture, identities and genders. In doing so the

research closely connects the experiences of happiness through masculinities and femininities. It also intends to look at the pattern of relationships between socio-cultural values and happiness with a specific focus on the right of power of individuals to define happiness. It also investigates discourses of power in which happiness is embedded across various social and cultural contexts as cultural dependent experiences of people.

As discussed by Foucault (1972/1991) that in dominant discourses individuals locate themselves, in order to make sense of their lives and the social world, to accord them with meaning and to understand 'truths'. 'Truth' is created by discourse itself, according to what is said and is 'say able' at each particular time in history. Indeed, happiness is one aspect of people's lives that is understood through a range of dominant discourses. Rather than simply being a private, internal experience (Jackson, 1999), happiness is something that is shaped, interpreted and articulated via culturally specific ways of thinking, being and acting. Furthermore, it could even be argued that the way in which people talk about happiness, and the way in which they position themselves within discourses of it is "a means by which we participate in creating a shared sense" (1999: 101) of what happiness is. The research presents through exploration of sociological literature and the collection and analysis of qualitative interview data - an examination of the ways in which people give accounts of their experiences and perceptions of happiness, and of how they use a range of dominant discourses in producing these.

This chapter concludes that sociological research produced on happiness is mainly quantitative rather than qualitative. There is a dire need to understand this phenomenon with qualitative lens specifically through phenomenology and discourse to illuminate the lived experiences of individuals which are very unique, heterogenous and exceptional. The lived experiences of individuals actually construct their experiences of happiness which are situated in their context and continuously shaped by the power structure in which they are operating. This chapter also explores that very less qualitative study in sociological discipline is conducted on happiness in Pakistan, however, quantitative statistics on happiness are found in World happiness reports which are mainly carried out by International Non-Governmental Organizations. Theoretical and conceptual model is presented below in diagrammatical form.

2.5.1 Conceptual Framework

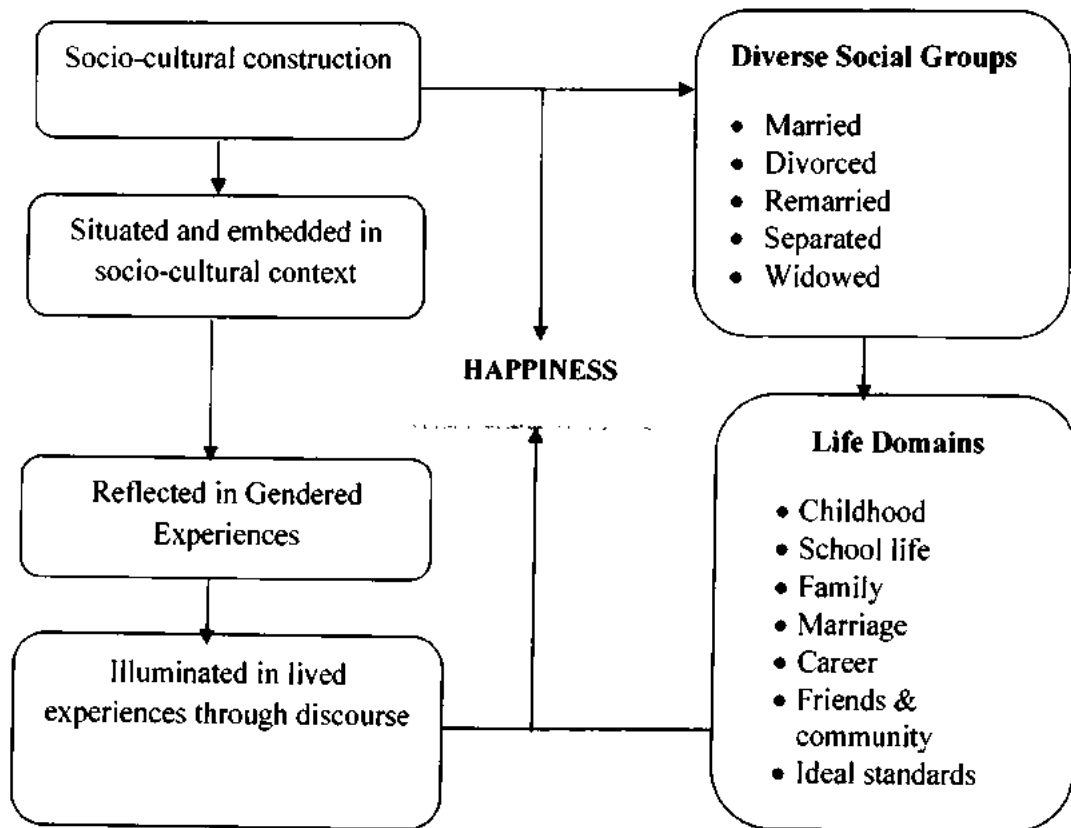
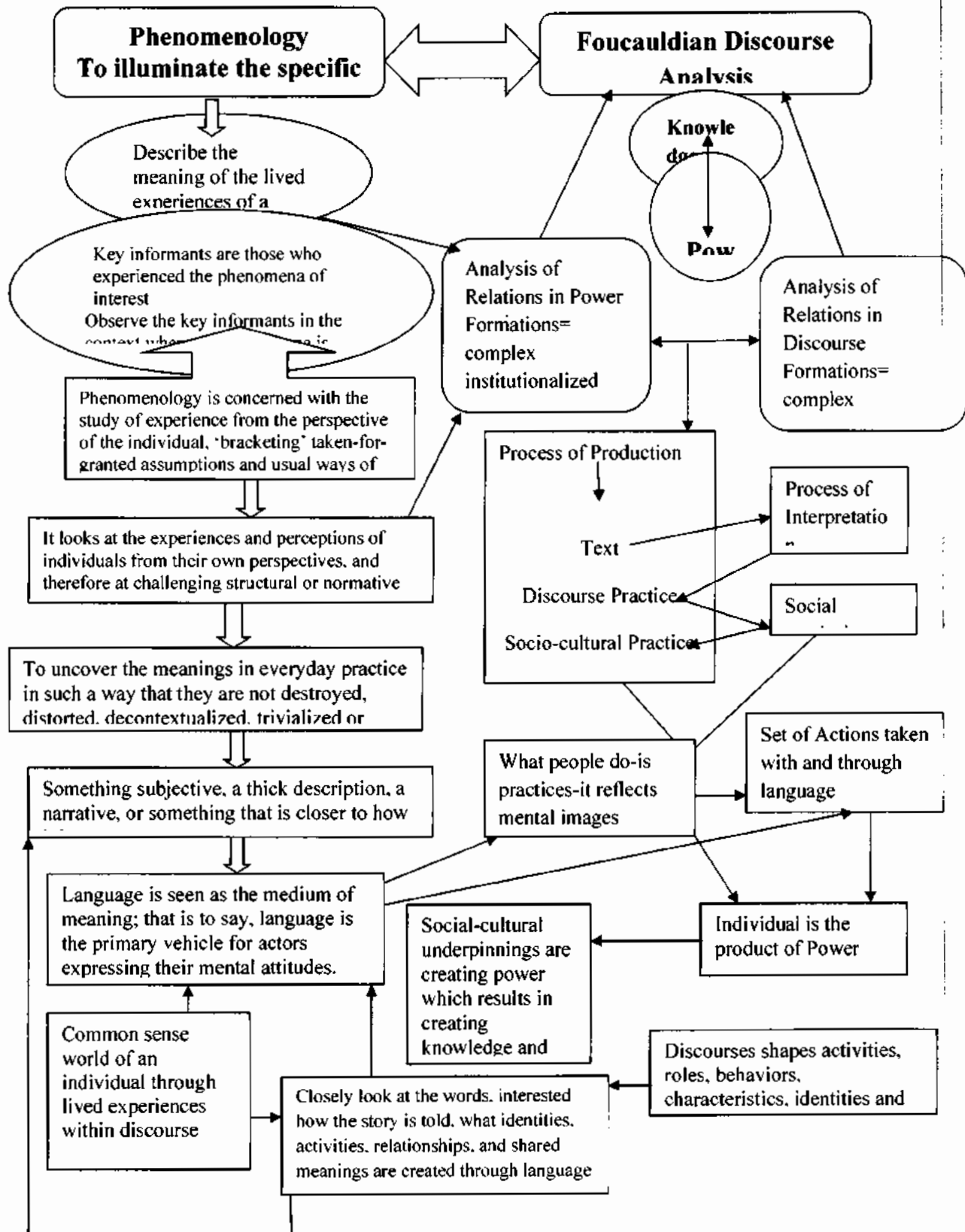


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

2.5.2 Theoretical Model



Chapter No. 3

Multifaceted Research Experiences: Reflexive Happiness

This chapter outlines eight sub-sections giving cross cutting, overlapping and intersecting viewpoints about various contrasting ideas of research including research methodology, tools and methods used for data collection and analysis, my own life trajectory along with my positionality as insider and outsider among diverse social groups. This chapter clearly offers an explanation of using a particular research design which guided and directed the research process followed by the method of selection of research informants and interview procedure. This chapter also outlines the purpose of using two methodologies namely phenomenology and discourse for data collection and analysis respectively. This part also describes a detailed mode of data collection, transcription and procedure of data coding from interview transcripts followed by generation of themes. Finally, ethical issues such as objectivity and confidentiality of research information are embedded in positionality of a researcher. During the research process, I found, the large number of individuals who look apparently very successful, satisfied and happy but have faced multiple gendered experiences cultivated by normative order in their lives because they are continuously struggling in their respective life domains to keep culture as a core in their social actions to get social approval for their ultimate happiness. But almost all of them are broken from inside and dissatisfied with some of their life domains which are directly or indirectly linked with their marital life. I also have gotten this opportunity to unveil the hidden realities of the unique and diverse life experiences of informants which are wrapped in multiple layers of contextual practices.

Social sciences research specifically sociological discourse mainly involves in exploring and describing human social behaviors to uncover multiple social regularities, irregularities as well as their individual and collective actions in various social identities among diverse social groups. The behavior of Human beings is often unpredictable and varies in relation to the external world where they live. Therefore, it is difficult to explore the effect of certain social phenomenon on an individual and needs a constant struggle at the end of researcher to remain patient and flexible in this

extensive research process. Qualitative research in sociology is ideal in examining those experiences of individuals which are hidden and complex. This provides a social setting to generate an environment in which individuals are comfortable and become an active part of the research. This demands from the researcher to be a good listener and should focus on developing a deeper understanding of the phenomena of interest.

3.1. Research: Course of Action

Social science research uses a variety of methods to analyze complex social phenomena for in-depth analysis of individual social experiences. I conducted qualitative research to unveil phenomenon of happiness within gendered lives situated in wide variety of socio-cultural settings. After detailed desk research, I established my quest to pursue research on happiness under phenomenology for illuminating lived experiences of individuals. I relied on discourse analysis to uncover and disclose those taken for granted assumptions that are truly embedded in gendered experiences of individuals. Hence, my analysis in this study is inspired by post-structuralism which is mainly understood through its key concepts namely discourse and the subject. This contemporary paradigm considers discourse as a language in use and the key aspects of this concept are particularly human language such as voice, sentence structures and meanings of various words (Aneshensel, 2012; Barratt, Choi & Li, 2011; Derrida & Stiegler, 2002; Walkerdine, 1984). The implication of human language is connected with resemblance with other texts (Dane, 2010; Derrida, 1992) and the meanings of the language are actually constructing social realities (Derrida & Stiegler, 2002, p.10). The construction of social realities through language is based on various combinations of prevailing discourses but the nature of these discourses is expressive and establishing a standardized behavior. The key concepts of examination in Post-structuralism are discourses itself. Accordingly, the data is not understood as evidence of something but it used discursively in which evidence is grounded and embedded in itself (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2012; Kendall & Wickham, 1999; Schaeffer & Maynard, 2002:).

Furthermore, the meanings embedded in these discourses are not static but are fluid in nature, they are constantly changed, reshaped, recreated, confronted and competed. Another key aspect of discourse is the construction and creation of

knowledge. According to Foucault (1972) Post-structuralists look on those practices and tools which create knowledge and focus on the set of rules and systems actually leading to explore who say what, regarding what, in which social positions and conditions. Thus, discourses are critical and vital to define how the nature of happiness can be identified, constructed and comprehended in gendered lives. This is predominantly crucial for developing an understanding about how happiness is conceptualized, defined, performed and creating specific forms of knowledge guiding individuals' course of action within their socio-cultural contexts. The position of the subject in post-structuralism paradigm is very significant and it takes subject as an enduring creation of discourse by creation of multiple identities and planning to capture specific identities (Davie, 2015; Easton, 2010; Johnson, 2014).

The birth and rebirth of identities in gendered lives with regard to happiness through these procedures are not particular but these identities are diverse and may confront with each other. All these dimensions are central for me to choose such a tool which must be helpful for deep exploration and understanding of the phenomenon of interest. It was thus appropriate to adopt such an approach, the tenets of which are concerned with people's shared interpretations of happiness which are derived from socio-cultural processes. Thus, one fundamental assumption is that people construct their own 'stories' or accounts of happiness and the understanding of these stories have the central purpose of this study. Indeed, stories and narratives and their deconstruction are core of the sociological enterprise.

However, gaining an understanding of such stories or accounts via the qualitative interview method means that rather than attempting to prove anything, the study seeks to describe the phenomena that are being researched. In other words, I rather than taking the positivist stance of proving a definitive presence and impact of culture on happiness, this qualitative, phenomenological approach seeks to describe and chart the way in which cultural discourses guided the behavior of individuals to achieve happiness (Becker, 1996; Loseke, 2012; Rubin, 2006). It also focused on the way phenomenon of happiness is interpreted, drawn upon, utilized and ultimately produced by this particular group of people. Therefore, Poststructuralists approach seeks to build understandings of social phenomena based on the specific meanings people attribute to

them, and the way in which these meanings become shared (Geertz, 1988). Furthermore, it could even be argued that the way in which people talk about happiness, and the way in which they position themselves within discourses of it is "a means by which we participate in creating a shared sense" (Jackson, 1999; p. 101) of what happiness is.

3.2. Procedures and Practices

The ultimate goal of the present research is to develop an in-depth understanding of gendered experiences of happiness. In this section, I have discussed the procedures which informed decisions related to selection of informants for my study. Sampling in qualitative research is extensively based on the nature of research questions and the purpose on which foundation of study is based. However, in this research I am engaged in discourse analysis which widely rely on few research informants to get deeper understanding of the phenomenon to be researched. According to Rubinstein (1994) there are 'no hard and fast rules about numbers however qualitative research in old age and aging has used experiential cell sample sizes of from ten to hundred, with clustering around fifty' (p. 80). However, Baum (2002) suggested that number of informants would range from twelve to twenty to attain maximum heterogeneity in experiences. It is widely accepted and recognized that sample size in qualitative research is not supposed to be too large because it is difficult to comprehend thick and rich data. However, it is also important that sample should not be so small that (Flick, 1998; Morse, 2000) data saturation cannot be achieved.

Morse (2000) described five important qualities of sample in qualitative research namely; related to the scope of the study, consistent with the nature of the topic, provides quality data, articulated with the study design and also explore shadowed data (data shows experiences of other as well). All of these qualities are used in the study to select individuals who have rich experiences about the phenomenon under study. Whereas, Ezzy (2002), Mays and Pope (1995); Miles and Huberman (1994); Patton (2002); Reed et al. (1996) stated that there is no defined guidelines and instructions available for sampling in qualitative research but sample should be highly relevant with the purpose and goal of the research. These scholars emphasized on drawing purposeful sample for qualitative studies.

I found selection of participants very challenging task because I needed few but unique individuals to be the part of study sample for gaining deeper and profound understanding about gendered happiness. I was extremely willing to identify those informants who have exclusive and exceptional life stories on 'happiness' and are also ready to disclose their personal details for the purpose of research. I used purposive sampling technique to smoothen the (Gelman, 2010; Miles & Huberman, 2013) process of comparisons between gender and across social groups. This selection of sampling involves analysis and interpretation of data in order to explain happiness in diverse social group carries multiple marital statuses. All selected individuals are distributed in five groups according to their marital statuses and the voice of each individual is compared to all other individuals in order to recognize the underlying phenomenon. However, the comparison on the basis of gender and social identity (e.g., women vs men and their happiness regarding duration of marriage or divorce for 10 years) guided the analysis of study from richness of data.

These research strategies placed me at advantageous position to compare thick descriptions of informants in their numerous domains of lives within and between groups as well as across genders, Gove (1972) gender differences may exist in the happiness and subjective well-being of diverse range of individuals having different marital status. Life histories have been conducted of those informants who have five to ten years duration in certain marital status and are currently living in that particular status at the time of interview. Therefore, all those informants are part of research process that have been married, divorced, remarried, separated and widowed for past five to ten years. The purpose of taking this time period is to deeply explore their experiences of happiness over a period of time. However, semi structured interviews have been conducted as a supporting data for the point of comparison, to enrich the information and to examine the intensity of feelings shortly after certain social phenomenon has occurred and construction of experiences. It is also worth mentioning here that researcher's responsiveness towards selection of informants and data collection techniques enhance the credibility of research.

3.3. Research Tools and Applications

Life history is used as a primary tool for profound description of gendered experiences of happiness in their life chapters. Face to face interactive dialogue process in interviews was integrated to motivate informants to recollect their life time experiences and this was achieved by indirect questions with least direction from the researcher (March, 2010; Onwuegbuzie, Leech & Collins, 2012) which provides a flexible social setting to informants to open various aspects of life and its connection with happiness. Both men and women having diverse social identities and marital statuses were included in research process. I found each life history extended and deepened my understanding about gendered happiness within variety of socio-cultural contexts across dominant discourses. However, life stories were guided by McAdams (2006) model which provides insights for current research to explore, understand and describe the complex interrelationships of socio-cultural experiences and their interpretations of happiness across a range of diverse social groups. This helped to get better understanding of stories that people used to make sense of their lives as well as the social context of marital life, family, money, the workplace, community, friends along with the missing feeling after passing many years of life so far. According to Bartaux and Bartaux-Wiame (1981); Linde (1993), sociologists make use of life histories to understand and describe relationships and groups interrelationships. It comprises feelings, emotions, lifetime experiences, social interactions and relationships as well as social processes developing personal identity.

Life histories are used in their true essence by putting all important points in consideration with high care and seriousness. I used open questions with least interferences for obtaining extensive and thick explanation by the informants. The information of this type is (Finch, 1984; Flynn, 2001; Hertz, 1986) gathered through interviews to recognize and identify those social processes happen in informant's life at different time periods. This also helped to understand about their lives and themselves with relation to the past, the present and the changes they recognized during their life cycle. Therefore, narration of life experience ultimately extended my identification and understanding about the modification happened in each single social character.

I used separate interview guides for each diverse social group and conducted face to face interviews in three stages. However, semi structured interview questions were developed separately but the process of conducting the interviews was same. I thoroughly involved with literature review needed to explore some of initial concepts with the guidance of thesis supervisor and was pre-tested from one of renowned discourse analyst of my educational institution. It gives new directions and clarifies my inquiry about happiness. Secondly, the whole process of conducting phenomenological interviews focused me and my informants by telling their diverse stories with a purpose of discourse analysis. Thirdly, the final stage is the transcription of interview recordings, developing codes and generation of themes which is explained in detailed in next few pages. According Potter and Hepburn (2005, p. 282) “interviews have been used extensively in discourse analysis, but they are constructed in a novel manner”. Thus, I focus and stick with the purpose of conducting interviews for discourse analysis is acquiring diversity with consistence and regularity.

Interview with diverse informants were not performed in robotic technical manner but I dynamically involved with my informants in the discussion and stimulated variety of questions, came up with opposite opinions in dialogue process and entering in meaningful result-oriented conversation. This helped me in capturing and exploring a wide variety of meanings revolving around the construction of happiness, relative experiences and how it shapes their lived experiences. During interviews, thought provoking substantial discussion emerged new questions which increased my knowledge and understanding about gendered experiences of happiness dependent in socio-cultural contexts. I related each new interview with previous ones in order to enrich every forthcoming conversation. I combined two research strategies for meaningful collection of data and its analysis i.e., phenomenology and discourse analysis. Phenomenologists are mostly concerned with the lived experiences of individuals while discourse analyst aim to disclose or unveil reality the way it occurs.

3.4. Data Collection and Analysis: Phenomenology & Discourse

The analysis of the data is guided by both Smith’s phenomenology and Foucauldian discourse analysis which are very flexible in use and give an ample

freedom to researcher to construct their own analytical tools to best explore, describe and explain collected data. The purpose of phenomenology is to illuminate the specific lived realities of individuals which are directly and indirectly related with happiness and to get an understanding about their lives including their life paths from childhood till current life with specific focus on marriage. In this sense phenomenological interviews helped me to connect their lived experiences of life with their different life time periods. However, data collected through phenomenology gave path way to discourse analysis for locating and identifying individual experiences which are related to their happiness and gendered in nature. Both methodologies are interrelated and complementary to each other in a way that life histories collected through phenomenological interviews provide readers to get a clearer understanding of detailed life paths of individuals however, discourse analysis explains the gendered experiences of happiness which are truly embedded and rooted in various power structures of the society. The findings are comprised under themes extracted from the data, a detailed explanation of constructed themes with description of diversified standpoint from informants to present a comprehensive understanding about happiness. Raw interview data was analyzed through creation of codes and generation of themes. These findings are unique in nature with the combination of phenomenological data and discourse analysis.

3.4.1. Phenomenological Interviews

Phenomenology is a method of investigating or inquiring the meanings of our day to day experiences of our life. This method is reflection of our lived experiences. The goal of phenomenology is to describe the (Smith, 1999; Smith, 2005) universal structures of subjective nature of the world and not to explain the common features of the objective world. Since this research is primarily concerned with the meanings and ideas that people use to make sense of their social world phenomenology was best suited to answer my research questions. I acquired my theoretical and methodological strength from the intellectual work of famous Canadian sociologists Dorothy Smith (1990a & 1990b). She emphasizes on the ways people understand and attach meanings to real life activities and experiences they gain from the social world in which they operate. She stresses on the need of sociological theory that gives more importance to

everyday experiences of people and specifically women and all those individuals who are in subordinate position. She is disappointed with the accepted beliefs of research in sociology which present a society that is detached from our real-life experiences. I found phenomenology the most efficient research approach in exploring individuals' construction of understanding about themselves, their relationships with the social world as well as the manifestation of the symbolic social behavior.

I used Dorothy Smith's institutional ethnography with a purpose to put "ruling relations" (Smith, 1987; Smith, 1989) at the center of phenomenological analysis for detailed discourse analysis. This is used as a tool to examine the power that is incorporated and negotiated in social relations of everyday lived experiences. In general, this type of inquiry doesn't start with strict methodological underpinnings but with an approach to discover and develop deeper understanding of the phenomena of interest that is shaped, reshaped and (re)created the meanings of social world. Therefore, common life of an individual is the preliminary point of this approach with methodological foundations of Smith to uncover how individuals' lives are exercised by the activities of their family, social relationships, social identities and social spaces which ultimately produce us and are produced by us.

I constructed my methodological foundations on Smith's view point (1977) and data was collected through interactive dialogue process. I focused mainly on accounts of individuals related to their experiences of happiness at various stages of life and tried to capture key words with an intention to expand discussion. I made myself aware with the fact throughout the interview for reflexive bracketing. It helped me to put personal perceptions aside and fully understand informants' viewpoint as a vigorous listener to fully grasp and comprehend the experiences of informants. During interviews the discussion became so meaningful that I put interview guide aside and focused only the information provided by informants because I believe and respect them as real experts on the phenomena of interest experienced in daily lives from their perspective. I put all efforts to extract meaningful data from transcribed data with the purpose to not lose the context in which specific experiences were occurred and told by informants. I faced major challenge to maintain various intricate social phenomena and the way they were experienced by informants in relation to their construction of happiness as well as

multiple connections and patterns are appeared within and across in descriptive form but in concise manner. I was blessed that I found committed and information rich informants who extensively involved in the research process. Most of the informants were completely unknown to me but I developed a very good social relationship with them after multiple interactions. I presented the voices of informants with full responsibility for research purpose and didn't manipulate the data for my own purpose.

After conducting interviews, the next step was transcription which mainly involves the transformation of recorded data in to written text which is the outcome of conversation and interaction between researcher and informant. I transcribed each interview separately so that the voice of each informant could be clear and distinguish from all other informants. This helps in narrating diversification of experiences regarding happiness of various selected informants as well as comparison across different social groups and gender. However, my approach to life history is based on naturalistic, person-centered and constructionist perspective to keenly understand the meanings of happiness in individual gendered lives with relation to larger socio-cultural context. I found that most of stories were very thought provoking, different and expressive (women are more expressive than men). Personal narratives reveal multiple and conflicting self-expressions with different voices within the same individual.

3.4.2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse is a theoretical and conceptual overview of a discussion where a particular mode in which something exists or experienced in a particular context of social practices. Individual alone doesn't produce discourses but they are created and constructed with time. Discourses are the reflections of a socio-historic practices and become the part of our lives unconsciously and we cannot identify the way it affected us through conscious efforts. Foucault (1972) states that conversation produced by individuals are fixed in some contextual norms and traditions which he calls statements. These statements are unsaid and silent philosophies and conceptual constructs about the nature of things, there are imbedded meanings behind each specific way of talking and written text. All these specific ways of communication and conversation provides a unique way of looking any phenomenon. Joseph (2015) stated that the system of

language has many interpositions and meanings of as single word. However Foucault (1972) focused on diverse perspectives which are involved in the building of discourses with the strategic of selection of meanings.

It is also important to consider that discourses are diverse in nature from one another depending on the context in which they occurred and legitimized in our day to day practices. I interacted with diverse informants who have their unique accounts which are the outcome of recognized facts in their individual gendered lives and supported with (Billig, 1997) logical and empirical evidence but may come in conflict with one another. While, I interrogated and deeply observed to select those interpretations and narratives which were factual and embodied in contextual meanings. When facts became visible to me, I found narratives of individuals constructing (Foucault, 1972) discourses are relational along with prone to conflicts, tensions and refusal. The told stories of informants are naturally produced during interactive dialogue process and was not under the social setting of examination. The voices of informants based on discourses are taken as logical, convincing and realistic about their (Hall, 1990; Potter & Wetherell, 1995) lived experiences. However, perspectives and contexts are important structural components which illuminate social practices and interactions based on conscious effort on the part of individuals because they became the part and parcel of their personality but there are underlying assumptions which needs to be exposed.

The preliminary and initial stages of discourse analysis is to understand that connotations, morals, norms and values are not created by individuals and must be considered as unit which people created during shared social practices and interactions. This means that our language, words, and meanings are not (Foucault, 2005) individualistic but are attached with collective modalities of our social lives. As Bakhtin (1984, p. 287) puts it: "A person has no internal, sovereign territory, he is wholly and on the boundary; looking inside himself, he looks into the eyes of another or with the eyes of another." It is also considered as a diverse field of study and implied various systematic investigative practices (Williams, Barclay & Schmied, 2004).

I used and implied discourse analysis for the purpose to understand meanings of systems of language rather than just reflecting the social reality. Language is the most fundamental tool used for communications in human societies. However, discourse analysis is beyond language and observes individuals' ways of constructed particular matters of life in their narratives and its relational nature. It focused on discovering the (Potter & Wetherell, 1995) rhetorical features and meanings of speech occurred in social interaction fixed in particular background. However, my interaction with wide variety of individuals guided me to understand and realize that positioning of social actors actually produces those social actions which are expected from them. However, discourses appeared and are visible in institutionalized practices which constantly produce legitimization for the continuity of social performances. In this whole process, discourses are found in the shield of power that produces knowledge which is established and legitimate in social world. I was involved discursively in analytical practices of people's narratives by moving back and forth many times to understand the effects of discourses and the way our social experiences are relative. This guides my analysis that discourses produce, reproduce and shape through culturally dominant ways of experiencing social world specifically, how the phenomenon of happiness is affected and challenged in individuals lives on the basis of their gender and contextual experiences. I have guided and directed my findings with Foucauldian discourse analysis which gives attentions to discursive practices and repositories of people's accounts and investigate the ways in which discourses constructed (Willig, 2008) socio-cultural processes, particular types of realities through knowledge production and gendered identities while maintaining institutionalized practices by strengthening social institutions of the society.

Poststructuralist approach was used for the analysis of interview data, as its main focus was on informants' experiences, understandings and perceptions of happiness. The idea of 'voice' is most important at this point; both myself as the researcher and the respondents, however, it is my responsibility (Clough & Nutbrown, 2002) that explanation and description of the data must represent the voices of the informants. It is important that the respondents' voices (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Leech, 2012) are not overshadowed by my life experiences. The term 'discourse' was

used throughout the study as Michel Foucault uses in his work. However, the data was thoroughly reviewed by back and forth (Johnson, 2014) which guided analytic practices for detailed discourse analysis.

The essence of phenomenon of interest began to emerge because data was extensively explored and viewed from various standpoints. I also arranged themes in a sequence which is familiar to me as a researcher and having meaningful connection with each other. I narrated individual's voices in its true essence from rich accounts of individuals based on their personal experiences. After transcription I put data into bigger themes already constructed through literature review for the sake of constructing interview guide. This helped me in organizing large excerpts of informants, detailed life stories and semi structured interviews in more structured forms. After this I started line by line coding of transcribed data along with writing small memos which helped me in data analysis to read and re-read collected data to understand the context in which experiences had occurred. This process of coding involved highlighting individuals' experiences by getting sense from their selection of words and phrases to expresses their feelings of happiness. The combination of two methodological tools are best in drawing conclusions by decontextualization and recontextualization. Findings of the research are presented and disseminated in the form of written document. I constructed the seven-level coding scheme which provides a road map for discourse analysis.

Coding Scheme

Level I		
Clarification and explanation of the main intention per interview transcript	How can be content in talk is normally presented and understood? How can a statement be rephrased, interpreted and altered?	Reading Interview transcripts and getting general impression Making initial notes
	What interviewee wants to present and highlight about life? What meaning and purpose is being explored?	

	What would be an adequate understanding and explanation about the social phenomena understudy for the interviewee? It may also sort out and edit initial interview notes.	
Level II Explanation of the context of the respondents with regard to their socio-cultural and historical backgrounds	What are the related background facts that might be linked the various aspects of told story in transcribed interview? Are their past backgrounds, social and cultural attributes known by the researcher might evoke other statements? Therefore, at this level happiness must be understood with the early periods of life histories and then prolong to the rest of life time experiences of diverse range of individuals.	Wherever applicable I made second more detailed notes within socio-cultural contexts of happiness across genders. This will be an entry point towards an analysis of informants under different categories.
Level III Categorization of the transcripts in accordance with the conceptual and theoretical foundations along with the research questions to analyze	What are the texts in transcripts related to the conceptual constructs and research questions? Are these texts classified under different codes according to the constructs?	Reading transcripts more carefully with the lens of phenomenological and discourse analysis. Codes was given to each text component on the basis of

various dimensions under study	This entailed towards the construction of codes parallel for phenomenological and discourse analysis to examine and creation of initial categories.	conceptual constructs and research question along with methodological imputes. Compiling sets of interpretive accounts of individuals' lived experiences and contextual realities about happiness as well as how these experiences are embedded in gendered experiences. This was done through thick descriptions provided by the informants.
Level IV Explanation of the happiness in lived experiences through phenomenology	How the dimensions of happiness can be understood through the heterogeneity of lived experiences? How different conceptual constructs, research questions, experiences and genders connect to each other as well their point of departure from the central concept happiness? This leads to the development of themes from multiple codes generated at initial stages.	Reading transcripts of interpretive accounts as per each category i.e., married, divorced, separated, widowed, and remarried. Extracting the core summary from each category as a whole as well as within and across genders.
Level V Characterization of the discourses of happiness and their socio-cultural	What can be said and constructed about discourse in each text?	Identification of multiple discourses of happiness across various contexts as well as

interpretation across a diverse range of individuals in relation to theoretical frameworks & methodological components	What are the convincing arguments, transparency and self-evidence is being presented?	culture depended experiences of individuals. Exploration of dominate socio-cultural contextual experiences and their construction of happiness. Description and explanation of various discourses of happiness as well as diverse gendered experiences.
Level VI Refining and explanation of categories of interpretation in accordance to themes based on discourses	What can be said about the relevancy of each conceptual construct, its relation with theoretical framework and research questions?	Identification, explanation and description of the noteworthiness of the texts in accordance with happiness. Identification and explanation of the significance of each conceptual construct in relation to the discourses understudy Refining the structures of discourses by unifying critical construct and eliminating others.
Level VII Construction of Foucauldian discourse analysis in relation to research questions and theoretical perspectives	What can be concluded about the significance of each construct and research questions?	Refining and development of theoretical model from the development of themes extracting from the individuals' narratives.

What are the relationships between narratives with theory?	This leads to analytical generalization i.e., how chosen and selected informants fit in general constructs as well as generate believable explanations.
How researcher will think theoretically at micro-macro perspectives by persistently checking and rechecking towards the construction of a solid foundation in accordance with theory?	
This is the final stage of emergence of themes in integrated and specified manner.	

Table 1: Coding Scheme

After conducting this seven level coding scheme I divided discourse analysis in three stages to find social and normative patterns surrounding the phenomenon of happiness. Firstly, I started with exposing of variations, irregularities and conflicts in the narratives of each individual by looking separately different stages of life and slowly narrowing down this process towards their social identities. Secondly, I was involved in the process of identification of consistent customary practices and cultural representations of diverse accounts of individuals (Potter & Wetherell, 1995) with relation to their gender and social identity. This helped me in locating iterative utterances from phenomenological data as well as tracing elucidations and claims of varied informants. Finally, I started cross-examining of Foucauldian 'statements' produced during conversation and constitutive in established institutionalized practices. This whole process was circular and generated from phenomenological data which

illuminated the diverse experiences of individuals and guided discourse analysis. The codes and themes for discourse analysis was developed with the help of informants' excerpts, some examples are given below in the table.

Themes from Individuals' Narratives

Discourses Analysis

Individuals' Extracts	Codes	Themes
<i>I want to see my daughters happily married and settled in well reputed families and it is my ultimate happiness. (man informant)</i>	Contextual Embodiment	Elucidating Happiness: Personification
<i>I always spend my life other than defined gender roles but now I feel happiness is always lies at the heart of nature. (woman informant)</i>		
<i>Before marriage I was afraid of marital life responsibilities which snatch the personal freedom of a man. I am happy because my bachelor life liberty is with me. (man informant)</i>	Disillusionment & Truth coincides phenomenon	Marriage: Debunking Myths and Realities
<i>The reality of marriage becomes clear when evaluation starts and two people start living together but when logic and thinking come in our relationship...unhappiness started. (woman informant)</i>		
<i>He is only a bedroom husband; shows his respect and care in private. (woman informant)</i>	Defined patterns	Embedded in Intimate Sphere: Gendered Happiness
<i>My wife is a working woman but I never perform any household chores because I strongly believe it is her domain. (man informant)</i>		

<i>The external scars and miseries are disappeared with the passage of time. But the internal deep down feeling renew whenever somebody asks about my past life. (woman informant)</i> <i>I really miss my kids and wife but my ego is more than anything for me. (man informant)</i>	Manifestations	Non-conformists: Customary Odyssey
<i>I don't want handsome husband I want rich husband who has lot of money and I can spend my life with all luxuries of life. Life cannot be spent without money and only love is not enough. If money is there everything around you is happy. (woman informant)</i> <i>Money is everything and if you don't have money even your own parents are not yours. Money can bring anything in your life and Money is everything for me. I can marry many times with money because women only see money in the hands of a man. (Man informant)</i>	Significance	Money: The Ultimate Reality
<i>I always felt below human level. I daily kill my ego and self-esteem to make me agree to work for past 14 years. (woman informant)</i> <i>My workplace is a source of happiness and passion for me. My job is like a chocolate cake with cherry on the top. (man informant)</i>	Relative practices & Decisiveness	Workplace: A Tight Spot
<i>I feel happy in my friends' circle but after having kids it becomes difficult for me to manage time for my social community. (man informant)</i>	Detachment	Friends and Happiness: A Dilemma

I had very few friends in my college and after my marriage my home matters forced me to not stay in touch with my friends. I stopped interacting with my friends. (woman informant)

I will marry in mid 20s and give birth to kids. I want to live a fullest life and my husband will be the same I have right now. (woman informant)

Absence

Ideal Life: Missing
Dots of Happiness

I want to be born in rich highly qualified upper-class family. I want to marry once with a loyal and sincere girl. I want to excel more in academic, economic and professional life. (man informant)

The entire process of discourse analysis was deeply dependent on the narratives and centered on each individual who is not autonomous, self-determining and constant. Individual narratives are the social performances in diverse discourses. While putting individuals at the center, analytic practices in discourse largely includes; constructing research questions, identification and willingness of individuals, data collection, transcription of stories, understanding and interpretation of each story embedded in discourses, coding and generation of themes for writing final text. However, discourse analysis takes me to a level where the purpose of my research clearly started revealing that ‘happiness’ which is under researched area in sociology and mainly considered as an internal phenomenon to individual (Diener et al., 2010; Seligman, 2011) but discourse analysis guided my research in two-fold manner. Firstly, Coyle (2000); Willig (2008) it relocated the psychological underpinnings about phenomenon of happiness and repositioned it on contextually related socio-cultural processes and secondly, it placed happiness as socially and historically constructed experiences in diverse gendered lives.

My positionality and contextual experiences are involved during discourse analysis and I reconstruct my position in diverse discourses. Discourses that are present

in personal narratives can be distinguished from interpretations, diverse and conflicting viewpoints of single individual which are visible in the written texts of recorded data gathered during interviews (Foucault, 1972, p. 65; Parker, 1992, p. 13). Interviews are the primary tool to collect accounts of individuals and I took an active part playing my role as researcher in each interview with a purpose (Wetherell & Potter, 1988) to learn that being the part of shared socio-cultural settings, how informants revealed their daily life practices. I was proactively involved in interview process because informants' recollections, spoken lexes are not merely representing their real-life behaviors but there is a broad social system in which acts of speech and dialogue is formed.

3.5. My Life Reflections

This section is written with an aim to trace and locate my own experiences of happiness in multiple aspects and at different stages of life to relate it with the construction of happiness narrated by informants belonging to various social groups having unique life experiences. My quest to explore gendered experiences of happiness embedded in varied discourses was based on long intellectual journey starting from selection of a research problem, choice of theoretical and methodological underpinnings, my own life reflections along with social interaction with diverse social groups of men and women. This whole process was spread over many years to pursue doctoral degree in a country where female education is not much desirable and investable endeavor. My own life is the embodiment of various discourses which are social, cultural, religious and traditional in nature. I identified many experiences that are the result of multiple social and cultural processes but I am still in the pursuit of recognizing its effects on my life. I also reached at conclusion that there is a relationship between discourses and social practices. There are large number of dominant gender practices in my life which are taken for granted and institutionalized in my daily life practices. These daily life practices took me to broader level to explore dominant discourses present at institutional social practices and regulated by power structure. It increased my eagerness and curiosity to illuminate reflections of power, rooted in dominant discourses may encountered with confrontation and conflict. This further enlarged the areas of inquires towards concealed discourses, rejection of certain discourses and construction of counter discourses. This form of inquiry may also

provide strategies to investigate the process of back and forth of power and resistance between informants and their socio-cultural contexts. This whole process is highly situated in my subjectivities as a researcher that are the part of my personality and product of gendered socialization.

While reporting the narratives of my participants in this research I feel the responsibility to reveal my personal journey of happiness. The narration of my own life experiences aims to locate myself in the larger research process and quest to identify my position in relation with my informants. I have unveiled my personal experiences with an intention to understand my own life with two-fold lens of gender and discourse to get deeper knowledge about myself and of individuals included in the research process. I am the only child of my parents and was born after one year of my parents' marriage. My birth was welcomed by my parents but sweets weren't distributed because I was the female child. After my birth my mother delivered two dead baby boys and became unable to give birth to baby again due to multiple C- sections. I was young and was fully unaware of the miseries of my parents. Both my parents were working and I spent most of my childhood in joint family system. I started my early education at the age of three years because my grandmother took care of me and she had a big social circle. Therefore, my mother decided to get my admission in Montessori and my grandfather gave me pick and drop services. My mother used to leave house very early in the morning for her workplace being subject specialist of science subjects in high school. My aunty (father's sister) was living with us after marriage due to her superstitious health problems made me ready for school. When I came back from school my mother was not present because her school was away from our house and she used public transport. When my mother came back home, she had to do all household chores of joint family because all women left the house for social recreation. Along with household chores, she also gave me some time for my homework but I think it was very short time for my education and interaction with her. Now I feel a sense of dissatisfaction due to lack of interaction with my parents in childhood because my mother was always busy at home and her workplace. My father also had to manage economic resources of large joint family comprised of parents, married and unmarried siblings. My grandmother used to pressurize my father for remarriage but he never

agreed and showed his contentment for being the father of only child. He was of the view if he will remarry the life of his daughter will be spoiled.

Even though I was loved by my father at all stages of my life and my mother was very strict and I never had this feeling of being the only child of my parents. I was socialized under strict socio-cultural environment enforced by my mother and never allowed me to break my defined boundaries. At certain age I started covering my head and my interaction with male member of the family was also forbidden. My father loved me but I always felt strict gaze which reminded me of roles and activities within defined gender roles. I belong to middle class family but I never felt any lack of daily life things in my life and all my wishes came true having this famous proverb at center of my life "*Khelao sonay ka niwala aur deakho sheer ke ankh se*" (provide good food but always keep strict eye).

When I started understanding people's expressions and I came to know the word *bechari* (miserable) is completely attached with me because I am the only child of my parents with no brother and my parents are most vulnerable people on earth having no male child. Whenever I attended any social gathering in and outside family, I heard these sentences *haye bechari aikeli hai* (she is miserable and alone) but I was not old enough to understand the seriousness of this phrase and I used to live my life carefree under the love of my parents. But I felt unhappiness in my mother's life because she was continuously regretted on the negligence of doctors in her medical treatment and the death of my two brothers at the time of delivery. I argued with her that I am not important for her but she always replied that I am the most important person in her life but she has missing feelings of sons in her life. My father was more composed or maybe due to strict cultural context didn't express his feelings about death of his sons and having no baby boys.

I was mostly busy in my studies and never forced by my parents on selection of subjects. I was free to choose subjects of my own choice and till my graduation I mostly chose subjects according to my friends' circle. But after graduation I was completely fed up with natural sciences and I felt that my interest is more directed towards social sciences. I decided to do masters in development studies and chose one of expensive

and ultra-modern private university of Islamabad. I didn't care about the social environment of the university because I mostly visited that university along with one of my cousins. She was working in social sector and having this knowledge that this educational institution is offering quality education. On the first day of my university, I was accompanied by my father and when he saw the environment of university and the fact that it was offering co-education, he became so conscious for the next two years I became under strict surveillance of my father who used to drop me and waited for me three hours in the car and took me back as soon as my classes were finished.

I enjoyed the company of my father who cutoff all his activities and only focused on me. During this time, I became very close to my father and I felt a very different relationship with him like a friend. I decided to be with my father in all thick and thin of our lives because being traditional in his orientation, he did not deny my decision of taking admission in Co-education University. I also realized that my father spent his whole life for me and always wanted to see me best. After completing my masters, I asked my father to work in social sector. Again, my father fulfilled my wish being against working in NGO sector. He allowed me to work in those social sector organizations where he had some friends for my surveillance. I worked in social sector for three years and explored many things about society. I found myself polished as a social scientist being part of diverse international organizations but my mother was continuously showing her reservation towards my work in mix culture. She wanted me to pursue my career as a college lecturer, the most respectable job considered for girls in our society and finally I took admission in MS sociology. My father allowed me to get higher education and selected a Female University for me in which one of his old professional colleagues was head of the department.

I started thinking critically about socio-cultural experiences that I had faced throughout my life. I found multiple sociological viewpoints explaining my experiences in the larger social structure of the society. After being exposed to social theory, I started taking interest in research and theoretical underpinnings of social system. When I was about to end my second semester of MS Sociology, I got to know that I am going to marry a person completely unknown to me. But completely having eastern orientation and even pursuing my MS degree I wasn't have any intentions to see and

know the details about my future husband because my cultural socialization was stronger than my empowerment through education. My parents fulfilled all my demands even beyond their capacity and they were very happy with me because I accepted their decision to marry and didn't ask about my future husband being an eastern daughter. I feel they reared me with the intentions and internalized me those norms and values which had prepared me to perform the ultimate role as a wife.

I remember I was on summer vacations when my mother told me that a family is coming for my proposal from Faisalabad and the boy is highly qualified, belongs to noble family, having strong social and economic background and working in reputed government sector organization. My father took the sole decision of my marriage and the family came and my proposal was finalized on that very day and I got engaged because all the matters about my marriage were already decided between my father and my husband's family. The entire ceremony was strictly segregated as per wish of my father and we both didn't see each other. I only met my sister in law (husband's sister) and one of my elder brothers in law (husband's brother). Even my mother didn't meet my husband before the day of marriage and this is one of the appealing factors for my husband that he got married in such a patriarchal family where women are not involved in decision making of serious life issues.

I continued my studies and after 8 months of my engagement I got married within same caste but out of family with a man to whom I first time met after *nikkah*. Some of my father's relatives attended my marriage sincerely and some of them came to see my in laws family and husband where my father gave my proposal. When I saw my *barrat*, I was also surprised because my husband's family was completely having rural orientation and wearing traditional Punjabi dresses (*Dhoti*) and the women were typically villagers. My father's family completely disliked them due to their rural orientation and started stigmatizing my father that he rejected all potential proposals of the family and chose this family for his only daughter. I was also not satisfied with my husband family but I was quite and moved to my husband's house in Islamabad. Next day, I reached at my husband's village near Jaranwala (name of a city in Punjab, Pakistan), after seven hours of drive and to my sheer surprise I saw first time in my life the original and real village life. My husband's mother had not come on the *barrat*

because it was the common social practice of the high caste people of the area that mother in law does not go on to take her daughter in law but daughter in law comes by herself to meet mother in law. I was completely unaware of the social environment and lot of women gathered around me. Everybody welcomed me but whole environment was completely strange for me. In this new environment, I only felt one person who became my shadow. He told me how to behave and also translated native language for me that was my husband. I remember when native women came to see me as a bride and I stood for them in respect but my mother in law forbade me to stand for low caste women, it was very strange for me. My husband's role was so supportive, loving and caring that even having strong authoritative cultural orientation, he became protective and thick shadow which was always there for me to start a married life in new cultural orientation. My own compromising personality helped me to become the part of new social setting but I never denied the role of my husband in our married life. He told me some of the clear objective of our married life in which the role of my mother in law was at the top because my father in law had died before our marriage but I do accept this reality that my husband used to respect and care for my parents like his own mother and sometimes even more than his own family. I spent fifteen days in that cultural environment and got much love and respect on being educated girl because my husband gave me an ultimate worth. We started our life in nuclear family system and I started going to my university to complete my studies and my husband joined his office. After one year, I was blessed with baby girl and everybody in our family was completely dissatisfied because everyone was expecting baby boy. My mother in law showed strong disapproval and said they feel like someone died in the village. I felt a feeling of unhappiness which seized me for some time. But this is also the fact that she loved my daughter more than all her granddaughters. On the birth of my daughter my husband was shocked because he was afraid of his strict socio-cultural context of having a baby girl. He is afraid of facing social stigma from people of his native town and for the first time I felt 'culturally disable' to not fit in mainstream cultural notion.

I still remember my second pregnancy it was an ultimate examination of my life that I had to pass at any cost by giving birth to a son. I was not working at that time and throughout the day I recited multiple Quranic verses and got amulet to wear. My mother

used to take care of my daughter because everybody wanted me to completely involve in prayer for boy. I went to Bari Imam shrine for seven consecutive Thursdays to lighten up *deyee* (lightup candles). After two and half years I was blessed with baby boy and both families distributed sweets in their respective families. I passed the toughest exam of my life and I took a breath of satisfaction after nine months of social pressure but now while narrating my own experiences of happiness, I feel it was not the social pressure which was built up after the birth of my daughter but it was pressure from my childhood having this notion of *bechari* and I also wanted to have baby boy to remove the stigma of being *bechari*. That moment was the utmost happiness when I gave birth to my son and the moment, I took him in my arms. My father even started weeping in hospital when he came to know that his grandson had been born. My mother in law died after two months of my son's birth and it was the great loss for our family but it was also satisfaction that she has seen her grandson before her death.

After three years of my marriage, I felt now my life will run smoothly but it is not true because life is very complex phenomena knitted with multiple responsibilities. My father has many big dreams and he wanted me to continue my education and also pursue career. But my husband's life aspirations are different and he wants me to give full time to house and kids. I discussed with him and after huge debate he agreed for the sake of my father with certain conditions. There are number of attractive reasons for this approval out of which the most appealing was I chose an Islamic university which has female only environment because he never wanted me to pursue my career in mix culture professions. He also told me that he has allowed me only to teach and get engaged in research activities and never allowed to accept any administrative post in my career.

After four year of my marriage, I got selected as a lecturer in university and it was also pride for me because I was the student of the same department where I started my first formal professional career. The initial two years were learning for me along with managing my house and kids because both of them were very young but my parents are complete blessing for me. I constructed my own house next to my parent's house after one year of our marriage because my mother got two consecutive heart attacks and my mother in law asked us to live with them because they are alone and

needed care. After that we started living next to my parent's house, my life became very easy because this was also the reason, I think to start my career along with kids who are taken care by my parents.

This time became the most hectic, unsatisfied and full of multiple burdens for me. I met pregnancy related health issues and gave birth to dead baby boy along with three consecutive miscarriages. I became completely hopeless and I decided to quit my job and studies because I had developed this feeling that these two things are the main culprit to affect my happiness because before this job, I given birth to two healthy babies without any complications. This time was very hard and I developed negative feelings from everybody and felt that nobody was there to support and help me because my husband was completely busy in his professional activities and was mostly out of city or country for his job commitments and this created number of misunderstanding in me.

My official colleagues, my research supervisor who was also my boss and my friends all helped me and supported me in meeting official commitments and other life challenges. Most important of all my husband and my parents supported me a lot during all this time and ignored rude and harsh behavior with them but it is also the true that a mother with the little kids never struck into long term unhappy feeling. I have to move forward in life for them but this was the deciding moment in my doctorate degree to choose happiness as my research topic. I started analyzing my life critically and locating happy and unhappy moments. I am free to spent my life but within the defined boundaries constructed by my husband because I am socialized to be subordinate which helps me to stay satisfied.

There are different questions which came to my mind that what are the factors of successful happy life in which a woman having kids, pursuing their careers, bearing multiple workloads but still spending happy married lives. I wanted to uncover their day to day lived experiences and struggle to keep their marriage safe and intact. Being a married woman with kids I feel that decision of divorce and separation is difficult for a woman for number of social and personal reasons and this made me to explore the factors that compel and lead them towards broken marriages which are always related

with social stigma and taboo to create dissatisfaction in any person's life. I also came across with many well settled professional women who became source of inspiration for me but every time when I discussed their achievements with my friends or colleagues, they spontaneously replied what are the benefits of these achievements when she is divorced or living separated from her husband. These statements hit my mind that these are societal remarks on their lives or they are their lived experiences. How they feel about their lives themselves and how they relate failure in one aspect of their life with all other achievements of life. This also directed me towards the core phenomena of interest that how they construct their interpretations of happiness while confronting on several grounds of life. These all questions took me to another quest to inquire the lives of those women who have been remarried and after having the experience of married life what aspects compelled them to re-enter in this institution. Whether this is their own choice or some other forces enforced them to remarry. I also added the category of widows in the research who are considered sympathetic in the eye of society and I wanted to know their sources of happiness in this status and whether they are agreed or disagreed to remarry.

I also thought about my life carefully and reached on the conclusion that after marriage, we both are constantly burdened with personal, professional, academic growth and kids' responsibilities till now. I am mostly busy in developing my academic career and my husband is busy in his professional development along with his own studies. We both completed our MS degrees after marriage and started understanding each other. I started adopting the cultural values of my in laws, having babies and my professional career along with my doctorate degree. I found that I am overburdened with responsibilities after marriage and having kids but our happiness as a couple is attached with kids and their future. We consciously and unconsciously stopped thinking about our own aspirations of happiness. I feel after marriage we never think of our own happiness in terms of recreation and completely left out from our own social circles because we are busier in meeting multiple social standards to save and accumulate money and material assets for our kids and our kids should be the successful members of the society and must get quality education from top educational institutions of the society. I always play subordinate role in this whole scenario to lead my marriage

successful and happy. We only spend leisure time and recreation for the sake of our kids. This recreation trips often make us tired because our mind is always occupied with so many things and we never enjoy. I found all these social and economic aspects of our life overburden and make us unhappy. After having all these feeling made me convince to explore how women feel their happiness at different stages of life and this was also the misconception in my mind that happiness of women is affected due to their gender and defined roles in society. When I discussed it with my husband, he has numerous reasons for his construction of happiness which are entirely different from me. He is also facing number of gender based experiences even enjoying patriarchal authority, he doesn't consider himself to enjoy all privileges of life. He also narrated miscellaneous experiences of men around him who are vulnerable in their lives in larger social structure while playing their roles. I also discussed to get opinion from my father who is very close to me about the phenomena of happiness situated in the complexities of life specifically in married life of a man. He comes up with a different view that to make marriage happy and successful, the role of man is more responsive and leading being in authority in husband wife relationship. This also put me in more curiosity to unveil life experiences of men living in various marital statuses and interpret and construct their happiness in larger society. My family allowed me to do research on proposed topic with a condition that a male member will always accompany me during conducting interviews from men informants.

3.6. (Re) locating Positionalities: Reflexive Inquiry

My own life experiences and the entire interview process with the informants in this study depict that social perceptions, cultural context and interactions were subjective and shaped our identities. It also influenced field work which has profound effect on the interpretation and analysis of research findings. The qualitative research has many complexities due to the nature of research process and its rationale is to identify hidden realities through narrations of informants' voices. It creates power relations between researcher and informants whilst may produce some reservations which should be identified for establishing rigorous research and also (re)locate the shifting identities of the researcher in fieldwork. Therefore, the research process is

constantly shaped and reshaped with change in social setting, cultural orientation, with every new informant and their gender.

Many previous research scholars, Archibald and Crnkovich (1995); Couture, Zaidi, and Maticka-Tyndale, (2012); Crean (2018), Drake (2010); Doucet (2008); England (1994); Galam (2015); Hartsock, (1987); Harding (1991), Haraway (1991); Lawson (1995); McDowell (1992a); Pratt and Hanson (1995); Rose (1997) have argued that relationship between researcher and informants influenced how knowledge is interpreted and represented in research writings. They also claim that production of knowledge through this process is situated in complex social structures and is shaped by the positionality of the researcher. My position in the entire research process was based on my gender, marital status, research student and working woman. Being reflexive and role of reflexivity is one of the critical areas of concern in qualitative field research. Number of social scientists have discussed the importance of positionality and reflexivity in research practices. They define reflexivity as a mechanism to examine the impact of researcher's behavior on the study (Johnson & Duberley, 2003; Taylor, 2011) also refers that researcher must be aware of his/her role in research process (Unluer, 2012) and it also determines the position of researcher throughout research (Ritchie et al., 2009).

The conceptual construction and operational definition of reflexivity along with positionality stresses the researcher to keep away from biasness which is the outcome of socialization and holding certain social identity. According to Chavez (2008) and Trowler (2011), positionality is defined as researcher's social, cultural and subjective positions that affect the research process in following major research dimensions like the construction of research questions, relationship between researcher and the researched, access to information, interpretations based on empirical evidence, appropriate platforms for research dissemination and the possibility how their findings will be taken into consideration by researchers and policy makers. Nast (1994) defined the positionality of researcher as a state of "betweenness", Brown (2012) where individual interaction is dynamic and an ever-changing phenomenon. Most of feminist scholars Chereni (2014); Haraway (1988); Hurd (1998); Jensen (2012); Milligan (2016), Morawski (1994) rejected the scientific objectivity of research to make

unbiased research findings because it presupposed that absolute truth is present in the world and emphasized that our knowledge about the social world is situated in the context.

I also engaged in inquiring personal, social, cultural, economic, academic and professional aspects of my life the way (Leszczynski & Elwood, 2015; Naples, 2003; Smith, 1987; Wasserfall, 1997) places reflexivity at the heart of research. Reflexivity is not only widely accepted but must be taken into strong consideration throughout the research practices. I also incorporated feminist concept of reflexivity in research which helped me to cope the challenges and empowered me to disclose my own subjectivities. I faced many challenges during my research work regarding identification of potential informants, their willingness, availability, commitment for multiple interactions and ethical concerns. Majority of the interviews were conducted at informants' workplaces and at their homes except the interview of a widow woman at my home but some of the men informants also came to my house for interviews. However, it was very challenging to identify both men and women belongs to separated marital status because couples do not get divorce and are living in marital status but having no social and physical interaction with each other. I identified some of the women with the help of my social circle and friends but they were not admitting that they are living in separation and told that their husbands are abroad and they are living with their parents for some of personal reasons for shorter period of time. It made situation difficult and took much time to identify women living in separated status. However, men who are living in separation with their first wives are mostly remarried and not included in separated category. Another challenge was to find divorced men because they are married immediately after the failure of previous marriage.

I felt discomfort when few men informants refused to share some of their very personal experiences with me on the basis of my identity as a "woman". They agreed to share this information only with male member of my family. I agreed to provide them a comfort zone for narrating their experiences to enhance the field of knowledge. This particular experience is the true example of strains, oppositions, power discrepancies and limited my role as a researcher. I also came to know that "our interrogation, revelations, and vulnerabilities in a feminists' praxis generate intriguing insights and

creations” (Villenas, 2000, p. 76). I also made an important deliberation about the social identities of informants irrespective of their gender, I never dared to address any individual as divorced and separated during interviews because being the part of traditional societies these identities are taboos which may produce embracement and feeling of disgrace for informants. I was involved with diverse social identities of informants and confined my role as impartial and neutral. I also did not pollute my interactions and thought process during interview and interpretation of study findings with informants’ having socially undesirable identities such as divorced and separated along with remarried who faced stigmatization on pervious marital failure. I put positive intentions to save my final text free from my childhood socialization and internalization of cultural patterns. While growing up as a traditional girl, I got this opportunity to explore and analyze about intricate social and cultural traditions and to assess their implications for the construction of happiness for both genders. I positioned myself unprejudiced with those men/women who are divorced, remarried and separated while conducting interviews and made free myself from preconceived perceptions of society about these martial statuses. I was continuously inquiring about my identity throughout the interview process as well as during data interpretation and analysis stage for objectivity of research. As a traditional woman covering my head and body with a *chadder* (big piece of cloth) as my family norm, I am more respectfully welcomed by men informants but I was less welcomed by some of the highly educated professional women who took me an ordinary woman in initial meetings.

The relationship of trust was most crucial with these informants to gain access to information about personal experiences and to discuss sensitive issues openly. I deliberately gave space to informants to initiate discussion by giving overview of my research and giving them an impression that I am fully involved in the interview process as a listener to get deeper knowledge on the phenomenon under study. Therefore, it is needed to develop a trustable relationship between informants and researcher to minimize disruption due to presence of researcher and it is also important to establish sufficient distance between the researcher and the informants to get meaning understanding of the observations (Hecht & Stephens, 2014; Leszczynski & Elwood, 2015; Ricker, 2017; Subedi, 2007). I developed a strategy from my first interview till

last, I started interview with childhood memories of the informants which helped me to generate a comfort level with all informants irrespective of gender. I found it was helpful in developing meaningful relationship with informants to investigate phenomenon in more interactive manner. I used “childhood memories” as an entry point in the lives of informants to freely talk about their happy moments of early life which also helped me during data interpretation to get meaningful connections from their told narratives. This entry point was one of the vital stages of interviews to have ample time to develop an understanding and rapport with them as Miller and Tewksbury (2001; p. 55) used the term “establishing rapport” define as being trusted, having comfortable time with them while participants freely share their lives.

It is very important for phenomenological and qualitative researcher to look at social world with the perspective of their informants rather a ‘smash and grab’ interview (Liamputtong, 2007) only focusing on getting information from them without taking true interest in the lives of participants. I extended this level of trust to share written scripts with informants and provided them option to read or change their narratives. I did this with a believe that it is an ethical concern to share power relations between me and informants. I found my positionality as insider/outsider among various social groups and across gender is not static but is fluid which provides me an opportunity to get full access to information. But it is also true that with all informants, I positioned myself as a doctoral candidate who is only a seeker of information wholly dependent upon their narrations on phenomenon of interest.

I used life history approach as a primary tool to unpack multifaceted realities of individuals’ lives to deeply inquire about my own experiences of life and disclosed my subjectivities embodied in “self” which shaped the research process. This understanding empowered me to decide about my positionalities during field research and interpreting the accounts of myself and of informants. I observed and felt that it is difficult to narrate lived experiences in words specifically related to happiness, the way we felt in our daily lives. My academic aspiration to choose sociology and marriage are two important events of my life that developed this curiosity to explore whether my social experiences are “distinct” from other individuals. I wanted to know about those social elements which actually create these differences or feeling of difference in social

experiences. How and why gender, marital status, social and economic background, academic qualification and professional life; construct, deconstruct and reconstruct our experiences of life. How all these dimensions actually entangled various complexities of life in a fixed pattern where some individuals are in the state of constant obedience and some are in the state of disobedience to larger social and cultural processes? I am also intended to explore “distinctiveness” that is embedded in gendered experiences in relation to happiness. This curiosity also directed me to unveil how those experiences of happiness are related to the variety of marital statuses attached with individuals. Because marriage is one of the most important and fundamental institutions of traditional eastern societies which is socially, culturally, religiously and publicly recognized relationship and is considered mandatory for the survival and existence of the societies. Marriage is a socio-historic practice which makes family that is the basic unit of societies. My own life manifestations developed certain mental constructs about the institution of marriage and made me curious to find out the relative experiences of diverse social groups such as married, divorced, remarried, separated and widow.

The major challenge for me was to position myself in entire research as a researcher rather my own identity as a married woman. I narrated my own life experiences to identify my reflexive position in multiple diverse social groups because I was confronted with various questions that how my identity as a married woman will shape the overall research process. There was a constant battle in my mind to place myself in neutral and impartial position which will not affect research process because (Reason, 2006; Ritchie et al., 2009; Stewart & Rigg, 2011) the issue of reflexivity and positionality becomes much complex due to shifting identities. Researchers must start research before having an awareness and recognition of their social normative patterns along with prejudices which are embedded in their practices and epistemological notions (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010; Gadamer, 1975; Grieves, 2010; Mathner & Doucet, 1997). According to Nixon, Walker and Clough (2003); Olesen (2011), we have certain biographies that are the outcomes of our association with particular communities which formed our identities. This process of formation of identities is subjective in nature and requires more careful reflexive approach in research. We

should start with standpoint social practices and voices of researcher and the informants.

I continuously made efforts to keep myself aside as a researcher with an intention that my identity as a woman may not affect research findings of insider/outsider categories. However, research scholars such as Nast (1994, p.57) argues that researcher never be an 'insider' and 'outsider' in absolute sense. Butler (1990) conception of performativity is also helpful in developing and practicing reflexive approaches in research. I took the idea of her deconstruction of performance in interviews to inquire about gendered lives which are more stable in their own circles and my gender as a woman might affect my social interaction with diverse social actors on the basis of their social identities specifically as men and women. It also engaged me in a process where I questioned myself how I might have perceived the social world if I has been a man or if I am a woman having marital status other than my "married identity", how I take, perceive and react to particular phenomenon under study. I questioned myself after each interview that how I felt about informants lived experiences during interviews and interpreting their narratives. Therefore, this self-questioning guided me to involve in the process of deconstruction of self at all stages of research which not only involve dislocating hegemonic identities to produce new areas of investigation and adopted different strategies for all informants. I consciously disentangled my life reflections and saw their prism of life with their unique perspectives and specific lens of gender. I believe that hegemony is not only present in grand social structures but also lies in the "normal" marital status such as married defined by power structures and all other marital statuses are defined as "abnormal". These grand structures produce knowledge which is situated, dependent and fixed on fulfilling conditions of power relations to get happiness. Drawing upon the theoretical and conceptual viewpoints of post structuralism, the name of Michel Foucault is very influential in developing key methodological instruments to get insights for critical reflexivity particularly in discourse analysis because discourse is sometimes beyond the boundaries of language. It has deep and philosophical understandings to recognize various socio-historic practices, the role of researcher is critical never to be apart and distance from the researched. Lawson (2007, p. 41-42) defines discourse as "dominant

knowledge systems comprised of meanings, institutional contexts, and individual as well as collective practices that exercised authority and power over subjects and other knowledge systems.” On the same lines research scholars such as Serrant-Green (2002) and Al-Natour (2011) emphasized the relative position of researcher is not fixed and constantly changing however, Dwyer and Buckle (2009) stated that there is a dialectical relationship between the subject and the object. While Curato (2010) argued that the positionalities of the researcher being insider and outsider is decided in relation to a particular person or context.

It was difficult for me to narrate my positionality in precise manner because I grew up and got married in traditional Pakistani society in which confirming to the authority of men is the most basic value of the family. I was never allowed or permitted to take individual decisions and I learned to perform collective actions for the benefits of the family. Being a highly qualified professional woman belonging to conservative family and managing married life with kids, it was multitasking and challenging for me to pursue doctoral research based on diverse gendered social groups which compelled me to negotiate with my family and research informants. I realized that my positionality is multidimensional and has multiple overlapping layers. It was difficult decision for me to choose from which aspects of my life I would engage myself in research process either my identity of a subordinate woman or my higher educational profile of a working woman. I concluded with this realization of having no choice to choose between either identity. I became flexible and unbiased towards many faces of reality through empirical evidence and learned that there is no single truth about the same phenomenon. This point is the moment of utmost satisfaction for me to get this realization and contribute knowledge as a researcher in sociological discipline particularly and for society generally. I confess that my whole research is based on feminist methodological tools, stand point phenomenology and post structuralism philosophical foundations but I am a conformist traditional woman and not feminist in my orientation. It is possible that my observations and interpretations on the narratives of research participants may depict biasness from the point of view of reader but I focused to be fair and open-minded in my research practices. However, at this point the

reason to inform readers about myself and entire research process is to make my final text impartial and unbiased.

3.7. Shifting Identities as Insider/outsider: Women Informants

A researcher plays vital role and the positionality of the researcher is very demanding and challenging process in true exploration of the phenomenon under study. I faced many challenges to locate my positionality as insider/outside in diverse social groups of women. I identified myself as an insider on the basis of my shared gender with all women categories. I believed the process of research should be impartial and neutral and to achieve this objective, I limited myself within insider/outsider binary to maintain fairness of the research. I confined myself insider with women having married status and outsider with all other women having diverse marital statuses. This was a huge challenge for me to remain static in single identity because I came across multiple shared contextual experiences with all women which made my positionality fluid and dynamic in entire research process. I was not just presenting the voices of women but my aim is to illustrate the socio-cultural contextual experiences on the basis of gender in larger discourses which are inquired for the purpose of research. I was cognizant about my capabilities and social skills to comprehend the voices of informants and interpret them in their true meanings because of shared context and culture. I also put emphasis on gestures, body language, pauses, incomplete sentences, avoidance to certain issues and penetration to some of very private matters which may cause uneasiness and awkward situation for informants. I was confronted with the issue of power as a researcher while exploring other people's lives as an insider and outsider. I chose to be (Pillow, 2003) reflexive in an attempt to investigate the power embedded in my research and to strive to eliminate it.

According to Breen (2007), I am insider in married group because I shared same social group and outsider in all other women on the basis of difference in marital status by maintaining the element of neutrality and objectivity to separate myself from research informants (Fonow & Cook, 1991). I found insider perspective helpful for number of reason due to our shared social identity to openly involved in detailed discussions on their life experiences (Asselin, 2003). I fully involved in natural social

interaction which didn't put myself and informants in artificial setting of interaction (Adler & Adler, 1994; Labaree, 2002), and developed familiarity between me and informants on the basis of our marital status which helped me to endorse production of knowledge within its context (Mullings, 1999; Taylor, 2011).

However, the dichotomy of insider/outsider is not real in its practical usage because it attempts to congeal positionalities and assumes at the part of researcher to be fixed in one position. While this distinction of researcher identifies either insider or outsider is very complex and is only emanated because researcher is also grounded with many unique experiences of his/her life which is the outcome of various interacting social and cultural processes. This entire process of shifting positionalities is an important element of self-representation in the research for engaging my identity in more shared positional space. I was perceived as 'research student' who was placed at a subordinate position by some of the women informants who are hard core professional. I consciously tried and negotiated with them to get deeper knowledge and build trust to fulfill my aim of research. I felt my positionality improved after every visit and my role was shifted to researcher which gives me more space to explore and involved them in interactive meaningful discussions comfortably. I was perceived as a 'trustable friend' by the women of my age with whom I developed a high level of trust and communication at initial stages of interviews. I didn't have to struggle to get space into their lived experiences to be able to communicate at equal level. This leads us to developed a feeling of trustworthiness and loyalty.

Additionally, I was perceived as an 'advisor' by young women who found me professional and empowered woman enjoying the privileges of life. I put my quires related to research phenomenon more confidently with these women and felt power was more in my control. I found that our life experiences as women in all social groups are connected with each other but our journey of happiness is entirely different. During my interactions, I found all women having their life aspirations were revolving around family life. I was continuously involved in the process of getting deeper understandings about me as an 'individual' in the larger social context of the Pakistan in which I am fixed in relation to all women informants.

An important point to be taken in to consideration is that though all women including me share same context but were embedded in diverse sub-cultural contexts which are unique in their own way and visible in their individual stories. Besides having all the benefits of insider/outsider, I captured more careful and responsible position to conduct interviews of the women. I was involved in more insightful social interaction with them sharing same gender to understand and narrate their life accounts because having multiple similarities on the basis of same social and cultural experiences. I don't want to overshadow their experiences with my own reflections; as Malterud (2001) writes: "*preconceptions are not the same as bias, unless the researcher fails to mention them*" (p. 484). There are four women in each social group included in study sample who shared their unique life accounts knitted around several socio-cultural experiences. All of them were educated working women, managing multiple responsibilities in their lives and their experiences are highly contextual and positioned in gendered experiences. Apparently looking empowered in their professional lives, their lived experiences in personal lives are entirely different. I found them continuously struggling and negotiating at many fronts of life to construct their experiences of happiness. I interviewed all women at their respective workplaces and their homes during their free time for the sake of privacy and undisturbed environment.

My first interview was with a renowned sociologist married woman and I was bit confused to meet and discuss her personal life accounts but I found her completely supportive and cooperative throughout interview. Her social identity as a successful professional woman and numerous achievements in the same field of knowledge placed me in subordinate position during initial meetings but my efforts to negotiate in power relations by putting myself in entire research process was achieved through reflexivity. After second visit, I developed a good relationship with her and we were involved in more interactive and thought-provoking discussions to unveil many life experiences which are directly related to my research questions. This interview gave me confidence to interact with diverse nature of people in coming interviews. I was expecting a very different interview from her but I found her a conventional woman which is wrapped in the veil of empowerment and independence. She has faced various gendered

experiences throughout her life and her decision making is completely situated and dependent in her family.

Another married woman having many successful ventures in her profession life took me as a research student in our first meeting. She was thoroughly involved in a very meaningful discussion after second visit because we both developed a good level of understanding which was missing during initial meetings due to power relationships which were fixed in specialized personnel and researcher. I had to spend two months to complete this interview due to her busy schedule and during this time we got a very unique chemistry with each other. I found another empowered woman locating happiness in her traditional role. I came across same research experiences with a divorced woman having a very dominating personality and put a lot of efforts to reach at the inner story. She gave me much planned interview in the beginnings but later visits become more meaningful because I was able to gain her trust and together, we unveil several experiences of her life. But I still feel an eagerness to uncover some more aspects of her life probably she might take me only as research student and due to my young age. My representation during interview was not always in my control. Some of the professional women I interviewed decided about my positionality in interview process and the level of information gave to me in their life accounts. I did lot of probing and also used multiple sources to reach at meaningful conclusion.

A married woman having a unique story and I met her at her workplace and I came to know that she is one of the helpful people at her department. She nicely welcomed me and this provides me a space to discuss wide variety of life experiences in more open environment. I found her very unhappy in childhood where most of individuals spend more happy experiences as compared to other stages of life. She also shares her experiences of domestic violence and also filed FIR against her in laws. I felt very disturbed and became completely quite on her question that whether; *I took right step to file FIR against my in laws or not?* I wasn't able to give answer instantly but after few moments, I replied that your step was right but it needs lot of courage to spend life with her husband after taking this bold step against her in laws.

I found some of the moments were very difficult and complex during interviews because adversity and suffering of individual's life made me to work hard to identify experiences of happiness within it. But having all those experiences I found her very committed and open to narrate her life experiences. I also developed a feeling of sympathy on her experience of violence in married life but after every visit with her I wrote detail memos with an intention to separate my sympathies with her as a woman and my role as a researcher to locate her experiences within the context in which she was rooted.

Another married woman was very open in her talk and mostly used abusive language during interview for the men. Being a working woman and pursuing her career for past 25 years, she is totally against professional women. She stressed that the place of woman is always at home, marry at an appropriate age and socialize their kids. I found bitterness in her narrations and uneasy about my own role as a working woman. She boldly said that if a woman is not the sole bread earner of the family and doesn't need money to meet basic needs, she is the biggest fool of the world to come out of her home in this male dominated society to make herself available for exploitation. She also made me embarrassed with her question; *Why you are working when your husband is earning well?* On my reply that I am fulfilling dreams of my father. She laughed so loud and answered, *what dreams? they are using your income for their own benefits and this is the ideology of our culture to show beautiful dreams to women on the name of empowerment, independence and ambitions. They are only using us for their own purpose.* On this moment, I started thinking for a while as how to handle these unforeseen occasions and to avoid conflict with informant because this is her way of looking at the social world and locating her experiences within her perspective will better able to help me in understanding complexities of her life. I assured myself not to reach on any conclusion about her because it was my first meeting with her and inadequate explanation about the phenomenon of interest could take me to inadequate knowledge production about the social world. This situation may hinder my quest to get thick descriptions of informant's life the way she experienced it and also may affect the overall findings of the study (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Ergun & Erdemir, 2010; Suwankhong et al., 2011).

There are number of benefits of being insider which allow me more space from informants to discuss their personal life issues with openness because they consider me a part of their larger social community. My gender also helped me to recognize some of the common cultural patterns affecting the lives of women and their common strategies to cope with it. I also found that the cultural context of Pakistan and domination/subordination power play almost is same everywhere with its relationship to the social institutions but differences on the cultural rituals and ceremonies may do exist. However, it is also believed that much intimacy may lead to a loss of objectivity. My perceptions about widow women was based on the ideology of grief and loss but it was completely opposite from my expectations. These women changed my perspective about widowhood; I found them courageous and brave in their life struggles and are positively moving forward facing many emotional, social and economic problems. The traditional notions portray widow as a grieved person and drowned in the sea of sadness without an inspiration about own life. I got very positive vibes from their smiling faces who always take strength from the happiest memories of their deceased loved ones. But in this category, I also interacted with a widow woman who has completely lost all aspirations of her own life after the death of her husband and spending life with an extreme feeling of grief and loss. It may also happen that I involuntarily involve in making wrong assumptions about the research process based on my previous knowledge which is considered a biasness on my part (DeLyser, 2001; Hewitt-Taylor, 2002). I found my identity as a woman and made my informants relaxed to freely recall their life experiences during research process as Van Maanen (1988) suggests, "women ... in the field ... find some doors open more readily than others" (p. 4). I noticed that the element of trust was developed easily because of our shared gender. One of my married informants said;

This interview is good for my catharsis because I can't express freely my feelings in front of people I know because you are unknown I more open in front of you. Men are careless creature because I never show my feelings to my husband as well. A woman can only understand the pain of the woman. I am happy to discuss it with you because only I and you are here.

I found myself more responsible on her this stance that only I and she was present during interview is true. I again asked her that I am recording her interview but she said as far I will not write her experiences with her name; she has no issue. I made sure that none of informants' personal details are revealed in a sense that may damage their identity. The narratives of the informants are presented with their pseudonyms to eliminate this possibility of my role as researcher to expose sensitive details because now I am well aware of background details of their marital lives. (Smyth & Holian, 2008). I felt that women are more comfortable with women researcher in narrating personal life experiences but I always kept myself aside from role of duality and balanced my role as insider and researcher at the same time (DeLyser, 2001; Gerrish, 1997). A remarried woman narrates her life experiences very openly but after sometime, she realized that she should not disclose her some personal details in front of me. She said;

I don't know how you will handle my complex life experiences. I told you all the details about me because you are doing research and didn't come with any other agenda. I am sure you are speaking truth but I wanted that you shouldn't mention my name in final printed text.

After her this statement, I assured her that after transcribing her interview I will send her the written copy of her narrations to read and modify for her satisfaction. She narrated her life experiences in detail and sometimes I felt that she is detracted because complexities of her life but I played the role of "empathetic listener" to get detailed descriptions which sometimes not directly related to the phenomena of interest but it provided me an ample background knowledge to understand the context in which certain experiences had taken place. However, some of separated women whom I interviewed through life histories are living with their kids and I have a feeling of respect for them because they are more mature women in terms of age and struggling towards betterment of their kids. They narrated more details about their childhood, the details about their extended family system, the social status of their parents and the amount of land their family had in their home town etc. which is not much directly related with proposed research questions. They took me more as a friend cum obedient listener to their life accounts. However, I always directed interviews towards my

proposed objectives. Therefore, as a researcher I must catered for the number of elements to conduct realistic research which includes; (Smyth & Holian, 2008) data collection and analysis should represent clear understanding without polluting it with my predetermined notions, respect the secrecy and confidentiality of the informants and should influence the entire research process with my power, control and access to research information specifically recorded data at all stages of research.

A divorce woman was very enlightened during interview and was very open in narrating her experiences. She welcomed me whole heartedly for research commitment and proudly presented herself as a single mother. Her narrations as well as accounts of other women about domestic violence disturbed me a lot mentally and emotionally. It is needed to have a high level of honor and truthfulness while conducting interviews with women who are/were the victims of violence and abuse. It puts great responsibility on researcher's shoulders to be sympathetic and consoling attitude towards. During an interview with a woman who faced harassment at her own house after the death of her husband and didn't accept this unbearable situation and became her own strength in the journey of life. These all woman who shared their experiences of violence were very composed and not tolerate them in their lives. However, Dickinson-Swift et al. (2007) and King and Horrocks (2010) claim that interviews on sensitive topics such as narrating experiences of violence which involve participants to recall past memories may create distress and uneasiness. I interviewed a widow woman at my home who extract strength from punitive experiences of her life and got relief after the suicide of her husband. This informant herself wanted to be the part of research. She was working as a maid at my home for past seven years and I was completely un aware of her harsh realities of life. I saw marks on her face after facing severe physical violence from her husband sometimes on daily basis but she never confessed herself as victim of violence and associated these marks with some unforeseen accidents. When she narrated her story, I got multiple moments of sheer shocks and surprises on her educated status and belonging to a stable family before marriage. She took me as an empowered woman because of our past relationship but I kept myself detached from my own reflections and focused more on my role as outsider to get deeper understanding of her experiences with her unique perspective. I became subtle and focused on clear recognition of the

sensitivity of the issue. This behavior on my part is also important in conducting interviews with victims of violence and those people who faced an incidence of losing their loved one's due to death. This strategy in interviews aimed at empowering individuals to tell their experiences in their voices. The important point in this context is to focus on what individuals specifically women wanted to say and felt about their experiences (Harris, Honey, Webster, Diemer & Politoff, 2015; Lum, Ayre, Webster & Moon, 2016; Stanley & Wise, 1983).

Another interaction with a divorced woman was much depressing because she was weeping most of the time during interviews and was in a complete state of regret and disappointment on her own life decisions. During my early meetings with her, she didn't want to unveil her marital life experiences which lead her to divorce and insisted me to only ask about her experiences related to divorced status. I accepted her way to conduct interview but it was very difficult for me to understand various contextual experiences without linking various stages of life. Slowly and gradually, I became able to gain her trust and made her involved in open discussions. She started narrating her experiences of physical and verbal violence openly and connected all the missing dots which were left during the initial stages of interviews. I found her a small little girl who was lost in the crowd because she had the habit of using her father as a shield in difficult times of her life. She regrets that *why my father makes me independent and confident. If I would not be self-governing in life; my life would be easier*. While narrating these experiences of highly qualified professional women, I was constantly involved in thinking process that how my research findings will be taken by all other professional woman in Pakistani society. All other professional woman might enjoy their empowerment in diverse social identities and whether my identity as a traditional woman develop a feeling of biasness towards the phenomenon of empowerment. I truthfully presented various categories of women in which some are relating their happiness with empowerment and some are not attached their happiness with it. However, I wanted to make my position clearer that my area of interest is unveiling socio-cultural experiences of happiness in individual gendered lives but the word empowerment and its association was used by research informants during interviews and associated their happiness with it. I narrate here my experiences with a divorced

woman who showed strong attitude toward the prevailing normative structure and really wanted to break all boundaries constructed against her. She was in great urge to open all ways towards empowerment to achieve her happiness. The diverse experiences of women presented the richness of information and heterogeneity of informants.

Researcher needs good and exceptional interpersonal skills along with key attributes such as keen listener and non-judgmental attitude. It is suggested that Charmaz (2012); Taylor and Bogdan (1998) researcher should develop a feeling of empathy and trust with participants to get deeper understanding of their lived experiences. I encountered diverse nature of women during my research endeavor and met a woman on an interdisciplinary research training where she proudly presented herself as a divorced woman even having a son which made me curious to request her to be part of my research. I never had this experience before; a woman can publicly introduce herself as divorced because on the safe side women mostly presented themselves as “single mother” rather being “divorced”. We as women try to avoid these “abnormal” social identities which are the reality of life but we wanted to save ourselves not to become the victims of stigmatization. I remember that I found a woman during same research and when I visited her for the first time for an interview as a divorced woman. I introduced research purpose and requested her to share experiences being single mother, a terminology I used for divorced women not to name them with some uncomfortable title. She immediately interrupted me and said; *I am not a single mother. I am happily remarried and living with my husband and kids.* I became apologetic to her and later she became the part of remarried group but these experiences made me aware that an embodied tension existed between her social identity and the power structure in which she is operating. I learned more appropriate behavior as a researcher with these experiences because she gave me a clear message that if she passed sometime of life in an unwanted social identity due to many reasons but now, she never wanted to recognize with her past social identity.

However, being an insider and outsider benefitted me to conduct undisturbed flow of research interaction between researcher and informants but there are also certain problems attached with it (Madison, 2012). I fully focused on the research process but felt uneasiness when some of the informants took short cuts while explaining their point

of views, for example by saying that, *you knew very well that husbands always take their wives taken for granted on many grounds*. I humbly requested them to please elaborate this social experience in more detail. I became proactive and conscious for getting in-depth details and did not believe on my previous knowledge of the symbolic practices and cultural notions being played by husband and wife in their day to day practices (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Katyal & King, 2011). This also took me to another level of debate and I started asking this question from myself that whether I am unveiling an understanding of a new phenomenon to add in the exiting body of knowledge or I am presenting already known accounts of women which are experienced by me and practices of other women from my context. This made me more observant and conscious during interviews and identification of informants to get unique life stories with different voices which must be presented in research work. I overcame these issues to write detailed personal memos based on my field reflections, social settings where I interacted with informants, the relative context of life, our relationship as researcher and informant and keenly observing the whole interview process along with my justifications to highlight some details more prominently than others (Gerrish, 1997; McNess et al., 2013).

I often negated this idea that I am interacting with woman sharing same gender. Therefore, I gave proper attention to all aspects of the study (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007), I avoided over-familiarization with the awareness of prevailing pattern in marital practices (Lipson, 1984) and maintained this idea to clarify each and every detail of particular social actions relevant with the underlying principles of my study with not even overlooking delicate details on every aspect of informants' life (Gerrish, 1997). I also faced another dilemma of qualitative research and developed a very good rapport and relationship with some of my informants which resulted in detailed in-depth discussions and sometimes took us beyond the purpose of research dialogue. After this identification I completely focused on interviews and got involved in meaningful debates revolving around research perspective but never limited the conversation of informants. I was very vigilant not to trap in over-rapport and never leaved my role as a researcher rather a woman (Elliott & Martin, 2013; Gordon, 1987; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2013). This entire process of positioning was very delicate and demanded

my active and careful role in the interview process, transcriptions and leading this to final stages of data analysis and conclusion.

Another remarried informant was so talkative that I guessed she needed a person who could listen to her for unlimited period of time. She herself developed a strong level of trust with me which gave me confidence and we came at equal level to involve her in interactive discussion. I took her interviews at her parent's house because her husband didn't want her interactions even with women. She has the habit of narrating everything and her conversations are revolving around anti men talks. She mostly used to take with me her life experiences because of our shared identity as a woman and stated that;

You are a woman like me and you know how men consider us paon ke joti (shoes of their feet). Men are the one who spoil home. Women always have intentions to keep relationship and are homemakers.

Her statement is much gendered in nature and vary from one individual to another. She wanted me to accept and agree on her anti men statement but it was difficult for me to decide my role of researcher because I was also interviewing men at the same for the same phenomenon under study. She also used to call me after my visits with her and started narrating her story on phone which was difficult for me to understand and also relate it with her pervious narrations. She wanted me to frequently visit her parent's house because it was also the source of escape for her from her husband's house. I needed sufficient time to transcribe her recording not completely but partially and prepared myself with some new areas of inquiry for next visits. I humbly requested her that I will inform her about our next meeting. She wanted to quench the thrust to meet people for talking and getting satisfaction. This made me realized that doing interview is a (Arendell, 1997) time consuming activity which is emotionally overriding process for researcher. It demands an active role of researcher to be a good listener without being judgmental and allow freedom to participants to express themselves without intervening them and needs prompts for further clarifications. When we met for the last time, she was in the state arguing that she had more information about her life to share but I felt that some of her experiences had been

repeatedly narrated in her accounts. She found me an “easy escape” and I felt this might be her current source of happiness but I paid my regards and gratitude (Creswell, 2014), to her for engaging in this activity with commitment and devotion.

Some of separated women are very young in age and found me a more empowered woman in my life who is well dressed, pursuing PhD degree along with career. They were continuously asking whether they shall spend their whole lives in separation or should take divorce. It was difficult for me to advise them because I really didn't find any place in their personal life decisions but I was with them to explore their life narratives. I was very careful in my dealings with them because any of my actions shall develop a feeling of distrust among them because they may feel I am just interacting with for (Miller & Tewksbury, 2001) my own purpose of interview and not concerned about their lives.

One of my separated informants said; *You are the privileged woman and don't know about the cruelties of the world. Your husband never forbids you to do anything. You are enjoying all the liberties of life.* Her statement made me realize to revisit my life experiences to think her claims about my life. My positionality being researcher became sensitive where I wasn't in the position to share my experiences with her because by unveiling my own experiences of life might direct her to narrate life accounts in certain direction. It was very crucial for me to maintain my identity as a researcher being insider/outsider besides having many similarities with women informants. I took up multiple roles and positions during interviews which range from insider to outsider to get complete access and understanding about diverse lived experiences in the voices of individuals. However, I was intensively involved in struggling to put myself aside and remained neutral to narrate objective accounts of informants.

3.8. I am Outsider: Men Categories

Gender is an important factor shaping the process of interviews and it becomes more critical when researcher is female and it also shows the distribution of power between men and women. I also experienced same situation in my interviews with men and the information presented by them is influenced by their gender and positioning in

various interacting socio-cultural contexts. I faced control of men over their gendered experiences in all most all interviews and getting partial information during beginning episodes of interviews as suggested by Turner and Martin (1984, p. 271) stated that: "social characteristics of an interviewer and a respondent, such as age, race and sex are significant during their brief encounter; different pairings have different meanings and evoke different cultural norms and stereotypes that influence the opinions and feelings expressed by respondents.

Butler (1990, p. 45) stated that gender is a set of acts, performance and language that is broadly created. "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being". The concept of performativity that creates diverse notions of gender was coined by Butler which is applied to social identity and multiple dimensions of social interaction. The gender of the researcher affects the construction of social sciences research has been extensively debated in the previous scholarly work (Callaway, 1992; Martin & Antoni, 2013). A large number of literatures is available which gives extensive information and background knowledge about the effect of gender on the relationship between the researcher and researched (Gill & Maclean, 2002; Russell, 2002; Rush, 2012).

I was an outsider in men categories due to my identity as a woman and I started each interview with an idea to slowly and gradually to explore the phenomenon under study due to unfamiliarity with the social group. On the other hand, I felt it easier and more comfortable with women groups having some common social practices (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010; Soyer, 2013). Initially I was confused being outsider to involve in social interaction with unfamiliar individuals due to their gender but I focused on learning in each new endeavor with the objective of being outsider to look inside the group. I enter in each social setting being as outsider with lack of knowledge or having no information about group norms, social practices, common jargon, pauses, body language, way of talking, gestures and having sub-contextual values. I found difficult in negotiating power dynamics during interview being my identity of a woman which is fixed as subordinate in large structure of the society (Hurley et al., 2002).

This research is also unique in a way that being a woman belonging to conservative family, I always enter in masculine spaces with my real life identity of feminine appearances like (Giovannini, 1986; Gurney, 1985; Zubair, Martin & Victor, 2012) no jewelry, no make-up, covered my head and wearing simple as well as light colored clothes with a purpose to be taken seriously for research purpose. I also intentionally shaped my body language to be confined in mixed gender context and (Grand, 2012) learnt after multiple interviews with men; how much and when to speak, how and where to sit, how to introduce myself and initiate conversation with appropriate words to fulfill the purpose of research.

It was also a matter of great concern to conduct interviews from men being unbiased with their accounts of life in which they narrated violence and used abusive language for women. The also developed several perceptions about me as a woman who is doing research on men although one of my male family members was always with me. Number of previous literatures is available which stresses challenges faced by female researcher in male oriented social worlds (Ackerly & True, 2010; Curato, 2010; Gurney, 1985; Kosygina, 2005; Russell et al., 2002; Rush 2012; Soyer, 2013).

These challenges are mostly encountered by female sociologists during their field work especially their research work with opposite gender. A male researcher (Al-Natour, 2011) narrated that a woman worked on the same project as he was involved but she faced many problems during field work and might encountered violence. A female researcher El-Solh worked on a research project with Egyptian peasant families and she felt the need to enlist her husband's assistance in obtaining permission to conduct research. She shares, "the lower down this [bureaucratic] ladder we ventured, the more I found myself relegated to the role of silent, tea-sipping wife while my husband did his best to explain my reasons for wishing to study the Egyptian peasant families in the Khalsa Settlement" (El-Solh, 1997: p. 97). Some of the men even indirectly said that women are now more dominating (Sampson & Thomas, 2003; Sultana, 2007) in their life journeys that they have started getting personal information from opposite sex regarding their lives very boldly. They have developed a contrasting identity about me which is entirely different from my real-life and stigmatized me on the basis of one of my social actions which is purely academic. Patti Adler (1993), who

studied upper-level male dealers in California in collaboration with her husband, Peter, highlights this idea when claiming it “would have been impossible for me to examine this social world [of drug dealers] as an unattached female” (Adler 1993, p. 27). The above scholarly work shows that an entry point in male oriented groups is only possible and meaningful interviews are conducted when female researcher is accompanied by male.

I found it difficult to interact with most of men informants who started narrating most of their experiences in national language but soon shifted their language to mother tongue (such as Punjabi, Siraki etc) which at certain point creates ambiguities which I always clarified in my next visits and also got their meanings within certain context to get complete essence of the narration described to me. Language is one of the fundamental tools to interact with informants and get a meaningful understanding of the stories and also connected it with various perspectives and contexts in which the phenomena of interest is being told and occurred. Spradley (1979, p. 17) makes this clear: “Language is more than a means of communication about reality: It is a tool for constructing reality.” Hennink (2008) suggested that language permits researcher and researched to recognize and attach meanings to their day to day social practices. It allows researcher and interviewees to involve in meaningful interaction and take contextual meanings out of it. In this whole process language is at the heart of interaction which permits researcher to identify and comprehend human social behavior, their socio-cultural processes, and cultural meanings.

I found myself on unequal position with most of male informants and felt subordinated in the fixed structure of power relations which is mainly static in qualitative research and felt it very difficult to gain access, to get information and to save the direction of interview process by the men informants. I focused on the objective of uncovering gendered experiences of happiness to disclose how power structures hide the realities of everyday life, but in doing so patriarchal structures become the heart of discussion and hard hit men informants who took this as a personal attack and blamed me as a woman or sometimes a feminist which never be my identity. But I tolerated on these discussions and focused to be involved in gender neutral discussions in which men are offered more space and freedom to narrate their life

experiences independently and according to their own lens of looking at the social world.

The identification of men informants was very challenging because my identity as a woman was the big hurdle in this regard. I was dependent on male members of my family to contact and take their consent to be the part of research. The men informants were identified through multiple sources such as my own colleagues, my friends, family friends, relatives, relatives of my husband's friends and the informants of this particular study also identified some of the potential informants. It was very difficult to locate separated and divorced men informants because they mostly remarried due to multiple reasons. I found my threefold positionality in outsider group; some of the men informants considered me as a woman doing research, a woman from NGO and a dominating woman who has high career aspirations. I felt in most of the interviews that power relations were rooted in the fixed category of men and women which blurs the dual relationship of the researcher and the researched. I was taken by men informants as a woman with their gendered lens. They were dominating the interview process and I felt that perception of men about me is based on their experiences with women in their lives. Overall, they were less expressive as compared to women.

Most of the men informants took me as a "research student" and they were very respectful, helping and they also perceived me as an educated working woman who is doing research for academic purpose and took petty on me that I am studying along with job, kids and household management. Soyer (2013) argues female researchers have to face many challenges and occupy the "apprentice role" in masculine spaces on male areas of research. However, men being insider with men participants freely mingle with them but it is difficult for to achieve research objectives without facing difficulties. They perceived me as a respectful woman and one of the informants also suggested me, *exclude men from this research to make you and your family's life easy*. This man being completely anonymous to me was agreed to be part of research due to his helping nature. Most of informants were hospital and served me with yummy food and they also introduced with female family members due to level of trust between me and my informants.

One of the informants was very compassionate about female education and he appreciated me on doing my doctoral degree. I also found that the nature of relationship between me and male informants was highly embedded in our contextual experiences and I was consciously involved in an effort to adjustment between diverse positionalities depending on the age and marital statuses of the men informants. I was more careful with men who were older in age because of my passive and obedient nature, which may not mislead me towards wrong or inaccurate findings. The age gap between me and my informants may affect the research process while my interaction with them during interview process. According to Kosygina (2005) while recalling her field experiences that how men over sixty years old treated her not only as a researcher but as a young person who is excelling in life. I also got the paternalistic treatment from informants who treated me as a daughter (Easterday et al., 1977). Another informant who was the friend of my husband and he perceived me as *bhabhi* sister in law but his open and frank discussions sometimes made me uncomfortable. Rush (2012) shares experiences from field that men informants made her embarrass when they started intervening in her research process and cross their boundaries as participant.

A very few informants had perception about me that I am working in "Non-Government Organization" and one of the informants believed that I was doing a funded social project. He started to ask about, *how much money you will pay to me for this particular interview*. After long negotiations, he was convinced that I am conducting interviews for the sake of my research and agreed to share his life experiences. But throughout interview he was suspecting that in this economic era, nobody is doing anything without economic benefits. Presence of my husband made him more doubtful about us that we are doing some joint project. The change in context and normative values sometimes are also beneficial for the researcher. This situation was confusing and difficult for me to cope but also gives me greater understanding and self confidence to keenly look into the unforeseen circumstances as an outsider (Reason, 2006). On the same lines (Heron & Reason, 2006; Van Der Riet, 2012) argues this confidence and understanding guided me to get thick description of informants along with all the contextual knowledge. It is also true that the identification of a

potential respondent is a dilemma for an outsider but it also gave a broad perspective to understand group dynamic and bring greater impartiality in research findings.

Some of the informants perceived me as “dominating woman” and they considered me a woman living her marital life on equal basis. One of the informants said; *woman like you who wanted to fulfill their dreams on equal terms with a man may disturb the institution of family*. This was very biased sentence for me and all other working women who are struggling in their lives to raise the social and economic status of their family through education. Most of the conversations with men was started and ended with role of women, gender attributes (Kauffman, 1994) and the criteria of how a real woman should be. I also encountered with an issue of power relations with men informants because generally in traditional societies, men dislike the questioning and inquiry about their selves. This situation became more complicated when a woman came in position to question as Feminist ethnographers suggested that social sciences research in masculine spaces create ultimate power negotiations and may bring conflicts among women researcher and men groups (Arendell, 1997; Fleras, 2011). It is also argued that male respondents have rigid belief toward female researcher in field work and considered them incapable to understand male oriented experiences (Alveson, 2011; Kosygina, 2005).

Another man also perceived me as a dominating woman belonging to some social sector and took my husband as a miserable or subordinate man who was with me for interviews. He was focused to dictate me about what should be the elements of good character woman. This man perceived me as a non-conformist woman who is pursuing her academic and professional career. He confidentially taught me how a woman should behave in their defined gender norms and showed his strong disapproval towards me for interacting men to explore (Oakley, 1981) gendered notions of the cultural frameworks. However, his ideologies about the fixed gendered identities occupies by men and women is the outcome of his cultural socialization but it was fruitful to engage in more interactive discussions to expose my quires about gender and discourse. One of the informants assumed that I came to him for some spiritual guidance for the successful completion of my degree. When I elaborated my purpose of visit, he was

surprised that nobody approached him for his individual life history because people approached him for the solution of their problems.

Some of the men informants were less expressive, authoritative, egoistic and dominating. I was comfortable with them in interviews but was uncomfortable with their patriarchal view points and I never came to an equal position with them during interview. My role as outsider enabled me to improve my understanding about men and their gendered experiences in power structure due to difference of opinion. It also permitted me to keep social distance and involved in intellectual discussion to reached on the conclusion (Adler & Adler, 1987). I also felt that after first visit when men understood my positive intention of research and not involved in any anti-men activity, the conversation about specific roles a man and a woman should carry became less significant and directed towards unveiling lived experiences of men in their respective lives. They also started exposing their life realities embedded in cultural rhetoric but the element of power tensions was also present. Some previous research (Easterday et al., 1977; King & Horrocks, 2010; Williams & Heikes, 1993) also highlighted that when female researcher able to gain men participants trust and confidence, they started describing their lived experiences openly and willingly.

One informant was the complete picture of I, me and myself. He was very disrespectful towards women and considered them as a private property which can only easily buy through money and material assets. He was very open in his narratives and spoke dirty abusive language about women who make me very uncomfortable and disgraceful. According to Grieves (2010) and Savvides et al. (2014) outsider researcher uses its power both positively and negatively. It is required from researcher to maintain balance of power and engage participants in research process at equal level. However, Stewart and Rigg (2011) discuss multiple areas of responsiveness and sensitivity towards power dynamics; it needs an awareness about proper use of power and cognizance of power of others. It helps outsider researcher to focused on the practical usage of power in research process in a sense that all respondents should be valued and their voices should be included.

One of the informants was not willing to share his story due to mental and emotional distress facing by him on his decision of divorce. He didn't want to recall his bad memories because he was struggling to come out of this depressing situation for past two years. After many negotiations, he got agreed to meet me only once but when I completed my first meeting with him at his official accommodation and completed his life history in detail in two more visits. Most of the informants were very supportive, respectable and cooperative during interviews and unveil those experiences and feelings of their past and present life which are very personal. I conducted the interview of one informant regarding his childhood memories but his marital narrations were alone interviewed and recoded by my husband on his request because he didn't want to narrate it in front of me. He was very committed and also felt the interview as his catharsis. According to William and Heikes (1993), men informants used careful statements and expressions in the presence of female researcher while, they are more open and franker with men researchers. I faced these situations with different men informants due to my identity as a woman and I used more reflexive approach which enables me to actively examine gendered perceptions towards research. Another man was very respectful and generated much meaningful and philosophical discussion during interactive discussion. The main problem I encountered with him was his unavailability on agreed dates due to his own busy schedule. I took three months to complete his interview in small but meaningful episodes.

During interview, one informant asked me why I chose him for interview because there are lots of married educated people in your family. I replied him there are two reasons firstly adoption of a daughter and secondly not getting remarried. He was very committed and gave ample time for interview without any disturbance. One informant narrated his childhood memories with me in very friendly manner with details but when I switch to his married life, suddenly he became quite and asked for glass of water. When I left the room, he asked my husband that *I wanted to narrate my marital life experiences in private without the presence of your wife*. I got his recorded narratives about marital life which was very unusual and I felt his decision was appropriate to save me from embracement. I faced and came cross with various issues which I was not anticipated before starting my field work. I learned during field work

that a researcher should be not be idealistic and certain situations were very uneasy for me being a woman researcher in masculine space. I found that our shared Pakistani context and my own feminine experiences are very much fixed in the social realities which guided me to behave in certain ways with men social groups, similar experiences have been reported by previous research (Sultana, 2007; Hennink, 2011) who suggested that fieldwork is contextual, relative and embodied process. However, Martin and Barnard (2013) discussed about marginalization of women researcher in field work. I found that gender ideologies are very dominate, apparent and manifested in male oriented spaces which also affected my performance within fixed display of gender roles during interview process. According to Gurney (1985) cited her own experiences with male prosecutors and was limited to traditional roles performed by females. This situation limits her activities and not allowed to enter in men spaces. I also interviewed one informant from my family during his short visit to Pakistan. The environment was very friendly but he was very less expressive which was quite strange for me because I perceived that the level of intimacy will be high but he was reluctant to share some of his personal details. I found he had different perspectives on his life experiences was completely different from my preconceived familial perceptions. However, my identity as outsider was constantly shifted between and within power dynamics to get greater access in men's lives for deeper understanding of those social experiences which are exclusively originated in male social world. I learned to look and examine social world with males' lens which is unique in its own way and enlightened me as a researcher for my quest of gendered happiness in their lives.

This chapter concludes a discussion about research process including how research participants have been selected, how data has been collected and analyzed. This research study clearly captures, explores and describes the meanings of each participant attached with the phenomenon of happiness in his/her life through phenomenological based life history interviews. The data is recorded and transcribed in written form for analysis. Creditability and trustworthiness of research process is also part of this chapter.

Chapter No. 4

Happiness: A Social Construction

This chapter starts with brief life histories of twenty individuals having different marital statuses. The central focus of these life histories is to provide an understanding of individuals' lives to get deeper exploration of their life paths, their journey of life comprised of several happy and unhappy moments, their academic and professional lives with a specific focus on their marital decisions, marriage life, marital dissolutions and current life practices. However, the autobiographical sketch of semi structure interviews conducted from twenty informants are annexed. This chapter unveils dominant discourses of happiness embedded in larger socio-cultural context of Pakistan in which individuals are operating their day to day practices. This is an attempt to provide sociological contribution in the field of sociology of happiness based on the individual narratives of informants about their experiences of happiness mainly linked with their personal lives which are highly embedded in the enriched cultural orientation of Pakistan.

The analysis of the thesis is divided into three chapters which offer a discourse analysis of phenomenological interviews by taking inspiration from Dorothy (2005) who describes phenomenology as a universal structure of subjective nature of the world and not to explain the common features of the objective world. The interviews were focused on inquiring the meanings of informants' day to day experiences of lives. The narratives of individuals were keenly observed, explored and understood to develop codes for generation of themes. However, in this attempt eight themes along with sub themes namely Elucidating Happiness: Personification, Marriage: Debunking Myths and Realities, Embedded in Intimate Sphere: Gendered Happiness, Non-conformists: Customary Odyssey, Money: The Ultimate Reality; Happy Careers or Livelihoods: A Tight Spot in Life, Friends and Happiness: A Dilemma and Ideal Life: Missing Dots of Happiness were generated which are discussed at length with the support of detailed literature from different social sciences disciplines in general and sociology in particular. These themes are presented in three chapters with a purpose to provide the readers and social scientists a deep understanding about the phenomenon of happiness

experienced by the selected informants in their individual, marital and diverse life domains. These chapters are interlinked with each other to provide unique gendered perspectives on happiness.

These chapters provide a detailed analysis on the lives of diverse social groups and also illuminate gendered experiences under each theme. In this attempt, each theme starts with a key argument built on the narratives of individuals along with detailed discussion about their construction of happiness and concludes with the analysis of various social groups with a specific focus on their gender and marital statuses. The baseline of each theme is focused on gendered experiences of an individual actually constructs, reconstructs and shapes his/her construction of happiness. However, chapter 5, Marital Happiness: A Cultural Embodiment presents a detailed description of individuals narratives with their marital statuses (married, divorced, remarried, separated & widow) to get a clear and deep understanding about the phenomenon of interest "happiness". Thus, these chapters provide an empirical evidence consistent with research objectives and research questions about experiences of individuals through discourse, unveil those narratives which were embedded in power structure and offer a comprehensive analysis of how cultural power operates in individuals gender lives within their specific socio-cultural contexts and construct their experiences of happiness which were gendered, powerfully structured and fixed in their life journeys. A brief life history of each informant is presented below to introduce the participants of this research for my readers.

4.1. Brief Description of Life Histories

The life histories were conducted from individuals having diverse marital statuses (married, divorced, widowed, separated & remarried) who provided enriched and detailed accounts of their experiences in multiple domains of life. A glimpse of their life stories is provided to give an understanding about the intricate layers of their lives.

4.1.1. Married Informants

Abbas is thirty-eight years old and has strict patriarchal background of Punjabi culture. He belongs to the higher caste of Punjab. He got early education from his home town and higher education from renowned educational institutions of Pakistan. Both of his parents met an accidental death. Abbas even though is the youngest child of his parents but is more responsible in family matters because he is the only educated person of the family. His parent's accidental death badly affected his mental and psychological health. He was very close to his parents and spent a joyful childhood with his parents, siblings and friends in different educational institutions. During his educational life, he always felt home sickness because he took all his education in boarding. Having deep bond with his traditional cultural, he feels happy whenever he visits his hometown because he enjoys his authority of being in high caste. He enjoys the company of his childhood friends but due to family and professional responsibility, he can rarely meet his old friends. He was the bright star in his academic career and both parents gave him extra love, care and privilege as compared to other siblings. He is married outside family but within same caste for last the ten years. He has been blessed with a daughter and a son. His mother wanted him to marry within his family but he did not want to indulge himself in family rivalries and he refused to marry within family. He wanted to marry with an educated girl from same caste but out of family. His marriage was completely arranged with the consent of his family especially mother because his family mindset emphasizes on same cast marriages for the survival of larger kin. It was strictly socially arranged marriage and both of them met and saw each other after nikkah. They didn't see each other and had no communication before marriage. He stressed that girls who had communication with their spouses before marriage are very independent, out-going and freedom loving which may spoil the marital relationship. His wife is a working woman and both are pursuing their careers in prestigious public-sector organizations of Pakistan. He is an engineer by profession and holds a very expressive personality. He is authoritative and luckily got highly educated, professional but subordinate wife which match his aspirations of happy married life. Due to his authoritative and high caste family background, he feels unhappy and uneasiness at workplace to obey the orders of people in authority. His ideal version of life is to opt

such profession where he can enjoy unquestionable authority. He is happy person in all aspects of life but he feels that professional life is the hard part of his life because he is doing his job to meet the needs of his family.

Siraaj is the eldest son of his parents and was born in a village near castle Roohtas, district Jhelum. He got his early education from Jhelum and completed the technical diploma in electronics from Rawalpindi. Currently, he is a gazette officer in a public sector organization. His father has died and mother is yet alive. He was an average student and holds very reserve personality being an eldest son of the family. He took least interest in studies and his father used to give money to his class teacher for motivating him. He felt happy in passing time with friends during childhood. During his early days of life, he was closer to his mother because his father was abroad but when he came to Pakistan, he became closer to his father and spent more time with him. During his academic life and after marriage he lived with his father till his death. He was married outside his family and caste eight years back. He has no kids but has adopted a daughter of his younger brother and is sharing house with him. It was completely an arrange marriage but he had seen his wife before marriage. The marriage proposal was initiated by the elders of his family and his in laws agreed because he is educated, job holder and an honest person. It was difficult for him to live in joint family system when his brothers got married and social pressure of having no kids increased. They both husband and wife helped all of their siblings and even they arranged marriages and supported them both socially and economically in their capacity. His wife wanted to live in joint family system but he took this sole decision of living separately to avoid conflicts due to not having kids and his mother pressurized him to remarry. He got several medical treatments including allopathic, homeopathic as well as pursue spiritual healers such *peers* (saints) throughout married life but did not blessed with kids. He is facing lot of pressure from his mother to remarry but his wife is not willing for his remarry. He cannot get potential proposal for remarriage in the presence of first wife. If he divorced his wife, the sister of law is the wife of his brother whose daughter they have adopted. The decision of his remarriage can add miseries in two families. He is in a state of uncertainty to decide about his future life and facing social boycott from his mother to not remarry. His childless status is the element of

unhappiness in his life. If he was blessed with kids, he is the happiest person and wants to choose journalism as his career aspiration. He feels happy to meet his friends and community but due to childless status, he has to face disturbing situation. He believes that happiness is never independent of events and people. He never interferes in the matters of any body and his slogan is to live and let him live. He is fond of latest mobiles and having latest version of smart phone give him satisfaction. He tries to avoid those places and people where he gets depress. He wishes and is trying his best to educate his adopted daughter to make her successful in life. One aspect of his life is always unhappy because his mother is not happy on his decision to not remarry. His mother even not invited him on the marriage of his youngest brother and family functions.

Ramsha belongs to Northern part of Pakistan and married to a man having same cultural and ethnic background. She got early education from home town and did her PhD from abroad. Both of her parents are alive. She is a sociologist by profession. She always stood first in class and was appreciated by parents and teachers. These all elements were source of happiness during her childhood. During her childhood that hard work and her commitment to studies gave her an opportunity to move on. So, the indicators of happiness and satisfaction in her childhood had their own sweet flavor at that time and the current life dimensions of happiness are important in current context. Ramsha is the eldest kid of her parents and is still closer to her father. She spent restricted childhood and was not allowed to visit neighbors. Her father is very humble and loving person and provided her very pleasant environment at home. She recalls her memories and shares that her father used to talk in very polite manner, took out for recreation and always respected her in very strict socio-cultural environment of the area. She had a beautiful childhood and school memories at her home town. She was very conscious about her grades and classroom performance. She shared that she was like a book worm and always remained busy in her studies. She started her university life in Peshawar having traditional socio-cultural background. She was the first girl from her family who moved alone to another city for education. Her father used to call her three to four times in a day at her hostel. Girls around her started perceiving that she may have some affair with a boy that's why her father called her frequently but in fact he was very concerned and worried about her as she was living alone. After some time,

her whole family moved to Peshawar for the sake of her studies and she started living with them. Her university life was very pleasant and enjoyable. It was very important time for her when she got opportunity to interact with people from different social backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities.. She got married at the age of thirty years by her choice with the consent of her parents and has a beautiful daughter. After marriage, both of them were living abroad separately for the sake of their studies but she thinks it was very important time for a new couple to develop an understanding with each other but she missed it. She has very balanced personality and has six years marital bond with her husband. Her husband is supporting his family back in his home town and he feels more burdened. She never feels an intimacy with her in laws. She doesn't feel the traditional notion of Saas-Bahoo (daughter-in-law and mother-in-law) relationship which is more apparent in the girls who are married in early ages. She doesn't feel comfortable living in joint family system because it may disturb her privacy. She is highly qualified, having well settled job, own house and ability to run her house independently but it is not enough to meet her happiness. Her relationship with her husband and the feeling of companionship is her happiness in marriage. She is an empowered woman but she thinks that empowerment is burden for her. She has to make compromises in decision making and has to negotiate with her husband in different life matters. Although she is a highly qualified and professional woman but she is treated as an ordinary woman in her in laws context. She narrated that she becomes happy on daily basis. When she reaches home from her workplace and her daughter welcomes her with a smile, this is happiness for her. A productive day at her workplace and spending quality time with her husband makes her happy. She wants to excel in her professional life and impart knowledge in classroom based on practical and field orientation. Analyzing Rimsha's life it seems that happiness is not something over which an individual has a control to define for him/herself but it is the outcome of gendered socialization throughout the life span for multiple role performance such as role of husband, wife, and daughter in law etc.

Saiqa is an administrative officer in a public sector organization holding master's degree in English literature. Her father remarried and she has four brothers from step mother. She has very simple and helpful personality. Both of her parents are

alive. Saiqa passed a vulnerable childhood because her mother met multiple miscarriages and gave birth to dead babies. Her mother was mostly admitted in hospital and she had to stay at home with relatives. When she started school at the age of five years her mother was never available to make her prepare for school. She still remembers the pain and misery in her mother's eyes when she was in hospital and her father asked for permission of second marriage. She gave him permission and he remarried even her mother was in hospital. Her father was very dominating and authoritative person and after remarriage he sent her mother to village to serve her in laws and he started his life with her step mother in city. She is a love sick and neglected child of her parents. She feels lots of weakness in her personality because she spent childhood life without mother. She took education from good educational institutions of twin city. When she started excelling in academics, her father started trusting her in household decisions as well as the educational matters of her step siblings. This increased confidence and freedom in her personality. She even attended the parent teacher meetings of step siblings because her step mother was illiterate. She feels her childhood was not the childhood but it was full of responsibilities. She got love marriage 10 years back outside her family and caste with her student but with the consent of her parents. Her husband is living abroad for his job and she is living with her kids and mother in Islamabad. She has two sons and a daughter. Her husband's family didn't like her because she has brown color and they all have fair complexion.

After the marriage her husband went to abroad for job leaving her back to live in joint family system where she had to face multiple social problems. She went to abroad after some time with kids to live with husband and stayed there for one year and that was the happiest time of her life without the interference of anyone from her in laws. When she came back Pakistan soon conflicts started between her in laws on her income and household chores. She had to face domestic violence from her father in law and brother in law because her husband is abroad and has childish attitude towards life matters. She left her in laws house and started living separately with her mother. She misses her husband's absence in her life and the concept of happy family is missing because the most important family member is absent. She wants her husband back to Pakistan but her husband feels himself very insecure about economic and financial

situation in Pakistan. Sometimes she thinks that she should take break from her job to live with his husband in abroad but the main problem is kid's education. They can't afford education of their kids in abroad. She stresses that life without husband is not a life and she feel much loneliness. Sometimes she gets irritated and express anger on kids.

4.1.2. Divorced Informants

Altaf was a lecturer at one of the renowned colleges of Rawalpindi. He earned master's degree in mathematics from the top university of Islamabad. Now he runs a private construction company as well as an education academy. Both of his parents have died. When his father died, he left much property and being elder son, it was his responsibility to manage all the expenses and distribute the money to his siblings. He also had lot of responsibilities at that time and it was impossible for him to live separately from mother. Altaf was born after the countless prayers of his parents because they had no male child. He has two elder sisters before him. He enjoys the sole love of his parents for ten years and then his younger brother was born but his position remained the same in his family. He was the most spoiled child of family because he was never forbidden by parents on anything because of male child. He was closer to mother because his father was very strict and dominating. It is mentioned earlier as he was the male child of his family so he got best opportunity to study in top English medium schools. He was very bold and confident student but least interested in his studies. He got married at the age of thirty four for the first time with her cousin and this marriage lasted for only one year. The one incidence happened at the time of Nikkah ceremony was that his first ex-in laws demanded huge Haq Mehar at the time of Nikkah which was refused by them. These things also developed bitterness from very first day of marriage. The main reason of his first marriage failure was joint family system. He had to live in joint family system but his ex-wife wanted to live in nuclear family system which was unacceptable for him. He was the elder son and his father was also died so it wasn't possible for him to live separately from family. He tried to make understand her that he is elder son and has to support his mother in her old age but she insisted to live in nuclear family and he divorced her on her demand. He again married after five years of his first marriage with the pressure of her mother and spiritual leader and deliberately

chooses a young and poor girl outside his family but within same caste. He remarried that girl and her father and family didn't attend the marriage. He took her to his home and they got married. He also gave money to purchase her whole dowry because her family boycotted this marriage. His second wife was twenty-two years younger than him and is blessed with two daughters and one son. His second ex-wife realized after six years of their marriage that she had married with an old man and came on conflict with him. She demanded divorce from him and he divorced her. He is currently living with his two daughters and a son for last six years in divorce status. He has huge social circle and lot of girlfriends and enjoys the company of community and friends. He has no regrets on his marriages failure and is happy person on the whole. He enjoyed his authority and domination in his marital life. Teaching is his passion and he wants to run a school on modern grounds.

Adnan is only child of his parents and his mother died when he was only one year old. His father remarried and he was raised by his grandmother. He spent very alone and lost childhood. He used to visit his father for very short duration of time but came back to his grandparent's house due to lack of love and care from his father and step mother. He was an average student and never quarreled with friends. After completion of his graduation, he went abroad and visited several countries for the sake of his transport business. When he came back to Pakistan at the age of 35 years, he started his transport business and married to his ten year's younger cousin. Adnan used to pick and drop her cousin from college. During this time, they developed understanding for each other and got married with the consent of their parents. They started their marriage life in joint family system but soon multiple conflicts started between his wife and step mother. His father in law arranged a house for them and they started living in nuclear family system. After some time, he constructed his own big house on one Kanal land which he had purchased when he came back from abroad. He was blessed with daughter after two years of their marriage. He was very happy and distributed sweets in his family and relatives. After that Allah blessed him with two more daughters and he was very happy.

His wife was very social woman and had lot of friends. She spent most of her time with friends outside home. He did not like this habit of his wife. He humbly used

to forbid her for almost fourteen years of his marriage but she overlooked his desires and started demanding his property on her name. Initially, he tried to make her understand softly but she did not listen to him. He also beat her several times to stop her meetings with her friends. He is very disciplined, emotional and short temper man but she is careless, social and has negligent behavior. He completely refused her demand because he wanted this property for his daughter's future use. Sooner or later this dispute became serious and she left his house and started living with her parents by leaving daughters with him. By doing this, she wants to impose pressure on him for the transfer of property on her name. This became the main dispute of their breakup. Their whole family forced her through social boycott not to demand for *Khulah* but nobody can stop her even her own parents and she filed a case in court for *Khulah*. She got *Khulah* and their marital relationship broke in the undesired form of divorce. After divorce she got married again but after two years her second marriage also ended with divorce. She took her daughters with her and filed case for monthly expenditures and transfer of property on daughter's name. He is paying their monthly expenditure and also meets his daughters regularly. He is still pursuing case regarding property transfer on his daughters' name file by his ex-wife for last seven years. He wanted to use this property on her daughters' marriage and has no intentions to transfer on their name because he has no trust on his ex-wife. He also wanted to remarry but after the marriage of his daughters and their settlement in their marital life. He stressed that his wife was so authoritative that her perversity and stubborn behavior destroy their daughters' lives. He wants a house maker and subordinate woman as his future wife.

Huma belongs to strict Syed family of Gujrat, a city located in province Punjab and she was married at the age twenty one years. It was a love marriage with consent of her parents outside caste. She has two kids, a daughter and a son. She filed a case for *Khulah* after nineteen years of her marriage and got divorce from her husband. She has been living in divorce status since last ten years. Both of her kids are pursuing their careers and living with her. She also has given one portion of house to her ex-husband. She is successfully pursuing her career in corporate sector after her divorce. Both of her parents are died. She got her early education from Gujrat and did her master's degree in Education from Lahore. She did her PhD from Malaysia after divorce. She spent an

extraordinary childhood with her parents and siblings. She never faced any gender-based discrimination throughout her childhood and educational time period. She used to go with her father on hunting, riding etc. She lived a quality childhood and in later life difficulties; she always took strength and courage from her childhood memories. She shares that there were lot of difficult times she had to face. But she feels that her childhood happiness and confidence provided her positive energy and enabled her to move forward even in hard times. She thinks that she stores childhood happiness inside her and it enabled her during hard times to come out of the situation with pride.

Her husband was her elder sister's class fellow and a political figure in Punjab University. He directly proposed her and it clicked her because boys were afraid in talking to her and she was impressed by his bold nature very much. She convinced him to go to her father for her proposal. The decision to marry him was her sole decision and she had the full ownership and accountability of relationship. Her father was very revolutionary Syed and he never wanted her to marry outside caste. Her parents made her understand but they never became a hurdle in her decision. She was given all the logical reasoning and opportunity to review her marriage decision before marriage and all pros and cons were discussed with in detail as well as other options were also given to her. Her husband was very rich man and has lot of property in capital city of Pakistan. His business was of construction and sale and purchase of property. When he started losing his business due to his affairs and profligacy, he used to come to get sign property documents because they have some property on their common name. He used to tell lies that he is selling this property to buy more valuable property. He sold almost all his property in wrong deeds but she was left with that particular house for which she has to fight for ten years. She confesses that her marriage ended due to lack of trust, only love is not enough in marital relations.

He disappeared due to heavy loss in business leaving her helpless and she was standing alone in the street with her two kids. She decided that she will not stay with any family member and stayed in hostel. After some time, she went to Malaysia with her son for degree and her sister afford all expenses for abroad. Suddenly, her husband appeared and told her brothers that she had run away with somebody. When, she came back to Pakistan after completing her study, she stayed in hotel and then took an

apartment. All their property was sold and one house was on her name and it was on rent. She filed a case for the house and discussed with her kids with a perspective that she is fighting the case of house and she has this feeling that if she wins this case her husband will become a strong opponent. Her lawyer asked from her whether she will go to live with her ex-husband in future or she will leave him. She said she will not live with him. So, he advised her to file a case for Khulah, if she wanted to get house. She filed the case of Khulah and won the both cases. She faced character assassination from her ex-husband and at her work place. She bravely faced all problems of her life and has become women activist. She wants to become building constructor for her career aspiration to meet her ideal version of life.

Taniya is a consultant and trainer in Ministry of Health, Pakistan. She married at the age of twenty one with an army officer after the completion of her Master's degree in English Literature from a renowned university of Islamabad. She did Mphil in Women and Leadership and currently she is pursuing her PhD degree in Management Sciences. She has two kids a daughter and a son. She is sole bread earner of her kids. Both of her parents are alive. She spent very different childhood because she feels that her parents don't love her and only love her elder sister and younger brother. She was very naughty child and started weeping on small things. She was closer to grandparents and had less communication with parents. She became happier when she passed grade 10 and got admission in college to opt the subjects of her own choice. She enjoyed more her studies at university level as compared to her early schooling. She was one of the most active students of her department. She was the president of students' union and also General Secretary of the Literary Club. She participated in number of debate competitions of inter university competitions.

Taniya was married outside her family and it was a complete arranged marriage. Her marriage lasted for six years and she never experienced any moment of happiness in six years of her marriage. She spent a year in joint family system right after marriage and after that they started living in nuclear family system. She experienced to live in various cities of Pakistan due to the posting of her ex-husband at different places. The even early days of marriage were very boring and the honeymoon was very pathetic. It was very strange kind of feeling and she didn't get feeling of love and care from him.

He was a typical eastern husband who has this cultural belief that wife is a complete property of a man. They don't have any communication as a couple even when she doesn't have kids. Whenever they used to communicate, it ended up with quarrel and violence. He was a greedy man and was not properly socialized as a gentle man. He did not want to socialize with people and also was not properly socialized from his childhood because both of his parents are illiterate. The first ever feeling she got after marriage was "A very wrong match". She is a very different girl with extremely different family upbringing. He wants a typical Pakistani housewife who remains busy in household chores, never dresses properly and looks like a maid. She still gave six years to this complete mismatch relationship because she never wanted divorce. She got married earlier than her elder sister and she took divorce soon after her marriage. She didn't want divorce at all because her family was already in stress due to the divorce of her sister. She didn't want to make sad her parents and wanted to show them that her marriage is going successfully. She didn't have any decision-making power at household level even she couldn't buy household utilities and grocery without his husband permission. Her children schooling was decided by him. In case of children names, the name of son was chosen by him and the name of her daughter was chosen by her because he didn't want daughter. All minor to major decisions were taken by him. Her husband divorced her seven years back and currently she is living with kids at her parent's house. In early days of divorce, she felt regret and limited her socialization. Now she is pursuing her career and also building the career and personality of their kids. Initially after her divorce her siblings used to interfere in her life matters. She is now the sole decision maker of her life, her kid's life and their studies.

Her kids often visit their father and he still use abusive language for her. She is moving forward in her life and driving happiness from her own achievements. Her married life was not successful because of various social and cultural issues. After divorced, she spent some time in a feeling of great loss and grief but she realized that she has to stand on her feet for herself and kids. She started her academic life again along with professional life and felt happy to recognize her hidden abilities. She wants a composed, mannered and respectful person as life partner in her second marriage. A

person, to whom she can talk freely, can't get easily hyper and give her a space. She believes that her indicator of happiness is to take decision from heart. A couple needs to be flexible as well as prone to learning to make marriage successful. Learning is a lifelong process which was completely missing in her married life. A balanced personality of individuals always makes relationships successful.

4.1.3. Remarried Informants

Rizwan is the youngest child of his parents and married three times in his life. He is now having stable life with his kids in his third marriage for last five years. He faced very hard time in his life due to constant failures of her marital life. He is pursuing his career as a software engineer at a private firm in Islamabad. He spent his life in city and was closer to his mother. His father was strict but caring and never expressed his love. His parents had multiple marital issues between them but they lived together till their death. They all siblings unconsciously developed the fear in their personalities to prove marriages successful. He was an average student. He enjoyed his academic life and wanted to pass time with his friends because his parents never had consensus on anything. He was very naughty boy in his childhood. He was more inclined towards watching TV, travelling and roaming here and there. He also liked to spend time at his home town because his grandparents love him so much being the youngest kid of the family. He got married first time when he was twenty eight years old with her first cousin who was living in Nawab Shah, Sindh a province of Pakistan. During three months of their marriage, he came to know a very sad reality that his first wife liked somebody and her parents didn't want to marry her out of their caste. He caught her red handed calling her boyfriend and saw some of her pictures with her boyfriend in her mobile phone. His wife started making issues with him and all other family members without any reason. So, situation got bitter day by day and she left house without telling him when he was in office. He discussed the issue with his father in law and he started blaming him that he is stigmatizing his daughter as a bad girl even knowing all the fact and realities. They lived together only for three months and they got separated but their marital life ended with divorce after two years.

He got married second time again with an educated girl through marriage bureau out of cast and out of family but to his sheer surprise, she started demanding divorce right after fifteen days of their marriage. During these fifteen days, she completely avoided physical interaction with him because she didn't want to conceive having pre planned mindset to end this marriage. She was married with him with an intention to again remarry with her ex-husband. She went to her parents' house and when he approached her father, he demanded divorce. He resisted a lot that without reason to give divorce is a very bad thing but after some time he came to know that she had married with him for *Halala*. He felt himself like a tissue paper which was used by his second ex-wife to fulfill her purpose. He became so hopeless and planned to leave Pakistan as well as resign for his job but his boss made him realized that these types of hardships come in persons' life and should face them bravely with patience. He was scared of marriage because his last two marriages were broken due to cheating and fraud from girl's side.

He remarried after two years of his second divorce with his cousin who was also divorced. He is blessed with two sons in his third marriage and living happily with his wife. When he got married third time with his divorced cousin, he never inquired anything about her previous marital life. They started their marital life like they are married for the first time and both had no bad experiences in their past marriages. He never forgot that beautiful day of his life when his son was born. After marriage his wellbeing is attached with kids and his relationship with his wife became stronger. He stopped giving preference to himself the moment he became father. He is spending more on his kids and wife. He faced several gendered experiences as well as stigmatization on the failure of his marriages. He lived difficult life and encountered many socio-cultural barriers to prove his masculinity and remarry third time after two consecutive marriage failures. Money is missing in his life in fact he has money but he has seen big dreams for kids and he needs lots of money to fulfill his dreams. After facing many difficult experiences in his life, he is very conscious to keep his marriage intact and happy. He tries to overlook the mismanagement of her wife in household chores for the sake of his kids and provides them healthy and loving environment at home. He wants to eliminate all missing elements which he has experienced in his life

and wants not to be part of his kid's life. Overall, he is satisfied with his life but bad memories of life are still with him.

Zulifqar is fifty years old and belongs to traditional Jatt family of Punjab. He got master's degree in Agriculture Extension and pursued his family profession of farming. He spent very independent and caring childhood because his parents were very loving but he had huge communication gap with them. The reason may be male members of the household spent more time with community and friends at Deras (a place of social gathering in fields). He was very good player of kabaddi and participated in multiple competitions organized inside and outside school. Whenever he won kabaddi matches, he felt very happy to earn prizes. He had a very social personality throughout educational time period. During his studies he had affairs with girls from different villages which were also his source of happiness. He was in love with his cousin. She was very beautiful girl of his family and she also loved him. Unfortunately, she was forced to marry with some other cousin by elders of family and he had to marry outside family to get revenge of his family. He did court marriage with a girl the daughter of an enemy of his family. His wife was very beautiful and supportive and he madly fell in love with her. They started their married life happily but he wasn't blessed with kids till fifteen years of marriage. He faced sever social taunts from the people of her village, sometimes they said to whom he is buying land and earning money because he has no kids. That time was very unhappy for him He had developed a sense of attachment and love with her and he didn't want to remarry because she proved herself a very good wife. His wife also didn't want him to marry again. His wife became agree on his second marriage with a condition to marry outside family. His wife intentionally remarried him outside family with a young girl to have an authority on her. He got married again with twenty years younger girl after fifteen years of his first marriage for the sake of kids with the consent of first wife. He is blessed with three sons and two daughters from his second wife. Both of his wives are living together in same house. He controls his second wife through his first wife and has given her authority to even beat her. He argued that marital happiness is only associated with good character woman. Women mobility should be restricted and, in his culture, it is common notions that *"don't trust even on mother when she goes alone outside home"*. Son preference is

strongest indicator attached with marital happiness in that socio-cultural context where he is living. He has very materialistic and calculative personality. He is the most carefree and self-centered man. He is the most satisfied and happy person throughout his life.

Annie is fifty two years old and renowned analyst of International Relations from Lahore. She has been living with her second husband for more than ten years. She is blessed with kids in both marriages. She has three kids from first marriage and one special kid from second marriage. She earned her doctorate degree and is currently working in one of prestigious organizations. Both her parents are died. She holds very decent and humble personality. She is very beautiful, respectful and civilized. She spent her childhood full of responsibilities being an elder daughter of family. It is common practice in eastern families that when the elder kid is daughter it is assumed by mothers or family members that she will manage household chores as well as her younger siblings. She had a big extended family and she had to help her mother in different occasions to look after their home in her absence. Throughout her childhood, she was advised that she is eldest and she has to take care of your siblings. She was extremely burdened with household responsibilities throughout her childhood. She feels a closer level of understanding with her father. She belongs to traditional conservative society and was not allowed to go anywhere without the company of male member of her family.

Her parents chose Army Officer for their most obedient and well-mannered daughter. She completed her master's degree after marriage. She faced several problems in her first marriage because her ex-mother in law was psychological patient and much proud of her beauty. She always spoiled home environment and never compromised on anything. She was very straight forward and honest and always used to tell everything truly to her ex-in laws which created problems for her. The environment of her in- laws house was like a war due to her mother in law. The very first time, when she saw the fight between them, she became lifeless because she never seen such a barbaric fight in her life. She only spent one month after marriage with some good environment and her husband had good behavior with her. His ex-husband was short temper and superstitious person. After two years of her marriage her ex-

husband became jobless due to his short temper and emotional attitude at his workplace. After losing his job he became negative, angry and was very abusive with her and kids all the time. She spent difficult time and finally got job in public sector organization. Despite all these hardships she completed her MPhil degree along with job. She spent a long time in abusive relationship but never wanted her marriage to be ended. Her husband divorced her in anger and remained in denial for four years that he didn't divorce her but after four years he admitted that he had divorced her. Her family decided to remarry her because her ex-husband continuously visited her house.

She got married again with a man having different socialization and context. Her second husband's elder brother was murdered by a man and he got married to a woman in *Wani*. Her second husband was very kind and loving till her father was alive but the moment her father died he became completely changed. The initial first year was very happy and he showed his sincerity so much. But when she gave birth to a son, he became totally changed and his real face became visible. He started teasing her for money and after a short period of time, he was in love with a new woman. She was completely disappointed from him because he tried to control her money, social life and emotional feelings. She wept day and night and then she decided that she will never weep for anybody again in her life. She decided to spend her life for her kids only and became a kind-hearted iron lady. She now sits alone and evaluates her whole life that whether this is her fate or she is a failure not to keep her either marriage happy. She thinks maybe she is not capable of behaving defined roles in her marriages. She stresses that she had done everything for both of her husbands and made all the efforts to keep first marriage intact but she failed. She has this satisfaction that her husbands are strongly convinced that she is very respectful, caring and obedient wife. She is in a constant conversation with herself that what are the indicators of successful marriage? She always struggles towards the betterment of life and attaches her satisfaction with her kids' success and with her own professional life achievements.

Nazia is fifty-two years old belongs to Gujranwala and is living with her third husband for last six years. She has one kid from first marriage who is happily married and living with his wife and kids. She is graduated and has done multiple diplomas in stitching and interior decorations. Her father is dead but mother is alive. He spent a

very good childhood because of this she could not handle her later life hardships. She is the elder daughter of her parents. She was closer to her father and grandmother. She got married with her first cousin because her father wanted her to marry within his family. She passed nineteen years in her first marriage and was blessed with nine kids but unfortunately eight of them were died after birth due to unknown reasons. She has multiple disputes with her ex-sister in law and mother in law. Her husband also physically tortured and used abusive language. This created multiple conflicts and she got divorced because she was not able to further bear the miseries in this relationship. After her divorce her ex-husband reared her son. After six months of her divorce, she got married with a widow man and her second husband was very good and loving. She spent nine years with him and he was died due to cancer. She spent these nine years happily because he used to shop clothes and different things of her wish.

After passing her *Aiddat*, she got married to another widow man who told her that he has no kids but after marriage she came to know that he has eight kids and it was a complete fraud. Her brothers didn't want her to marry again and again but she did not like to live in brother's house because she did not want to disturb the privacy of her sisters in law. Her step kids are very cruel and have made her life like a hell. Her third husband is very short temper and threatens her to divorce. She always has fights and problems with her step kids and their wives. Her son is grown up and is also married. He has two daughters but she could not spoil his life because she has conflicts with her daughter in law on various issues. She rarely visits them and just wants to see her son happy. She is very unhappy because she is in the constant state of complaining why all this happened to her. She can't sleep whole the night due to her life issues. Her all decisions from birth to till now are taken by men of her family and she is powerless. She has her point of view that no woman can break her own house, it is the society and people being in dominant position destroy the lives of women. She has complaints about everybody that came in her life. She is not happy with her life and has many complaints with her parents, siblings and husbands. She is running home based vocational training center for girls. She is passing very stressful life currently in her third marriage.

4.1.4. Separated Informants

Pervaiz is forty five years old and belongs to Gujjar family. He has been living separately from his wife for last ten years and has two sons living with his wife. He did PhD in Computer Science and is working in renowned educational institution. His father has died but mother is alive. He is the eldest son of his parents and after the death of his father he became mature in his early age. His wife is Master in Business Administration and she is house wife. All his siblings are educated expect his younger brother who is looking after their family land. At the end of 2013 one of his sisters was died which was one of the sad events of his life. He was much loved, being male child of her parents and born after five years of their marriage. He spent very happy and carefree childhood. He did school from traditional village school. Pocket money was a great source of happiness at time from which he purchased food items at the lunch time from school canteen. He was normal child and not a very naughty boy. He had a very limited school friends and spent childhood in extended family system. He was closer to his mother and shared his needs and problems with her. He started his career, after the death of his father to meet the expenses of his family and siblings' schooling.

He was married in 2008 and it was an arranged marriage outside family but within same caste. He started his married life in joint family system. Living in a joint family system is not an easy task but he always fulfilled all the needs of his wife so she never complained that he is spending money on his siblings. Sometimes his wife made disputes in marital life but still he gave this credit to his wife that she showed flexibility and stood with him in all thick and thin of life during two early years of married life. He was blessed with two sons in two years of their married life. His mother in law didn't want her daughter to give birth kids after marriage because she was of the view that this will destroy her health. When his second son was born, his mother in law came to their house after about thirty days and took his wife with her. It was her normal visit but he didn't know that she had some plan in her mind. When his wife went to her parent's house and after forty days, he went to take back her wife home. His mother in law refused to send her daughter with him and she made him clear that multiple pregnancies might damage her health because her daughter is very weak and young. It was the matter of husband and wife about their life. He asked his wife to come with

him but she refused due to her mother's pressure. He became so angry and it hurt his ego so much that he came back to home. He told his mother that his mother in law said that multiple pregnancies had destroyed her daughter's figure. His mother and brothers used to visit his in laws after two or three months during their separation. His brothers in law really wanted to finish this dispute and they wanted him to come and take his wife with him. He has very egoistic personality and misses his kids and family. He believes in spending money rather than accumulating it. His workplace is a source of happiness and pleasant livelihood for him. If he again gets a chance to live a new life, he wants to become a soldier and marry with his cousin.

Asif is forty five years old belongs to Murree and married at the age of thirty years. He has two kids, a daughter and a son living with his wife because he is separated from his wife for last eight years. He did Master in Business and Administration and is working in a public-sector organization. Both of his parents are alive. He has very scattered and broken personality due to his childhood experiences. He was very simple and shy but day dreamer throughout his childhood. He was not very loved child of his parents and his aunty adopted him because she was childless. He was coward because his mother used to beat him in childhood and she loved his elder brother. He was closer to his father and always wanted to get love from his mother but his mother gave him to her sister and completely forgot him. He was intelligent but careless student throughout his academic life. He mostly passed time with friends. He also developed the habit of conversation with himself. He mostly dreamed about to become the most authoritative person of his family because he was inspired of elder authoritative men of his family. He wanted to be hero among girls and dreamed of having four to five girls around him.

Asif got married with his cousin. His aunty and his mother finalized this proposal. His father wasn't happy on this proposal but remained silent and did not interfere in matter. His father in law was also not agreed but his aunty took this sympathy that she has no kids so everybody became silent but they knew that this is a complete mismatch because of large age difference. He was thirty years and she was fifteen years old at the time of marriage. When they got married, soon conflicts started due to his physical problems and her immaturity. She started living at her parent's house. After five months when their relationship was near to break, he felt some

betterment but now his wife lost interest in him. This situation made him frustrated. When she stopped him to come closer her, he started beating her and he became extremists in physical violence due to his mental and emotional health. He became very demanding and didn't understand her feelings. His wife was very young and immature at that time and his mother in law also heated up the situation. His whole family left him alone only his father supported him. In this whole situation, he had completely convinced that his wife had relationship with other man that's why she did not come closer to him. He started to hate his wife and spent sleepless nights. His wife also got miscarriage because she didn't want a kid during first two years of marriage and her mother also forbade her to give birth to a child because it will destroy her health. He was blessed with two kids in eight years of their marriage but the intensity of conflicts never came down. He also visited sundry psychiatrics in twin cities as well as Karachi. All spiritual healers of vicinity declared that he is under strong black magic. He also assassinated her character and blamed her as a bad character woman. When he was admitted in hospital due to anxiety attacks his psychiatric called his parents and told that their son is very alone and need a social support. Psychiatric said he needs wife or remarry him. If they will not do this, he will get heart attack and will die. Currently, he regularly meets his kids and affords all their expenditures. His kids use to come and spend their weekends with him and now he never gets any anxiety attacks. He also starts sending gifts to his wife but never talk to her. He is hopeful that one day he will again start his life as a family unit with wife and kids.

Syeda is sixty years old and living separately from her husband for last twelve years. She has two daughters living with her. She was working as headmistress in a Punjab Government primary school and took retirement after twenty five years of service to look after her younger daughter. She got master's degree in education from AIOU Islamabad. She is running her own vocational training center and educational academy for girls at her parent's house, offering number of diploma courses in sewing, embroidery and interior decoration. She carries very disciplined and organized life when I met her for interview, she was diagnosed with brain tumor and she also had got multiple surgeries for breast cancer seven years back. I found her very strong and a composed woman. Both of her parents are died. Her parents were very cooperative in

all aspects of life and never left her alone in any situation. Her childhood time was the most beautiful time of her life and that was the happiest time of life. She had strong loving relationships with her parents and siblings. She enjoyed every moment of childhood because of her father's nature of job; she travelled a lot and visited various places of Pakistan. She enjoyed her academic life so much and was the brilliant student throughout her academic career. She has few friends but she feels happier with her family. Syeda got married at the age of twenty four and it was completely arrange marriage. After one month of marriage, her husband left for abroad leaving her in Pakistan with his parents and siblings to look after them. He was the eldest son of his family and he had to marry his younger sister and brothers. Her husband gave more importance to material things and his siblings than marital relationship and their kids. Her mother in law was very greedy woman and pressurized her husband to earn more and more money because she wanted to give huge dowry to her daughter because she was the only sister of three brothers. She said to her husband that there is no need to send money to his wife because she is working and can manage her finances. She got pregnant immediately after her marriage and was blessed with baby girl. When her husband came from abroad, her daughter was four years old and she spent four months with him at her in laws house but during this time she had to drop her daughter to parent's house to go for workplace. Her husband never responded to her needs and problems. He only suggested her to adjust with his mother and never take interest in any household matters. After four months, he again went to abroad and didn't came back for seven years. When her daughter was ten years old, she decided to visit him in Saudi Arabia. She visited him alone and her daughter was left alone in Pakistan with her grandmother for six months but her husband never asked her to bring their daughter with her. It was difficult time for her to leave daughter with old mother but she took this step to make her marital relationship alive. She went there and spent six months with him and performed hajj. After eleven years of marriage, she was again blessed with a daughter.

Her father had died after six years of her marriage and after his death her mother asked her to go back to her husband's house. Sometimes, she became very rude to her and she left her parent's house and started living with her in laws. She also got hurt on

this behavior of her mother but felt her lucky to serve both parents in their last days. Her husband's attitude was still careless even after having two daughters and they needed financial support from him because both her daughters were getting education from good institutions. She also has got retirement at twenty five years of her job because her mother became very old and couldn't handle her kids in her absence. After her huge struggle, her elder daughter became independent and now she is managing household expenses and also supporting her younger sister's education in abroad. She is totally involved with her daughters but her husband spent all his life and money on his parents and siblings. She is a respectable woman of her family and everyone respects her due to her struggles but she feels that one part of her life is complete failure.

Rania is fifty one years old and has been living separately from her husband for last six years. She has three daughters and one son living with her. She is the sole bread earner of her kids. She got master's degree in Anthropology from QAU Islamabad. She is running her educational academy to meet her basic needs and educational expenses of her kids. Both of her parents are died. She has very talkative and confused personality. Rania spent a very blessed and happy childhood under the love and guidance of her parents. She spent early days of her childhood with her grandmother which was the happiest time of her life. She felt satisfaction when she visited her village and waited for Eid. Her dresses during her childhood were the source of happiness when everybody admired her. She loved reading books and she spent her whole money on purchasing books. Her younger sister was very beautiful and a continuous comparison by friends and peers with her younger sister developed large number of complications in her personality which in later life put bad impact on her personality. Fortunately, in university life she was more satisfied because her sister's beauty was not present there and her intellectual capabilities were more prominent. Lots of proposal came to house for her and they rejected her and asked her parents to give younger sister's proposal to them. That was also very painful time for her. That was very unhappy time for her and she wishes to God to be a beautiful like her sister so that nobody ever rejects her. Sometimes, her younger sister also stigmatized her that she is not pretty and because of this her marriage is getting late. This time was very uncertain for her and she was unhappy and confused about her future.

Rania got marry when she was twenty four years old and complete her master's degree after marriage. Her husband was ten years older than her at the time of marriage. They both didn't see each other before marriage and this was the main issue in her marriage. Her husband never demanded about this but her parents should show her picture to him. Her husband had attached huge expectations with her beauty because he had seen her younger sister before marriage. Immediately after five days of their marriage, she came to know that her husband had broken about six engagements and had lot of love affairs with girls. There was a huge gap between their cultural orientations and he never wanted to change his socialization. Her husband never showed a responsible attitude towards her but he used to talk about her in public and all of them made fun of her. She tried a lot to smoothen his personality but it was very difficult to change him because he is egoistic person. She was the unpaid labor in his life and he never acknowledged her. He was very short temper person and shouted so much on petty issues that he even forgot manners. She faced verbal and psychological abuse for more than twenty years in her marriage. Her father every month gave her money and then put his hand on her head and said daughter be patient with her husband. He also advised her to spend life quietly because it is the matter of his honor. Her mother was school teacher and she gave her 80% of her pension every month for her household expenditure. She got first baby after three years of their marriage.

Her husband has taken heavy loans and he resigned from his job because he was very short-tempered person and he had daily disputes with his bosses. Her parents also gave house rent for six months and it was very difficult time for her. During this time her husband told her that he wanted to go Dubai for job and he will send money back her in Pakistan. She became very happy because she thought that he might now become responsible. She took loans from siblings and arranged his expenses for Dubai. He flew away and never came back. He lives happily there with his second wife. Her siblings were fed up of him and they made her clear that they will not support her kids anymore. Her parent's death put her under the open sky without having any shadow on her. When her husband left Pakistan for Dubai, she had only six hundred rupees because she even soled some of her furniture and jewelry to meet his expenses for abroad. When he left, it was very difficult time but her kids actually stood by her side and they together start

life once again. Her daughter felt her father's behavior so badly that she was diagnosed with arteries blockage. When her daughter came from Operation Theater alive her whole body was in gratitude. Her husband is no more with them but she felt sympathy for him now she didn't hate him because he is alone and she is surrounded with kids. She faced difficulty in finding her daughters proposal because people said that girl's parents don't have house and her father is also not with her.

4.1.5. Widowed Informants

Ali belongs to Multan and he is fifty two years old. He is living as widow with his kids for last seven years. He has blessed with two sons and two daughters. He has done Master's Degree in Electronics and currently is working as a technical officer in a public-sector organization of Pakistan. Both his parents are died. He has very contended and spiritual personality. He spent very lovable and caring childhood in joint family system. He was closer to both his parents. His mother was illiterate but she was very cultured and progressive. He never had any communication gap with parents. He is very friendly and had a big social circle. He is very helping person since very childhood. When he joined college, his father was died. He was the eldest son of his parents and he started financially supporting his family. education He started working on looms and taught tuitions to meet the expenses of his own education and his siblings. He was the most involved student in all extra circular activities. He played lot of street games. He was very regular student in class but after the death of father he had no time to study at home and finished homework at college. He was very intelligent student and took examination with his own critical thinking. He also started a free of cost home tuition center to help needy students. He has great patience and has no anger in his personality. He is full of positivity and presents each negative aspect of his life with positive approach. He is very open hearted and always ready to help the needy and siblings without any expectation.

Ali got marry after doing graduation and it was an arranged marriage. Her wife was the headmistress in government primary school and she was his neighbor. His siblings arranged his marriage ceremony on large scale and he was very happy with this marriage. His Mian Sahib (saint) also participated in his marriage and spent a huge

amount of money on his marriage. He was blessed with baby boy after a year of marriage. His family was so much happy that his grandfather sat in the street and distributed money and sweets to children and all needy people. All kinds of traditional singers and transgender were called to celebrate this happiness. He was blessed with two sons and two daughters and he loves all his kids equally. He fulfilled all needs of her wife especially and used to buy two to three new suits every week for her. He enjoyed his marital life with its fullest and it was a complete match but his wife 's sudden death due to heart attack made him sad and unhappy. The initial days of his widowhood were very difficult because he had to manage his kids along with his workplace which was far from his house. Now his kids have grown up and they also help him in different household chores.

Akbar is sixty five years old and experienced his widowhood two times in his life. He is living with one of his married sons in his own house. He has been living in widowed status for more than ten years. He got master's degree in English Literature and retired as headmaster from Federal Government School. Currently, he is running his own private English medium school in Rawalpindi. He has blessed with five sons and three daughters from his first wife out of which only five are alive. Both of his parents are died and he has very lively and kind personality. He told with delight that he is Cancer by star and has attraction towards opposite sex. He had lot of girlfriends before his marriage. His childhood was full of adventure and he explored various places and met different people of Pakistan in his childhood. He ran away from his house from the fear of his father not to attend school. He went to Lahore and spent his time with people having professions like beggars and saints. He became laborer and did jobs like making Tattoos, begging and saints. The amount he earned he used to watch 3 shows in cinema and gave 1 rupee to spend night at railway station. After this he started selling fruits but he mostly ate fruits by himself and therefore this business flopped. He became hand to mouth and was sitting on foot path; a man came and offered him a job to carry the posters of movies for their advertisement. He agreed and started working this job. Then he met a Baba who used to make Tattoos on body. He agreed him to work with him and they will go on fares (melas) and started making Tattoos on people's bodies. He has no contact with family for six months and never dared to think to come back

home from the fear of father. He started going with Baba at multiple places of Punjab like Sahiwal, Kabeer Wala and Pakpattan. After some days he became beggar with Baba Tattoo. He shared that he felt an optimum level of taste when he ate a begged Roti (bread). This begging lasted for some time and then they both became saints or peers. He was little peer and Baba was big peer. During this time, they only made lines on papers because both knew nothing about spirituality but to his sheer surprise some of the people came to them and told them that their needs had been fulfilled. Mostly pehlwans (athletes) came to them and they prayed for them for their victory and gave them Taweez too. One day, Baba used an extreme abusive word for him and he became so angry. Baba was also angry and he gave him six rupees and said get lost and he left him. He directly came to bus stop and came back home. His parents searched him everywhere and when he came back to home; his parents were very happy and showed great affectionate towards him. Due to their love he started going to school again and fully devoted himself to his study. He was very intelligent student of school and studied mostly on scholarship. He is also the prominent figure of his family because of material assets and social fame. He has a big social circle and derives his happiness from them in widow status.

Akbar's first marriage was one sided love marriage within family. After graduation, he sent his proposal through his parents to the girl, he liked. The uncle of the girl was very against for his proposal because of families' conflict. His father kept on trying for proposal and finally his father in law accepted proposal and he married. He has to face strong hardships to get his love. He was badly beaten by the uncle of his wife and had to face life threat during his marriage ceremony. Her wife supported him in his needs and problems. She was very wise and took all household decisions. His wife died because of cancer in large intestine. The cancer was diagnosed at last stage and doctors operated her two times but she didn't recover from the disease. Those moments were the saddest in his life when she was in pain. After her death he got retired and kept himself busy to give tuitions to kids. He feels himself very alone because she was the love of his life. He never thought of second marriage at that time because two of his kids were married and rest kids were near to marry. After some time, he married all his kids and they started living in nuclear families. He used to pass time with female

teachers of his school. One of his school teachers brought the proposal of his second wife and he accepted her proposal because she was widow and has one little daughter. He got a very good second wife because she was very loving and caring towards him and his whole family. She was high blood pressure patient and died of heart attack and brain hemorrhage. That was also very difficult time for him and after her death he tried to keep the daughter of his second wife with his family because he promised his second wife to be her complete guardian. But she left him and went to her grandparent's house. Currently, he spends most of his time at his workplace and makes himself busy in social activities.

Zartaj is thirty six years old widow woman and is living with his two sons in her parent's house after the death of his husband in an accident more than ten years back. She earned BS (Hons) degree in Home Economics and currently pursuing her master's degree in Management Science from one of the renowned private universities of Islamabad. Her father is died and her mother is alive. She is very strong, brave and lively with smiling face. She is full of life and spent a quality childhood. Her parents gave quality time to all their daughters, love and care that never left gaps in their personalities. She was like a boy that's why her mother forcefully selected home economics subject for her in college but she wanted to choose computer science or law. Her mother's point of view was that she is already like a boy if she selected male oriented subject she will never fit into societal standards of a girl. She was very intelligent and brighter star throughout her academic life. She got married immediately after her graduation. Her aunty was the neighbor of her husband who brought proposal for her. When her husband saw her for the very first time, she was in long boots and was playing with dog at her aunt's house. She only wore lipstick and never applied anything on her face. She felt it difficult to be a proper girl after marriage but she tried her best to transform into a complete feminine look after marriage. She didn't like her husband's family because they put pressure on her to lose weight before marriage. They also visited her home for several times and she felt frustration. Her mother also didn't like them and considered them artificial people. Her father liked the boy and he accepted the proposal.

They started living in joint family system and her husband left for the city where he was working. She lived in joint family system for five months and then she came to city and started living with her husband in a rented house. After some time, her husband's parents came to city to live with them because of her husband's mother's cancer treatment. She stayed home all the time but her husband tried to escape from house all the time. Her husband left for safari drive with his office friends because he wanted a break. After five days of her husband's departure, she received her husband's sister's call and she asked her to come back home immediately because she was in market with her mother in law. She felt something different and she asked her about her husband's father because he had got heart attack few days back. She felt a dirty sensation whether something had happened to her father in law and she just thought how they could tell all this to her husband and the second thought came to her mind if something had happened to her husband's father her mother in law will stay with them forever and she will ruin rest of their life. When she came home, she came to know that her husband had died in accident and she lost her senses. Her younger son was only one year and three months but her elder son was three years old and he took more seriously his father's death and was hard hit by his father's death. Her *Aidat* time was very difficult, she used to stay in the kitchen with the cook all the time because house was always full with people came for sorrow. They took away TV from her room and her kids were so small that they needed TV. They thought that their son had died and she watched TV. Her younger sister in law and father in law were very rude that time When her husband died, she had only three thousand rupees but her husband's parents didn't do anything for her and kids. Her parents gave her money and her sisters were abroad and they also sent her money. She started living with her parents after her husband's death and this created a distance between them. They were of the view that their money will go spoil if they supported her and she will remarry with some other man. She started a job in her husband's workplace and she also got the insurance money from her husband's job. She also had a car on her name which her husband had purchased for her. She survived because of her husband's workplace after his death otherwise it might be difficult to survive with two kids.

At her parents' house, she got ironed clothes, food at her room and she just focused on her job. Her kids have completely taken care from her parents. She is just their weekend mama who takes them outside to toy shop and food. She feels that she has only the capacity to fulfill the dreams of her kids which she always wanted for them. She is currently busy in her own business and looking after her kids as a proud single mother. She is running her own food business and also provides catering and event management services for different professional as well as family functions. Along with all these responsibilities, she is excelling in her own professional and academic growth with passion and enthusiasm.

Saima is 29 years old lady and became widow when she was only twenty two years old. She has been living with her only son for last seven years. She holds Mphil degree in Management Science and currently pursuing his PhD degree in the same subject. She is working as a lecturer in a private university. Both of her parents are died. She has very strong and ambitious personality. She is very ambitious and deterministic lady. She spent ordinary childhood. She was the youngest child of her parents and had a huge communication gap with parents. The environment of her home was very restricted and conservative. She also had not good communication with her sisters. She was very active child and enjoyed life with its fullest. She was very intelligent student and her whole childhood and school life was full of her own struggle because her family wasn't very concerned about female education.

Her husband saw her in hospital and was much impressed by her beauty because she was very young at that time. He sent proposal but her father refused because of huge age difference but after the death of her father, her sister accepted proposal and she got married. My husband right after marriage made me clear that he didn't need baby. After her marriage, she stayed in joint family system for six months in laws house and then she left to Dubai with her husband and started living with him. These six months were very difficult because her mother in law was very strict woman. Her husband was very good cook and he had a restaurant business in Dubai. She was so much involved in him that she used to do everything for his happiness. She believed that young age love is very much strong and she had completely lost herself. After two years of their marriage, she agreed her husband for baby due to lot of social pressure.

Her husband was convinced but was not happy for baby. He was not family-oriented man and he wanted to pass carefree life and that's why he delayed his marriage. He preferred beauty on relationship, the time she spent with him after becoming mother, he completely lost interest in her and their physical relationship was completely finished.

This made him furious and their relationships got spoil. Their conflict started in Dubai and he sent her back to Pakistan. My mother in law wanted her to stay with her in Pakistan because she was old and she needed somebody to look after her but she didn't want to stay with her. She had spent almost more than three years with her husband independently and it was very difficult for her to live in joint family system. She left in laws house and came to her sister's house to pressurize her husband to take her back to Dubai. Four days before the death of her husband, the friend of her husband called her to visit Dubai. She made her all arrangements for Dubai but meanwhile her husband was died. Her elder brother in law went Dubai to bring her husband's dead body. Her husband was diabetic patient and he got heart attack. When her husband died her son was only eight months old. Her mother in law's behavior also became very rude and harsh with her. Her life became difficult day by day. She spent whole year in her in laws in isolation and she used to spend her whole day in kitchen or room. After one year, she decided to leave although everybody was against her decision form her family and in laws. She left her in laws house for two reason, firstly she thought if today her mother in law is doing her character assassination may be other people also start doing this. Secondly, she had no identity of her and her personal growth had stopped and in next ten years she will be nowhere. One of her sisters was living in Saudi Arabia and she has good terms with her. She gave her house in Rawalpindi and she started living there with her son. Her sister's house was in the inner city of the Rawalpindi and the social environment was not very good. But first time, she slept and ate food of her will after one year.

4.2. Elucidating Happiness: Personification

The phenomenon of happiness is a difficult to describe because of its unique nature and variation in social experiences of individuals. It is a social experience which not only

varies from one individual to another but it keeps on changing within a single individual with regard to time, space, gender, context, marital and social status. The key argument constructed from this theme is much related to cultural frameworks that prepare individuals from their very childhood to think in certain way and condition their thoughts which is best suited to maintain its domination at larger societal level. In doing so the minds of individuals produce mental images which are consciously and unconsciously interpreted by the social construction of reality. The narratives of individuals irrespective of their gender and marital status show that happiness is not independent of social context and power structure in which individuals are living under defined normative patterns for various social categories and identities.

It was the most complex phenomenon to handle throughout the research work to raise question regarding the personal happiness of informants irrespective of their gender; they took long pauses and asked me to explain what did I really want to ask from them? Being in collectivists' culture, it is difficult for individuals to separate themselves from their larger social structure and get their self happiness. In eastern cultures the happiness of an individual is associated with his/her family life before and after marriage. This cultural orientation of family life becomes stricter and more significant after marriage. If I narrate my lived experiences about happiness in this context as an individual rather than a researcher, I used to relate my happiness with my parents before marriage and relate my happiness with husband and kids after marriage. I feel happy on my achievements and commitments with my parents and spouse. My all achievements regarding professional and academic life provide me happiness because these are ultimately beneficial for the social and economic well-being of my family.

Therefore, happiness is situated and dependent on larger social structure in which individual is operating his/her life rather than self-centered happiness. Kwan, Bond and Singelis (1997) suggested that people have high levels of happiness when they are aligned with cultural norms and members of their in-group. They are happy when they feel emotionally close with their loved ones. However, harmonious and good social relationships are positively related with life satisfaction (Realo & Allik, 1999).

The fulfillment of individual's goals is also significant but people of collectivist culture emphasize more on collective goals and sacrifice individual goals specifically, in front of those who are in power (Radhakrishnan & Chan, 1997). Whereas, it is strongly recommended that obedience to cultural norms are more important than pleasure (Inglehart et al., 2008; Rozin, 1999; Suh et al., 1998). I also came across with same situation with almost all my informants about their individual happiness. The word happiness becomes so irrelevant in its individual meaning because no one can isolate her/himself from the social context of social life. It is worth mentioning that renowned psychologists Diener and Suh (2000) stress the importance of "cultural norms" influencing the subjective wellbeing of individuals beyond money (p.444). However, scholars of positive psychology Oishi et al. (2013) found that satisfactory external settings and circumstances are the most recent definition of happiness and there is no relationship between happiness and internal state of an individual. Their answers were much gendered and clearly depicted the dichotomous notion i.e., public and private spheres of society. Differences in experiences of happiness are more visible in gender related attributes, status, roles and expectations among men and women within particular social context (Nolen-Hoeksema & Rusting, 1999).

In this study almost all women and men having different marital status relate their individual happiness with family life and professional life. When I probed; did they really feel this is their individual happiness or socially defined happiness? Most of the informants became silent for a moment and couldn't relate their happiness with themselves. This was the time, when informants were actually involved in the process of finding their happiness within them and self-realization. It is important to mention that all informants belong to collectivists' socio-cultural context which is dominated in their construction, meanings and practices of happiness which is differently experienced by men and women. One of my informants had to bear domestic violence but she kept her marriage intact for the sake of her kids and family honor. She pretends to be happy in pain by getting this social approval of being a good wife. In case of a married man, who doesn't have kids in first marriage. He had to remarry for the sake of kids without having love and mental understanding and feels happy even in unhappy relationship for getting a social recognition to prove his masculinity and saving family name.

After three to four sittings with informants, they became able to distinguish between their personal and societal happiness. Their narratives depict that they are trained under social patterns and have become habitual in their thought process to get social recognition of their feeling of happiness and they cannot detach themselves from their context to independently define their personal happiness. Nearly, all individuals attached their happiness with their marital lives, kids, social status, social empowerment, freedom, accumulation of wealth, money and workplace achievements. These cultural orientations have so much influence on individuals that they feel happy with social recognition and approval of their social actions. They are deeply involved in those social actions which give them maximum socio-cultural appreciation and hence feel (Homans, 1961) maximum happiness.

The accounts of men informants show that their individual happiness is highly situated in the social context in which they exist and derive their satisfaction from the power and authority they enjoy as well as people's encouraging perception towards them on performing their gendered role. The excerpts of two men given below clearly narrate their personal happiness which cannot be detached from the social context and has strong ties with the cultural orientation of authority for happiness.

I feel happy at my home town because I belong to high caste family and enjoy authority which I never get and exercise anywhere else. (Abbas, Married Life History)

Happiness for me is having good relationship with parents, siblings, wife, kids and societal people. I want respect and authority from my wife. (Imran, Separated Semi Structured)

The above quotations illustrate the individual happiness with family, fulfillment of needs and wants, respect and authority. The majority of men informants reported that men are normally socialized with authoritative mindset in Pakistan. Triandis (2001) presented considerable evidence that the authoritative position of a person in social structure leads him/her to highest level of personal happiness. It is also linked with high income and more subjective well-being. On same lines Kohn and Slomczynski (1990) said that dominant position of an individual in a social context is acquitted with multiple options and have a control to decide about his/her life. It is clear from above

descriptions that happiness is a social phenomenon and it doesn't come from inside. If the external factors are conducive for individuals, they feel happy otherwise are unhappy.

The narratives of women informants clearly depict that their happiness is cultural and situated in the social context in which they are fixed. They are not independent of taking decisions about themselves because their happiness is strongly linked with their spousal relationships. Happiness is not a constant phenomenon but its graph fluctuates throughout the life in upward and downward direction due to various social situations. Happiness is not something over which an individual has a control but it is the outcome of gendered socialization throughout the life for multiple role performance such as role of husband, wife, and daughter in law etc. All women participated in this research study have a strong relationship of their individual happiness with marital life. The description of a married woman Ramsha clearly narrates the individual perception of a Pakistani woman which is embedded in her gender and family life and completely isolates it from her empowered life style.

It is very philosophical to explain self-happiness because it has multiple dimensions; it is very much related to the socio-cultural context in which I exist. I am a strong woman so I try to control situations according to my will. But if I say that I take my decisions independently it is not a complete truth, because if my husband is unhappy on my decisions, I will never be happy. (Ramsha, Married Life History)

The above description about personal happiness of a highly qualified professional woman shows that she cannot separate her happiness from her context and its interpretation with the prevailing normative structure. Happiness is very contextual in a sense that it is interrelated and controlled by some person, experience and social action performed by an individual. It is not an independent experience, however in terms of gender it is controlled through power relations in which an individual is embedded. The pursuit of happiness is not only dependent on traditional setting but the approval of larger social structure is needed in which that individual is grounded. So, an individual is in constant effort to get approval of happiness from his/her social surrounding and attempts to construct and reconstruct his/her social activities in

multiple life domains according to the cultural context. The excerpts of two women are presented who link their personal happiness with marriage.

My happiness is with my husband but I always hurt my father due to my husband because of my love marriage and marital life issues. (Saiqa, Married Life History)

I spent my life other than defined gender roles but now I feel happiness lies at the heart of nature. (Nadia, Married Semi Structured Interview)

The phenomenon of happiness is placed at the center of the point where social life is being formed. Therefore, it is difficult for an individual specially for a woman to think about herself while narrating her individual happiness. It is also impossible for an individual to isolate from social relationships and to express social context free account of happiness. The above quotes clearly depict the tension between individual and social happiness. Individualistic happiness becomes powerless in front of cultural construction of happiness and directs individuals to enjoy happiness within the boundaries of their defined social context. It is very important that how quickly someone accepts this reality that the determining factor for life is nature. Changing gender roles never bring happiness in the lives of either gender due to the dominance of social context because this context is so powerful that it keeps on reminding them that they are performing roles other than their defined gendered roles in their social lives. So, men find happiness in maintaining and strengthening social context through their authority and control but women's happiness is found in married life with many compromises.

A qualitative study conducted by Lu and Shih (1997) provided an evidence that cultural values such as harmony of interpersonal relationships is the major driving force to construct experiences of happiness. Individuals are highly attached with their cultural contexts and struggle to fit in prescribed social roles with appropriate social relationships (Mathews & Izquierdo, 2009; Morling et al., 2002). In this study some of women feel dissatisfaction while performing their roles against their defined gender roles because power relations make them realize that their lives are the embodiment of social context in which they are operating their social lives. Individuals seek guidelines from larger social system to direct their lives and this ultimately link their lives with

their cultures. Therefore, the idea that an individual cannot spend his/her life without any social system being a social entity and he/she will never be happy without being able to recognize 'culturally mandated' (Kitayama et al., 2009) ways of living (p.115).

The construction of happiness among most of the women reveal that individual happiness is deeply rooted in the social context and rotates around the power relation in which they are spending their social lives. The narratives of two women are completely focused on having good relationships with her husband and their happiness is fixed in their family life. They stated;

My happiness is attached with my family. I am happy when my husband is happy with me. (Fatima, Remarried Semi Structured Interview)

A life in which husband is standing right behind to support, to excel in career and to see children growing up in a positive way is the biggest happiness of my life. (Fizza, Remarried Semi Structured Interview)

The failure of marriages actually adds dissatisfaction and unhappiness in individuals' lives. The women mostly do not separate their individual happiness from their marital lives because social context has defined successful marriage as the determining factor for their satisfaction. The above accounts of the remarried women highlight that they don't see themselves as an individual but understand themselves as a social entity deeply rooted in social relationships. They never detach their happiness from the defined gender roles as daughter, wife and sister. They have internalized this collective perception of happiness during the process of socialization to perform institutionalized roles and identities. Therefore, happiness of women in this study cannot be separated from their family life. Happiness is rooted and occurred from social interactions among diverse social relations (Ahuvia et al., 2015; Glaeser, 2011; Hausman & McPherson, 2006; Haybron, 2011;). They are not independent in defining their happiness without relating it with their social life in which family is the focal point of their lives. They perform their defined gender roles more efficiently maybe due to failures in their first marriages and striving hard to make their remarried life successful. They have become more careful in their social behaviors and confined themselves within defined boundaries of social context but they are making efforts to never come

across in conflict with power structure. People never realize their happiness outside their social relations and social worlds. They constantly evaluate their experiences of happiness based on the social structure and institutions to spend happy life (Boudon, 2002). Individuals constantly shape their behaviors and mental state with social and physical context (Haybron, 2014).

The voices of some of men about their personal happiness are related with material assets, personal achievements, social appreciation and personal freedom. All these dimensions are highly dependent on the social and cultural system in which the men are in the position of power but they also have to obey certain social norms and values to save larger prevailing social context of the society at the cost of their individual happiness. The excerpts of two men are presented here as an example to understand their position in authoritative structures of society and liberty to freely narrate their personal happiness.

I always feel happy to dress up good looking expensive clothes, having big house and luxurious car. (Altaf, Divorced Life History)

I feel happy to go on long walk in rainy season wearing long boots because I enjoy my own company. (Manzar, Married Semi Structure Interview)

Some of individuals can get self-realization of happiness within themselves being a part of larger social structure. The material things are also an important source of happiness for individuals because society stratifies people with their valuable possessions such as land, money, status and occupation. If a person falls at higher layer of strata, he/she feel happy because it gives a social recognition of being successful in larger social structure of the. The individual has multiple aspects of his social life, some are hard and some are soft. Soft aspects are those which are a source of enjoyment and pleasures. Men in traditional societies having this liberty to enjoy the soft aspects of social life are happy but some men don't have this freedom to choose their aspirations of life are unhappy and vulnerable in patriarchal system. The narrative of a remarried man describes his personal happiness which is attached with his education.

My education is my happiness and I believe through education I will overcome the societal stigmatization being in low caste. (Aurangzeb, Remarried Semi Structured Interview)

The above quote clearly mentions the vulnerabilities of a man irrespective of marital status belongs to low caste family and faces discrimination in patriarchal society. Patriarchy is a social system which gives privileges to men in the prevailing social context but men from lower strata face prejudice which can only overcome through education by attaining achieved status. It also depicts that some of the individuals in traditional societies are able to get their individual happiness through education and construct their own small individualistic culture which emphasizes on the independence of individuals, freedom of choice and individuals' needs (Hofstede, 1980; Kashima et al., 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 2001) and these experiences also come under the concept of inter-cultural diffusion where individuals adapt some of the cultural values of other nations (Lu & Gilmour, 2004; Lykes & Kemmelmeier, 2014) but it is very rarer.

A religious scholar attaches his self-happiness with his personal achievements and fame in these words.

My own achievements are the only source of happiness for me. I want to become a renowned religious scholar of international fame. When I got appreciations on my religious talks at different forums, I feel an immense happiness. (Ishfaq, Divorced Semi Structured Interviews)

It is human nature that individuals want appreciation from social environment and even the happiness of a religious scholar is highly dependent on his religious achievements and fame. Although, religion is considered something above normative social order but individuals who are performing religious activities in social settings need societal consent to derive their happiness. The men in divorced status have more free space and less stigmatization to define their personal happiness more openly as compared to divorced women. The narratives of divorced women depict lack of independence, freedom and equality in their married and divorced lives. Their accounts show that divorced status prevents them to achieve individual happiness due to the

power of social context in which they want to fit in irrespective of their desires. A highly qualified hard core professional divorced woman finds her personal happiness in autonomy after passing several years of her life in hardships. She described her happiness in these words.

The independence and freedom for taking my decisions make me happy. The independence and barrier free life is my happiness. I take my own decision and I have thrown this sentences out of my life "Log kaya kehain gaye" (What people will say?). I don't make people and situation-based decisions. I feel happy to spend time with my pet, go on shopping, take rest whole day and meet friends without any restriction. (Huma, Divorced Life History)

The above quote clearly depicts the wishes of a woman who was once subordinate and vulnerable in power relations and constantly tried to break the boundaries of patriarchy to achieve her happiness. She faced difficulties of life with patience and tolerance due to the seeds of strengths and determination were sown in her childhood by parents. She became independent at the cost of her marital life. She is satisfied but facing continues stigmatization from the social world in her current life.

The narratives of some of the divorced women are eye opening and thought provoking to understand the stigma of divorce and their construction of happiness. These women narrate their experiences in detailed and unveil many hidden realities of life and link it with their lived experiences. A divorced woman spending several years in traumatic relationship of marriage but due to stigmatization of marriage failure, she is again finding her happiness in remarriage. Her words are quoted here as an example.

I had this conception that happiness and satisfaction is achieved through marriage. I thought it will be a starting point of my life but after the experience of marriage it was a dead end. I felt that everything is lost especially my own. Marriage is a very beautiful bond between husband and wife wrapped with care love and respect. In my case, marriage is a hate able relationship. It was traumatic and painful. After divorce, I am still wishing a suitable person as life partner and father of my kids but I am hopeless. (Taniya, Divorced Life History)

She told me with tears in her eyes; *"This is missing in my life" but I guess "My life line is missing"* (Taniya, *Divorced Life History*). This is very socio-cultural perception that marriage is ultimate salvation of life and it is considered as a starting point of life. Girls in Pakistan are rooted in the strong socio-cultural patterns and dream about their marriages for very early age. They have strong fantasies about their married life and are strongly socialized on the patterns of getting their happiness through marriage. It is difficult for a girl even from modern and educated background to distinguish her individual happiness from her marriage. She is continuously internalizing certain mental images and social practices through power structure to find her happiness in marriage. The knowledge produced by power structure actually constructs the roles, activities and specifically appropriate identities for women to find their individual happiness in marriage. Another divorced woman who broke many gendered stereotypes throughout her life but the power of social context forced her to relate her happiness with successful married life and women subordination. She expressed her feelings in these words.

The success in marital and professional life is my happiness. I am unsuccessful in most aspects of my social life. It is cultural that the happiness of a woman is ultimately attached with marriage but I believe equality in marriage. I have done various abnormal things which are not fit in to the particular social context and I broke these boundaries. But now, I want to live like common submissive woman. (Ayeza, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

She ultimately wishes to fit into the prevailing social order. The tyrannies of cultural setting never allow a woman to perform role other than prescribed gender roles. It is observed from multiple interactions with divorced women that these women are not unhappy on the failure of their marriage but the continuous stigmatization of society and title of *becahri* (vulnerable) make them unhappy. Another divorced woman narrated her individual happiness as;

My individual happiness is spending time with friends, wearing expensive clothes and looking beautiful. But cultural yard stick daily beats me to prove myself as a good

mother. I can't do it because society will not allow me and my daughter to get good proposal. (Farwa, divorced)

The power of societal forces forbids a divorced woman to accomplish her desires to achieve individual happiness. A life of a divorced woman with kids is more vulnerable in power relations and she has to prove her strength of character, respect and modesty for the well-being of her children. However, in this whole scenario individuals struggle to get closer with their (McGillivray, 2007; Morling et al., 2002) contexts and strive hard to fit in pre-determined roles, responsibilities and relationships. They break social boundaries and gender stereotypes but the power of social structure does not allow them to become happy and satisfied. Previous research (Bodenhausen, 1993) claims that happiness of an individual is badly affected with stereotypes and judgments of people. These individuals are blamed on achieving their individual happiness because they have spoiled their intimate social relationships. The discourses of happiness among divorced group reveal that divorce is severe taboo for women than men. The women are more stigmatized and stereotyped in their divorce status and many barriers block their way to achieve individual happiness. The impact of socio-cultural factors is making strong difference in experiences of happiness (Frey, 2008; Helliwell et al., 2012; Oishi, 2010; Vennhoven, 2010). The happiness of both genders in their divorced status is deeply rooted in the social context but it is more authoritarian and stricter for women than men due to the power relations in which they are operating their social lives. Social context continuously produces power knowledge against women to shape their identities within the normative structure set by the society.

Some of the men informants related their individual happiness with family and spousal relationships, economic wellbeing and health of kids, having kids in marriage and education to attain achieved status. All these dimensions are determined by societal standards and individuals relate their happiness with them. The feeling of these individuals revolves around family life. It is a common practice in eastern societies that after marriage men become more concerned about maintaining relationships with their family members and getting social approval while their wives act as a subordinate. Two men married three times for the sake of marital satisfaction and kids expressed their happiness in these words.

I want to purchase big house and make valuable assets for my kids. I also feel happy when my family members are together and I want my wife to give protocol to my siblings. (Rizwan, Remarried Life History)

My relationship with my spouse is a complete source of happiness for me but in current scenario my happiness is almost dead (Pervaiz, Separated Life History).

The conventional male ideology about the family well-being in terms of material assets is linked with their individual happiness. They show more responsive behavior towards the economic well-being of their kids. The social lives of individuals are so complex in nature that they find it difficult to analyze their own happiness at micro level and always relate it with macro societal context. Socio-cultural context forces the men to find their happiness in defined normative patterns. The quote of a separated man offered above who is living separately from his spouse over a long period of time shows an unhappy feeling because his kids and spouse are not living with him. The narratives of separated men show that they are missing their spouses and kids. They attach their happiness with family relationships, well-being of kids, and authority. These men are also vulnerable and oppressed in a sense that once an individual is married, he has to take his marriage successful along with managing other family relationships. Men in eastern societies are considered as heads of the household and they have the responsibility of not only managing his marital life but looking after all his family.

The construction of individual happiness of most of the women participated in the current research is attached with the well-being of kids but the narratives of some of the men also highlight that they are happy with their kids. A divorced man having three grown up daughters related his happiness with the successful marital life of his daughters.

I want to see my daughters happily married and settle in well reputed families. It is my ultimate happiness. (Adnan, Divorced Life History)

This divorced man whose own marital life is failure and is worried about his daughters being the children of divorced parents. He is only looking for happiness in the future well-being of his daughters. A large number of previous research studies (Hayo &

Seifert, 2003; Inglehart & Rabier, 1986; Myers, 2000) have stated that people living in separated and divorced status are dissatisfied with their lives. The tyrannies of social context are beyond anybody's control and individuals have to drive their happiness forcefully to fit in to their respective social contexts. Human beings pursue their (Eckersley, 2000) happiness in relation with other people. Previous researchers (Michalos et al., 2001; Myers, 2000; Veenhoven, 1989 & 1999) validated the idea that happiness of people is related with family life, spouses and children.

In this study the concept of separation in marriage is not only dependent on spouses consent but the consensus of their relative families is also important. The narratives of individuals belonging to separated and divorced groups reveal that the men face the vulnerability of not having kids and spouses with them. On the other hand, separated and divorced women feel satisfied that they have kids with them but are facing the hardships of single motherhood and striving hard to make their kids successful.

The women have to strive harder than men to make their kids' successful and happy due to multiple social, cultural and economic pressures. Happiness as a social experience is not general phenomenon but it is an important element of human social life which is historically and socially constructed through established socio-cultural practices (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). The narratives of these women are presented here as an example who are struggling as a single mother for the future wellbeing of their kids.

My daughters are the source of happiness and satisfaction for me. I want to see my daughters successfully socialized by single mother. (Syeda, Separated Life History)

I never saw myself as an individual in widowhood and my happiness is attached with my son's well-being. I am living with the feeling of grief for last six years but I am striving hard to change this into opportunity by growing myself positively. (Saima, Widow Life History)

These women having problems in their marital relationships cannot detach their happiness from kids. They face social stigmatization and discrimination but they extract

their happiness to see their kids living successful. The narrations of separated, divorced and widow individuals show that their happiness is with their spouses. These individuals are striving hard to be part of their social structure even after the loss of certain important relationships and being social units to fulfill certain roles and obligations.

It is observed from the findings of current research that the lives of women revolve around their marital lives in which husband has the core position. In east, girls leave their house after marriage and move to their husband's house but in case of widowhood, the death of spouses strongly hit and leave them socially isolated. In these hard times of life, the memories of their spouses are a source of happiness and satisfaction. However, these women also shift their complete focus towards the well-being of their kids. These women specifically widow and separated derive their happiness from their kids and attach their own satisfaction with the future well-being of their children. They are moving positively in their lives in spite of the feelings of grief for the sake of their kids. They locate their (Chiang, 1996) self-representations as a constitutive part of their social relationships. The guaranteed indicator of happiness is the quality of social relationships a person has in his/her life. People around the world specifically in East are motivated to maintain family life for happiness (Lu et al., 2001). However, Lyubomirsky (2001) stated that closeness to intimate relationships result in improved social and physical life.

The accounts of some of widow men reveal that they attach their personal happiness with spirituality. Their narratives are the picture of isolation and solitude. The death of a spouse actually generates sense of grief which may be overcome to develop a relationship with divine or by recalling pleasant memories of married life. The death is something inescapable reality and it actually results in the loss of other relationships in the social context with a feeling of exclusion. These men feel themselves vulnerable after the death of their life partner and find their happiness in spirituality and old memories of their loved ones. The death of spouse is a distressing experience for the left behind spouse and it completely changes his/her social life. The loss of spouse results in sudden life changes such as limited social activities, lack of social support, increased social dependency and social isolation. However, other widow

men participated in the current research relate their happiness in spirituality and religiosity, for example a widow man related his happiness with spiritual acts as;

To perform spiritual practices is a great source of my individual happiness. (Ijaz, Widowed Semi Structured Interview)

These widow men are very much contented with their lives and relate their happiness with spiritual practices. After the death of spouses, they find happiness in developing relationship with a divine power and relocate their social activities within this domain. The death of spouses attaches them closely with religion and they get satisfaction from it. It can be perceived that their spirituality is due to limited social activities and social isolation being faced after the loss of spouses. Various related research (Lu et al., 2001; Mathews & Izquierdo, 2009) on happiness indicated that marriage and children make people happier than people having divorced, separated and widowed status. However, previous scholarly work (Argyle, 1987; Myers, 2000) stated that participation in spiritual activities increases the personal happiness of individuals.

The narratives of men and women in the current research having different marital statuses highly place their personal happiness with the context in which they are socially practicing their lives. The cultural construction of happiness is not rooted from socio-cultural normative order but it is mainly fixed in (Uchida et al., 2004) historical developed ideologies. Therefore, analysis of happiness needs to involve with the 'history of the culture' (Kitayama & Markus, 2000, p. 114). The most common words majority of the men participated in the current research choose to narrate their personal happiness are power, authority, personal freedom, family, well-being of their kids and involvement in spiritual practices. However, on the other hand majority of the women relate their personal happiness with family, conformity to gender roles, marital success and wellbeing of their kids. The most striking word which emerged during these detailed interviews with individuals is the marital success rather than marital happiness is the salient feature of personal happiness more for women than men.

The accounts of informants reveal that all married men attach their personal happiness with power, authority and personal aspirations but family is also an important element of their interpretation of individual happiness. But all married women

completely relate their personal happiness with husband, kids and family life. In divorced group three out of four men attach their personal happiness with their personal goals and achievements, except one man who has three daughters is afraid of stigma of divorce and relates his personal happiness with marrying her daughters respectfully. However, all divorced women eagerly want to spend independent lives but three out of four women after facing strong stigmatization eventually remarry to spend their lives within defined gender boundaries. All remarried men and women attach their personal happiness with the efforts to make their remarriage successful and also relate it with the well-being of their kids. Some of remarried men also attach their happiness with the achievement of personal goals. In separated group all men want to reunite with their wives and get their family life back but with adherence to authority and defined gender roles. However, two out of four women who have spent six and ten years of their lives in separation attach their happiness with their kids and do not reconcile with their husbands but young women who have less duration of separation want reunion with husbands for their kids and do not bear more social pressure. In widow category two out of four men who are living in widowhood for more than five years attach their personal happiness with religious and spiritual activities but rest of two widow men have missing feeling of their spouses and have intentions to remarry in future. In comparison three out of four widowed women attach their happiness not only with the memories of their husbands and wellbeing of kids but with their personal growth as well.

All men with different marital statuses attach their personal happiness with their personal goals and they have complete authority to define their individual happiness. The narratives of all women about personal happiness clearly depict that family and marriage lie at the heart of their construction and meaning of happiness. The research study reveals that even men are not free from social stigma in separation and divorced status and continuously face disgrace and dishonor in their larger social structure. However, all men want to reunite with their wives and attach their happiness spending happy lives with their wives but in case of separated women who are living in separation for longer period of time are more concerned about the wellbeing of their kids. The separated informants are also facing stigma being in separation and facing social

pressure from their families to unite again in marriage but the hidden conflict and issues of spousal relationships is difficult to unveil and accept for themselves.

The construction of happiness among widow informants reveal that the death of spouse is considered as a loss for both genders and widow men find their happiness in spiritual practices as well as pleasant memories of marital life. But women get their satisfaction from recollection of their past accounts of marital life and involving themselves to strive hard for the future well-being of their children. The cultural structure is so vital that it seems impossible for individuals to detach themselves from their context and to autonomously narrate their definition of happiness. These culturally specific definitions of happiness actually construct (Lu & Gilmour, 2004) culturally specific experiences which are highly situated in social relationships (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). The authority of context shapes and reshapes ways of life differently for men and women in all social groups.

Chapter No.5

Marital Happiness: A Cultural Embodiment

Marriage as an institution is mandatory in eastern societies. Marriage is social as well as religious obligation and is the beginning of family unit with husband and wife. It is culturally defined social institution which reflects people's ideas, beliefs and behavior to perform roles of husband and wife. In this chapter, individuals having diverse social groups selected for current research study are discussed under three themes and sub themes with a focus on their marital statuses. These three themes are connected with each other and links discussion about the gender-based myths and realities in marriage, the decision of marriage, gendered experiences in marriage and multiple gendered experiences faced by divorced, separated and widow individuals in case of marriage failure. Social context starts socializing individuals to fit into marriage institution because it is mainly linked with the survival of societies. Marriage needs religious as well as legal approval even though it is very personal relationship but must be publicly open in a marriage ceremony attended by family, close relatives and friends.

Pakistani culture comes in the category of collectivist culture which promotes arrange marriages in the lives of individuals. Several previous researchers (Arif & Fatima, 2015; Xiaohe & Whyte, 1990; Yizengaw et al., 2014; Zadeh, 2003) have concluded that parental consent in selection of marital partner has positive association with marital happiness. Therefore, in this socio-cultural context the individuals of the current research define marriage in relation with larger social structure build on cultural logics and people use these meanings as reality and relate their own experiences with social and cultural underpinnings. The marital success rather marital happiness is most strong feeling highlighted by the informants of current research and is highly dependent on the joint efforts of couple but with a special focus on the internalization of behaviors based on symbolic cultural practices in their married lives (Acevedo et al., 2012; Jablonski, 2010; Juvva & Bhatti, 2006; Mósmannet al., 2007; Mósmannet & Falcke, 2011; Selcuk et al., 2010).

Marriage is one of the explicit (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993) symbolic experiences whose meanings are embedded in shared meaning of their cultures and (Lewis &

Spanier, 1979) are visible in married individuals' practices. It is a common prevalence in Pakistan and same views were reported by the informants of the current research that whenever a woman tries to get domination over her spouse in marriage, the marital relationships get shattered resulting or leading to divorce or separation. The loss of spouse through death also disturbs the marriage institution and left one is more sympathetic than divorced and separated individuals in the eyes of society. In case of divorced, widowed and even married men are allowed to remarry and find it easy to start their new lives as compared to divorced and widow women.

5.1. Marriage: Debunking Myths and Realities

Marriage is one of the most important institutions defined by sociologist. Marriage in Pakistani context is mostly arranged under family institution and individuals spend their lives under strict surveillance of joint or extended family systems. The process of socialization prepares individuals to learn social relationships of their daily practices (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). Social Relationships have vital importance in developing the conception of happiness in individual (Lu & Shih, 1997). Family the most basic and primary agent of socialization provides guidelines to their members to learn defined social roles and obligation more specifically in marriage (Carroll et al., 2009; McNulty & Karney, 2004). The girls have to leave their parent's house after marriage to start lives in a new set of societal norms and values. It is an important feature of a married life that couple may start their lives either in nuclear or joint family system. Marriage is considered as the basic institution of any society which gives socially acceptance for bearing and rearing of children. It also provides primary socialization to the new born and makes them productive members of the society. It is a universal social norm present in all societies of the world and is considered one of the mandatory social institutions in traditional collectivist culture where sexual relationship outside marriage is considered as a sin.

After conducting detailed life histories and semi structure interviews from individuals, I found that the cultural context of an individual is the most influencing feature of the life to construct his/her experiences based on gender. Culture provides an overall framework to all individuals on the basis of their gender that how to think, feel,

perform and produce gendered identities. This very gendered learning directs individuals to construct their experiences in which happiness is one of the important aspects of their lives. The power of culture is more apparent in collectivist traditional societies where prevalence of pre-determined gendered identities is very important to preserve societal goals.

The key argument of this theme is to recount and describe how the imagination about marital life is different from real experiences of individuals selected for this research study and how much gendered expectations are present in the institution of marriage among men and women. All informants of current research belong to traditional social and cultural context in which marriage is serious and mandatory social requirement. The findings of the current research show that women are demanded to play traditional gender roles in marriage, show compliance as well as conformity for prevailing normative order but men try to acquire the position of authority. In this domination/subordination power relationship women are economically, socially and emotionally dependent on their husbands. In case of nuclear family system husband and wife are in more open and independent environment but the power relations are always present in their social performance. According to Arif (2012), there are three types of marriages in Pakistan i.e. arranged marriage, marriage by choice but with the consent of parents and love marriage. However, all types of marriages are acceptable in various cultures but arrange marriage gets social and familial recognition (Dost et al., 2011).

Previous social scholars (Allendorf & Ghimire, 2013; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1997; Lewis & Spanier, 1979) studied institution of marriage with varied dimensions but literature on quality of marital relationship is not easily defined which is clearly linked with the actual experiences of marriage. The quality of marital life is attached with subjective experiences of people and associated with personal happiness of a person linked with spousal relationship. Thomas et al. (2000) identified social contexts have a subtle effect on marital relationships. However, in case of gender difference in relation to marital happiness, previous literature shows mixed results. Happiness as phenomenon is found to be very complex even in married group who are living their lives happily but they have to struggle each day to make their relationships durable. This theme also elaborates the complete marital life picture of the individuals having

diverse marital statuses about their decision to marriage, imaginations about marriage and the reality they faced in marriage. The narratives of individuals highlight that their happiness varies in multiple social settings along with their gender and they feel and act according to their respective genders which ultimately construct and reconstruct experiences of happiness in marriage.

5.1.1. Married Informants

Marriage is the primary element to determine the happiness of individuals and is also considered to live purposeful life (Lye & Biblarz, 1993). The happiness is only achieved if marital relationships are pleasing and based on complete mental compatibility of couple. The marital satisfaction is linked with individual's subjective experiences in marriage (Taylor et al., 1997). It is also indicated by the narratives of a married respondents. For example, a married man named Abbas whose marriage was conventionally arranged and both spouses met and saw each other after *nikkah* was of the view that girls who have communication with their spouses before marriage are very independent, out-going and freedom loving which may spoil the marital relationship. He has a complete patriarchal control on his highly qualified professional wife and also feels satisfied when his wife takes approval from him to visit any place in his absence or presence even with the company of her parents. His excerpt about marriage and marital life experiences are presented here as an example to understand the realities of marriage.

The basic elements of happiness in marriage are mental compatibility and sexual satisfaction but all other elements having kids, to fulfill the needs and problems of each other, mutual respect and money may also be the sources of marital happiness. (Abbas, Married Life History)

He strongly puts emphasis on mental compatibility and sexual satisfaction which is largely defined by his social context. He also describes that the happiness of his wife is revolving around him because he takes solid steps for making life more secure of their kids. He adds that his wife comes in conflict with him on certain issues like buying property etc. but for the sake of kids, she always stands with him and puts back her priorities. He also adds that;

My wife is happier than me because she is not responsible for social and economic well-being of family and I am sole accountable for all family matters. (Abbas, Married Life History)

Culture is an important element of an individual's life which defines gender roles for men and women. The above narrative depicts that the man being in authority asserts that his wife is happier than him because cultural notions overburden him on the name of authority which he enjoys on many grounds but also affects his happiness in many forms of familial and societal responsibilities. Patriarchy claims that men enjoy all social, cultural and economic privileges but in reality, they feel authority in the form of responsibility which affects their happiness. However, they still do not want to share this authority with their women counterparts. Whereas, all married informants are making their lives intact based on socio-historic domination/subordination social system and derive happiness within it. Previous research studies (Lye & Biblarz, 1993; Zvonkovic et al.,1994) stated that married people who prefer traditional gender and marital roles have higher marital happiness.

In this study, another married man named Shariq is the most authoritative man and enjoys all aspects of authority granted to him by cultural frameworks and does not feel it as a burden. He insisted that woman should obey the orders of man in all social relationships to bring happiness and harmony in larger social system. He defines the marital happiness in these words which is the reality of his married life, he has learned during the process of socialization.

Marital happiness lies in the subordination of woman and I want my wife to obey all my orders. I want her to serve the whole joint family without any complaint and excuse. (Shariq, Married Semi Structured Interviews)

He is completely convinced that the subordination of woman is proven by Islamic teachings and supported by social context. Woman should be restricted within the four walls of household and should not leave home without the company of male because alone women mobility may change their mind set while interacting with corrupt and bad character women. He asserts that woman should be physically beaten if she does not behave in accordance with standard norms. The above account of a

married man clearly imparts that the mental images learned by men through power relation and power structure about the role of the women in marriage are practically shown in their real experiences of marriage. However, all married men feel that marriage controls all aspects of the life of an individual and it is a commitment. It also changes the way of thinking and life style of a person. Another married man who is patriarchal in his orientation feels a large gap what he thought about married life and what actually happened with him due to his childless status. His marital life experiences are mentioned here as an example.

Having kids in marriage is a great security and stability of marriage. I try to have no conflict with my wife. My wife never gives me a clear permission for second marriage. We have adopted a daughter of my brother. (Siraaj, Married Life History)

The first two years of the marriage passed happily but after two years of their marriage his mother and sister along with other women of family started asking and investigating from his wife about baby. He discussed it with his father when social pressure was difficult to bear and he started living in nuclear family with the consent of his father. His mother suggested him to remarry but he failed to comply her decision which created conflicts between them. He is completely imprisoned in unresolved paradox and powerless in family system. Hence marital success is more important than marriage itself (Khalatbari et al., 2013; Rebello et al., 2014). Men equally suffer of not having children but do not show their concern extrinsically in this regard. Childless couples are reported with high level of stress and feeling of isolation and deprivation (Angeles, 2010; Bradbury et al., 2000; Guo & Huang, 2005; Gwanfogbe et al., 1997; Hadley & Hanley, 2011). Another married man states a different view about myth and reality of marriage and narrated that;

Before marriage, I was afraid of marital life responsibilities which snatch the personal freedom of man. I am happy because my bachelor life liberty is with me. (Manzar, Married Semi structured Interview)

He highlights one of the most important aspects of marriage in east due to which men fear to enter in the institution of marriage because the economic as well as social burdens are considered as the male domain. Man is responsible for managing family

matters because he is assigned a role of head of the household. Marital happiness or satisfaction is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon based on variety of factors (Amrelahi et al., 2013). The complexities of married life can only be understandable when an individual actually enters in this institution and experiences the husband and wife relationship in reality. Some of the scholarly work (Acitelli & Antonucci, 1994; Fatima & Ajmal, 2012; Lesthaeghe, 2014; Lucas et al., 2003; Markman & Hahlweg, 1993; Rogers & Amato, 2000; Vanassche et al., 2012; Vemer et al., 1989;) indicates that men are happier in their marriages while, some researchers (Karney & Bradbury, 1995; McNulty et al., 2008) states that women are satisfied in marital lives. However, marriage is a profound social institution throughout human histories and under the regulation of socio-cultural normative order.

The narratives of the married women depict that their imaginations and realities about marriage are entirely different from men who are in a complete role of authority. A married woman named Ramsha selected her own spouse and her marriage was arranged with the consent of family. She knew that marriage is not a fantasy and practical life is far from imagination. She always wanted someone very practical, real and self-made like him. Her excerpt on marriage truly depicts her practical orientation to marriage.

It is important to make compromises in martial life for the pursuit of happiness. I value marital relationship more than my personal happiness. (Ramsha, Married Life History)

She narrates that it is difficult to make independent decisions because if her husband disagrees on any decision taken by her, the surrounding around her becomes unhappy. Happiness is not within a person but it is related, dependent and situated with social situations and people. It is not always a choice but sometimes it is a compromise for the larger benefit of the family as a whole to keep marriage safe. She recounts that woman make compromises and relates her marriage with the cultural dimensions in which she operates and enforces her to be in marriage. Another married woman who did love marriage after many struggles and claims that she is satisfied with her married

life but not happy because the way she imagined married life is completely different from what she experienced it in reality. She describes her feelings in these words.

I am happily married woman in the eyes of the people around me but from inside I am so alone, sad and broken. (Saiqa, Married Life History)

The experiences of her life actually show that she is living alone with her kids, managing social activities and dealing with all difficulties of life because her husband is living abroad to meet the needs of their joint family. Due to traditional orientation from her childhood, she is strongly convinced that woman can only get social recognition through marriage and having kids. She further explains that;

My husband is very childish and I have to treat him with care and love to carry on our marital life. (Saiqa, married)

She struggled a lot to keep her marriage safe and faced two-fold pressure from in laws as well as from her own father to end marital relationship but she is struggling to keep her marriage intact. She believes that a woman has to struggle on many social grounds and sacrifice many dreams to keep the one core point of her life i.e. marriage. Both these married women are highly qualified but irrespective of their role as successful professional women, they relate success of all domains of life with the success of their marital life because they belong to traditional context of east. Another married woman unveils many taken for granted social assumptions directly situated in complexities of social context. She spent her unmarried life in very restricted environment and she was grown up having the feeling of masculine traits which is clear from her narration given below.

I felt myself like a man. I imagined I had no need of a man and was complete in myself. I believed there is no difference between man and woman. I entered in marriage with this mindset but I was wrong. (Nadia, Married Semi Structured Interview)

She groomed herself academically and professionally but now she admits that she took wrong decision about her late marriage. She confesses that she was completely wrong because she was born as a woman and had to fulfill certain roles according to nature to get satisfaction and happiness. She has completely changed her life style and

this excerpt is presented here as an example. *I have adjusted according to my husband's personality and I have changed my personality altogether. (Nadia, Married Semi Structured Interview)*

She has started understanding the personality of her husband as a man and learned the role as a wife. She adds that a marriage can be made successful when a woman let a man sit on driving seat of the life. There is a thin line between the roles of man and woman which cannot be removed by illusionary perception of the individuals. She gives her opinion in different household matters and let her husband to take final decision because she now understands importance of cultural context which puts man in dominance. During initial days of her marriage, she only told her husband about different matters of life but after some time she came to know a difference between telling and asking. She re-socialized herself to be in the role of wife and mother at home. She made herself aware of this fact that if she performs her role at home the way she performs at workplace she will be out from house and this is her lived reality. It is difficult for a professional working woman to re-socialize after marriage and fulfill the requirements of the given normative order to make marital relationships happy. But irrespective of successful professional life, the narratives of married women clearly demonstrate that the power of context compels them to kneel down and accept pre-defined social fabric.

Another married woman who has same cultural and personal orientation but has very different marital experiences from all married women participated in this research. She spent her whole life other than her defined gender roles chosen by herself but at certain moment of life, after seeing her siblings settled in their marital lives with kids, she started realizing the emptiness in her life and finding happiness in marriage. All these feelings and mad love of her husband before marriage forced her to enter in married life. She became the second wife of her husband because he was already married. After one and half year of their marriage, her husband disclosed their marriage because she forced him to tell his family. She describes her feelings in these words. *I feel myself a legal keep of him. This is a height of disgrace I feel (Aima, Married Semi Structured Interview)*. It was a love marriage but her family members were strongly against this marriage at the age of forty-nine. Her husband made many promises before

marriage but everything gone with the wind because she is now his wife and before she was his love. It is observable from previous literature that men's economic supremacy increases happiness in marriage but women economic empowerment reduces their satisfaction in marriage due to lack of control on economic resources (Ahuvia, 2012; Becker, 1991; Robins et al., 2000; Teachman, 2010; Trent & South, 1989; Wilcox, 2009). The charm is over. She is not happy but she has no option to quit this relationship and has to take this burden till her death. She felt marriage as a starting point of her personal life but it was the end of life. She explains;

It broke me into very small pieces which I have never gathered and never have courage to stand up again. I have completely given up. (Aima, Married Semi Structured Interview)

She has lost interest in everything and feels sad and unhappy. She had high hopes with this marriage and linked many dreams with it but nothing happened to her expectations. She also has to face a social embracement to introduce herself as a second wife of her husband. People laugh and gossip about her that she is fond of marriage in old age. She wanted to leave this country because she is hopeless in existing culture and social context.

Marriage is more a social affair than an individual affair, as it is considered as the union of two families not just two individuals (Sonpar, 2005). Young people are encouraged to marry in order to acquire adult status, to gain some measure of independence from their parents, to produce heirs for their family, to raise children and to continue the family name (Stange et al., 2011). The power of context is highly situated in the lives of both men and women and constructs their experiences of happiness in marriage. Men and women are struggling likewise to keep their marriage intact but women have to struggle more on many social grounds and have to sacrifice many dreams to keep the one core point of their life i.e., marriage. According to Lalonde et al. (2004) and Rebello et al. (2014) and spousal satisfaction depends on the individual's performance in marriage according to the expected roles and responsibilities of both men and women defined by social and cultural spheres. Socio-cultural context has a profound effect on intimate marital relationships. There are

visible differences present within same culture where individuals learn to adopt diverse cultural notions for making their marriages successful and happy (Lucas et al., 2008; Wendorf et al., 2011). The narratives of married individuals and their construction of happiness in marriage are highly contextual and dependent on their strong resilience towards performing cultural defined gender roles along with constant negotiations on power relations among women to extract their happiness from subordination/domination relationship.

5.1.2. Divorced Informants

In this category, eight divorced individuals are discussed with an emphasis on how their imaginations about marriage was different from the real-life experiences of their marital life. According to the perceptions of divorced informants, the outer look of marriage institution is very charming and attractive but its reality is very complicated and intricate. It is regulated by cultural and social norms as a social unit. The divorced informants specifically women argued that in current era, men intentionally try to marry educated professional women to escape from their traditional social and economic responsibilities. In such marriages, women having economic empowerment demand equality in their social roles but men want to enjoy the same authoritative role which is historically and culturally granted to him. This situation gives birth to conflicts among couples and their marital life is broken and ended with divorce in form of endless stigma. Both men and women participated in this research claim that divorce is considered a taboo even in this modern era and badly affects the lives of individuals as well as their future generations but the intensity of social disrespect and dishonor is more attached with women as compared to men.

The narratives of divorced informants clearly depict that the marriage as an important social institution of any society builds on very high expectations. Marriage constructs many attractive and inspiring pre-determined images derived from socialization, media or peer group in the minds of man and woman about their future wife and husband. These mental constructions actually shape the happiness of an individual within marriage. It is difficult for an individual to stay longer in unhappy social situations and the institution of marriage starts becoming weaker and ultimately

collapses because these mental constructions do not meet the real images. A man named Altaf living in divorced status for past ten years had an immense feeling of unhappiness and his words are being quoted here to explain his expectation and reality about his marriage.

I wanted a homemaker woman whom I can trust. I felt an immense happiness on the birth of my daughter and distributed sweets in whole family. I repeated this practice on the birth of my all daughters but my wife spoiled my happiness. (Adnan, Divorced Life History).

He had many fantasies about married life because he was madly in love with his wife before marriage and decided to marry her. He had a huge age difference with his wife and assumed that he will easily manage his married life due to her younger age. But he claims that she was very immature as well as proud of her beauty. She had a huge social circle and was fond of roaming here and there. He strived hard to keep his marriage for fourteen years for the sake of his daughters but the demand of his wife for the transfer of property on her name was unquestionable for him. It is natural that man considers two attributes in his future wife beauty and young age. The real experiences of marriage are far from imaginary world because married life is very different on many grounds in its real sense. A beautiful woman has realization about her beauty and she claims to enjoy all the privileges from husband as her right. On the other hand, a man after acknowledging her beauty before marriage starts establishing boundaries against her in marriage and tries to modify and control her life according his ideology largely taken from prevailing power structure. The entire conception of marriage starts with the name of understanding and praise but after marriage begins revolving around the social context which is completely absent at the beginning. Another two-time divorced man explained the realities of his married life according to his patriarchal orientation in the following way.

Marriage is the name of tolerance and patience when wife sees the world with husband's perspective. (Altaf, Divorced Life History)

He married first time with a girl from his mother's family and his mother intentionally married her son with her niece for her old age security but disputes soon

started between his wife and mother. His wife wanted to live in nuclear family system but being the elder son of the family, it was difficult for him to manage two houses. He told his ex-wife if she wants to stay in her married life, she had to make his mother happy. His first wife was equal in terms of age, education, economic status as well as family background but still he had to face marriage failure. After divorce, he did not want to marry again but his mother forced him through a religious scholar to again enter in marriage institution. He deliberately chose a girl from same caste but from low socio-economic status having very young age with a conception that she will be easily subordinated. This is clear from the following excerpt.

I perceived that this girl will manage house without demanding anything because she is helpless in the hands of her step mother and will adjust easily in high economic status but all my suppositions were wrong. (Altaf, Divorced Life History)

Initially, he was happy with his second wife but faced some problems due to her immature nature. His second wife married him for his money and had intension to fulfill her dreams with the wealth of her husband. After some years of their marriage, women of his family started polluting his wife's mind with negative feelings like she is very young and beautiful, but her husband is not compatible with her in terms of age and looks like her father. She got involved with the man of her age and demanded divorce from him. After divorce, she left kids with him and started her new life. He again felt the height of dishonor and decided not to remarry. The married life is unique in everyone's life and it demands sacrifices on many grounds from both a man and a woman. It is a common practice that a man chooses his spouse either from same family with the understanding that girl already knows the family normative system or girl from low socio-economic background to control and modify her according to his existing family system.

The description of one of the divorced men is explained to unveil the realities of married life. He believes that marital happiness is attained through the synchronization of both life partners in all aspects of life. He stresses that 99% modification in behavior is done by woman because she has to re-born to make marriage successful. His excerpt is as follows.

The lack of mental understanding in marital life is a life of compromise. This compromise is a continuous tension and it creates unhappiness. (Ishfaq, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

The husbands are not supposed to modify but wives have to change their behaviors according to their husband's temperament. Ishfaq believes that the marital disputes emerged due to difference of opinion about life matters. He tells that his wife was very dominating because she was the only daughter of their parents as well as the sister of four brothers. This family background developed characteristics of superiority in her personality. He was also the only son of his parents and was very authoritative which led to personality clash between them. Both of them had high expectations from each other in terms of importance, domination, love and care but number of misunderstandings arose which ultimately broke their marriage.

All divorced men are strongly convinced that marital success and happiness rest in the hands of woman. They also claim that the role of man as a son and husband becomes more sensitive and vulnerable after marriage because there is continuous battle between mother and wife to stimulate their meanings of happiness. In marriage, the role of wife becomes more important in a way that she is not only responsible to meet the needs of his husband but she has to address the problems and needs of all family members in the presence and absence of her husband. She is also held accountable to play dual role in the absence of her husband i.e., her own role as daughter in laws and wife of their son.

The functioning structure of marriage as an institution is very complex in nature and multiple actors are involved that lead marital relationships intact specifically in traditional family system. However, the imaginations and realities about marriage are different for women as compared to men participated in this research. All divorced women claim that happiness in marriage is just a temporary situation that happens to a person and passes immediately. Happiness in marriage is the name of responsibilities and roles performed by an individual according to his/her gender. They explain that marriage is sometimes turning point and starting point but for them it is a U-turn in life. The selected divorced women for the current research also report that the type of marriage either love and arrange does not guarantee success and happiness in marriage.

Zadeh (2003) claims that arranged marriages are more successful in Pakistan while studies (Yizengaw et al., 2014) conducted on collectivists cultures produces same results. The individuals having love and arrange marriages are not included in the current study intentionally but their unique life experiences are the bases of their participation in the study sample. The type of marriage was unveiled during interviews for conduction of their detailed life histories. In research study, it is also reported by the respondents that both types of love and arrange marriages may lead to unhappiness and dissolution.

A divorced woman named Huma uniquely connects the myths and realities about her happiness in love marriage;

It was a happy marriage until I did not start evaluating it. The reality of marriage became clear when evaluation started and two people started living together. The time, I was emotionally attached with my husband all moments were happy but when logic and thinking came in our relationship, unhappiness started emerging. (Huma, Divorced Life History)

She was raised as an independent girl by her parents and she was very impressed by her husband's daring and straightforward behavior. *I thought my husband is very strong, honest and truth worthy but the reality was hidden (Huma, Divorced Life History)*. Early days of her marriage were full of joy and happiness in a sense of achievement. She invested her life and compromised on many grounds because she didn't want to see her decision unsuccessful but it was twenty years' commitment to a false decision. After a long time, she had to forcefully open her eyes and made herself realize to stop strengthening false decision. She expresses that basic element of happiness in marriage is honesty and sincerity which was missing in her married life and became the major cause of her marriage failure. Marriage demands clarity in all aspects of life but the feeling of being cheated by spouse ruins the relationship. Marriage is such an institution which starts with the flight of imaginations because our cultural socialization internalizes the true happiness of woman and man in marriage.

Another divorced woman took the decision of love marriage after love affairs with her husband and forcefully made her parents agree for marriage. She had many

regrets on her decision to love marriage. She associates the fantasies of her married life before marriage and realities after marriage as follows.

He fascinated the whole beautiful world around me in such a way that I was completely into his magic. It was happiest time of my life. I wish if I have known before marriage that we both have same personalities; very short tempered but unfortunately, I realized it after marriage. (Ayeza, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

She openly admits that she only looks at things from surface and never goes into the detail. The way her of his family and socialization. The way her husband pretended his love towards her actually impressed her and this is her perspective of looking at things. He was very loving towards her all the time before marriage. The main reason of their marriage failure was both had same temperament and got angry at the same time. She had high expectations from marriage and the way her ex-husband approached her made it difficult to realize the true realities of married life. The fantasies of marriage constructed by the social system trapped highly educated empowered woman and forced her to kneel down against the fairy tale married life. The main problem in this particular case is the lack of anger management as well as a huge gap between expectations and reality of real practices. Anger management is inevitable in child socialization to prepare girls for their future lives. It is a common perception in our socio-cultural environment that if girls show anger on anything, they are badly snubbed but their issue is not properly addressed with an intention that girls should not be argumentative in marital relationships because families see their future in marriage.

Pakistan having traditional and cultural notion in the social practices of people stresses the conception of arranged marriage in which (Stange et al., 2011) caste, class, religion (sect), family name, age and ethnicity are the main ingredients. However, marital spouse selected by individuals themselves are also common in Pakistan having many (Dost et al., 2011) fantasies of love and care but there is no guarantee of marital success and happiness. Whereas, arranged marriage is attached with social honor, acceptance and backed by complete family support but marriage by choice is considered as an attack on the honor of the family, rejection and lack of family and societal support. The two divorced women married by their families had many dreams

about their married life before marriage but the way they express the experiences of marriage is entirely different from their imagination.

I was full of life, very bubbly kind of girl and liked to talk and roam here and there. I dreamed about all these things with my life partner but none of my dream ever came true in six years of married life. He never accepted me the way I was. He never liked my personality and wanted to change it forcefully. It was very strange kind of feeling and I didn't get feeling of love and care from my husband. He was a typical eastern husband who had this cultural belief that wife is a complete property of man.. (Taniya, Divorced Life History)

I was young and beautiful but my parents made me convinced that old age men are very loving to their wives. (Farwa, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

They were happy to be married at very young age but the complexities of husband-wife relationship are much diverse as presented by the context in which girls dream about their marriage mainly rests on their beauty and the celebration of marriage rituals. Age at marriage, age difference between spouses and the attributes of her spouse were weak and didn't match with her ideal which became the cause of her marriage failure. Taniya further narrated during her life history interview that her marriage was like a master slave relationship and not a husband wife relationship. It was complete arrange marriage but slowly and gradually like all eastern women, she developed love with her husband. She dreamed about a fairy tale kind of married life to live happily but soon it changed into very horror kind of story. She wanted that her husband should understand her emotional feelings and accept her as respectable wife. She was groomed in a very good family and automatically started expecting that she will be treated with respect and love in marriage. But soon she came to realize that there is a large gap between both families' norms and values. It is a common practice in east that men are not socialized to express love to their wives the way they want to be loved and their relationship is limited to bedrooms. They demand to reinforce their masculine identities in which they have a complete authority on every aspect of woman's life.

The narratives of divorced individuals both men and women depict that they had high expectations about their marriages but when their expectations didn't meet their imaginations, their relations came to an end. Many previous studies (Bagwell,

2006; Hollist & Miller, 2005) also concluded that lack of closeness and emotional intimacy, feeling of unwanted and neglected, trust, lack of space and independence in relationship, poor conflict resolution and contemned in marital relationship are the main causes of marital ending. However, more recent research revealed that changing gender roles, control over the earnings of women also lead to divorce which increases dissatisfaction and responsibility on single parent (Cooke, 2006; Cooke et al., 2013; Cooke & Gash, 2010; Härkönen & Dronkers, 2006; Kaplan & Stier, 2010; Klesment & Van Bavel, 2017; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2008; Van Damme et al., 2009). Recent regional literature on South Asia reported that divorce is not considered as a possible option to leave uneasy marital relationships and still carry huge stigma with it (Bose & South, 2003; Dommaraju & Jones 2011; Dutt, 2015; McKenry & Price, 2006). The construction of happiness about marriage among divorced group reveals that men and women had a strong feeling of dissatisfaction from each other and about their marital relationship.

Women claim that happiness in marriage is only achieved in subordination and submissive attitude performed by women. They also argue that families after marriage never support them in the case of conflict but enforce them to be in marriage at any cost because a strong social stigma and dishonor is attached with divorce. On the other hand, men being in authority have necessary social and economic resources to recover and cope with marital conflicts as compared to women. The divorced men participated in the current research deliberately chose younger and confident women in marriage but these qualities became difficult for them to handle. The main elements involved in the destruction of marriages are lack of trust on each other, feeling of control on each other's lives, change in gender roles, sense of superiority, feeling of love before marriage was converted into feeling of attachment, avoidance, lack of anger management and the involvement of traditional actors in marital relationships.

5.1.3. Remarried Informants

The informants of remarried group unveil many realities of life about diverse experiences of their marital lives. Remarriage is a social phenomenon in which widowed and divorced individuals are allowed to enter again in marriage institution but in Muslim and traditional Pakistani context married men are also allowed to remarry in

the presence of first wife and can have four wives at the same time. Remarriage is complex in nature because a man has to handle multiple family units on many grounds. Individuals enter in this institution again willingly or forcefully with many hopes and dreams but may face in many new problems and challenges. The remarried informants of current research claim that it is a general practice in social system that men can remarry with divorced, widowed or also unmarried women but women can only remarry with either widowed or divorced. However, exceptional cases are also available. Marital and family scholar Jesse Bernard (1972), stated that “There are two marriages in every marital union, his and hers. And his . . . is better than hers” (p. 14), women are less happy in marriage than men (Connides, 2001; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2008; Umberson et al., 2006; Whiteman et al., 2007) and feels lower quality of relationship in marriage (Amato, 2010). However, the phenomenon of happiness in marriage becomes less important than marital success in remarriage because it is believed that expectations are lower and real experiences are stronger but the dreams of happiness are still attached with individual construction of happiness.

In remarriage, individuals irrespective of their genders are more conscious to perform their marital roles because they had already experienced married life at least once in past. It is a common observation and also reported by the informants of the current research that men remarry for the sake of kids or marriage failure but women remarry for social approval in the case of divorce or death of spouse. The current study includes very unique stories of remarried individuals in which men are more victims of social disgrace and face many gender-based experiences which are not commonly part of their lives. The experiences of a three times married man named Rizwan are presented here to describe the realities of real-life experiences. He discloses those feelings which are not considered appropriate for men in power structure. Men are considered strong and can bear all types of losses but never show their feelings of pain and distress. His first marriage was with her cousin from Nawab Shah, Province Sindh. He saw his first wife at her house and he liked the social and physical environment of his in laws but he didn't know that his aunty was apparently showing that environment to fix the proposal of her daughter. He explains bitter truth of his first married life as;

My aunty found me an easy trap to marry her daughter with an intention that she will forget her affair after marriage. (Rizwan, Remarried Life History)

His first wife had a love affair with her male teacher and she wanted to marry him but she could not marry her teacher due to strong family reluctance. After three months of his marriage, he found his wife talking with somebody on phone. When he inquired about her telephonic discussion, she accepted that she had an affair and this is a forced marriage. This became main issue of conflict in their marriage and they started living in separation after three months of their marriage. During separation, she damaged his social reputation in his family and at workplace. This was the point where he decided to divorce her because the bitter picture of marriage became so clear in front of him and he was not ready to continue his relationship with her wife. It is natural that he had to get married again irrespective of his first marriage was complete failure. His mother convinced him to marry again and he got married because all other his siblings were settled in their families. He shares his hopes and realities of his second marriage as follow;

I did not dishearten with the fact that my first marriage was broken but I had this hope in my life that if one experience is bad, the next will be good. I was again cheated in second marriage and used as a tool for Halala. (Rizwan, Remarried Life History)

He got married for the second time with the help of marriage consultant. The parents of his second ex-wife told his family that their daughter had only *nikkah* with a man who left for abroad and never came back. She had taken *Khulah* with the help of court with the purpose that she could start her new life again but the reality was even worse than his first marriage. The family of his second ex-wife actually fabricated an illusionary net filled with high hopes of dowry which he couldn't see with open eyes and they used him a tool for *Halala* (marriage again with ex-husband after remarrying another man) purpose which was exposed after fifteen days of marriage. After having this situation, they got separation shortly and after three months his marriage was ended. His mother passed away a month after his second marriage. He knows that death is reality but his mother went to way of all flesh due to his consecutive marital failures.

This regret will be with him till his death. His elder brother and sister helped and supported him a lot throughout bad times; they also convinced him to marry for third time. His third wife is his cousin and is also divorced from first marriage. He shares his fear about third marriage in these words.

I was so frightened from last two experiences and I did not ask my wife why she got divorce from her first marriage. She also did not inquire me about my previous marriages. (Rizwan, Remarried Life History)

His elder brother stressed him to make this marriage successful otherwise he will be tagged as a feminine. He retained his confidence and was very happy when his wife told that she was pregnant. He is satisfied in his third marriage and is blessed with kids. The experiences of this particular life history are very diverse and full of hardships which show the multifaceted dimensions of marriage as an institution. Individual is powerless in front of social forces, social relationships, hidden information about realities and multi faces of people which lead to unhappiness.

Another remarried man named Yaqub was also married three times for the sake of kids and became the victim of barbarism of women from his own family. He was married with his first cousin after completing graduation and it was perfect marriage. He felt himself the happiest person and got pleasure from every moment of his life with her. They had an excellent mental and emotional understanding but the realities of life bring an individual to a point where he is completely powerless. His wife died within a year of their marriage because she was diagnosed with uterus cancer and he was completely unaware of the reality. He tells his happy and sad moments linked with his first marriage in these words.

My first marriage was full of pleasure and widowhood was the unhappiest moment of my life. The death of my first spouse has changed the whole world around me and sense of great loss is still with me after being married two times. I had completely broken and it was done by many women around us. I felt very alone throughout widowhood and spent most of time in smoking. (Yaqub, Remarried Semi Structured Interview)

After three years of his wife's death, he started normalizing with the help of his family and he was remarried with one of his cousins for satisfaction and kids. Unfortunately, he wasn't blessed with kids during their eight years of marriage. His family convinced him to remarry for the sake of kids and they wanted that his both wives should live together. His second wife didn't want to share him with another woman and she demanded divorce. It was very difficult decision for him to divorce her because he had not any problem with her except no kids. He tried a lot to make her convince but she refused and he had to forcefully divorce her. He again married to another cousin who is fifteen years younger than him. He describes the attributes of good wife and the realities came across in his third marriage.

A mature wife can only bring happiness in marriage who understands the realities of life and knows how to behave like a wife. (Yaqub, Remarried Semi Structured Interview)

He is blessed with kids in third marriage but completely lacks mental and emotional attachment with his spouse. Many conflicts stood up between them in the early days of his marriage because of his wife's immature and childish attitude. He is satisfied that God has blessed him with kids and he has gotten the social recognition of settled family life but he is not happy with his marital relationship. He has lost himself in this whole process of marrying again and again for the sake of kids and it is their family norm to marry within family. He is trying to accommodate her for the betterment of his kids. He is very conscious in his third matrimony and does not afford any calamity which may spoil his children's lives. The context in which a remarried individual is functioning his life is very strict irrespective of his/her gender because the society becomes unsupportive for those individuals whose marriages have broken many times, they lost trust of even their loved ones and are left alone in society.

The experiences of above two remarried men show that the men do not have the control on power structure and power dynamics which patriarchy claims. They also become the victim of their weak counter parts. The above life experiences also open a new venue of research for sociological researcher to look at the institution of marriage with the eyes of men and their experiences should be included in mainstream sociology

which are mostly absent specifically from the perspective of east due to highly intensive research studies of patriarchy from women perspective. It is perceived and found in many previous studies that men receive more benefits from marriage and remarriage because women take all the responsibilities of household chores and child rearing (Ferree, 2010; Osmond & Thorne, 1993) and men's transition to remarriage have positive impacts on their social life (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Williams & Umberson, 2004). It is also true, individuals are powerless in front of social forces, social relationships, hidden information about realities and multi faces of people which lead to unhappiness in marriage and they are forced to remarry again and again to fulfill social requirement. Sonpar (2005) stated that the durability and constancy of a marriage is important not only for husband and wife, but also for their family and society at large.

The rest of two remarried men took part in the research study are mainly remarried for the sake of kids and have complete marital understanding with their first wives. A remarried man named Zulifqar got remarried after twenty-five years of his first marriage with the complete consent of his first wife but the second man has hidden his remarriage from his family and first wife and has decided to disclose it after the birth of kid. Both of these men had a strong pressure to remarry from their families for the sake of kids. Man, a symbol of authority is also vulnerable in larger social structure to prove his marriage socially successful by proving all aspects of married life efficient. The experiences of Zulifqar are presented here as an example to understand happiness in marriage with social approval.

If I am blessed with kids from first wife, I never remarry because I am happier with my first wife (Shadi mere pheli he thee dosari may sirf bachay huay hain). I only got kids from my second marriage and my happiness is attached with them. My good spousal relationship is only with my first wife. I got social approval for my masculinity through kids in second marriage but never felt any mental compatibility and feeling of companionship with my second wife. (Zulifqar, Remarried Life History)

In Pakistani culture, a successful and happy marriage is linked with having kids and same is reported by the above informant. This man entered in the institution of marriage with many dreams and hopes to have a successful marital life but due to failure

of one of his aspects of married life had to face unpleasant moments in marriage which compelled him to enter in second marriage. He is satisfied with having kids in second marriage and gets feeling of companionship from first wife.

In east, marriage is a social requirement rather than a companionship and the real picture of life is far from the imaginary strategies of an individual. The experiences of remarried women are entirely different from the experiences of remarried men contributed in this research study. I found during my conversation with all the women having diverse marital statuses are complete in themselves but there is a pressure on them from the cultural structure to prove their identity not only as a woman but to be with some man in a legal relationship that is marriage. A two times married woman named Annie faced many social and cultural tyrannies. Her story is a picture of diverse socio-cultural experiences started from childhood to her married lives. She is an example of construction and reconstruction of cultural interpretations of her happiness in multiple social roles attached with different standings. Annie's experiences are the true reflections of the power of societal forces such as her family, husbands, the prevailing norms and values which have tightly knitted a web around her and make it difficult for her to spend marital happiness independent of social context. She got married first time outside her family when she was a regular college student. Being a young traditional girl, she had many dreams about marital life besides getting more education before marriage. She imagined a very pleasing married life because apparently her ex-mother in law presented herself very well-mannered but nobody can even think of how much she is rude and rough woman at her home and in her relationships. She narrates her experiences as;

My ex-mother in law has the feeling of superiority complex about her beauty and developed a feeling of insecurity from me because I also have very charming personality and this beauty became the biggest enemy of my married life. My ex-husband had psychological problems and had a very imbalance personality. Even I didn't know what exactly he wanted and why was he so angry with me? Where did I make a mistake? He even tried to physically abuse me. (Annie, Remarried Life History)

When she got married, she became the center of attention in her ex-in laws family. Whenever, she went to any family function everyone started praising her for looking beautiful and this made her ex-mother in law very angry and hostile. Initially her husband supported her but her ex-mother in law started twisting the facts in such a way that her husband went against her and when her ex-father in law tried to support her, her ex-mother in law blamed that her ex- father in law had bad relationship with her. Her ex-husband had multiple emotional problems and was not satisfied within himself. He became angry and discontinued talking terms with her for months without any reason. She had to apologize and ask for forgiveness to bring him in normal situation. Initially, she valued the relationship but after the birth of kids, it was all socio-cultural pressure to keep on this marriage. She had spent fourteen years of her life in constant efforts to bridge a gap between what she imagined about marriage and what she experienced in reality. In spite of struggling a lot to keep her marriage intact, it ended up with a divorce. She kept kids with her and her ex-husband never demanded their custody. She was very contented and satisfied with her kids but due to family pressures, she got married again with a highly educated man who was already married with an illiterate woman. This marriage was started with many hopes and promises that he will take care of her kids and completely support her but the moment she gave birth to his son, he completely changed. He asked her to return kids to her ex-husband because they are the liability on him. She describes the materialistic love of her husband in second marriage as;

My second husband was very much in love with me but his love was with my material things. A materialistic love. (Annie, Remarried Life History)

Her husband had to fulfill the expenditures of his first family and he saw her as a good source of money. He wanted an economic support from her for whole family. Culture has shaped her life and she is still spending her life with fear of culture. Whenever any individual specifically woman tries to deviate from cultural orientation of good daughter, sister and wife she gets strong reaction from society. A woman through her socialization has learned some particular images about marital satisfaction which is directly related with both husband and wife to stand for each other in the thick and thin of life.

The case of another woman Fizza is presented here as an example that a change in social context also constructs a different version of happiness in the life of an individual. She remarried only for the sake of a companion in her life because she had already two kids from first marriage and had a sound professional career. She got married at a very young age when she was madly in love with a man during her studies in UK. Her family was completely against her marriage and her ex-husband's family was unaware of their marriage. The first two years of marriage were like a complete fairy tale. They enjoyed a lot together and experienced every pleasant moment of life. They had a very good time and probably the best time of their lives. They both were not only life partners but also partners at their workplace growing together in each aspect of life. She narrates her experience about married life.

Marriage is a partnership based on love, care and respect. This partnership will never be successful with the efforts of single partner. (Fizza, Remarried Semi Structured Interview)

When her mother in law came to know about their marriage, the whole social scenario was changed. It became difficult day by day to keep her marriage safe. She lived in joint family system for two months and when conflicts reached to climax, she started living in separate home. Her ex-husband's business was completely collapsed and he decided to leave UK. Once he went, he completely drifted away and she spent eight years in separation and ultimately her marriage ended up with divorce. She waited for him for eight years not for herself but for her kids. She never wanted to see her kids grown without father but her ex-husband didn't face the pressure of cultural notions of being married individually from his family and left the country. The power of social context is so solid that individuals who are living thousands of miles away from their context, it is impossible for them to escape from it. After one year of divorce, she left UK and settled in Pakistan to start her new life. She got remarried after three years of divorce and currently she is living with her husband and kids from previous marriage. She also has a daughter from current marriage. They started their marital relationship after negotiating the rules about their relationship derived from their social context. Her definition of marriage is same based on partnership but it is more realistically derived

from the realities and experiences of her first marriage. She describes how her myth and realities are matched in her second marriage.

This partnership is based on very clear vision that how our lives should be in marriage because we both already have experienced married lives, work place as well as kids. We came together with our own individual perceptions and adjusted each other to be extremely committed with each other. We are devoted to make this commitment alive for the sake of ourselves and our children. (Fizza, Remarried Semi Structured Interview)

In this marriage, they are more involved in discussions and are working together in making this partnership stronger and successful with every passing day. Marriage is a give and take relationship. She compromised a lot in her both marriages and still she is doing lot of compromises but her husband compromises a lot as well. She stresses that she didn't marry for the sake of any social recognition because she was happy as an independent single mother. She remarried because the meaning and purpose of marriage for her is completely different and she only wanted a true companion of life for herself. Two people are never same but this relationship is nurtured with the elements of love, trust care and respect. It is also true that the social context is the central to the lives of individuals but their strong commitment with each other can make their partnership fruitful.

The rest of two remarried women remarried for the sake of social recognition but still have many battles to fight in their current lives. The story of a remarried woman Fatima is presented here as an example to understand the gap between the imaginations and the actual life experiences of an individual in marriage. Fatima has many unfulfilled wishes and has faced multiple problems of her life patiently from her childhood. She married when she was only seventeen years old. Her uncle wished to marry her with his eldest son to properly manage their house and her father fulfilled the wish of his brother. Initial fifteen days were very happy but suddenly her ex-husband lost interest in her. Unfortunately, after the five months of marriage her uncle suddenly died and she was left alone in her in laws. Her ex-husband was a bit conscious in the life of his father. He stopped coming to home and started an affair with another family girl. She spent only five months with her husband and came back to her parent's house after the death

of her ex-father in law. She spent six years in separation with the hope that one day her ex-husband will accept his mistake and took her back home. But to her sheer surprise her ex-husband remarried and all her hopes came to an end. Her family pressurized her to file a case for divorce and her marriage ended after six years of useless wait. She spent her whole life within the cultural boundaries which force a girl for marriage at a very young age. She learned during her childhood teaching that marriage is successful only through subordination of woman. She not only played subordinated role for her ex-husband but also for the whole joint family system along with her working status. She imagines the marital happiness for herself in these words.

I am strongly convinced that marital happiness is not only lies within subordination but the sincerity and loyalty between the couple is much needed. (Fatima, Semi structured Interview)

She expected that her married life will be full of love, care and loyalty but the realities of life are different for every individual. She passed two years in divorced status and again got married. Her second marriage is a perfect match between husband and wife along with trust, care and love. She explains with tears in her eyes about the meanings of happiness in her second marital life.

The most important element of my married life is missing. I desperately need a kid. (Fatima, Remarried Semi Structure Interview)

She is living with her husband in a nuclear family system and pursuing her career in a famous restaurant. She finds herself a lucky woman to have a such husband but having no kids is an obstacle to achieve ample happiness in her marriage. It is a dilemma that marriage is not only successful with the love and care of husband but numbers of other elements are also important in which kids are the central to strengthen marital relationship. Both of these remarried women are the elder and loved children of their families and are facing many problems and hardships which are the realities of life.

Marriage is an important phase in the life of any individual and in traditional societies, it becomes the core part of women's life even in this globalized world. However, pervious research found that institution of marriage has undergone many

profound changes in past decades in both developed and developing countries due to multiple changes in social and economic structures of the society (Esping-Andersen & Billari, 2015; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2008) and starting life again through remarriage (Vespa, 2012). Men mostly remarry for the sake of children (De-Walque & Kline, 2012; Ivanova et al., 2014) but women remarry due to divorce or being widowed (Forste & Heaton, 2004; Smock et al., 1999) and same findings are also reported by the informants of the current research.

The findings of the current research show that both remarried men and women have high expectations from their spouses in their first marriages but the realities of life are much different and unmet hopes ultimately culminate their marital relationship. The position of social context is central in the lives of individuals. These remarried individuals have learned many lessons from their previous marital experiences and gave more space and showed strong commitment to each other to make their relationships alive. The construction of happiness among remarried group show that both men and women have to prove their masculinity and femininity in second marriages. However, in the case of a woman whenever she tries to deviate from cultural orientation of good wife, she gets strong reaction against her and remarriage becomes difficult for her. Women are hard hit by the power structure and difficulty remarried but men are easily remarried.

5.1.4. Separated Informants

The social group under this theme belongs to separated informants and the myths and realities attached with their construction of happiness in marriage. Separation in marriage is a state of social experience in which individuals are living uncertain lives due to multiple reasons. The separated informants who participated in the current research disclose that it is a bitter form of marriage because they are not divorced and are bearing constant pressure of reunion but finding no way to start their normal marital lives. They are considered married but have no physical and social interaction with their spouses. The separated women claim that they are living painful and undecided lives with the fear of divorce because it is a social taboo and a divorced individual has no identity as a respectable person in our society. These individuals also have to take the

social and economic responsibilities of their kids if they have and have to struggle alone to meet their basic needs.

Happiness is an ever-changing phenomenon and strongly concentrates on the social environment in which it occurs. The life experiences of separated individuals depict that they may feel partial satisfied with a hope of reunion but are not happy in their lives. A separated man named Asif who shares his detailed life history and discloses those realities of his life which normally men don't share due to their masculine authority granted to them by the power structure. He bravely expresses all his weakness and narrates deeply about his construction of happiness. Asif states that he wanted to marry a girl who was very wise and two years elder than him but the very conventional cultural approach of his mother intervened in his decision of marriage and rejected the girl because of her age and tan complexion. His mother suddenly finalized his proposal with her niece fifteen years younger than him. Being a man and having all authoritative powers he presents a unique feeling about marital myth and realities.

I was well aware of the weakness of my personality. I wanted a wise and mature woman in marriage who leads our marital relationship. (Asif, Separated Life History)

His family decided to marry him as early as possible due to the fear that he might marry with the girl of his own choice. He warmly participated in all marriage preparations and was very happy irrespective of what will happen with him in future. Eventually, he got married but he couldn't develop a strong relationship with her due to the fear of her young age. She also did not show interest and became frustrated from him. He became helpless to handle the situation because it was the matter of their intimate relationship. It is common observation that families with their cultural norms and values have defined indicators of successful marriage such as beauty of the girl, young age and within family marriage. The parents are most important actors in socialization of a child and know each aspect of their personality but at the time of marriage they deliberately ignore all personality traits of their kids and only focus to fulfill societal standards to get social appreciation.

The rest of three separated men have an intense feeling of disassociation with their spouses and a continuous interference of families doesn't make situation better.

These individuals are separated from their spouses for many years without having any personal issue but lack of communication and parental misguide broke synchronization between the couple. The reality of married life is not entirely dependent on spousal relationship but multiple forces are also involved directly or indirectly in shaping and reshaping marital experiences. The meanings of myth and reality of two separated men in their married lives are presented here as an example.

I wanted complete emotional and social harmony with my spouse who should only focus on me (Pervaiz, Separated Life History).

I didn't want to listen any argument from my spouse because she had to adjust the way I am. (Imran, Separated Semi Structured Interview)

These separated men have a firm belief that an educated and mature girl can handle the family matters efficiently and keeps the joint family system intact. They expect that their wives will extend their role in future and will become their companion to make family system stronger and happier for everybody. They closely attach their construction of happiness with the happiness of all family members but not only with couple. They argue it is difficult for an individual to spend married life in joint family system without the support of wife where multiple social actors are also involved and the success of marriage is only dependent on the harmony of spouses. They also claim that argumentative nature of their wives made it difficult for them to sustain their authority because it is considered as a shameful act from the wife and an attack on their honor and authority.

The separated informants both men and women depict that married life is not entirely dependent on spousal relationship but multiple forces are also involved directly or indirectly in shaping and reshaping marital experiences. It is a common observation that the direct communication acts as a binding force in any relationship. This binding force becomes critical in marriage because in collectivist culture, marriage is not an independent phenomenon but it rests on the nature of family institution, type of marriage, age gap between spouses, interference of families, spousal intimate relationship and the larger normative order. Previous scholarly studies stated that men face more vulnerability in social terms, bad health and dissatisfaction after divorce and

separation (Shor et al. 2012; Stack & Eshleman 1998), dissatisfaction with family life (Kalmijn & De-Graaf, 2012), higher behaviors towards adopting bad social and health habits lead to higher death rate (Berntsen & Kravdal 2012; Sbarra et al., 2011) and develop feeling of loneliness and isolation (Bauserman, 2012; Dykstra & Poortman, 2010). However, previous research show that women face many problems during separation out of which economic deprivation is most prominent (Verma, 2015) and other included limited income generating options due to the responsibilities of single motherhood, lack or disproportionate spousal compensation for the maintenance of child rearing and enforced entry in to feminization of labor force (Berntsen & Kravdal, 2012; Holden & Smock, 1991).

The narratives of separated women show a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with their married lives and their gender makes the situation more difficult for them but women living in separation for long duration are getting satisfaction from their kids. The life history of a separated woman Rania is a sample to comprehend how a separated woman experienced her marriage in a strict socio-cultural context. She was married after the marriage of her younger sister because in the presence of her beauty nobody was willing to accept her proposal. She was in fantasy before marriage and has so many dreams about her own house, loving husband, kids and happy life forever. She narrates her ambitions of married life but unfortunately these are missing in her real-life experiences.

Marriage is only happy when husband has well settled job, own house, a good social status and love for his wife with a responsible attitude towards family. (Rania, Separated Life History)

Unfortunately, her husband saw her younger sister before marriage and he perceived that she must be beautiful like her sister. She still remembers the feeling of disappointment on her husband's face on the day of wedding. Her husband only gave her a feeling of unwanted person in his life and never showed responsive attitude towards her needs and problems. She gave twenty years to this undesirable relationship with the hope that they will start living as a family and also build their own social setup. But this was her mistake because one sided effort never produced any encouraging

result and her husband did not understand and fulfill his responsibilities. She is currently living in separation initiated by her husband because he left country, got remarried and started her own life abroad. Her parents supported her morally, socially and economically in every thick and thin of her life and this social support system is available to daughters even after their marriages. It is commonly observed if husbands don't come up with their expected roles, the parents' step into the lives of their daughters and fully support them with an intention to keep their marriages save and intact.

Happiness in marriage depends on the social situation in which couple is operating and if the social environment and people around them are supportive the marriage is happy. The marital happiness is not solely dependent on the couple but it is dependent on the socio-cultural context to which they fit in. The stories of separated women depict that they got married in a conventional way with this traditional mental understanding that they have to stay in marriage at any cost. But their lives are overburdened with family responsibilities which prove a killing element for their relationship as a husband and wife. The missing elements of happiness in marriage may lead to conflicts have many reasons which start with the decision of marriage and spousal selection.

The two separated young women explain their life experiences in which their young age and sole parental decision of their marriages are the main reasons of their marital disputes. Hina was married in *watta satta* for the sake of her brother's happiness. Her father taken for granted the life of his daughter with an idea that she has to marry somewhere, it is better to use her for the happiness of his son. The life experiences of Hina depict that her marriage brought her to very rural and crude environment which was full of oddness and desperation. It was very difficult to adjust her without basic facilities of life and the most important element of love and care from her husband was also missing. After some months of their marriage, conflicts started between husband and wife for not providing basic needs to her son. A marriage that was started with demand and unwillingness soon became the prey of separation. The ideology of social context prefers sons over daughters because they are the heirs of family and daughters are the guest at parent's house. The whole family is under much

pressure because of her marital disputes but nobody has a formula to come out of the situation.

Gul another separated married girl faced many harsh experiences in her marriage. She was doing her graduation at the time of marriage and wanted to study further but her mother threatened her that she will commit suicide if she will not agree to marry. She agreed to marry and got engaged. The dilemma of her marriage was that nobody from her family met her husband till the day of marriage because he was living abroad and came back on their *mehndi* night. The picture of her husband shared with her family was of twenty years back. When her mother and other relative women went for mehndi ceremony at her in-law's house, they first time saw her husband and he was forty years old. Her mother became disappointed and forbade all family women to disclose this reality.

Now all people from my family said that my mother was my big enemy and she destroyed my life. But my mother was under great social pressure if my marriage stopped at that time, I will be stigmatized for my whole life that why I didn't get marry a day before my marriage but now stigma of separation is attached with me. (Gul, Separated Semi Structure Interview)

When she saw her husband first time on the wedding day, she became very frightened because he was a man in terms of age. The day after wedding reception, her husband niece came and showed the pictures of her husband with a girl. She deleted all these pictures from her husband's mobile. When he came back to the room, he inquired about the pictures and she confessed that she had deleted these pictures. He became so angry and this was the first dispute between them. He made her clear that she has no right to interfere in his personal life. She put a condition on him that if he will stop talking to his girlfriend then she will talk to him. This created a huge distance between them and they didn't talk to each other for two months. They had husband wife relationship only for three months after that they started living separately. She helplessly says now it's too late and she regrets that she should spend her married life quietly and not bother about his love matters.

The narratives of separated informants irrespective of their gender show the creation of misunderstanding between spouses due to lack of trust, less consideration to psychological needs, physical needs and verbal violence, huge age difference between husband/wife and sexual issues are the main reasons of separation (same results in Khajastehmehr & Takrimi, 2009; Khalili, 2011). However, feeling of regret is also attached with the wrong selection of spouses either by informants' parents or by themselves and it is also the main reason of their marital dispute in current findings (Ghotbi et al., 2004). In the presence of all these factors, if husband and wife stop communicating with each other about their relationship, it not only creates distance between them but produces many illusionary hopes in the minds of individuals who are living in separation that their spouses should value the relationship and not tolerate the interference of anybody even their parents. Marriage is considered as a bond of love and compassionate between two individuals who have many hopes and illusions for long lasting relationships but in some cases (Paiva, 2009) these elements are not achieved. The separated women participated in the current research claim the feeling of dissatisfaction with the marital relationship due to unmet feeling of idealized marital life which lead them to separation. The whole process of separation decays marital relationship and leads towards divorce (Féres-Carneiro & Diniz Neto, 2010) and sometimes towards the hopes of reunion. Separation also puts adverse effects on child socialization (Goisis et al., 2016; Kiernan & Mensah, 2010; Perelli-Harris et al., 2010; Punton-Li et al., 2012).

The feelings of unhappiness experienced by separated informants in their married lives are due to the lack of communication between spouses. They also claim that most of the time husband and wife have no personal disputes between them but parental misguide breaks the synchronization between the couple. In case of separation, the parents involve in the lives of their daughters and support them with an intention to keep their marriages save and intact. The separated women report that parents also force them to stay in unwanted bonds for the honor of their family. All separated informants are agreed on the fact that happiness in marriage is not only dependent on the commitment of spouses with each other but on the social circumstances in which married individuals are operating their lives. Stigmatization is faced by both genders in

separation but men can find a safe haven in remarriage. It is difficult to challenge dominant status quo for both men and women because in within caste and within family marriages there is strong normative order which binds all actors together in an invisible contract.

5.1.5. Widow Informants

The last category of informants discussed under this theme are widow informants and feelings of what they imagined and what they actually experienced in their married lives. Widowhood is a marital status in which one spouse died due to natural or accidental death leaving other spouse alone with large responsibilities of family and kids. A widow status produces loss of social status and creates disturbance to economic situation in the life of widow individual. The widow informants of the current research express that they get sympathy from their family and society but in some cases the individual is accused of the death of spouse and is socially stigmatized (a special case of a women will be presented later in this section). Widow women participated in this research claim that they have no intentions to marry but young women are convinced to marry for protective shelter and their future well-being. On the other hand, widow men claim that they have intention to marry for the sake of household management and kids' rearing.

The discourses of happiness in widow group reveal that men informants spent a more stable married life. However, women informants came across with diverse marital disputes because the married life which began with many beautiful dreams ended with very harsh realities of life. The dilemmas of life are hidden in beautification of physical appearances and promises between two individuals which become apparent with the start of married life. Marital satisfaction refers to subjective experiences in a relationship which are based on the difference between perception and reality about marriage (Dela-Coleta, 1992; 2006). The life story of a widow man named Ali shows that mental understanding between couple matches the imaginations and realities of life on one page. Life story of Ali is a real picture of satisfaction and contentment because his whole life is deeply embedded in spirituality. He has no regrets in any aspect of marital life and takes strength from his past memories to move forward in life with

happy face. The personality traits of his wife were completely synchronized with his mental images. He explains his marital relationship in these words.

I didn't find any clash of ideas and conflict with my wife. She even read my thought process, the way I wanted to do things in my life. My house was a social space for all my relatives and family members because I was the eldest son. My wife made this social space alive. (Ali, Widow Life History)

His wife never argued on his decisions and became a welcoming host for everyone. When his siblings and family relatives visited his house, they were very happy and gifts were presented to them from his wife. This particular couple derived their happiness from their social relationships because they were truly embedded in the belief to have helping and supportive terms with family members. Both of them were deeply rooted in spirituality which became their strength against all negativities and their belief system was so strong that they drew their happiness from their social context. They were two hearts in one body and they never negotiated on mine and yours. He is passing his widowhood with same ideology even after the death of the spouse. However, the life story of Akbar is much different from life story described above because a woman directed and led marital life in this particular life experience. Akbar was in love with his cousin during his study and he struggled a lot to achieve her love. She was the most beautiful girl of his family and without developing professional career it was not possible for him to get her proposal. He became passionate about his profession and career to make her life partner. After lot of struggles and family disputes he succeeded to marry his beloved. He shares a very unique feeling of his aspiration and reality about married life.

I got her as a life partner but her beauty which attracted me, became authority on me. I lost my power in the hands of her. (Akbar, widow)

All household decisions were taken by his wife because she was groomed to be a decision maker and held a strong stance on various life matters. She did not only take decisions at her home but also involved in decision making of her extended family. He narrates that her personality was so authoritative that she only informed him about the decision, she had taken and never asked from him. He confesses that none of her

decision was wrong throughout her life. She was completely illiterate and being highly qualified, he says that wisdom does not come from education. He belongs to strict traditional environment but never got stigmatized and became the victim of people's negative gaze that he was not a decision maker at household.

According to Russell et al. (2014) marital satisfaction is influenced by conscious and unconscious elements and factors like gender, level of education, socioeconomic level, religion, personality characteristics, values, attitudes and needs. It is very difficult to analyze and evaluate some phenomena which are hidden but become clearly apparent after experiencing it. The marital satisfaction is rated as the top most element in the life of an individual to bring happiness in all other aspects (Ozgur & Fons, 2013) but marital satisfaction itself is dependent on number of factors such as having children, better emotional and physical health (Kiecolt-Glaser et al., 2005; Repetti, Taylor, & Seeman, 2002). The rest of two widow men spent a conventional married life having all the ingredients from their social context and having traditional domination/subordination marital relationships. They took their decisions independent of their wives but were deeply situated within the context. In traditional societies marriage is not an experience confined among husband, wife and kids even though they are living in nuclear families and several social obligations are also attached with them which sometimes badly affect the happiness of a married family.

Social context draws boundaries against even married couples and doesn't give them this freedom to enjoy their lives in social spaces but these individuals internalize the normative guidelines in a such a way that they are completely synchronized with their context and never have any feeling of uneasiness. The story of a widow woman named Zartaj is the true depiction of a complete personality transformation to best fit in prevailing cultural context. Zartaj had more masculine traits and had friendships with boys before marriage. All his friends anticipated that she will dominate her husband because she was very out spoken and bold but she became the slave to her husband. It is a common observation and is also highlighted by this particular life story of a woman that traditional cultural framework alters women in marriage and family institutions. The words of Zartaj are presented here as an example.

He was very dominating but caring and loving. He confined me within his boundaries through possessiveness. I think it was very beautiful way to prepare me for his future wife. (Zartaj, Widow Life History)

She valued her relationship because her husband had very nice and kind heart in his body. Her in laws wanted to change her personality as traditional daughter in law and they eventually transformed her into conventional girl after marriage but initially she was opposite to their standards. The very basic fact of her changed identity in married life was that his husband was very vocal and so protective towards her. He was very caring towards her and his personality was so much balanced that he put everybody at its place. The beauty of a marital relationship and synchronization between husband and wife are truly depicted in the words of a widow woman.

My husband was the magnet between us which acted as a binding force and we were attached to him according to our places. (Zartaj, Widow Life History)

Before the death of her spouse, the roles of everybody were defined by her husband. The balance between her and her in laws was maintained by him. She spent life full of happiness with her husband and two kids. She says that five years of her marriage were like a honey moon period. She also confesses that after his death the connection between her and her in laws along with kids was completely broken. She has to look after her kids alone after the death of her husband even in the presence of rich grandparents for past ten years. Marriage was the turning point for her which transformed her personality from masculine traits to feminine traits with love and care.

The life experiences of all widow women are unique and the life experiences of each widow woman are separately presented for understanding marital life and the construction of happiness. A widow woman Saima holds very feminine traits and faced many hardships from very young age. She was the youngest child of her parents and got marry at very early age. She had many conventional dreams at time of her marriage because she was brought up in very traditional environment where girls got marry at very early age and they are not encouraged to achieve their aspirations for studies and careers. She never thought of education and career when she was going to marry.

Socialization and fantasy of girls about marriage in cultural context is truly depicted by the quotation given below.

I thought marriage is like thrill and enjoyment. I did a lot of preparations for my mehndi and wedding day functions. I was living in a fantasy because this fantasy was created in my mind by my family. I wanted to look the most beautiful bride of the world on the day of marriage. I considered myself the luckiest girl who is going to Dubai. (Saima, Widow Life History)

She didn't bother to whom she is getting marry, what does he? how much is he educated? and what is age difference between them? which are the realities of married life. She felt herself the most privileged girl in her friend's circle who was going to marry right after graduation. She started her married life in nuclear family system and found herself the owner of the house because nobody was there to control her actions. His husband was very loving and caring. He used to romance with her all the time and also overlooked her childish attitude. After two years of her marriage, she was blessed with son on the demand of their families and the real picture of married life became clear to her. She was very young and had no training to handle a small baby. This is the big dilemma of our social context which presumed that girls will learn motherhood automatically the moment they will enter in marriage institution because the first and foremost ingredient of successful marriage is to give birth to young one right after marriage. She explains her marital life realities in these words.

I had to wake up for the whole night with my son and I couldn't wake up in the morning on time. The comfortable level I gave to my husband in past two years of marriage was lost. (Saima, Widow Life History)

Her son woke up and cried whole the night. She was very sensitive about her son and never wanted him to cry. Her husband completely lost interest in her because her body was also changed due to the birth of a kid. This created confusion and distance in their relationship. After having all these issues, he planned to send her back to Pakistan without intimating her. He wanted her to stay in Pakistan to serve his mother and he involved with another woman. She was completely ignorant of all this planning

and came to Pakistan for three months but her stay got prolonged till her husband's death.

Another widow woman Salma has very submissive but active personality. She was engaged with her cousin who was average looking. She had interactions with other boys and was very proud of her beauty. She took her own marriage decision and got love marriage with a handsome boy who pretended to be rich and well settled. The young age feelings of a careless girl are expressed as follow.

I was so careless that I was only in love with his appearance and taken for granted everything else. But I faced a huge shock when I started living with him on very first day. They were very dirty people and their house was also very dirty. (Salma, Widow Semi Structured Interview)

She was brought up in good social class and laughed on low social class people. After marriage, when she came to know that her husband is batman in army and her mother in law is maid, it made her dead. They were living in rented house with very pathetic condition. Sometimes, she thinks that Allah has punished her for degrading people and she also recalls that her mother's sentence that "*don't laugh so much it will give you pain in future life*". Initially, her husband's behavior was tolerating and she didn't see any happiness in her married life. She just spent two years in peace with him, after that he became very abusive physically and verbally. She started embroidery work and her husband took orders from market. Her husband wasted most of the money on his friends and clothing. Her husband took heavy loan and wasted all money in drugs. In these five years, she was blessed with two daughters and a son but nothing could make situation better. One day, her kids slept hungry and her one-year old son kept on weeping throughout night because he was hungry. This pain can only feel a mother and expresses in these words.

I decided to become maid because no other option was left for me and the very next morning I was standing at the door of the owner of the house. I started cleaning house and bathrooms, washing dishes and clothes. On that day I was died. (Salma, Widow Semi Structured Interview)

She never imagined that she will get so such harsh punishment on her deeds. Her husband gave her permission to work as a maid. He never allowed her to teach even in girl's school because he was of the view that she will make up and well-dressed herself for school. She is already open-minded and will again run away with someone. She started taking *Purdah* (veil) after that and became maid nine years back for the sake of her kids. Her husband did nothing and was addicted of various types of intoxication. This particular girl has dreamed about loving and romantic relationship with her husband but hard hit due to contradiction with social context.

The last woman in the category of widow informants is Palwasha who has very humble, kind and supportive personality. Her story is very thought full and unique in a sense that she spent and is still spending her life under strict adherence to cultural structure. She truly expresses her feelings that she accepts the norms and values of her social context with complete willing of her heart and mind but never with an intention to get social approval on her conventional behavior. She feels her husband's absence in her life in the form of loneliness but she has no regrets in any aspect of her life. She spent a complete synchronized married life even having no kids. The couple was so complete within themselves that they never felt any missing element in their married life. Her uncle chose her as a daughter in law because of her mother's character and reputation. Her mother took many promises from her about her behavior in marriage that should be based on patience and tolerance. She should not complain about anything whatever the circumstances will be because it is the matter of her mother's honor and character. After internalizing this ideology of her mother, she never had any issue in married life because she is completely socialized under defined norms and values. Her words given below completely depicts the gendered socialization of a socio-cultural context that prepares girls how to perform in marriage. Her myths and realities about married life are completely synchronized and are expressed below.

I had full control on my tongue and never argued with my husband. I did all things properly according to the wishes of my husband. I never had any issue of dispute in my married life. (Palwasha, widow)

She believed that happiness in marriage is only achieved when all household chores are properly done by women. She also felt that her successful marriage is result of huge age gap and his husband handled all life matters wisely. She was very obedient wife and her husband was very loving so she spent a very happy life. This story truly depicts the commitment of a couple to each other and their social order. This is a special case included in this group which belongs to strict traditional context and doesn't have kids but this missing element didn't affect the commitment of a couple with each other. Marriage is an important institution present in all types of societies which is closely related with the family. However, narration of marital experiences by widow informants reveal that it is not only an experience to narrate straightforwardly about marriage in its relationship with happiness but it has many dimensions which are directly related to success. The success of all other domains of life is dependent on the success of marital life.

In precis, all informants recount many gaps in their imagination and reality about marriage. It can be significantly observed from marriage and happiness literature (Glenn & Weaver, 1981; Veenhoven, 1994; Proulx, Helms, & Buehler, 2007; Wadsworth, 2016) that marriage is proved to be one of the strongest indicators of happiness and marital happiness is associated with life satisfaction (Carr et al., 2014; Flood & Genadek, 2016; Genadek et al., 2017; Lawrence, Rogers, & Wadsworth, 2015; Liu et al., 2016). In married group all men have arrange marriages and are strictly attached with their context and adhering normative order. All of them have same myth and reality about marriage. They are completely enjoying their traditional authority in their married lives yet claiming it as a burden on them to take care of all social and economic responsibilities of their families. Two out of four married men are married with highly qualified professional women but never share household responsibilities with them and are strongly convinced that it is woman's domain. They also claim that they never want any change in gender roles. The rest of two married men are unhappy due to their childless status and argue that this is the only missing element of happiness in their married lives. In comparison, all married women have a huge gap between their imagination and realities of married lives. Three out of four women did love/consensual marriage but with the consent of their families. All of them are on continuous efforts

and negotiations to a power structure to get an equal share of their perception of happiness in marriage. All of them are highly educated hard-core professional women and reveal that they have to adhere to defined gender roles in their lives to make their marriages happy and workable. These women have firm belief that the marital happiness lies in the adjustment, compromise, silence and subordination. Their construction of happiness in marriage is directly related to being in marriage irrespective of their day to day struggles and successful professional lives.

In divorced group all men demanded subordinated women in their marriage but when their wives rejected and challenged their authority to meet their needs, their relationship ended with divorce. Three out of four divorced men claim that there is huge gap in their imagination and actual experiences of married life but one man reveals that family politics broke his marriage and led to divorce. All these men narrate that happiness in marriage is only achieved when authority is in the hands of men and women should adjust and take re-birth after marriage to manage new socio-cultural setup. These men also disclose that high expectation from their spouses and rejection to gender expectations are the main reasons of their marital unhappiness. In contrast, two divorced women did love marriage and two did arrange marriage but their experiences of marital lives are full of pain, violence, unmet expectations and lack of trust. All divorced women faced terrible incidents of verbal and physical violence which will be discussed in next theme. Divorced women claim that they had high expectations and many fantasies about marriage due to their gendered socialization but they lacked mental understanding and feeling of companionship in their married lives. In brief, all divorced informants claim that lack of mental compatibility and unmet expectations are the main causes of marital unhappiness.

In remarried groups all men are enjoying their traditional authority and also put extra efforts to make their remarriages workable. All men did arrange marriages for the sake of kids and marital happiness. Three men out of four disclose that they have more mental compatibility with their first wives but they were forced to remarry for kids and to prove their masculinity. The case of one man is unique in a sense that he was cheated in first two consecutive marriages and claims that her third wife has also a careless attitude. He has modified himself and become more compromising to make his

marriage successful because he has faced much social disrespect on the failures of two marriages. In the case of remarried women, three out of four women did arrange remarriages for the sake of social acceptance and one woman got remarried for real comradeship in life. Remarried women claim that they remarried for the sake of social respect and to enter in socially acceptable marital status rather than living in divorced status. Three out of four women have kids from their previous marriages and only one woman desperately needs kids from her second marriage and this is the only cause of her unhappiness. To summarize, all remarried men and women claim that there is gap between their imaginations and realities of marriage in all marriages but all of them are struggling hard to make their marital lives successful.

In separated group all men and women report that unmet expectations, family interference and lack of communication between spouses are the main causes of nastiness in marriage. All separated men and women did arrange marriages. All separated men want to reunite with their wives having traditional authority of men in their relationship. However, absence of husband and huge age gap between the couple are exclusively mentioned by separated women and one of separated men as the cause of marital unhappiness. In short, all separated men want to reunite with their wives within defined husband wife relationship but all separated women do not want to spend lives with their husbands but also do not want divorce due to social stigmatization. The feeling of doubt and uncertainty was and is present in both their married and separated lives.

In widow group all widow men were happy in their married lives because they had a complete marital association with their wives. They enjoyed their traditional authority which was never challenged by their wives except one man whose wife directed their marital life but her wise decisions were appreciated by him and made him happy. All widow men did arrange marriages and have intentions to remarry because of their happy marital experiences. On the other hand, three out of four widow women did arrange marriage and one widow woman did love marriage. All widow women have no intention to remarry and three out of four widow women want to spend their lives with their kids and also have good memories of their married lives. Two out of four widow women have positive and happy memories of their married lives but two widow

women faced many difficulties in their married lives. In recap, widow women get satisfaction from past memories and kids but men are living with a feeling of loneliness.

Marriage as an institution produces many fantasies regarding love and care but in real practice there is a huge gap between ideal and real social practices of married life in many cultural identities. According to Davidson et al. (2010) women fantasy marriage more than men and the same findings are reported by the informants of the current research. Marriage is determined through the process of institutionalization of interrelated norms along with pre-defined power relations in which individuals have to adhere for successful marital relationship. However, the findings of this theme show that all informants from all social groups have two viewpoints i.e., myth and reality in marriage are same and there is gap between imagination and real-life experiences of marriage. This is an important revelation that a smaller number of informants narrate that their imagination about married life is same with what they actually experienced in their lives. It is also worth mentioning here that more men than women have same imagination and reality about their married lives. Women are dissatisfied with their married lives but struggling hard to stay in marriage as a strong social obligation. All men participated in the current research have a firm belief that women are happier than men because the very distinction of societal dichotomy of private and public domains. Men argued that women are more operative in private domain defined by culture so they have smaller goals but men on the other side are more active in public domain so their goals are much broader.

Cultural context burdens men more, in terms of responsibilities on the name of authority to set broader goals to achieve their happiness. However, nine out of twenty men having different marital statuses who shared their detailed life histories and participated in semi structured interviews claim that their actual experiences of married life are same with what they perceived before entering into marriage institution. In comparison to men only two women claim that they are happy in their married lives and their imaginations and realities about institution of marriage are same. While eleven out of twenty men and eighteen out of twenty women narrate a huge gap in their imaginations about the institution of marriage and their real-life experiences after entering into marriage. All men want trust and care in marriage however women only

demand respect in their marital relationships. Women disclose that happiness in marriage can only be achieved through their submissive and subordinate role and whenever any individual specifically woman tries to deviate from cultural orientation of a good wife, the life becomes difficult for her. All men claim that happiness in marriage is only embedded in adherence to gender roles and subordination of women lies at the heart of happiness in marriage.

5.2. Embedded in Intimate Sphere: Gendered Happiness

The discussion under this theme is about the gendered structure of the society which places men and women into different boxes and treats them accordingly. This divided nature of society regulates the behavior of individuals from their birth and continuously dictates them to perform in certain ways under predetermined norms and values. This whole process is central to gendered way of living which guarantees that individual's happiness is fixed in the cultural context. In other words, the gender of an individual decides how and what are the ways to achieve one's happiness in larger social structure. The key argument built under this theme is to get a deeper understanding of gendered happiness which an individual learns during his/her socialization. This debate also includes many arguments constructed from the narratives of individuals that how much their happiness is gendered at large with specific focus on their marital lives. The central focus on which individuals developed their narratives is the socio-cultural context which provides them guidelines to streamline their lives and accommodate the prevailing structure of society to maximize their happiness.

The findings of the research study reveal that an individual is an interdependent entity who is responsible and accountable to maintain and protect the existing social fabric to ensure stability. This whole process assures individuals to perform their gendered roles defined by their culture to maintain group solidarity which is the guarantor of happiness at large. Change in gender roles is seen as a threat for societies. Individuals are continuously enforced and reinforced to sacrifice their personal happiness for collectivist happiness. The construction of gendered identities lies at the heart of happiness for individuals in collectivists social and culture context.

In this sense, Doumato (1993) men have more power over women in both public and private domain and the same findings are reported by the informants of the current research under different themes in this chapter. However, this power is also symbolized as a system of social structures and practices where men dominate and exploit women (Walby, 1990) but exceptional cases are available in which men are also the victims of gender discrimination highlighted by the findings of this research. However, in all situations society tries to limit men and women and they are socially and culturally demanded to behave in certain way to meet the expectation of their social structure. When they fit in their defined socio-cultural context to get social and cultural acceptance, they become happy. Individuals constantly make efforts to get happiness while placing themselves in their contexts and this can only be achieved through obedience of context having gendered identities. The current research includes all those informants to part who have been married and had been married once in their lives and currently are spending their lives in different marital statuses.

The discussion under this theme is a continuation of the last theme which discloses many realities of a married life and how it becomes difficult for an individual to keep the concept of happy marriage. Once married life has completely exposed to them, what are their feelings which are gendered, what are their struggles to keep their marriages intact in gendered context and what is their construction of happiness in this intimate relationship? The central question of all these questions is that how their gender takes central position in their married lives and gets a complete command to direct their lives in certain directions to achieve their happiness which is gendered. This theme actually discusses those experiences of individuals where their marriages become gendered and their happiness become grounded in those gender-based experiences which are mostly the outcome of their marital relations. Those narratives are presented in this theme which are truly gendered and based on gender experiences practiced by men and women in their married lives. In this situation some of the informants spent their lives in negotiations with their spouses to get a share of happiness from their marriages and stay in marriage but some individuals lost hope and decided to end marital relationship.

5.2.1. Married Informants

All married men selected for the current research had been married by their families and they attach their marital happiness with arrange marriage. They have this preconception that arrange and same cast marriages are key to the survival of larger kin. They believe that caste has its own social norms and values which distinguish it from other castes. It is a source of happiness and satisfaction for them to marry a good character girl from highest rank caste of the society. Marriages within family and caste are more appropriate and successful because boy and girl have a deeper knowledge about the social structure of their families. The chances of dispute are less and if a conflict arises between couple, it is yet difficult to break the marriage because of family ties. All of these married men hold patriarchal personalities and two out of four men have highly educated professional wives but they are enjoying all the leverages of authority granted to them by their context. The excerpt of a highly educated married man is presented here as an example to get an understanding how marriage is a gendered institution to produce gendered happiness.

Authoritative women are never acceptable, loved and appropriate in wife's role. I will never sacrifice my patriarchal authority at any cost because it is against my childhood socialization. This patriarchal authority is an immense source of my happiness in marriage. My wife is a working woman but I never perform any household chore because I strongly believe it is her domain. (Abbas, Married Life History)

The eastern society is patriarchal in nature and a man is in dominating position as he enjoys authority and privileges. The satisfaction and happiness of a man is negatively affected with the domination of a woman. Abbas argues that soft, coward and subordinate man is not openly welcomed by traditional society. According to him both men and women feel happy in their defined gender attributes. These gender attributes are learned by boys and girls in the process of gendered socialization and family as an institution prepares them to make their married lives successful. He stresses that men don't want any change in gender roles because it may threaten their authority which is the ultimate source of their satisfaction. The power relations of the existing social structure enforce both men and women that the success of marriage is

highly dependent on the traditional domination/subordination relationship. Abbas also relates his marital happiness with the selection of spouse and links it with the character of woman which is already gendered in itself.

Another married man gave complete authority of his marriage decision to his parents because he believes that marriage is a bound between the families rather than the individuals. He didn't see his wife before marriage due to notion of *pardah* (veil) which is a norm of his family. The ideology of his family for spousal selection rests on the character of mother and he narrates;

The selection of a girl as a wife is linked with the character of her mother because daughters are reflections of their mothers. (Manzar, Married Semi Structured Interview)

A good character mother builds the character and teaches her daughter to learn subordinate role to best fit into marriage institution. He believes that women mostly get divorce due to weak socialization as well as parental interference in married life but marital success depends on adopting defined gender norms and values. He shares that his wife never dominates him and is very responsive towards his needs. He says that changing gender roles poison married life and men in most cases feel unhappy in altering their prescribed roles which badly influence their position in power structure. Family is one of the most important institutions in all societies and social roles are mostly learned from family because an (Taylor et al., 2002) individual has to learn how to behave in a particular social position. The prevailing normative order of the family has some prescribed rights and obligations for men and women to fulfill certain expectations being the members of the society at large. The gendered narrative of another married man who is passing married life under strict socio-cultural norms and values by maintaining his patriarchal role in its true essence is copied here as an example. He enjoys all liberties and exercises power on all aspects of his social life by strengthening prevailing social context and shares one of the important gender-based dimension of his happiness in marriage.

Woman is a God gifted flower once she blooms; she will never turn back to bud. I believe in Arabic culture before Islam where the birth of girl was the black day for father. (Shariq, Married Semi Structure Interview)

He emphasizes on prescribed gendered roles for women and believes that a bad character woman who has broken her defined boundaries never becomes a trustworthy. It is the duty of a woman to stay at home in *pardah* (veil) and man should operate in public sphere of society to earn livelihood for his family. According to him, son preference is the strongest indicator for happy marriage and daughters are a serious issue for any noble man in this society because honor of the family is attached with the girls. He doesn't like daughters but he also has no control on their birth. He strictly socializes his daughters as compared to son to make them respectable women in prevailing context. He has defined firm boundaries around them leaving no gap in their upbringing to save himself from any social stigma being the father of daughters. The socialization of this particular man is rooted in such socio-cultural context where historical traces have proven a woman as a social entity never be trusted and should be kept under authoritarian surveillance of a man to save her honor as well as character. The power structure produces knowledge after the occurrence of any incidence in which the woman breaks defined gender boundaries therefore constructing strong cultural ideologies which supports the subordination of women in power relations. Resultantly, the men start making normative order more rigid and become true guardian of patriarchy as a social system through intensifying all its elements.

Males are brought up with a teaching to be dominant and assertive but women are taught to be submissive and weak. This gendered socialization is the essence of Pakistani families which assigns different roles to men and women according to their gender. However, having all these strong authoritative perceptions of men about their construction of happiness are much gendered in nature but there are cases available in which a married man with childless status may become powerlessness in some of the key decisions of his life. Siraaj is facing difficult situations and has stuck between the wishes of his wife and mother.

I want to get remarried because my mother pressurizes me. Proposals approached, demand me to divorce my first wife but this is unacceptable for me because my brother's wife is also sister of my wife. My remarriage will affect our marital and family life too.
(Siraaj, married)

Siraaj has faced many difficulties from his own family in the form of social boycott and rejection for not fulfilling the wish of his mother to remarry. He was not invited on the marriage ceremonies of his younger brother to put pressure for remarriage. He rarely visits his home town because of the social pressure and stigma of not having kids. He also feels that a person without kids becomes unhappy and alone but he is grateful to his brother who is sharing house with him along with kids. It is claimed that man as a dominate gender can take his decisions independently without any limitation but in factual order it becomes difficult for a man to take decisions according to his will in the presence of many social actors who shape and reshape his happiness. Remarriage is not a simple process for men and they have to face many social obstacles to remain attached with their context. The survival of the societies and cultures rests on the (Lu & Lin, 1998; Tavakol et al., 2016) preservation of family's values in which learning of spousal role is the prerequisite to start and continue family system. The narratives of both married men and women informants reveal that marriage is the name of many gender-based experiences which is not only related to husband wife relationship but the larger social context to whom they belong. Marriage refers to the companionship of a couple for combined production and consumption, such as production and rearing of children (Weiss, 1997). Men are taught to operate in public and women in private domains. Previous research (Lu & Shih, 1997) shows fluctuating trend of happiness in the lives of individuals. A professional married woman named Ramsha shared her detailed life history and unveiled many hidden and taken for granted assumption about marriage. She lives in city hundreds of kilometers far from her native area and faces less tyrannies of power structure in her married life. But her gender as a woman is central to her marital life experiences and the quote given below depicts this reality.

Whenever I visit my in laws I never feel myself as foreign qualified but I am just a common woman, a wife, daughter in law and a mother. The people in my in-laws don't

know my importance as a career-oriented woman. Being an empowered woman and working on managerial post I feel like an ordinary woman in relationship with my husband. I think empowerment not only burdens me but also disturbs some aspects of my social life. (Ramsha, Married Life History)

The context is very important with reference to gender and it has many implications. She feels that in the cultural context of her in-laws the role of her husband becomes strictly traditional. All aspects of marital relation take the shape of that particular context in which they operate for few days. She says that their relationship remains same but communication becomes limited. The married women participated in the current research reveal that their husbands hold dominating personalities which become more apparent in joint family system. Ramsha explains that her husband prefers to talk her inside room and spends most of his time in socializing with male members of community. Her husband gives more importance to his mother and tries to obey her orders as a traditional son. She feels it would be difficult for her to change the perception of his husband on multiple family matters living in a joint family system. Sometimes, she thinks that he may not care for her in that context because the socialization of a person becomes stronger to operate in a particular context. She wants that her husband should ask about her social and emotional needs. She sometimes lacks in emotional and sexual feelings because of overburdened with multiple workloads. She has all the responsibilities like buying grocery, household chores as well as taking care of her daughter. After coming back from their workplaces, she has to manage household things but leisure time starts for his husband. In this scenario, empowerment burdens her and she doesn't feel happiness in empowerment all the time. She likes empowerment but suggests a different angle of empowerment in which the social context needs some necessary arrangements and shows more sensitivity towards changing gender roles. But she also knows that his husband will never dare to tell his friend that he helps her in household chores during pregnancy because it is not appropriate with the very definition of man. The word empowerment gives a feeling of strength but in her cultural context it makes the life of a woman more vulnerable and traps her in a vicious circle of socio-cultural, emotional and economic responsibilities. The whole ideology of empowerment rests on the modification of culture which may

lead her life towards satisfaction and happiness. The modifications in culture is somehow very complex and the ultimate indicator of empowerment is changing gender roles which is stigmatized and forbidden by the authoritarian forces and they are continuously constructing the power structure to strengthen patriarchy.

Another highly qualified married woman faced many cultural and gendered experiences in her married life. She faced mental torture from her step mother in childhood and physical violence as well as the constant threats of divorce from in laws throughout married life. She faced physical violence in marriage but still believes that the social respect of a woman is only to be in marriage. She discloses the realities of a married woman who is facing oppression and pain but still finds her happiness in marriage.

I was not a potential candidate to entre in marriage institution because my in laws perceived that my mother gave birth to dead babies and same will happen with me but I am blessed with three kids. I became the victim of domestic violence and even let down my father and reconciled with my husband in punchaiyat (traditional jury) to keep my marriage safe. (Saiqa, Married Life History)

The couple was agreed to marry without having any doubt in their minds but families in traditional societies look social and cultural background of families for marital proposal of their children. Kids are the most critical element in marriage and strengthen marital relationship. She believes that marriage is socially approved and recognized through *nikkah* (a legal contract of marriage) but it is acceptable with the birth of kids. She never had good relations with her in laws because they wanted to control her income. She also bore domestic violence in hands of her father in law and brother in law but she never wanted to break her marital relationship. She left her husband's house many times with her kids and lived with her parents and when her husband came from abroad, he took her back to house. She is in continuous efforts to make her marriage successful rather than happy. Individual as a (Lu, Gilmour, & Kao, 2001) socially created entity should initiate his/her happiness in social integration. Hwang (1987) examined dyadic relationships of people and found their struggles for

cultural and interpersonal adjustment. It is the most important form of social reality for collectivist cultures.

The other two married women spent their whole lives other than defined gender roles but became overburdened with responsibilities and started finding happiness in prescribed gender identities in marriage in their later age. The structure of social system has its predetermined distinct elements for different social roles age, identities and social activities. Their narratives clearly show regrets in their life decisions due to the strength of social structure in which they are operating their lives. These two women have drastic shift in their ideologies and feel that it is the duty of a woman to marry at the age prescribed by culture and raise children nicely. They assert that a woman should be feminine and pass her life according to her natural role; a daughter, wife and mother.

Nadia got married in her late 30s and shares how she took twofold transformations from her nontraditional to traditional role in her journey from unmarried to married life. She never believed on dichotomous gender-based identities and felt completeness in herself. She got married but was not blessed with kids and people started labeling her anti-social because she was totally misfit in multiple contexts such as family gathering and workplace. It is not only cultural but also natural that the birth of a child is essential after marriage. She discloses that there are set stages in the life of a woman after her birth, socialization to be future mother, education, career if allowed, marriage, birth to kids and kids' upbringing.

I feel a difference in marital happiness before and after adapting kids. I feel now I have a stronger bond with my husband as compared to when we had no kids. Motherhood is a natural phenomenon but I feel it is strengthened by cultural notions. (Nadia, Married Semi Structured Interview)

She has adopted two kids and her husband owns and respects her decision by putting kids as central and focal point of all his social activities. She feels herself beautiful from inside and outside after adapting kids and her husband has started taking proactive role in household matters. She takes all the responsibility of kids and they both feel full of life. She emphasizes that the most rewarding thing of nature is to have kids. Adapting a kid is more a socio-cultural decision in east and men in patriarchal

society don't give their names to other's blood. She is not biological mother but a mother by choice and she feels an additional responsibility on her shoulders. She says that natural mother is considered responsible but she is under strict surveillance because she has to prove herself mother. She puts emphasis that being mother is a natural phenomenon and not a social construction. In our culture the social survival of marriage is solely dependent on having child and the wish of having kids is a natural instinct inside mothers but it is nurtured and reinforced through culture.

The historical traces of all types of societies emphasize on marriage institution, because it is socially defined mechanism to start family and give birth to young ones for the survival of societies. There is never ending debate on whether motherhood is a natural phenomenon or the social construction of the power structure to confined women within her role in family life. In husband wife relationship, the similarity of cultural context must support marital adjustment for higher levels of marital happiness (Joseph, 2010; Kao & Lu, 2006). It is also true from various sociological studies (Waite & Lehrer, 2003) that married people are generally happier than single but evidence is also present that after marriage there is (Lucas et al., 2003) short period of happiness which mostly passes quickly and individuals start spending their lives busy in day to day activities.

It is also evident from the findings of the current research that on average individuals accept the realities of married life and adjust within husband/wife relationship. All married men hold the position of authority in prevailing social context and are constructing and reconstructing power structure to strengthen power relations which must be situated in domination/subordination relationship. Every action that tries to influence and modify their defined roles in patriarchy leads to unhappiness. However, exceptional cases are also present that a man as a dominate gender cannot take his decisions because multiple complexities are also attached with marriage and faces many obstacles to remain attached with his context. Men are considered as the backbone of the family system and partake in married life on defined gendered terms with constant negotiations to get their share of happiness from the marital relationships but their experiences of life are clearly dependent on their relationships. Gendered experiences of married women highlight that there is a need of modifications in culture

to feel happiness in empowerment but it is very complex and requires changing gender roles which are highly stigmatized and forbidden by the authoritarian forces which are continuously constructing the power structure to strengthen patriarchy. All married women, highly educated and working on prestigious professions have completely internalized that their main social roles are mother and wife (Klasen & Lamanna, 2009). Their life stories depict that the feeling of unhappiness is not attached with being empowered but with tyrannies of culture which ultimately forces them to reverse back to their defined gender roles and overburdened them with traditional responsibilities. Their professional commitments are the part of their lives which they have to manage individually but their prime responsibility is to accomplish household chores and rearing of kids. Their family members allow them and acknowledge their professional life but are not willing to share the burdens of family life. According to Alwedinani (2017) house is the prime domain of the women and men spend longer time outside home for the personal and professional commitments but the presence of women as wife and mother is crucial at home. The gendered experiences of happiness in married group reveal that men do not want any change in their gender roles and construct their happiness within defined cultural context. However, married women participated in this research do not find their happiness in empowerment and want to turn back to their defined role because of strong social disapproval and feeling of unhappiness.

5.2.2. Divorced Informants

The divorced informants disclose various gender-based experiences in their married lives. The decision to end marital relationship is not easy for any individual but it is based on many experiences in which gender and cultural differences are the core in marriage. In this globalized era the men and women are exposed to many socio-cultural and economic changes in their lives. Women are now taking part in the economic activities and are more aware of their rights. In this whole scenario, social system has started allowing women to get education and to participate in labor force due to the force of globalization and modernization but it is completely based on old ideological assumptions and women have to play subordinate role in various social institutions in which marriage and family are the key to maintain patriarchal and cultural philosophies. This situation actually exposes many gender-based differences which were initially

covered under female illiteracy and their subordination and now they want to be an equal partner in marriage.

Divorce still is considered as a taboo in eastern societies but the severity of social stigma attached with it is less in urban areas. The decision to divorce is always taken under extreme conditions but there is evidence (Gilbert et al., 1998) present that it is difficult for an individual to predict about expectations of happiness form marriage and after getting divorce. However, divorce is not only a decision between two individuals but it actually alters the whole structure of family (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2002; Küçükşen, 2016) and the same findings are reported by the informants of the current research in which couples and their kids are mainly affected. The individuals participated in the current research reveal that cultural and gender differences are the main reasons of their marital unhappiness which lead them to divorce (same results found in Dribe & Lundh, 2012; Kalmijn, 2009). It is clearly observed from the narratives of individuals that different socio-cultural practices, family norms and values, style of upbringing and socialization direct them to face many difficulties in managing marital relationships which ultimately end with divorce. The findings based on individuals' life experiences show that their construction of happiness was strongly hit and negatively affected by the dissimilarity in socio-cultural practices of the families and pre-determined gendered ideologies (same findings in Lainiala & Säävälä, 2012). The social construction of gender clearly defines separate role of a man and a woman which is obvious from the social practices largely in marriage institution. The subordination of a woman lies at the heart of martial happiness by performing her gender roles largely taken from historical discourses of marriage as an institution. A divorced man named Altaf was brought up under strong cultural and gender beliefs and has never trust on women. His excerpt is offered here to show this reality.

I remember my father used to say that never trust a woman either she is mother, sister or wife. If you trust her, she will make you dead. A man is shameless who accepts woman's domination (Altaf, Divorced Life History)

This particular excerpt shows the gendered construction of social relationships in which a man wants to control a woman. Altaf strongly emphasizes that it is religiously and culturally proven that a woman is not trustworthy and need to be under strict surveillance to maintain larger social fabric of the society intact for maintaining defined social order. He stresses on the traditional role of a woman to stay at home, bear and rear kids and keep joint family system intact according to the happiness of her husband. He also states that a woman's life is very easy if she lives within the defined gender boundaries, the moment she tries to break those boundaries which do not only disturb the larger social structure but also make her life miserable and unhappy. All men with divorced status are agreed and convinced to have open eyes on the woman because she is emotional and unwise. They also agree with a social construction which labels a woman as emotional and a man as rational. The men with divorced status argue that the main causes of unhappiness in marriage is due the wrong practices of a woman who wants to change her gender role. The divorced men are practically attached to the defined social patterns and claim that a woman should internalize in mind that her relationship with a man may be broken with three words.

These divorced men also claim that they had a cold war between their wives and families which made them unhappy in their married lives. They faced a continuous pressure from their families to show their authority to meet the standards of family system. They also confess that authority gained through patriarchy sometimes positions them in a vulnerable condition and they come across multiple situations to direct their lives to strengthen the existing social context even at the cost of their marital relationships. Culture keeps an eye on the role of a man to strengthen patriarchy with his authority and if a man doesn't play his role he is considered as a weak man. They also claim that divorce is a punishment granted to a woman for not performing an appropriate role in marriage. A woman should not interfere in any masculine domain and if she does so she will become hateable. Another divorced man is the strong defender of gender socialization which prepares a woman to participate in various social relationships according to the prevailing norms and values of the society. The excerpt given below clearly narrates his views on socialization.

There should be no discrimination between daughter and son in terms of fulfilling their needs but they should be differently trained to perform their roles attached with their genders to live socially acceptable lives. The continuous parental interference from girl's family after marriage never lets her to adjust in marital life. (Ishfaq, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

He holds very dominating personality and being hard core highly qualified individual couldn't save his married life because his wife was also an educated working woman who demanded equality in marriage. He also blames his in laws for their involvement in their married life and his ex-wife used to inform her parents about every single thing happened in home. They used to give her advices and she continuously changed her opinion about their mutual decisions. These are the reasons which created problems in their marriage and it ended with divorce. He argues that gendered socialization is very much needed for successful marriage and it is wrongly perceived by feminist that gendered socialization is a discrimination against girls. There should be no discrimination between daughter and son in terms of love, care, health, food and education but there should be different socialization for both boy and a girl to meet different future life. This type of socialization is also helpful to bring more happiness and stability in marriage as an institution. A woman should play a subordinate role in which her respect and self-esteem should be saved from all forms of violence against her.

The present research depicts that men mostly wanted to stay in marriage and did not initiate divorce deliberately but they divorced their spouses in anger. However, women deliberately initiated divorce because it affected their satisfaction and happiness to stay in marriage. Studies conducted by (Gager & Sanchez, 2003; Frisco & Williams, 2003) stated that when women feel inequality in relationship, they are twice more than men to seek divorce. Whereas women are highly expressive, unhappy in marriage and sometimes the initiators of divorce (Abu Baker, 2003; Amato, 2010; Cherlin, 2009; Diedrick, 1991; Poortman & Mills, 2012; Rosenfeld, 2014). The present research highlights that all divorced women were the victims of verbal and physical abuse even being highly qualified and faced the harsh form of patriarchal and cultural forces that regulate their behavior to align with marital power structure. Cultural order plays vital

role in (Douki et al., 2003) accepting and legitimizing violence in marriage and is considered as private matter and justifies with the misconduct of wife and husband facing many economic and social pressure outside home for the larger maintenance of social structures. The divorced women participated in the current research faced many harsh and punitive experiences in their married lives. The two of these women did love marriage and other two were tied in marital knot by their families but their marital experiences are full of trauma, verbal and physical abuse and lot of unmet expectations. A divorced woman named Huma living in divorced status for past ten years shares her experiences of married life which was full of distrust and insincerity. She did love marriage to start a marital relationship on equal basis but soon realized that the survival of any relationship is always dependent on trust and loyalty. It is safe to say that in strict socio-cultural environment where a woman learns to play secondary role, she never has right to ask these essential elements in marriage but it is demanded from a woman to stay loyal and sincere to his husband and family to maintain equilibrium in the society. She feels that the attributes of domination are present in a woman by nature and she is never socialized to dominate.

A man is dominated because he learns domination by default and uses this domination for the character assassination of a woman. (Huma, Divorced Life History).

She faced many problems in her marriage and managed herself for the sake of her kids with the support of her family. She faced verbal abuse in her marriage and became a woman activist to save the rights of other women. Being independent and strong woman, she knew that social context becomes weak when someone takes bold decisions and proves herself as a real identity after going through many hardships of life. She stresses that parental socialization is most important element in the lives of women to make them strong. Another divorced woman who has a very independent personality and has high expectations from all social relationships. She faced many gender related experiences in her life because she is completely unconventional woman and remained in conflict with dominant forces. She was also the victim of verbal and physical violence in her marriage. Being a woman activist and a worker for violence against women in the whole southern region of Punjab in reputed international organizations. She started her married life in joint family and it was the matter of her

integrity that a woman rights advocate was beaten by her husband. She never wanted to be a mother and she clearly told her husband that she has not motherly nature but her husband pressurized her to give birth to a boy. The powerlessness of a highly qualified educated woman is clearly visible from the excerpt given below.

I was verbally and physically abused by my husband. He used dirty abusive language during fights. He was of view that through violence he could conquer, control and change me. After beating me, he demanded to have a normal relationship with him. I don't believe that motherhood is natural and my son is a complete burden on me. (Ayeza, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

She has many regrets about her marriage and giving birth to a son. The regret of her life is always with her that she is physically and verbally abusive to her son. She is fighting against power structure but an alone woman can only injure herself to fight with this system and eventually surrenders against it. The verbal and physical abuse as well as character assassination are common in the lives of all divorced women. These women faced constant threats of divorce, physical and verbal abuse in their marriages but two women also faced mental torture on son preference as well as humiliation in their sexual life during marriage. They never exercised decision power at household level and felt as odd piece forcefully adjusted in marital relationships. They share that their family institution sends girls to their husbands' house with an intention that they should not leave the house before death. These women stress that the parents should empower their daughters that nobody has the right to use abusive language for them and nobody has the right to become physically, psychologically and mentally violent to them. Husbands should respect their wives and have a loving and respectful relationship with them but reality is different. A divorced woman who stayed in marriage for six years and shares traumatic experiences of her married life.

I faced domestic violence even during my pregnancies. He used to hit me a lot almost daily but still I wanted to be in marriage. I wanted to take this marriage safe even at the cost of my dignity, self-respect and violence but it ended with divorce. (Taniya, Divorced Life History)

In this traumatic relationship, Taniya was hopeful that after the birth of kid her ex-husband will respect her but her husband tortured her physically and mentally. Her husband was very typical eastern husband who wanted to regulate her behavior according to normative order through the use of violence. He also had psychological issues because he beat her in day and at night came to her for forgiveness. He was of the view that these are normal and private issues between husband and wife. Her first kid was baby boy but when second time she conceived it was baby girl. He ordered her to get it aborted but she said that she will give birth to her daughter, a complete blessing for her. The complete control of their husbands and families on their lives and forcefully changing their personalities to remain in marriage is also narrated by these women. A narrative of a divorced woman Farwa is presented as an example to understand the complexities of married life.

My father just wanted to label me as a married woman because divorce is shameful and he has other daughters to marry. In this whole situation, I was like a robot who had no feelings and emotions and who's on and off button was in the hands of so many people. Neither my parents nor my in laws asked about my feelings towards this relationship. (Farwa, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

Farwa faced gender-based discrimination in many aspects of her life. Her marriage was arranged under *watta satta* because her father wanted to fulfill the promise, he committed with his dead brother. He took this traditional decision which shows that he is deeply rooted in his family structure. He sacrificed the life of her daughter for the sake of his family. She also faced domestic violence and was blamed for miscarriage by her in laws. She gave birth to twin babies and after their birth, she mostly lived in separation from her husband and finally got divorce. Violence is the opposite to happiness and leads individuals to marital termination. Research studies (Katz et al., 1995; Kreager et al., 2013; Rosier & ScottFeld, 2000) stated that divorce is an option that provides physical and psychological security to women and children from violent relationships but still women wanted to stay in marriage. Erbes and Hedderson (1982) concludes that dissatisfaction and unhappiness in marriages lead to divorce. Divorce is considered as an outcome of unconventional ways of behaving by individuals in their marriages.

Gender construct different life experiences for a man and a woman, it is a common observation that divorce is not considered appropriate and families continuously struggle for a reconciliation between husband and wife. The effects of divorce hardly hit women than men (Kalmijn & Monden, 2006) and bring severe socio-cultural and economic crisis for them. It is commonly observed that the status of women is low in most of the societies due to lack of education and economic resources which ultimately increases their social, economic and psychological problems (Aktaş, 2011) but this study is unique in a sense that highly educated professional women have come across with these problems and faced continuous social disrespect and threats of divorce in their married lives. The severity of social criticism is attached with divorced individuals because their families do not support them particularly in the case of women for two reasons. Divorced women again put (Altuntek, 1993) economic and social burdens on the family and also make them victims of social disgrace. This societal and family attitude forces them to stay in marriage even in bad marriage. Gendered and patriarchal ideologies are completely internalized by both private and public patriarchy which severely attacks women in the form of violence, subordination and characterization (Walby, 1996) and in most traditional religious societies patriarchy constructs institutional and cultural structures which undermine the independence of women to think about their lives because divorce is undesirable (Gündüz-Hoşgör & Smits, 2007; Offenhauer, 2005; Sharabi, 1988) and ultimately harmful for their happiness. The gender perspectives and socio-culture context of the society are at core which make divorce as an option for individuals but in traditional societies where divorce is a taboo it is used as threat against a woman. Gender based experiences are more prevalent in lives of divorced women as compared to divorced men because power structure strengthens the ideology of patriarchy and leads them to divorce.

5.2.3. Remarried Informants

The remarried informants faced multiple gender related experiences in their married and remarried lives. Men are mostly allowed to remarry without any social gaze but the remarriage of women is hardly supported by power structure. The narratives of remarried men and women about their gendered happiness in their marriage and remarriage are unique in a way that failures in their first and second marriages due to

not having kids and lack of marital compatibility with their spouses never dishearten them to remarry and even facing many challenges in their remarriages, they want to keep their marital life successful. Pakistan is an Islamic country where men are allowed to keep four wives at a time but women can only remarry in the case of divorce and widowhood. All remarried men participated in the current research got remarried for sack of kids except one remarried man who wanted a marital success to prove his masculinity after two consecutive marital failures. His gendered experiences are presenting here as an example that how marital failures make the life of a man vulnerable in a patriarchal society. Rizwan got married three times and is living with his third wife and kids for last six years. It is not an established fact that only women face gender-based experiences or discrimination while operating in their prevailing normative society but there are also examples available in which men are also hard hit by society. When his two consecutive marriages were broken, he was stigmatized that a woman is not always guilty and responsible for marriage failure.

I have faced the stigmatization of having problem either physically, mentally or emotionally when my marriage was broken second time. (Rizwan, Remarried Life History)

His age group started socially disrespecting him in family gatherings and at workplace. He also faced social and psychological trauma because everybody started attack on his masculine traits that he has no masculine strength to control his wife “*Yeh tu mard he nahe hay*”. He started fighting with his family members but luckily his family members were very supportive and never left him alone irrespective of his behavior with them. He stresses that when his ex-second wife asked for divorce, he felt that he was drown in the sea where people, stigma, social disgrace were waiting for him to gallop him. He had much fear of social disapproval for not proving his masculinity in marriage.

He became depressed, lost his confidence and decided not to marry again. He resigned because his office colleagues used to make fun of him. People around him never realized of social factors attached to his unsuccessful marriages. He was exploited in the hands of a woman and she used him for the purpose of *Halala*. He stopped

socializing to hide himself from the gaze of social disapproval because he was scared of people's questions of not proving his masculine hegemony in marriage and easily divorced two women as divorce was initiated by them. He is currently in the phase of fear than happiness and struggles to prove his marriage successful. He has developed this mental construction that our society blames a man for marital failure and leaves an escape for a woman being a weak sex. He narrates his feelings in these words.

Our society tagged women as right and men as wrong. (Aurat hemsha mazloom hay chahye woh two number aurat he kion na ho) Woman is vulnerable even if she is prostitute. A man also feels and he has heart too. My experiences of getting married three times were very painful and stressful for me. I never thought of having such bad experiences in my life. (logo ko aes baat ka shaour hey nahe hai kise bhe izaat dar adami kay leye shadi totna bohat bari badnami hai) People don't have awareness that marriage failure is the matter of dishonor for a noble man. (Rizwan, Remarried Life History)

In our society, a man is also hard hit by patriarchal notions on marital failure. This particular life story has a special feature that a complete support of his family was always there, still he wanted to leave the country but the case may be different for an individual who has no social support. Some people commit suicide because of social dishonor attached with their marriage failures. It is common practice that women are the symbol of dishonor in divorce status but after conducting this particular life history, it is revealed that a man is also stigmatized socially by not proving his masculine hegemony and not keeping women under his authority.

Another remarried man named Zulifqar who specifically got remarried for the sake of kids after twenty five years of his first marriage. The missing element in his first marriage was kids and he did second marriage, another gendered experience of his life to get a social certificate of successful happy life. After remarriage, he completely kept himself apart from household matters and focused more on his public domain outside home by excelling in economic as well as social activities. His first wife wisely manages all household issues and also uses her authority to correct the mistakes of his second wife but he never interferes in their issues. He derives his happiness from his

kids and gets satisfaction by granting household authority to his first wife, which gives her notion of being at the center of patriarch even in the presence of second wife.

She allowed me to remarry within caste but not from my own family because she wanted to maintain her central position in my life. I have given complete authority to my first wife and she can even physically beat my second wife on her mistakes. (Zulifqar, Remarried Life History)

He doesn't feel any emotional attachment with his second wife except she is mother of his kids. His first wife takes all the decisions of his kids and even decides about their visits to their grandparent's house. His second wife is vulnerable in this remarriage who gave birth to three sons, which was the most desirable and missing part in his first marriage. A woman after playing her conventional role and giving birth to boy may face harsh gendered experiences because she is being regulated by another woman with the support of head of the household. The narrative of remarried man also shows that women in socio-cultural context try to get closer to the patriarch by even violating the rights of other woman and closely associate their happiness with a man having authority within the household. Patriarchy as a social system even uses women where necessary to strengthen its roots and constructs and reconstructs the interpretation of happiness of the men.

The experiences of another remarried man are true depiction of a cultural and social structure who takes the individuals as social actors to perform multiple roles according to their statuses to maintain equilibrium in larger social context irrespective of their personal feelings. Yaqub got married thrice and was blessed with kids in his third marriage. He had a complete marital happiness with his first wife and she was a true companion of life. His narrative given below depicts that how social and cultural setup changes the life of an individual.

My first wife became the victim of my family women pressure who wanted her to become mother but I was completely unaware of it. I was pressurized by my family to remarry twice and thrice for kids but nobody bothered about my feelings. I am completely in a state of compromise in my third marriage and I think the role of my mother in law is very negative who supports her immature daughter and interferes in our personal

domain. I always settle down the conflicts and I feel my wife has become more authoritative after the birth of a son. (Yaqub, Remarried Semi Structure Interview)

His first wife was under strong pressure of his family women to become pregnant right after marriage and she started visiting different traditional healers with her family women. Women of his family including the mother of his wife took her to midwife of their home town who was considered very wise and skilled in gynae related issues. She operated his wife with unsterilized medical tools and after some days, she started complaining about pain. He took her to a renowned gynecologist and after medical reports she was diagnosed with cancer in uterus at last stage. He took her to cancer hospital for medical treatment but all in vain and she died within a year of their marriage. He got remarried with his cousin but was not blessed with kids. After eight years, he got remarried again for sake of kids but his second wife refused to live with him and took divorce. His third wife is also from his family and knows all the details of his previous marriages. She used her motherhood as a tool to control his life and her mother also supported her in this regard. This specific case depicts that the women themselves become the custodians of patriarchy and without taking into consideration the consequences of their social action try to strengthen the normative patterns by even at the cost of life. He faced a continuous pressure to have kids and became the victim of social, mental and emotional pressure on many grounds. Multiple dimensions of a social life are completely embedded in the context which involve in shaping the experiences of happiness and even the men who claim to have a complete control on their lives cannot plan their lives without harmonization with the power structure.

Remarriage produces distinct images when two or more wives of a single man are living together. They always try to get closer to the patriarch by even violating the rights of other woman and closely associate their happiness with a man having authority at household. The narratives of remarried group depict that gender is the central phenomena covering all aspects of their lives. Researchers (Waite & Gallagher, 2000; Wilson & Oswald, 2005) documented that people marry and remarry for the better social positioning in the society and higher level of happiness is associated with marriage. Their lives are shaped by gender-based experiences and they continuously develop their unique interpretations of happiness in marriage.

It is also worth mentioning here that the women faced many difficulties to remarry. In remarriage, they have to prove their loyalty to second spouse and they feel happy to give up their divorced status. The construction of happiness among remarried group reveals that remarriage has different implications for the men and women. The narratives of remarried women reveal that they got remarried for social recognition and saved themselves from the stigma of divorce. A life history of a remarried woman named Annie is full of struggles and gender-based discrimination.

She made many compromises and is still struggling to keep her second marriage intact to apparently look happy in the eyes of society. Her first marriage was completely arranged marriage and *nikkah* had done before one year of *rukhsati* (final departure of girl to her husband's house). Her family had come to know that her ex-husband has problems in his professional life and the way her ex-in laws presented them is totally fraud and fake but her family didn't want to face the socio-cultural pressure of the stigma of divorce.

My father didn't dare to take my divorce before rukhsati with the fear that I will never marry again and my sisters also will not get good proposals. I will be stigmatized as a bad character woman who was divorced before rukhsati. (Annie, Remarried Life History)

This socio-cultural pressure placed a young girl in a very vulnerable position and she has to pay the cost of her family honor and respect. Annie tells that she never wanted to be a working woman but her husband became jobless soon after marriage due to his ever-changing behavior. She started her career along with studies to make future life of her kids better. Her ex-husband was very violent and used to beat their kids in her absence. He was a short-tempered man and one day, he divorced her in anger during their fight. Her father had realized her to not break the marriage in any situation for his honor. She got terrified and she didn't tell anybody about divorce. After some time, her ex-husband denied that he didn't give her divorce and tried to live with her. This time, she came to realize that this is a serious issue and she told her parents about her divorce. Her ex-husband started assassinating her character that she has an affair and wants to marry somebody else. So, she is lying that he has divorced her.

I told my father that my husband has divorced me but nobody believed me and even my father said; keep quiet on this issue and carry on your married life because divorce will bring shame for our family. (Annie, Remarried Life History)

The miseries of a woman and power of social structure can easily be felt from above quote that her only hope in life was her family and she always respected their decisions. But when she needed help, her own father didn't believe her and forced her to be in illegal relationship for the sake of family honor. Even her younger brother with extreme religious orientation tried to convince her to spend fourteen years with her ex-husband in the same way she had spent fourteen years with him. She states that if her family supports her and doesn't force her to live with him in illegitimate relationship, she spends her life in separation and never gets social stigma of being divorced. Eventually, after getting through this worst situation, her family remarried her because it is socially unacceptable for a woman to live alone. She has been facing continuous threats of divorce and character assignation in her second marriage for more than ten years and her excerpt below clearly depicts her miseries of life.

A highly educated professional woman like me finds her happiness within the approved boundaries of culture. I am facing a complete control of my second husband on my social, economic and emotional life in my second marriage. (Annie, Remarried Life History)

The cultural context of the society never lets a woman to live independent life but always controls her under the custody of a man. Her second husband has been blackmailing her with the threat of divorce for more than ten years to fulfill his demands. She is continuously bearing abusive relationship for sake of her kids. She is also convinced that daughter reflects mother and if she took divorce again, it will badly affect her daughter. She wants to keep on this marriage at the cost of her respect to maintain the image of happy married life. It is very hard for individuals to take decision of remarriage and accept this reality that their first marriage is failure. It is a human nature that after a bad experience or failure, they become very conscious to enter in the same situation again.

The narratives of remarried women reveal that the social construction of gender hardly hits their lives in which happiness is core phenomena. Any individual whenever starts any new relationship, a new job or academic career, the underlying philosophy of all social actions rest on happiness. Social relationships dominate in the life of human beings on all other social activities. All social relationships share some common ingredients on equal basis like mutual respect, trust, decision making on equal grounds, respect of disagreement, capacity to listen other's voice and specifically woman's voice should not be marginalized as a weaker sex. These women narrate that this type of intimacy is happiness and below this is compromise. It is a bitter reality that compromises are always there in eastern marriages and happiness is missing to some extent.

The tyrannies of social context have such influencing impact on a woman who is apparently hard-core professional with grownup kids and she is demanded to construct and reconstruct her happiness within marriage. Remarriage is a difficult experience because the kids from previous marriage and taboo of divorce are attached with it. Remarried individual stigmatizes on every moment of life and is held accountable for the failure of previous marriage and the success of remarriage. Remarried individuals specifically women become more careful in their remarriages because the failure of marriage is attached with their bad reputation and character assassination. A remarried woman named Fizza is a female education activist of international fame and has experienced many confrontations related with gender. Her first marriage was a failure because she was the choice of her ex-husband and her ex-mother in law was widow and alone raised her kids. Her ex-husband was like father to his family because his father had passed away and he was the eldest son of his family. His mother was extremely obsessed about him. So, the very cultural notions that after the death of the spouse mothers are solely dependent on their sons. She was more emotionally attached to him. Her mother in law had developed a belief that she had replaced her in the life of her son and reinforced this idea to her son putting him in deep feeling of guilt and regret. Ultimately, he developed a great sense of mistake which led him to depression and eventually his personal as well as professional life collapsed. She was left alone with two kids and first time in life, she experienced the phenomena of

single motherhood. She remarried specifically to have a life companion in her life and even having a complete marital compatibility with his husband, she has many compromises in her life. Her excerpt below presents this reality.

My second husband wanted a son who could carry the name of the family and was not in favor of my working. (Fizza, Remarried Semi Structure Interview)

Her second marriage was arranged under the cultural construction of getting son and wife should perform in private domain. She argues that gendered identities are not be denied and the gendered expressions are also present in the lives of highly qualified professional individuals but spouses have to work together and negotiate on many issues of common concern for the betterment of their lives. The experiences of another remarried woman are unique in a way that being educated and professional, she is completely convinced on black magic which ruined her first marriage. She has a complete marital compatibility in her second marriage but she is not blessed with kids which is the missing element of happiness in her marriage. The realities of her married life are clearly apparent in her words.

I never denied the power of black magic which broke my first marriage. I faced strange gaze that being a divorced woman, I got married again with an unmarried man. (Fatima, Remarried Semi Structure Interview)

The realities of life are very complex and her in laws are still in this sense of grief and loss that their unmarried son was married with a divorced woman. She is facing this gendered discrimination from her own gender for last four years. She started her remarried life in a joint family system but after two years couple decided to live separately because of multiple disputes. She is stigmatized by her in laws as *green footed* woman because her husband is continuously facing economic loss and they have no kid. It is hardly accepted by the social context that an unmarried man got married to a divorce woman because families wish to marry their sons with unmarried girls but exceptions are also present.

The narratives of remarried individuals specifically women show that gendered identities are not only attached with weak, illtreat and non-professional women but are

also present in the lives of highly qualified professional individuals who need a strong social approval and continuous negotiations on many common concerns of their lives. However, in some cases the remarriage creates more vulnerability and helplessness. Patriarchy on the basis of gender relations uses a woman where necessary to strengthen its roots, constructs and reconstructs the interpretation of their happiness around a man. It is also revealed from the findings of the current research that not only women but also a man gets stigmatized socially for not proving his masculine hegemony to not keep women under his authority as well as on his childless status and feels stress and strong sense of disapproval from society. Men are supported by power structure to keep women under their authority but face strong social disrespect on not performing their defined gender role in which women have this liberty to accept and reject their domination. In this situation a man becomes the victim of social and cultural pressure and becomes powerless to take decision about his life. He gives up and lets himself to flow with the normative notions.

The findings based on the narratives of remarried individuals participated in the current research and supported by the previous scholarly work (Bass, 2015; Brown, 2000; Sassler, 2010; Weisshaar, 2012) conclude that marriage is a gendered institution which produces and reproduces defined gender roles for the continuity of marital relationships. Husbands have more power on their wives due to the age gap between spouses, financial stability and domination granted by culture (Evertsson & Nermo, 2007; Fahlén, 2013; Rudder, 2014; Sayer et al., 2011). However, current research also discloses that remarriage changes the gender dynamics of household in a sense that house of command is shifted in to house of negotiations (De-Swaan, 1982; Ellwood & Jencks, 2004; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Isen & Stevenson, 2010) because both genders have experienced the institution of marriage twice or thrice and spouses deliberately develop their own arrangements to make marriage successful. It is stated in literature (Isen & Stevenson, 2010; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2008) and findings of the current research also support that men are more likely to remarry than women and less prone to divorce. The narratives of remarried women depict that they were helpless in the status of divorce and were identified with the name of their family men such as father, brother, husband and son. In divorce status they were not only deprived of

economic, social and emotional support but lost their own identity. These women also narrate that they lost their identity being divorced and retained it through remarriage (Akerlof & Kranton, 2000). Therefore, culture mostly punishes those individuals who display norms through multiple socio-cultural means (Fernández & Fogli, 2009). They may not find their happiness in remarriage but they feel happy by aligning with social system. All social relationships need to have certain elements on equal basis like mutual respect, trust, decision making power, respect of disagreement, capacity to listen other's voice and specifically woman's voice should not be marginalized as a weaker sex but all these elements turn into blurred when come under strictly defined gendered society. It is an unquestionable reality that compromises are always there in eastern marriages and happiness is missing.

5.2.4. Separated Informants

Marriage is very complex institution specifically in east because it is more important to keep it on at any cost than a happiness. Those individuals who fail to meet expectations of society face serious implications in terms of character assassination, stigmatization and failure to maintain masculine authority in particular domain. Even having bad experiences in marriage, individuals find it better way to escape from tyrannies of power structure and stay attached with their marriages. Marriage is an important bond in which it is perceived that a man being the head of the household is at privileged end but in reality, marital relationships also distress the life of a man. The ideology of patriarchy is the focus of all societal structure and is also on winning end but it is not true in all cases because a man is also hard hit by the consequences of those events which are against the conventional societal norms and values. It is clearly revealed that not only women are the victims of gender experiences but men are victims too.

The story of a separated man named Asif is an eye opening related to gendered experience practiced by an individual in his/her marriage. Asif got married fifteen years back within his family and it was an arranged marriage. The moment, he started his job, he became very excited to marry. He needed a life companion who gave him love and care which was missing in his life before marriage. On the other hand, the very socialization of girl imparted the feeling of to be loved by her husband. His wife was very young who also expected a very warm welcome from his side. His personality

formation was not much strong due to his childhood experiences that developed a fear of opposite sex and he failed to practice his tradition notion of masculinity. I remained very careful and discreet while narrating some of his very personal experiences of his marital life. On wedding night all his cousins, friends, family members and even his mother in law said to him to be careful because his wife is very young. He became so conscious that he couldn't develop physical interaction with her wife in first night. After some days, she was completely fed up of him and told everything to everybody in their family.

My wife disclosed the secrets of intimate relationship in whole family because of her immature behavior. I was exposed in front of everybody which completely destroyed my personal and marital life. I started doubting on her that she is a character less woman because I am older than her and she must have affair with some other boy. (Asif, Separated Life History)

In this situation he lost his confidence, frustration level reached at the top and he started smoking like a crazy man. Initially, she cooperated with him to develop marital relationships but after two months she completely lost interest in him and told everything to her mother that he is not physically fit for marital life. When she asked him for physical treatment; *this sentence made me dead*. His family members and relatives started giving him guidance for different medical treatments and he also visited many spiritual healers and herbal specialists as well. His wife started living with her parents and he was left alone in his own miseries. After two years with some support of his family, he gained some confidence and he took his wife home. He was blessed with a baby boy but their mental understanding and physical interaction wasn't satisfactory. After the birth of a son his wife became rude and started stigmatization that he has destroyed her whole life because he is not mentally and physically fit person. He started physical violence on her and she started spending more time at her parent's house because of his violence. He spent eight years in this horrible situation that she occasionally came back by the pressure and negotiation between families. His mother in law polluted their relationship and it seemed impossible that they could start their life as a happy couple. In this time, he was also blessed with baby girl but the element of bitterness came in their relationship from the first day of marriage never ended. The

gender violence and character assassination are twofold process in which both genders are affected and their lives are full of gender experiences rooted in social and cultural formation.

These separated men demand that nobody should involve in spousal intimacy and strongly oppose the interference of any third person in decision-making power. These men feel that there is a lot of cultural and social difference between their families and ways of living which is main cause of unhappiness in marriage. The power of family system and the failure of marriage rest on a large gap between the socio-cultural contexts of the families. A separated man Shan shares unique experiences of his life and is completely convinced that love marriage is only successful if it is arranged under prevailing dominant cultural and religious notions. He got married twice and his first marriage was his sole decision. He became the victim of social stigmatization because he was forced to divorce his ex-wife by the dominant actors of patriarchy. It was very difficult time for him because he broke his first marriage unwillingly and the whole social context started taunting him that why did he marry an innocent girl if he couldn't handle the situation? He confesses that he did court marriage and came across strong social condemnation for not proving his masculinity.

A true man can sacrifice his life for his honor; male members of my family blamed me that I divorced my wife to save my life. I am under immense guilt and great sense of loss. (Shan, Separated Semi Structured Interview)

It is a stigma on his masculine strength that he divorced her first wife to save his life. He misses his grandparents who were major strength in his life and supported him in thick and thin. Men face disrespect and shame on not proving their defined masculine traits. His relatives said that he is physically weak that's why his wife left him. They not only disrespected him but also dishonored his ex-wife that she was a bad character woman and might run with somebody else. In his second marriage, he is childless and unfortunately his medical reports have disclosed that he has some physical problem and his wife is completely alright. He feels himself so weak and down that there is a silent agreement between his wife and him that until he is going through

medical treatment, she will remain silent on this issue. He has no courage to face another stigma and has escaped from his social context.

Family plays a decisive role in power structure and continuously positions individuals within the traditional notions of kin. This primary institution of society is governed by parents who socialize their children to perform their roles in domination/subordination in the same house. This ideology resultantly makes power structure stronger to perform its conventional functions for future generations. In this whole situation, the narratives of separated women show that they are more powerless and vulnerable in their marriages and their lived experiences depict that they are strongly controlled by their husbands and own family to stay in marriage at any cost. In this controlled life, they face continuous stigmatization for not performing their defined gender roles as wives. This idea is reinforced on them that they should get approval from power structure to fit into the position of being wives even in the presence of all forms of oppression.

A separated woman named Rania had many dreams to pursue career but she was not allowed to develop academically and professionally by her husband. She begged her husband that if he is not consistent in his professional career, at least allow her to pursue career for their kids but he never wanted to see her successful and empowered. Her husband has very careless attitude and never adopted the role of a husband and father in their married life. She mostly used to sell her jewelry and spread hands in front of her parents to meet expenses of family but being highly rooted in traditional setup, she was forced by her own parents to stay in marriage.

My mother reinforced me this sentence that if a man in your life is about to die and is on the bed. He is blessing from God and actually strengthens your position in society. Without a man, a woman is (Lawaris) derelict. (Rania, Separated Life History)

She stayed in her parents' house for many years with her husband and kids because her husband had not permanent job and they had no money to pay the rent of the house. He was mostly jobless and wandered with his friends having multiple love affairs. She argues that she was very insecure in marriage and it is wrong perception that marriage can only give security to a woman. She admits that marriage is a social

need but parents should not only see the things on surface to finalize the proposal of their daughter but deeply look into structure and background of the family of a man. She also stresses that when a woman becomes mother; she forgets everything and only remembers that she is a mother. The most powerful emotion throughout her life is motherhood and it is her source of satisfaction. She discloses that when her husband became abusive, she went to her kids' room and by looking at their faces she got relief and became satisfied. Multiple actors are involved in strengthening power structure to maintain power relations. It is institutionalized by parents who socialize their daughters to perform their role in subordination and resultantly making the structure stronger to perform its conventional functions for future generations. Her whole life is a true example of her secondary role in power structure where social actors keep on changing her life domains.

The life of a young separated woman is full of oppression and control on her life before and after marriage. Hina was married with the brother of her sister in law in *watta satta* at the age of seventeen because her married brother insisted to get married with girl of his choice. In this whole social situation, her brother destroyed the lives of three women for the sake of his own satisfaction and was completely supported by the structure and dominant actors because he is the only son of the family and brother of five sisters. He is enjoying all the privileges in the power structure being in the position of domination even at the cost of the lives of his wives, daughters and sister. Her married life started with the notion of oppression and discrimination on the basis of gender. Her husband told her not to demand anything from him and fulfill all her needs from her parents. He is very stubborn and wants to stay her at village but she doesn't want to live in village because she was born in Islamabad and spent her life full of all necessities before marriage. She also expresses that the role of her mother in law was like a silent actor in their fights. When he started beating her, she used to step in but it was useless at that time because fight never ended when physical violence started. She was blessed with son immediately after marriage but their marital relationship did not become pleasant which indicates that there are cases available in which the even birth of son also cannot make situation better. She spent her pregnancy time and delivered

son at her parent's house. When she gave birth to her son, he didn't come to see his son. He is so stubborn and arrogant that he denied even his own son.

This is not my son and this is the son of somebody else. When he put this blame on me, I decided to not live with him. But I am powerless in this social system of patriarchy because my life decisions are always taken by the men of my family. (Hina, Separated Semi Structured Interview)

This particular life story of a woman shows her powerlessness in her life and she is forced by authoritative forces to remain in marriage even in the presence of constant physical violence and verbal abuse. The experiences of another young separated woman are presented here as an example who is the victim of legitimate knowledge produced by power structure who finds a woman's happiness and completion in marriage. Marriage institution rests on the belief that husband has an ultimate authority on his wife in every aspect of life. She belongs to one of the dominant castes of Pakhtoon culture and was married outside her family and caste. It is a common perception in their culture that girls should marry at early age and are not allowed to pursue academic and professional career. Her mother finalized her proposal because of same cultural orientation of the families. Her in laws claimed that they belong to very high caste and are also living in a big own house with two big cars but the real picture of social and economic status of her in laws became visible to her when she started living with them. Her in laws rented a huge house and luxury cars for getting good proposal for their son. Her mother visited her in laws house only once because it is considered inapt in their culture to visit daughter's future in laws frequently. It is a common practice in some families of Pakhtoon culture that girl's parents take money from boy's family. The amount of money is actually directly associated with the superiority, beauty and worth of the girl but her father had a different mindset; he did not take money from her in laws. She expresses that it was the mistake of her father. After the death of her parents, her husband started demanding her share of inheritance because he wanted to start his own business. She belongs to rich family and her brothers were agreed on giving her share from inheritance to keep her marriage safe but she refused due to her husband's greedy nature.

My husband threatened me that he will divorce me if I will not ask for my share in property but I told him clearly, I will not ask for my share. He assured me that if I will bring my share from my brothers, he will also leave his girlfriend. After my refusal he started beating me and sent me to my parents' house. Now when I sit with my brothers' wives, they say that when I will get divorce and they will remarry me with some other man. They will demand heavy money from them so they will value me and I will never come back to this house. (Gul, Separated Semi Structured Interview)

She faced many gender-based experiences and power structure left no place for her to outflow. She is only praised by power structure when she fits her into position being wife in the presence of all forms of oppression and finds her happiness within this. Previous research (Kiernan & Mensah, 2010) shows that couples who live long time of life in unpleasant relationship have less emotional attachment with each other and are more dissatisfied with their lives. Couples and their kids are living their lives in the constant threat and fear of divorce which leads them to unhappy lives (Maes et al., 2012; Oishi et al., 2013). Their happiness is under serious intimidations. Couples' decision to stick to marriage is much dependent on maximization of perceived rewards to stay in relationship as compared to perceived costs which are much social and cultural (Kiernan & Mensah, 2010; Oláh & Gähler, 2014; Sabates & Dex, 2015). The narratives of men and women from this particular social group highlight the role of family in creating conflicts and disputes settlement. However, it is also the matter of great importance that violence, social stigma and character assassination which are attached with women also affect the lives of both genders. The narratives of these individuals strongly disclose that they want to stick with their marriages even in separation but may lead to divorce in worst cases if situation will not get better.

5.2.5. Widow Informants

The narrations of widow informants clearly depict that their marriages were based on domination/subordination structure in which all widow men were happy and faced less gender-based discrimination. On the other hand, the lives of some widow women were full of gender-based practices but most of them were happy in marriage due to strong adherence to gendered ideologies. A widow man Ali narrates a unique perspective on

male authority, a very different meanings and interpretation of social construction of a man and patriarchy. He has a firm belief in spirituality and got married with a very distinctive gendered notion that a man always asks for the proposal of a woman as his future wife but his in laws asked for this proposal which socially proves that he is a noble man. He enjoyed authority granted by the social system of patriarchy but played the role of true patriarch and fulfilled the needs and wants of everyone within the boundaries of his jurisdiction.

Whenever my wife was angry with me, I took an initiative to resolve the dispute with good intentions because it was my responsibility being head of the household. (Ali, Widow Life History)

He took his authority as a responsibility but not as a burden or system of oppression. He believes that authority doesn't mean to make everyone slave within someone's domain but to give an impression of equality within their defined roles. It is widely accepted under feminists and gendered notions that patriarchy is only the system of oppression and discrimination but exceptions are available. These exceptions took normative order with them in order to produce stability in larger structure and at the same time they used their authority as a responsibility to protect the rights of everyone which come in their domain. The life of a widow man is completely governed under established notions of patriarchy and he felt optimal level of satisfaction in extended family system. In his family, women are not allowed to go market for shopping even for their own personal things but male members of family go outside and provide them everything at home. He explains gendered notions in these words.

In our family, men are not involved even in women's health related issues and women handle their issues themselves with the help of other relative women. (Ijaz, Widow Semi Structured Interview)

He shares that both husband and wife never discussed their problems with each other because his parents settled all their issues being in extended family. He shares that marital happiness is achieved when a woman has a control on her tongue and a man should provide her with basic needs. He is completely convinced on women's subordination as a house wife and doesn't feel any happiness on their educational

achievements. In east, the women have to sacrifice their personal achievements for their role as a mother and a wife after marriage. Therefore, men sometimes dominate the thinking ability of women and change their perspective of looking at things within their traditional role as a wife, a daughter in law and mother. Another widow man carries a typical patriarchal authority with belief on master/salve relationship between husband and wife and emphasizes his ideology about superiority of a man with multiple religious quotes. He has this view that an educated woman disturbs the harmony of society and also deteriorates the roots of male authority which ultimately destroys marriage institution. He is completely convinced that doing household chores are not appropriate for men and even after the death of his wife.

*I never did any household chore because I believe that changing gender role is a sin.
(Atif, Widow Semi Structured Interview)*

All household decisions were always taken by him but he only told her wife about his decisions. He argues that an educated woman may be a facility in a way that she can teach her own kids at home but after getting education most of the women become career oriented which results in the weak socialization of children. *Jaise jaise aurat parhi likhi hoti ja rehe hay tarbeyaāt ka fuqdaan hota ja raha hay* (As a woman is getting education, her socialization is getting weak). He is a true example of domination/subordination relationship and compels a woman to play her defined role. He strengthens his view by taking support from religious text and applies it on socio-cultural normative guidelines which give an impression to people that if they will not spend their lives according to the power structure, they will commit disobedience towards divine power. Religion is superior in all types of societies and power structure continuously takes religious knowledge as a power to strengthen socio-cultural beliefs to direct the lives of individuals in all possible desired ways. A widow man exercised his authority in a sense of responsibility and played the role of true patriarch to fulfill the needs and wants of everyone within the domain of his dominion. In precis, a widow man exercised his authority in a sense of responsibility and played the role of true patriarch to fulfill the needs and wants of everyone within the domain of his dominion. The two widow men carry a strong traditional authority in their personalities and consider it is the only element of happiness in all aspects of life and social relationships.

The married life of one widow man was directed by his wife and all decisions were taken by her but he was happy in subordination of his beautiful and wise wife.

These gendered notions are also present in the marital life experiences of the widow women participated in this research study. It is common practice in Pakistan when a family starts looking for the proposal of son; they do not only see the girl but take into consideration her whole family. It is socio-cultural that people want to marry their kids in well settled families and it is a matter of arrogance for them. It is true that parents also feel insecurity after the marriage of their son and assume that their son may come out of their influence due to interference of their daughter in law. Therefore, they try to control their daughter in law according to the prevailing social notions. The whole institution of marriage is knitted in strict gendered practices which place individuals at their pre-defined social identities. The life experiences of Zartaj are presented in these words.

It is a dilemma in eastern families when parents marry their son, they feel that they are going to lose their son but they never realize that a daughter from other family is also coming to their house leaving her parents. So, the acceptability of the daughter is very much needed in her in laws. (Zartaj, Widow Life History)

She narrates that her in-laws have different family orientation from her family. She admits that her in-laws are not bad people but they are very stereotypical in their social practices. She really feels that to marry a girl, it is very important to see the boy but it is equally important to observe his family. The marital life experiences of another widow woman are very gendered and unique. Saima was married outside family with a man twenty years older than her. After spending her initial six months of married life in joint family system she shifted to Dubai with her husband. The cultural context is so strong that it made her convinced and forced her to become mother in spite of her husband's refusal.

I had a strong social pressure from my in laws as well as from my own family to give birth to a child. I feel in our culture; people even start asking about baby on the day of reception of wedding. (Saima, Widow Life History)

After two years of marriage, she tried to convince her husband for baby. He agreed but he wasn't happy with her decision to give birth to a baby. She was blessed with baby boy but after giving birth to son their husband wife relations became very unpleasant and preoccupied.

Motherhood is a natural phenomenon which detached me from my husband and I started giving more attention to my son. I admit this was my problem that when I was wife I was completely in that role and when I became mother I was deeply in love with my son. Maybe I didn't balance between husband and son. (Saima, Widow Life History)

After putting her son to sleep, when she came to husband's room to fulfill her husband's physical requirements. She psychologically heard the voice of crying of her son and was not mentally present in her husband's room, this situation made her husband frustrated. She narrates that when a woman becomes mother and motherhood becomes prominent then sometimes wife ceases to exist. Her husband wanted her to look like a model girl in one day right after childbirth which was impossible. She made him understand that she should require some time to become physically fit and look beautiful but he was very touchy about her physical appearance. Her husband behavior totally changed with her and he started completely ignoring her. It is widely accepted that a woman mostly misses herself in maintain her dual role of a wife and a mother. A woman completely modifies herself in the role of a mother because it is one of the powerful phenomena attached with her traditional role of nurturing but a man takes long time to learn fatherhood. Most of the women complain about missing role of husbands as fathers in their children's socialization and development and is also reported by the women informants of the current research.

The narratives of another widow woman show that her married life was full of many gendered practices, oppressions and violence. Salma did court marriage with his boyfriend without intimating her parents. Her aunt (father's sister) and elder sister in law helped her to elope with her sweet heart.

My mother wished to settle all her daughters in very good families but I broke all her dreams and nobody came for their proposals and my mother died in this grief. (Salma, Widow Semi Structured Interview)

Her mother lived for five years after her marriage and faced strong social stigma for her elopement. Her five younger sisters didn't get marry in the life of her mother because no suitable proposal approached them and her father married his daughters after his wife's death out of families having low socio-economic status. She spent fourteen years of her married life in constant violence and stigmatization. Her husband was very short tempered and believed on whatever his mother said to him.

I wasn't married conventionally so I spent my whole life in subordination to everybody even the women of her in laws family tagged me "ghar se bhagi hui larki" (eloped girl). (Salma, Widow Semi Structured Interview).

Her husband didn't have trust on her and she wasn't allowed to go outside house for one year because she was not willing to live with him in this poor social and economic environment. when she gave birth to her daughter, she saw the color of sky after one year. Her husband also did not permit her to do any respectable job because he was of the view that she will run way again with someone. Then the horrible day came in her life when her husband forced her to start working as a maid. She was also extremely pressurized to give birth to son and was threatened to divorce for not giving birth to a son.

I went to tomb of Abdullah Shah Ghazi for manat (pray) and I said please give me son, I will name my son on your name. Please save my daughters and I begged to him. (Salma, Widow Semi Structured Interview)

She was blessed with a baby boy and named him Abdullah but her marital life remained as horrible as it was. Her whole life is full of gendered discrimination and stigmatization because of her independent decision of marriage. Individual is born free but immediately lose his independence in the hands of power structure which becomes brutal against those individuals who break its boundaries.

Another widow woman is the big supporter of patriarchy and spent happiest married life under domination of patriarch. Palwasha got married when she was only fourteen years old and was the student of grade eight. It was complete arranged marriage and her husband was her first cousin from father side. She strongly negates

social construction of a man and a woman and believes that it is a natural allocation of roles and identities to a man and a woman by God. She has strongly internalized the philosophy of patriarchy and finds it in the best benefit of whole society specially a woman because it provides protected shelter and makes them free from the hard realities of public domains of life. When I asked whether your father asked from you about your marriage decision, she started laughing and said *toba karo* (abandon);

This is not the norm of our family to take marital consent from daughters and sons because taking a consent from daughter is a symbol that she is very independent and somehow characterless. (Palwasha, Widow Semi Structured Interview)

She belongs to very strict family and to take consent from kids regarding their marriage is considered very inappropriate and nobody can dare to show willingness and refusal about his/ her proposal. Her husband was strict but he never used any abusive language and never fought with her. She observed *Purdah* (veil) throughout her life because her husband didn't like that their family women go outside house without *Purdah*. She lived in married life for nineteen years but did not bless with kids. She asked her husband to remarry but he refused because he was very kind, loving and caring for her.

I did not feel any pressure in these nineteen years of married life for kids although I felt a sense of emptiness but my husband always provided me moral support. (Palwasha, Widow Semi Structure Interview)

She has very loving and caring husband and she wishes if she is blessed with kid, she is the most satisfied and happiest woman on the earth. The narratives of widow women reveal that they try hard to meet the needs of patriarchy and maintain their defined gender roles in all aspects of their married life. They modified their personalities and strived hard to fit in the cultural orientation of a happy marriage. All widow men claim happier married lives with their wives due to a complete distinction of domination and subordination structure which always makes them satisfied. The past memories of an individual life which may be pleasant and unpleasant is closely linked with the presence of gender experiences. It is also important to highlight that individuals might come across with an oppressive behavior in their married lives as well as the

victims of power relations. However, a unique perspective has been explored in this particular group and a widow man negated that patriarchy is a system of tyranny which violates the rights of individuals but it is system of responsibility in which patriarch has to manage all individuals under its domain with equity.

Contemporary marital relationships are constructed on the belief of equality (Knudson-Martin 2013; Knudson-Martin & Huenergardt, 2015) but in reality, marriage is based on power relations derived from binary social construction of gender (Sullivan, 2006). There are seldom cases available in which a wife also dominates the husband in marriage because societal norms don't support her in undoing gender (Deutsch, 2007). Women are required to play stereotypical submissive roles to protect their marriages from divorce (Gottman, 2011; Nicoleau et al., 2014; Williams et al., 2013). These power relations are based on the ideologies that men and women have different roles and priorities of life which are forced and reinforced through gender agency (Dito, 2011; Doss, 2011). It is also worth mentioning that the men enjoy authority and attach it with happiness. They take religious interpretations regarding dominant form of knowledge to reinforce binary domination/subordination relationship in marriage which is the essence of its successful functioning.

Most of the Individuals participated in the current research appear in gender stereotypical identities and they have taken most of gendered decisions in their married lives because they have internalized defined gendered roles during the process of socialization. Gendered beliefs (Ridgeway, 2011; Wood & Eagly, 2010) are embedded in stereotypes which position the men in authority and women in subordination. However, the internalization of norms is visible in their behaviors such as domination/subordination relationship between husband and wife in remarriage, feeling of social avoidance and dishonor in informants with divorce and separated marital statuses and feeling of grief and purification of character in widow status. The majority of informants faced and produced many gendered experiences in their relationships and expectations from roles, actions and interactions.

The present research study finds that the life experiences of the men are linked with their role as a bread earner and authority but the life experiences of women are

attached with their familial role along with their professional lives. Apart from their high academic and professional standing, these women derive their happiness from spousal relationship, kids and family life (same results in Lu & Shih, 1997; Tavakol et al., 2016). Breadwinning is a gendered divide which involves many perceptions, practices and negotiations (Gerson, 2010) which need deep sociological analysis with gender lens specifically in marriage because in current society both men and women are contributing household income but men mostly want to control the income of their wives and also use their bread earner role as an authority to maintain household management. Previous scholarly studies state that men in role of provider are enjoying many privileges such as power, domination, access to money and resources. In this gendered division of labor (Hochschild, 2003; Parish & Farrer, 2000) men avoid household responsibilities on the name of authority and maintain their dominance on women, even if the women are also equally participating in labor force. The women informants of the research study earn equal or more money than their husbands but are also responsible for household management for the sake of happy family life. Men apparently use their bread earner status as a responsibility but enjoy number of privileges.

All women with different marital statuses share that the experiences of their married lives are gendered which enforced them to be in their traditional role of daughter, mother, wife and daughter in law. They are under strict cultural gaze to perform their defined role and they faced violence, stigma of being divorce and separation as well as character assassination on their resentment to these socio-cultural orientations. These women are forced by their own families specifically father and brothers to keep their marriages intact at the cost of their own lives in which happiness is the least factor of significant. These women struggle day to day to keep their married lives safe and intact for the name of family honor, their own reputation as well as for their kids. On the other hand, men in power also work hard to meet the expectations of patriarchy and to maintain their traditional gender roles. They are also forced to sustain their authority by keeping women under their surveillance and domination. If they fail to perform their gendered role in marriage, they have to face strong social disapproval and stigmatization which badly affect their construction of happiness.

The current research is also supported by the previous scholarly work (Bass, 2015; Brown, 2000; Sassler, 2010; Weisshaar, 2012) and concludes that marriage is a gendered institution which produces and reproduces various gendered notions to meet the continuity of marital relationships to find happiness. The gendered experiences of men and women reveal that the men do not want any change in their gender roles and construct their happiness within defined cultural context but most of the women participated in this research do not find their happiness in empowerment and gets back to their defined role because of strong social disapproval and feeling of unhappiness. Gender based experiences are more prevalent in lives of divorced, separated and remarried women as compared to men because power structure strengthens the ideology of patriarchy and threatens them with violence and intimidations of divorce. The current research reveals a striking feature that the highly qualified women also faced violence, character assassination and threats of divorce in their married lives but their monetary empowerment could not protect them from harsh marital relationships.

It is also revealed from the findings of the current research that not only women but also men get stigmatized socially by not proving their masculine hegemony to keep women under their authority as well as on their childless status. They feel stress and strong sense of disapproval from society but its intensity is not same as felt by women. Men are supported by power structure to keep many women under their authority but face strong social disrespect on not performing their defined gender roles in which women have this liberty to accept and reject their domination. In this situation a man becomes the victim of social and cultural pressure and becomes powerless to take decision about his life. Therefore, it is concluded that the gender is the core aspect of the life of any individual along with its marital status to construct his/her experiences of happiness.

5.3. Non-Conformists: Customary Odyssey

Culture is conceptualized as a set of beliefs that are visible in peoples' social practices and may vary with respect to time, space and social groups. Culture is one of the major driving forces which influences individuals' behavior and their social lives. The key argument constructed under this particular theme is based on the ideology that social

roles are determined by socio-cultural attributes that are built within power structure. The findings of the research show that individual performance is the product of culturally recognized and accepted guidelines in various social identities which ultimately lead him/her to satisfaction and happiness. Culture is social in nature and is passed on through the process of socialization (Borjas, 2005; Chong & La Ferrara, 2009; Fernández, 2011). However, the informants participated in the research report that this individual behavior is much gendered in nature because women have to negotiate with complex hierarchies to best fit into their everyday lives within the context as compared to men. Almost all individuals claim that social roles are the embodiment within hierarchies which are established by authority and this authority is distributed among various social groups depending on their gender and social status. Along with these established notions of authority the gender division of labor also places individuals in public and private domains of the society. In this regard, a high degree of conformity is demanded from individuals to strengthen various socio-cultural contexts for the survival of society. They also mention that they most of the time subjugate their personal wants and choices in their lives for securing cultural notions.

Individuals mostly display those social behaviors and live in those social identities that are the cultural representations because they want to be judged by people positively in their lives. In this sense, there are diverse meanings attached with multiple contexts which produce many expectations from its members to behave according to normative patterns in order to achieve culturally appropriate meanings of happiness. In other words, if a man and woman are performing a role of domination and subordination in marriage and keep their relationships healthy in any circumstances, they are actually playing appropriate social roles which resultantly make them happy but contrary to this is failure of life and is attached with unhappiness.

The narratives of individuals highlight that they are in the constant efforts to get cultural understanding of their social world and exhibit culturally loaded behaviors. Their life stories and experiences also depict that the individuals who fail to demonstrate culturally accepted social roles are recognized as non-conformists and are held accountable throughout their lives. The cultural accountability on non-adherence

to social order places individuals at disadvantageous position and unending stigma is attached with them.

Social life of individuals is highly influenced with social and cultural construction and is encoded with their genders. Goode (2011) claims that the notions of good and bad, right and wrong vary with time and space as well as can only be understood within a particular social context. However, it can be said that non-conformity comes from deviant behavior which is a subjective experience and is a complex product emerged from socio-cultural processes of interaction, power and legitimacy (Ben-Yehuda, 1990). The person's behavior is categorized as deviant and non-conformist by the dominant forces of the society in a particular social context. Non-conformist individuals adopt alternative social systems and show those performances which are outside the mainstream realm of normative order. They are considered as a threat to power structure because they challenge norms and values and resultantly try to make transformations in customary belief system. The findings and analysis presented in this theme is divided into three sub-themes namely, divorce: an endless stigma, separation: an illusionary future and widowhood: bereaved or relieved.

5.3.1. Divorce: An Endless Stigma

Divorce is considered a prohibited phenomenon even in this modern era specifically in traditional cultural societies and badly affects not only the lives of individuals but destroys the institution of family. It is considered as a taboo (Al Gharaibeh & Bromfield, 2012; Al Munajjed, 2010) and is never accepted on social grounds in any society as well as it is attached with the unhappy state of an individual. However, it is also true that (Demirkan, Ersöz, Sen et al., 2009) divorce which was strictly forbidden in past decades, now has become less severe and it is seen more legitimize in its functionality. The life experiences shared by divorced individuals reveal that both men and women are labelled as failures in their lives but women are more victims of social stigma, exploitation as well as they have lack of support from their own families. On the other hand, the men being in authority have necessary social and economic resources to recover from and cope with marital failure earlier as compared to women.

It is also the irony that there is a dearth of literature on the experiences of divorced men specifically from traditional societies because being in authority they mostly come out quickly from divorced status and get remarry as well as they are not hard hit by cultural patterns. I also faced same problem in finding divorced men for my research study because they again marry as soon as possible after their marriage failure. It is observed that studies (Furstenberg, 1985; Glikman, 2004; Pirog-Good, 1995; Rozie-Battle, 2003) conducted on divorced men mainly highlight the negative stereotypical roles of divorced men who are uninvolved in their child care and family matters. However, the research (Hamilton et al., 2011; Lane & Clay, 2000; Paschal, 2006; Wilkinson et al., 2009) illuminates that less problems are faced by divorced men and their involvement in child care is also better. A life story of a divorced man named Adnan is an exclusive example that how his divorce status has become the stigma for his daughters. His fourteen years of married life were full of conflicts and unhappiness but he never wanted to divorce his wife because he had the fear that it will badly affect the lives of his three young daughters. His wife wanted his property on her name and wanted to remarry with another person of her choice but he refused to give her property because all his material assets are the sole property of his daughters. He tried all possible means and even used physical violence to enforce his wife to be in marriage but she decided to quit and got divorce by court. It was difficult for him to look after his young daughters alone along with his work. The irony of stigma of divorce is narrated by him in these words;

I am never stigmatized as a divorced man but my daughters get this stigma because people have this universal understanding "like mother; like daughters". I feel a sense of regret on the loss of marital relationship and spending a purposeless life for past ten years (Adnan, Divorced Life History)

The social stigma of divorce is not only attached with divorce individuals but it also stigmatizes the kids especially the daughters of divorce individuals. His ex-wife herself initiated case of divorce and took this stance that he is not able to run marriage institution but the predetermined contextual knowledge produced disgrace and dishonor to his wife. He is highly concerned about the marriages of her daughters because he

perceives from his surroundings that people say that his daughters' socialization is done by a woman who is divorced two times.

It is a common perception of the people that a girl from broken family is not trustworthy and she may not take marriage long lasting as well as successful. The literature (Futris & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2007) also acknowledges the traditional role of fathers as primary financial supporters of their kids in the case of divorce. Previous literature (Abel, 2012; Allgood et al., 2012; Coles, 2009; Dunleavy et al., 2011; Lemay et al., 2010; Lipscomb, 2011) also shows that the role of father is very important in the lives of children specifically daughters for their future wellbeing. The role of father becomes more prominent when divorce is initiated by a woman and she blames him as violent in marital relationships but after few years a divorce man adopts to new life patterns (Amato, 2010). The men mostly have to bear the legal cost to compensate financial expenses of children and ex-spouse during the time of separation and after divorce in the result of marriage dissolution (Baitar et al., 2013).

On the other hand, the experiences of a divorced woman named Taniya are entirely different from the experiences of a divorced man named Adnan as discussed above. Initially, her parents hid her divorce from their relatives due to shame and dishonor of the family but sooner or later everybody knew it. After divorce, she stopped socializing and even limited herself to attend family ceremonies. The hardships of a divorce individual are clearly observed from the narrative below.

The very first feeling struck me after divorce was that I had lost everything. I remember my own mother stopped me to attend marriage rituals of my brother because many superstitious beliefs and practices are attached with a divorced woman. (Taniya, Divorced Life History)

This sense of ignorance and shame made her worthless, unhappy and left out from her own family. It is the socio-cultural structure of our society that it does not accept a single woman in respectable way and attaches a lot of taboos with her because she is easily exploited in our social order. Taniya faced character assassination from her ex-husband and he blamed her that she has many male friends and her bad reputation has destroyed his daughter's future. A divorced woman has to fight many

battles at multiple grounds and she also has to face numerous oppressions in her daily life. The power structure becomes very cruel against divorced individual in a sense that it continuously portrays such a stigmatized identity that no other individuals dare to break defined boundaries and maintain their roles within defined patterns to strengthen existing social system. She argues that she was always in this fear and mental torture that her husband will divorce her one day. The divorce was initiated by her husband in anger and it was not a sudden incidence but it took six years of her life to end up with divorce. The initial two years of divorce were very hard and it was the unhappiest time of her life. She was abused almost daily in her married life but still she cannot distinguish which time was unhappy, the married life or divorced life.

She also shared that after accepting this reality that she is divorced. She is living in more freedom but she has to heed many stereotypical suggestions from her family members. She is asked to not upload pictures on social media and to cover head which is a symbol of honor because now she is a single woman. She feels that they attach all her activities with her divorced status and judge her actions as a divorced woman. She respects their opinions but has decided about her own ways of life. She has learned from past experiences that all the hardships have been faced by her alone and now, she has decided to not care about those dogmatic beliefs which affect her happiness in present life. Initially, her parents feel awkward about her doing makeup, buying clothes and socializing with her friends but now, their role is more supportive towards her. The irony of this support can be related with her excerpt given below.

Now, I am making lot of money and I have started spending it on household expenses, family and on kids. Everybody has stopped interfering in my life. (Taniya, Divorced Life History)

It is commonly observed in collectivist culture with large family size that married daughters are considered as an additional responsibility on parents after marriage and therefore they force them to remain in marriage. The reality becomes more bitter when daughters come back to parental house in the form of some unpleasant event and with additional responsibility of her kids; they are hardly welcomed by their parents. She unveils a bitter truth that parents never accept that their daughters are living

in traumatic relationships and force them to perform traditional gender roles to keep their marriages intact for the sake of family honor. The sense of loss becomes enormous on the failure of marital relationship because every individual who enters in this particular social institution has many dreams and expectations from it. But the many form of stigmatization as a character assassination, domestic violence, parental influence and involvement and superstitious beliefs become the fate of with divorced individuals. After her seven years of struggle in terms of education and career aspirations, she is currently working at a managerial post along with pursuing her PhD degree in management sciences. She is now able to manage not only her kids but other family members' expenses as well. She discloses that a woman's space in her own house is accepted or rejected with respect to money, she is earning. She prays to God all the time and wants a good man to tie up with her in a legal relationship along with her kids. Currently, her own achievements and kids are her source of happiness.

However, the case is available in which a woman initiated a case for (*Kulah*) divorce and had emotional attachment with her marital relationship. A divorced woman Huma shares that she is completely satisfied and doesn't feel a sense of loss because she has achieved so much after losing marital relationship. She feels that she passed nineteen years of married life in turmoil and wasted her potentials. Initially, she faced social stigma and character assassination but she strongly opposed it through her strong character and hard working. She broke many gendered boundaries and also took this daring step to share house with her ex-husband for the sake of kids in social as well as religious society like Pakistan. Her excerpt is presented here as an example.

I helped my ex-husband to stay with us in my house after divorce for the sake of my kids who was continuously in down falls. It is not an emotional responsibility of me. (Huma, Divorced Life History)

The basic issue in this particular life story was the lack of trust and honesty in marital relationship. The survival of any relationship depends on trust and loyalty and it is safe to say that in strict socio-cultural environment where women learn to play secondary role, they never have right to demand these essential elements in marriage but it is demanded from women to stay loyal and sincere to their husbands and family

to maintain equilibrium in the society. She stresses that parental socialization is the most important element in the lives of women to make them strong. Societal standards strongly disapprove her decision of sharing house with her ex-husband but she doesn't care about it and is satisfied within herself for the happiness of her kids because her daughter has emotional attachment with her father. Another divorced woman Ayeza participated in current research is regretful on her decision of marriage and to give birth to her son. She is completely satisfied with her decision of divorce but feels unhappy with the custody of her son because she has to communicate with her ex-husband as her son regularly visits his father on weekends. She says that she can't show her love for her son according the prescribed standards of the society because she is facing a continuous pressure from her own family to prove herself a good mother and feels it like a *taboo of motherhood* attached with her. Her own mother denounces her to become good loving mother because she has to spend her whole life with her son and he is her old age security but she doesn't want to live her rest of life with her son and want to give his custody to her ex-husband to spend an independent life. The excerpts of two divorced women are presented here as an example that how the status of divorce is shameful and they are under strong surveillance of their own families and even ex-husbands.

I started blaming myself and it was all due to my mistakes, attitude, short temperament and my behavior which made my life like a hell after divorce. The stress level of all types like emotional, economical, and social was very high. My acceptance in my family is because of taking care of my son otherwise I have no place in my own family. The moment I granted his custody to his father, the way they will crash my image and start such a character assassination which will never end till my death. But my ex-husband never asked for his custody and controls my divorced life through my son. (Ayeza, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

I am living under strong surveillance of my father with two grownup kids because I am divorced and easily available to men in my divorce status. (Farwa, Divorced Semi Structured Interview).

Both women have intention to get remarry but their families feel it shameful to marry again in the presence of kids specifically sons who are their ultimate security in divorced status. It is a common mentality of men that they want to control their ex-wives and daughters even after divorce. They give the custody of kids to their ex-wives because their new wives are not ready to look after their step kids. In this process, they are enjoying their new lives along with controlling the lives of their ex-wives. The divorced woman with kids doesn't have better options to remarry because the men do not get marry a divorced woman having kids from previous marriage. The narratives of divorced women show that they are feeling a great sense of relief and are exclusively growing positively in their academic, professional and personal lives but they are unhappy due to social stigmatization, disrespect and controlled lives. The narratives of divorced men reveal that they are in the state of loss and regret due to failure in their married lives. The excerpt of a divorced man shows this reality in these words.

I am regretful that I have destroyed my family in anger and negligence and feeling of dishonor is attached with my kids. (Faizan, Divorced Semi Structured Interview).

The findings of the research show that the women deliberately demanded divorce but the men mostly divorced their wives in anger. Divorced fathers have limited role in the lives of their children due to many reasons such as abusive relationship with their ex-spouses and lack of training in rearing of children due to patriarchy (Walker et al., 2010). However, single divorced mothers are at more vulnerable position in society by facing stigma of divorce as well as they have to manage their kids along with workplace (Son & Bauer, 2010). They also have lack of time for themselves due to pooling up economic resources which add to their dissatisfaction (Condon, 2007; Nyoni, 2011; Raniga & Ngcobo, 2014; Robeyn, 2016; Weldegabreal, 2014). Divorced women face severe social isolation from their own families because of their initiative to take divorce (Mthimunye, 2014) and are punished to live their lives without male ownership (Meda, 2013).

Divorced women participated in the current research reveal that post-divorce period was the worst period of their lives even bad than being in marriage (Bulut, 2008; Caha & Aydın, 2014; Sucu, 2007). However, most of men state that divorce is a sense

of loss but women feel it a sense of relief from traumatic relationship. Divorced women in the current research state that they are more assertive and confident in their life decisions after divorce and the same findings are reported by the previous studies conducted (Baumeister, 2005; Keskin, 2013). Whereas, divorce as a crisis or a relief is completely dependent on the perception of individuals (Bulut, 2008; Kalmijn & Monden, 2006). It is observed from literature that less social support is available for divorced individuals especially women receive less social and family support than men (Kalmijn, 2009; Yalom, 2002; Yurovich, 2013). However, a study conducted by Gardner and Owsald (2004) found that longitudinal data suggests that divorce increases the well-being of individuals specifically women.

It is truly presented by the narratives of women that they face social gaze, agonized from stigmatization, their children are identified as the member of broken families but as far as their personal lives are concerned, they are in a better position to decide about themselves which make them happy. Divorced women are unhappy due to strong rejection from society but are determined to make their lives happy for themselves and for their kids but men are in constant state of regret, loneliness and loss. Divorced individuals show the feelings of pain or relief in their lives and are blamed by society for failures in their marital relationships.

5.3.2. Separation: An Illusionary Future

Separation is a social condition in marriage in which individuals have the feeling of uncertainty and hope about their marital reunion. It is revealed from the stories of separated individuals that the feeling of desperation for one and another is higher in younger ages than in later ages. Contemporary marital relationships are held on the belief of equality (Knudson-Martin, 2013; Knudson-Martin & Huenergardt, 2015) but in reality, marriage is based on power relations derived from binary social construction of gender (Sullivan, 2006). There are seldom cases available in which a wife dominates her husband in marriage but societal norms don't support her in undoing gender (Deutsch, 2007). Women are enforced to play stereotypical submissive roles to protect their marriages from divorce (Gottman, 2011; Nicoleau et al., 2014; Williams et al., 2013). Traditional gender ideologies are present in lives of most of the individuals and

disobediences from defined norms greatly shape their experiences of unhappiness. Separated men participated in this research have extreme urge to revive their relationship with their spouses.

The narratives of two separated men are presented here as an example to understand the complexities of a married life in which individuals have to live in separation for many reasons. Pervaiz desperately wishes his wife and kids back but it has become difficult for him to break the shell of ego and revenge constructed by the social context. He is punishing not only himself but to his wife and kids for the mistake he had not committed. The main reason behind their separation was the nosiness of his mother in law in their intimate relationship of husband and wife. He is paying all expenses of her wife and kids and his mother as well as brothers meet kids because they don't want to leave his kids alone. He left Pakistan after their separation for his PhD degree and spent five years out of the country. Last year, he came back to Pakistan and it is hoped by his family that they may reunite soon because everybody from both families is trying to reconcile between them except his mother in law. *I really miss my kids and wife but my ego is more than anything for me (Pervaiz, Separated Life History)*. Sometimes he thinks to kneel down for kids because the time he spent in a foreign country was easy but the moment he came back it became difficult for him to live without his family. He is living in joint family system and sees his brothers living happy and stable life with their wives and kids.

Asif is passing an uncertain traumatic life and is a serious patient of anxiety and depression. He is regularly visiting psychiatric and number of times has admitted in hospital for treatment. He lacks social support system because his parents are old and siblings are busy in their own lives. He has a feeling of shame and loneliness attached with him and has been prevailed in this situation for last eight years because he is living separately from his wife and kids. He is impatiently willing to start his life as family unit because he has completely given up. His kids carry same personality traits like him because they have seen many incidences of domestic violence and disputes between their parents. He admits that he committed many mistakes which destroyed the lives of his kids.

I have tired of this life and blame myself that my kids are orphans of a live father. (Asif, Separated Life History).

People from his workplace and community advise him to divorce his wife and focus on his health issues but he doesn't want to divorce her wife because it will break his whole family. He got major anxiety attacks during all this time and he screamed in his room, wept so much but he has nobody to tell his issues. He is facing strong social pressure from his family for reconciliation with wife. However, the life experiences of another separated men are entirely different who is satisfied with his separation but unhappy due to his son. *I agree with this fact that my son feels the absence of his mother's love (Imran, separated).* His family approached his in-laws many times for reconciliation but they have not any intention for reunion and are continuously demanding divorce. They do not want to initiate a case for *Khulah* because at the time of *nikkah*, they documented a huge *Haq Mehar* such as twenty tolas gold, ten Marla plot and five lac Rupees as a security for the future life of their daughter. Therefore, the situation is very complex and both families are waiting and finding the way out. Separation is also very hard for individuals and their kids because they are not living as family even being married. The case of separation becomes more severe when a woman dares to step out of male authoritative domains without his permission and it is considered as an attack on male honor. Men and women during (Paiva, 2009) separation are more hopeful for retaining married life and same accounts are shared by the participants of this research.

The findings show that the separated women are facing more gender differences about their experiences of separation and construction of happiness. The narratives of young separated women depict that they don't feel intimacy, love and trust with their spouses because they desperately need a shelter to save themselves from severe attacks of stigmatization and character assassination even from their own spouses but still, they find satisfaction with them. The feelings of two young separated women are offered here as an example to understand the insecurities attached with separation and how power structure reinforces gendered happiness.

I didn't get respect in my married life and I am totally hopeless. If my husband remarries during separation, I have much insecurity about myself and my son's future life. I am trapped badly. (Hina, Separated Semi Structured Interview)

I never wanted to leave the marital relationship. I begged him please take me back once and I will never come back to my parents' house but he said now you have no space at your brothers' house and you wanted to get refuge from him. (Gul, Separated Semi Structured Interview)

Both of these women are feeling an acute stress and stigma on living without their husbands and their families will decide about their future lives. Their families want them to spend their rest of lives in separation but never demand divorce. Both of them faced violence and social stigmatization in marriage but still want to be in marital relationship to save themselves from harassment and social stigmatization. They claim that a man is a big strength in a woman's life. Young age at marriage specifically for women is more translated in many gender related inequalities in marriage as well as constant power negotiations to get their share from marriage (Seebens, 2010). These power relations are based on the ideologies that men and women have different roles and priorities of life which are forced and reinforced through gender agency (Dito, 2011; Doss, 2011). However scholarly literature (Asres & Abebe, 2014; Boyden et al., 2012; Chuta & Morrow, 2015; Emirie, 2005; Erulkar, 2013; Jones, 2015; Milkias, 2011) on young age at marriage emphasizes its negative outcomes in the form of separation and divorce.

On the other hand, the separated women are pleased with their kids in their later ages but are facing societal pressure to be in marriage till their death. It is true that they don't have any space for spouses in their lives but they never ask for divorce to protect the future lives of their children specifically grownup daughters from the stigma of being the kids of divorced mother. This reality is truly presented in the narrative of a separated woman given below.

I feel very vulnerable because I have three daughters, if I ask for divorce who will marry with my daughters. (Rania, Separated Life Histories)

She is forced to attach her husband's name with her because the title of his wife saves her from social disapproval. She alone is taking care of everything but being the wife of a man is acceptable by society. If she asks for divorce; her whole family who is supporting her will discredit her. Currently, everybody is helping her and his husband is blamed that he has left his wife and kids without any reason. She has a strong belief on marriage as an institution even having bad experiences of marital life. She was not a successful in marriage but she wants to marry her children and is hopeful for their successful marriages. the narrative of another separated woman is completely different from her gender group. She narrates;

I have lost trust on marriage institution and a woman can live a happier independent life without marriage. I will never force my daughters to marry but getting married will be their own decision. (Syeda, Separated Life History)

She is currently living with her daughters and both of them are career oriented. She doesn't have any space for her husband in her life but it is also a bitter truth that she never asks for divorce. Previous research (Kiernan & Mensah, 2010) shows that couples who live long time of life in separation have less emotional attachment with each other and are more dissatisfied with their lives. Their separation also badly affects the wellbeing and socialization of their kids. Their kids are the constant victim of parental conflict and turmoil (Strohschein, 2005). Couples and their kids are living their lives in the constant threat and fear of divorce which leads them to unhappy lives (Maes et al., 2012; Oishi et al., 2013). Their happiness is always under serious intimidations. Couples' decision to stick to separation, reunion or decision to divorce is much dependent on maximization of perceived rewards to stay in relationship as compared to perceived costs which are much social and cultural (Kiernan & Mensah, 2010; Oláh & Gähler, 2014; Sabates & Dex, 2015).

The narratives of men and women from this particular group highlight the role of family in creating conflicts and disputes settlement. However, it is also the matter of great importance that violence, social stigma and character assassination are attached with women also affect the lives of both genders. In this whole situation, women become more powerless and vulnerable and their lived experiences depict that they are

strongly controlled by their fathers and brothers during separation. In this controlled life, they face continuous stigmatization for not performing their defined gender roles as wives. This idea is reinforced on them that they should get approval from power structure to fit into the position of wives even in the presence of all forms of oppression and found their happiness within this.

5.3.3. Widowhood: Bereaved or Relieved

Widowhood is an experience of losing a lifelong companionship with a feeling of pain and loss. It not only breaks marriage institution but also badly affects the life of left behind spouse and their kids. In this incidence women are harder hit because they are mostly dependent on their spouses and face multiple problems such as economic and social distress, losing of one's own identity as an individual, decision to remarry, sense of insecurity, stigmatization of being an alone woman and single mother responsibilities. It is clearly evident from the life stories of women that they don't want to remarry because of mental compatibility with their late spouses as well as cruel past experiences in married lives which lose their trust on marriage. However male informants have the missing feeling of late spouses in their lives but they want to remarry for companionship. The accounts of widow men are given below to unveil the reality of widowhood.

I have a good reputation in society and I fear to marry in this old age having grandkids but I want to marry again with a good reputation woman having no kids because I feel very alone (Akbar, Widow Life History)

I want to marry again but I have a fear of facing social stigmatization to remarry in the presence of young unmarried daughters. (Ijaz, Semis Structured Interview)

Social forces strongly oppose marriages in old age when kids are married and their grand kids are also grownup, the individual has to even face pressure from his own family. If individual has strong economic and social position in society, he has more freedom to decide about his life. These widow men also claim that they want subordinate women in marriage and never want to remarry career-oriented women because they exercise their domination in marital life. Currently, they are busy in

spiritual and religious activities and spend their time with their friends and social circles. They narrate that their happiness fluctuates throughout life before widowhood but after the death of their wives, sadness has become constant feeling and there is no happiness in their lives due to loneliness. Widow men face serious problems in the (Yopp & Rosentstein, 2011; 2013) socialization of their children and become sole care givers in terms of social, emotional and economic support being in the bereavement. It is also reported by the widow men that they have more material wellbeing and satisfaction as compared to women after the death of their spouses due to high income earnings (Sultan & Kanwal, 2013). But it is also true that widow men having unmarried young adults do not considered themselves to marry before fulfilling the responsibility of their children marriages. Father has to (Baharudin et al., 2010; Barajas, 2011; Goldberg et al., 2009; Lemay et al., 2010; Martini & Senechal, 2012; Uddin, 2011) replace his inactive role after the death of spouse and becomes more active in the lives of his children.

As compared to men, widow women have bad physical health, low economic resources and lack of social support which lessens their satisfaction and happiness (Luanaigh & Lawlor, 2008; Zick & Holden, 2000). Loxton et al. (2007) found feeling of insecurity, low confidence and harassment faced by young widow women. The most prominent feature of widowhood disclosed by widow informants is that widow women are struggling in their respective lives for their kids and themselves because they were completely rest on their late spouses. In their married lives, they were expected to fulfill familial roles and show their obedience to family norms which often create a barrier in the personal development in terms of education and career achievements but in widowhood they are confronted with many challenges that are translated in the form of women unhappiness and dissatisfaction.

A widow woman named Zartaj is spending her widowhood with great courage and zeal for her kids along with her own growth. She is living at her parent's house and it is her own decision to spend her life with her parents in widowhood. She expresses her feelings that coming out of the house with a bag where she went after marriage was very difficult but it was necessary for her survival. Now, she feels that her in laws are the major cause behind her growth because if they do not show their real faces, she does

not able to explore her own strengths. If they behave well with her during four months of *Iddat*, she may be their slave for the rest of her life. They wanted her to behave all stereotypical roles identified centuries ago for a widow. Her excerpt given below unveils this reality.

When my husband's dead body came and I wanted to touch him desperately everybody stopped me to touch him because of the socio-cultural and religious obligation that a wife can't touch her husband after the death. Second thing I remember I wasn't upset for my husband but I was upset for my kids. I was a prisoner in a room to fulfill a social taboo called Iddat (a period of time during which divorced or widow woman may not marry). (Zartaj, Widow Life History)

She defines *Iddat* as the bereavement for women and she found it the worst scenario and worst experience of her life. The four months of *Iddat* were awful for her and she decided not to spend rest of her life with her in laws. I clarified her that *Iddat* is a religious obligation for a woman to observe for four months and ten days after the death of her husband. This particular informant from widow group says it a social taboo because *Iddat* doesn't stop meeting with people in public but it stops someone meeting with people in private. Her in laws were in grief because their only son had died and she was in the feeling of loss because her husband and kid's father had died. *I feel that grief and loss divide the family (Zartaj, widow)*. Her in laws and she have different dimensions of same tragedy. She provides a detailed justification about grief and loss. She narrates that grief is a situation that gives someone a space to sit for hours, weep and recite religious text but loss doesn't give someone that space to weep. Her in laws had this objection that she didn't weep on death of her husband. I feel as a researcher that they were strongly influenced by their social and cultural notions of how a widow supposed to behave irrespective of what she is internally feeling because their whole family was gathered there and they wanted to present her as the defined widow of their son. Cultural notions discipline and regulate the behavior of individuals even at the time of big loss of any individual's loved ones. She needs full moral, social, economic and emotional support after the death of her spouse but she was completely left alone due to multiple social and cultural reasons. She saw the true faces of relationships after her husband's death and she decided to stand for her kids. Her husband's workplace offered

her job after her *Iddat* and she started working there. It was difficult for her to start working at his husband's workplace because people saw her differently and she had to carry the false image of her husband's wife.

I was not a superwoman. I went on serious depression and felt irritation with my own kids. I thought why they made noise and I went back into the feeling of that if my husband is not here why I should live a single life. But I made myself understand that I have been struggling for me and my kid's survival. I also started my own business and generated my own source of income and my in laws were completely absent in all these struggling years but now how my in laws can be part of my success. When they weren't the part of my journey so how they will be the part of my destination. They don't have a place in my life. (Zartaj, Widow Life History)

The workplace of her husband and her parent's supportive behavior made her able to do lots of struggle in her life. She never has any regret that if she doesn't have kids, she may settle with some other person. She never thinks of remarry again because her relationship with her husband was so perfect that if she remarries, she always compares that man with her late husband.

The story of another widow woman is also an eye-opening gendered experience of widowhood and happiness. Saima is living a satisfied life with her only son and pursuing her career in management training sector. When she came back to Pakistan for three months to meet her in laws and family, she wasn't aware of the fact that she will never see her husband alive again. She was left alone with a small baby in her lap. She wanted to spend rest of life with her in laws but one incidence took her to a point where she decided to leave her in law's house. Her *Iddat* time was very difficult and she felt herself in the prison. She became widow in very young age and was under the strict observation of everybody. Her whole body was covered all the time and if her hairs was seen by her mother in law, she started shouting that she is in *Iddat*. During her *Iddat*, her father in law was sharing room with her because her in laws wanted a male must be present with her at night. She couldn't sleep properly for four months and hid herself in her son's body. Her father in law didn't leave the room after *Iddat*. She narrated her experiences of widowhood at her in laws house in these words.

One night my father in law said me, your legs are shining like jewels and I became frighten and remained conscious throughout night. One day, my younger sister in law's husband came to kitchen and he touched me from the back when I was preparing dinner for them. I became scared and quickly ran away from kitchen. I faced harassment at my own house so I decided to leave. (Saima, Widow Life History)

On that day, she premeditated that now it has become difficult for her to live in this insulting environment and decided to tell her mother in law. When she told all about to her mother in law, she started blaming her and badly assassinated her character. After this incidence, she talked to her brother but he asked her to be patience and passed time at her in laws quietly. She asked for a help from one of her sisters and she offered her a small house in very underprivileged area but she found it as endowment for time being. When she left her in law's house after one year, she slept for whole night peacefully at her sister's house. She still remembers her mother in law's words when she was leaving her in law's house;

My mother in law said tum apni chitti chamrri bech kar guzara karo ge (become prostitute). That one sentence pinched me a lot throughout all these past years of struggle and this one sentence actually made me prepare to pursue my career. (Saima, Widow Life History)

She is very positive about her mother in law that if she doesn't use those words for her, she may not achieve her personal identification. Her journey was very difficult, full of uncertainty and her destination was very far from her but she never gave up. She believes that if destination is beautiful don't care about thrones and when a woman becomes determined no one is braver than her. She also faced superstitious beliefs and was kept completely isolated from her own family functions and occasions. In these past seven years, she patiently faced everything and moved forward. Her sibling's behavior is totally changed with her after her achievements. She is much pressurized to remarry but she never wants to take this decision at the cost of her son. Her sisters keep on insisting her that give her son to his grandparents and think about her life. In this society of males, *a single woman is like a cherry on the top of the cake which is easily available*. She has made herself brave with the passage of time and has eliminated the

fear of the men from her mind. She has started understanding the people and encounters the hypocrites' people bravely who have their hand on her head but their intentions are very dirty. The account of a widow woman is an exceptional in a sense that she relates her happiness with her widowed status whose husband committed suicide during their marital dispute. The feeling of happiness can be observed in her words.

When I heard that my husband has died, I felt that I had gotten release from fourteen years of imprisonment with labor. I put my foot out of house with his funeral because I didn't want to sit at home in his Soag (woe). My mother in law daily called his grownup grandson to my house to live with us because we didn't have any male member at home. I had to leave for work and my grownup daughter was at home with grandmother. I was complete mentally absent at my workplace because my kids were alone at home. (Salma, Widow Semi Structured Interview)

She struggled for two years and succeeded to get the custody of her kids with the help of notables of the area. She quietly and bravely faced all the hardships of life for the better future of her kids. During these two years of constant efforts, she also did M.Ed. degree through distance learning. Now, she is spending her life independently and has shifted to her own house constructed with help of her father and sisters. It is important to highlight that individuals may come across with an oppressive behavior in their married lives as well as the victims of power relations. Bala (2015); Mathias (2001); and Uche (2015) argue that widows feel difficult to adjust and face many difficulties. Women face most of the problems in widowhood and their late husbands' male relatives deny their right of inheritance (Kayode, 2011). They have to observe various religious and social rituals during widowhood for certain period of time (Akinlabi, 2013; Oniye, 2010).

Widowhood is a difficult experience in a sense that it produces feeling of loneliness and solitude. It is closely linked with the past memories of an individual life which may be pleasant and unpleasant due to the presence of gender experiences. The narratives of men and women in this group highlight an exclusive notion of *Iddat* which is only experienced by a woman as a religious duty. It is also apparent that a widow is harder hit by gendered notions because she belongs to female category which is

confined within limited boundaries of every social identity. She has to force in specific behavior during widowhood and limit her social activities within private domain. Elegbeleye and Oyediji (2003) and Suleiman (2010) stated that women face multiple social malfunctioning which make them unhappy. Change in marital status results in lost in purpose of life and dissatisfaction (Sasson & Umberson, 2014). Death is a reality in all types of societies and it produces the feeling of loss and grief but it is also true that if oppression in marital life becomes unbearable, the death of the spouse results in a sense of relief.

It is concluded from the above discussion based on the narratives of individuals belonging to diverse social groups and marital statuses such as divorced, separated and widow that their social identities are the personification and representation of powerful hierarchies which are differently constructed by dominant forces in relation to gender. These established socio-cultural notions of power structure demand extreme adherence to defined normative patterns which resultantly strengthen the pervading system of the society. Individuals both men and women are forced to exhibit those social and cultural identities which are defined according to their gender and specific marital status. Therefore, the narratives of divorced, separated and widow women show the feeling of satisfaction and contentment in their independent lives which are considered inappropriate social behaviors and stigmatize them as a bad woman and non-conformists. In comparison, men are labelled as non-conformists when they fail to represent their patriarchal identity in their respective domains and this is a serious attack on their masculine construction of happiness. These women achieve multiple milestones in their professional and personal lives but power structure continuously places them at unsuccessful status which ultimately adds unhappiness in their lives. Men with different marital statuses want to remarry and women feel satisfaction in single status but are forced to enter in marriage again or stay in marriage for social recognition. Divorced separated and widow women face more stigmatization, harassment, fears or threats of violence, children custody, character assassination and dishonor as compared to men which badly affect their version of happy life. However, men are encouraged to control women under their domination through various means such as violence and threats of divorce. In this worse scenario, women out grew as

compared to men and made positive changes in their own lives and kids but constant interference of men of their families doesn't make them able to achieve their happiness in its fullest. Men in all categories fail to run their lives and household management without the help of women due to their weak socialization in this regard and their feeling of dissatisfaction reaches at peak and they relate it with loneliness and lack of companionship in their lives. While societal structures are helpful in this regard to provide them another subordinate woman to meet their sexual, emotional and social satisfaction. Therefore, there are diverse meanings attached with multiple marital statues and prevailing contexts in which individuals have to behave in certain way to meet the expectations according to normative patterns in order to achieve culturally appropriate meanings of happiness.

Chapter No.6

Happiness: Diverse Life Domains

This chapter offers the construction and experiences of happiness in diverse domains of individuals' lives in which money, workplace and friends are the important aspects. The key argument on which discussion is built in each theme is that happiness is a social phenomenon which is central to all domains of some one's life. This chapter also entails that how cultural frameworks are the core of people's day to day practices and are fixed in their lived experiences. Money, career aspirations and social circles are the part of social milieu and are continuously judged with societal standards to make people happy and unhappy. All these life domains and people's experiences empower individuals to relate and evaluate their lives as a whole and distinguish how their ideal version of life is different from real life experiences. This chapter also provides a brief summary of three analytic chapters as a quick foretaste for the readers.

6.1. Money: The Ultimate Reality

Money has a vital importance in the life of an individual in this material era. All individuals have to fulfill their basic needs through money except air. It expands choices and options for individuals and directs them to live their lives independently and autonomously. Money provides authority as well as enhances individual's social status and a person can even rule the world with money. The baseline assumption constructed under this particular theme is to understand the importance of money in the lives of individuals as a source of happiness. The individuals were asked to narrate the significance of money and its relationship with their happiness throughout their lives as an independent factor without its association with their marital life but their narratives are highly gendered in nature and have a strong connection with their family and marital lives. Most of the individuals participated in current research claim that money plays a dynamic role to bring happiness in life and it is one of the main realities in making and breaking important bond as well as social relationships. However, some of the individuals also argued that it is important to meet basic needs but it is not the guarantee of everlasting satisfaction.

The social context of the current research is collectivist in nature where individual is a social entity continuously interacting on multiple social grounds. The collective nature of the social life puts many materialistic burdens on an individual irrespective of its marital status. Marriage is an important institution of social life which demands many material resources to ensure its long lasting and success. Marital life has multiple dimensions and marriage ceremony needs itself thousands of cash money to perform multiple social and cultural rituals in east. There are large number of social responsibilities attached with marriage as an institution start from search of proposal to actual occurrence of the event. These social responsibilities do not end at the day of marriage but the needs of marital life go on increasing till death. However, when couple starts marital life as a family unit, they need money for every aspect of their lives such as food, shelter, participation in family ceremonies, kids' health and education, clothing, and recreation etc. It is observed from the narratives of individuals that after marriage, money becomes so prominent in life matters that it may sometimes poison even those marital relationships whose foundation rests on love, care and trust. Money should not be earned on the cost of relationships, health, self-respect, and pleasure in life. It is very important to decide and align money with our real-life aspirations for true happiness.

Money is considered as an important source to spend satisfied life because we are living in postmodern society where the medium of exchange is money. People are extensively involved to compare and contrast on daily basis in which money has the central importance. However Blanchflower and Oswald (2004); Brown et al. (2008); Clark et al. (2009), Clark and Oswald (1996); Clark, Frijters, and Shields (2008); Ferrer-i-Carbonell (2005); Luttmer (2005), happiness related to money is attached with comparison and relation to other people's wealth and economic resources in family, friends and workplaces colleagues. Literature (Graham et al., 2010a) found that unhappiness between men and women is linked with low levels of income and gender inequality in under developed countries. Deaton (2008) suggested that money matters to people when they evaluate their life as whole but other social and cultural experiences become more critical in their daily life experiences. However, several studies found that there is a strong association between financial satisfaction and marital

quality as well as happiness (Archuleta, Britt, Tonn, & Grable, 2011; Dew & Dakin, 2011; Grable, Britt, & Cantrell, 2007).

Money is an important element of marital happiness but happiness in marriage is not only achieved through wealth. Therefore, it has an important place in marriage that it may influence marital relationships directly or indirectly. This section describes the narratives of individuals from diverse social groups regarding their life experiences in relation with money and happiness. The discussion covers multiple domains of life which are closely related with happiness in marriage such as spousal relationship, health and education of kids, maintain good social status, and accumulation of material assets. Social responsibilities pose multiple burdens on individuals for which they are continuously struggling along with maintaining good relationships with their spouse. Three viewpoints are emerged from individuals' narratives about money and happiness which are very cultural, gendered and also relevant with their diverse life experiences. Most of the individuals both men and women state that money is an important source of happiness in their individual, social and marital lives. Men claim that being in bread earner role they are constantly making efforts to accumulate wealth to meet their family needs as well as to secure the future of their kids. They also relate money as a source of authority in their prevailing contexts and believe that material assets in the form of land and other valuables are the symbol of authority which ultimately adds happiness in their lives. They are of the view that people with money are very influential and notable persons of the society. The excerpts of two men having different marital status clearly show that money is very important to construct their happiness.

I buy more land and accumulate material assets to become the prominent person of my area. It is a source of happiness for me. (Shariq, Married Semi structured Interview)

Money is everything and if you don't have money even your own parents are not yours. Money can bring anything in your life. I feel money is very important to establish social relationships around me. Money makes me authoritative and prominent in society. I can marry many times with money because women only see money in the hands of a man. (Altaf, Divorced Life History)

Material assets, land, money and a woman are considered sources of authority and happiness for men in traditional society. Women belong to marginalized and oppressed group due to lack of access and control over resources and their subordinate position in comparison to their men counterparts. Women are considered private property and men in authority attract them through money and this marginalized group seeks their happiness in money to meet their needs and wants. Men also argue that women are immature and unskillful in this regard because they have a narrow vision about life and waste money on clothes and other accessories which have no importance but men due to their role as a head of household take concrete and solid steps towards the progress of family as a whole which leads to collective happiness. Men are more hyper in money related issues because they are socialized to be dominant in each aspect of life and feel it an attack on masculinity and repeatedly show concern about their own income specifically in contemporary married life (Papp et al., 2009). However, more recent studies develop a strong link with marital dissatisfaction where women earn more than men (Bertrand et al., 2015; Teachman, 2010). The narrative of a married man who belongs to dual earner family is presented here as an example to understand the ideology of men about money and happiness.

I contribute economically in household expenses of my elder brothers but it becomes a marital dispute between me and my wife when I ask her to cut her expenses to save money for the future wellbeing of our kids. (Abbas, Married Life History.)

This married informant belongs to dual earner patriarchal family in which he has a complete control on her wife's income but his wife feels it as a total injustice that she is highly paid professional but she has to cut her own expenses to meet the social responsibilities of her husband. This situation leads to dissatisfaction between couple. He admits that they don't have any conflict but his wife shows resentment when he spends money on his elder brothers being the youngest kid of the family. Both of his parents had died and all of his brothers are living in nuclear family system. Therefore, his wife feels that this is not his responsibility to look after his married brothers on the cost of his own family. Currently, he is managing his spouse and kids needs according to their wishes but there is a possibility if he will not meet their demands, money may create dispute in marital relationship.

The money has no direct influence on marital relationship because these individuals are completely harmonized with their spouses. Women informants claim that happiness is contextual and when the responsibilities of one spouse exceed to its immediate family domains, it may become the source of unhappiness. They also mention a direct and indirect control of their families and spouses on their incomes. These women claim that trust is the main element in marriage which rests on the loyalty to her husband. They share that the men in their lives want that their wives should use money wisely for the betterment of family life. A married hard-core professional woman who belongs to dual earner family shares an eye-opening reality about money and happiness in these words.

I must say if a woman is earning income, its usage is the main concern of a man. I am highly paid professional and use my own income with the consensus of my husband. If I start spending money without taking it into my husband's knowledge there will always be conflict in our relations. (Nadia, Married Semi Structure Interview)

She argues that women are not allowed to use their own income on shopping, recreation and leisure even they are not permitted to support their parents after marriage. In our society, a man never accepts his professional wife to stand with him in equality. She is considered as a supporting actor but never becomes equal to him. Men in patriarchal societies do not allow their women to participate in labor force but when they become the part of paid labor, they are compelled to use their income at home. Women's paid work is linked with their economic empowerment which provides them the number of choices in their lives but in reality, all these dimensions are not easy to achieve because marriage is one of those important institution where women are under strict control and are considered as private property of their husbands. Therefore, if a woman is earning it is her duty and responsibility to contribute in household income irrespective of her own will. Working women are the potential candidates for the future wives and daughters in law as well as daughters if they come to their parent's house due to failure in their marital life.

Limited economic resources (Madison, 2009) make marital life unhappy and increase the risk of divorce and separation (Bianchi et al., 2012; Goldin, 2006). When

both spouses are working on highly paid jobs, they are more independent to leave unhappy marriages (Britt et al., 2008; Sayer et al., 2011) but some studies also found that dual earners also reduce the risk of divorce and conflict in marriage (Andersen, 2005; Brines & Joyner, 1999; Dean et al., 2007; Dechter, 1992; Heckert et al., 1998; Schoen et al., 2002; Tzeng & Mare, 1995). The narratives of two divorced women are very significant to be presented here that money has a central place in the life of individuals specifically women when they met any crisis.

Money is very important to live a respectable life in this society. I found that when you are penniless your shadow even also disappears. (Huma, Divorced Life History)

I was considered as a burden by my parents along with two kids after divorce. The moment, I started earning lot of money now, I am the sole decision maker of my life and kids and I have convinced that we can even buy people through money. I saved my self-respect and dignity by not spreading hands in front of any body. Now I have started spending on myself before this I only thought about kids and my family. I have started pampering myself so much with this realization that I am important too because I came to know that until I will not pamper myself nobody will pamper me. So, I spend a lot of money on me, my clothes, my mobile, my skin and on everything. (Taniya, Divorced Life History)

Taniya shares that she faced economic problems in her marriage even though she was the wife of an army officer and was living in nuclear family system. Her husband never gave her money for personal use and she was also not allowed to work somewhere. When her parents gave her money on social occasions like Eid, he used to snatch money from her. She was totally dependent on him economically and socially. She discloses that when she got divorce, her parents weren't supportive but after year's long struggle and hard work when she was able to manage her own expenses and supported her parents, the social environment around her became friendly. Economic empowerment is an important source of happiness for women to run an independent life without the help of a man. The narrative of a widow woman explains this reality.

Money is very important in my life because nobody helped me in difficult time and now, I am earning and I feel a sense of independence. Money is not inspiration for me if I

want, I may be millionaire because I am single beautiful woman who was the victim of sexual harassment at my own house but I earned money through hard work to save myself from this victimization. (Saima, Widow Life History)

She was left alone with a baby in this big world full of problems after the death of her husband and she asked for help from her own siblings and in laws but nobody was there to help her. She took courage to change her own life and struggled a lot to acquire stable social and economic status through achieving many milestones in professional life. The above narrative unveils the hidden truths of the society that how it becomes difficult for an alone woman with small kid to become an easy prey for the oppressions of the society. She constantly worked hard to make herself strong for her son and herself. During last seven years, she had struggled a lot to empower herself socially, economically and emotionally but never indulged in any illegal activity. Money is important at all stages of life and brings happiness in marital relationship. A divorced woman who considers the money as a core element of happiness and shares her life experiences about lack of money which leads to unhappiness.

There is a strong relationship between money and happiness and it also has immense importance in marriage. When you don't have money, you feel unhappy. I got marry to a person who had not money for even our honeymoon. We didn't have money to spend some weekend outside home and we couldn't plan long vacations for ourselves. Lack of money is a big hurdle between me and happiness. (Ayeza, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

She admits that all relations of life are based on the amount of material assets one has. This is a white lie that money is not important; she argues that how can a husband show his love and affection without money to his spouse in marriage? Money is very important because individual needs money even for buying a single flower for his/her loved one. She says that a husband needs money for a maid if he wants to spend quality time with his wife. Therefore, the importance of money is undeniable because we are living in a society where we even purchase water to drink which is basic need of life. Money is very important to spend a happy life and it is not possible without money in this contemporary world. It is found from the scholarly work (Britt et al, 2008;

Sayer et al., 2011) on dual earner families, the chance to divorce and separation increases to leave the unhappy relationship. Another woman who has been living in separation from her husband for past four years claims that money is only reality that can bring happiness in her life. She wants reunion with her husband but the lack of money and basic needs are the main barrier in her way towards happiness. She narrates her feelings in these words.

Money is the only source of happy and successful marriage. I don't want handsome husband but I want a rich husband who has lot of money and I can spend my life with all luxuries of life. Life cannot be spent without money and only love is not enough. (Hina, Separated Semi Structured Interview)

Money is also one of the elements of dispute in marital life. The narrative of a remarried woman is presented here to show how economic empowerment creates disputes in her marital life.

My husband wants to control my income which is s a matter of dispute in my second marriage. He is only happy when I spend money on him without any argument. (Annie, Remarried Life History)

She believes that money brings satisfaction and unavailability of material things are cause of unhappiness in marriage. She narrates that her husband's relatives from his village come for shopping, medical treatment and education; she has to put extra efforts to create financial resources to meet their demands. Whenever, she demands money from her husband he replies that she has started counting the bits of food of his family members and they start fighting. The experiences of two women are presented here as an example to understand the importance of money for happiness.

I have experienced that the money is essential element of happy life. I wanted to marry a rich husband who could fulfill my material wishes and take no time to accomplish my wants. (Nazia, Remarried Life History)

Money and material assets become vital in making marriage successful. My marriage is unpleasant from the very first day due to the demand of dowry and inheritance after

of the death of my parents. I am still paying the cost of my refusal of inheritance to my husband (Gul, Separated Semi Structure Interview).

Money is an important source of happiness for many individuals participated in the research and their personal, family and marital life is dependent on it. Lack of money and material resources lead to unhappiness and create multiple conflicts among spouses (Bianchi et al., 2012; Goldin, 2006). However, a unique perspective is highlighted from the narrative of a remarried man who belongs to a low caste family and narrates that money is important to raise the social status of an individual in the society. He relates the importance of money completely with himself and not with family and marital life. His narrative is presented as an example.

I am convinced that money is an important and basic source of happiness to improve social and economic status. I struggled very hard throughout my life to earn money because I experienced that money has the power to cover all weakness and provides respectable status to any individual irrespective of its background (Aurangzeb, Remarried Semi Structure Interview).

He is struggling hard to acquire higher education for getting achieved status which will add happiness and satisfaction in his life. He believes that only education can make improvements in his life through earning economic resources. The feelings narrated in above quote by an individual strongly depict that the power of a context blurs with amount of money and its importance. But if any individual changes its context and starts living at a place where he is anonymous for everybody and have ample amount of money and material assets, he is considered as a respectable and notable individual of the society.

Some of the individuals also claim that money is important but other things such as trust, care and love are also important for personal and marital happiness. The account of a remarried woman is important in this regard.

Money itself is not a source of happiness. It is a byproduct which gives satisfaction and happiness. (Fizza, Remarried Semi Structured)

Money is needed to purchase goods and get luxuries of life. Some people have lot of money but they never use it to meet their needs. So, the accumulation of money may lead to satisfaction but it is not happiness. She states that money adds to the quality of life. She also stresses if she wants to raise her children in the best possible options available in terms of clothing, schooling and recreation; she should need money from the whole world. Nobody can deny the importance of money but strong family foundation and relationships are strongly attached with money. A separated man facing multiple problems in his life narrates the relationship between money and happiness as.

Money is never important for me; I think health is the most important indicator of happiness and I feel happy to make my family happy. (Asif, Separated Life History)

According to him, money is only important to meet the basic needs in his personal life. His marital life became the victim of unhappiness from very first day of his marriage and he is still intricate in marital issues and mental health problems. He wishes to have a stable life with his wife and kids.

The last viewpoint generated from the narratives of the individuals is that money has no relationship with happiness. The accounts of a married woman named Aima is shared to understand that how economic empowerment and money made her life miserable. The experiences of her life regarding money and its impact on happy life are presented in her words.

I feel myself as an economic asset for my siblings. Everybody comes to me when they need money. I feel I have a more material than emotional relationship with my siblings. But now I am not happy with my own married life and I want social support from my family but they are always on demanding end. My younger sister is completely dependent on me because his husband asks her to take money from me. (Aima, Married Semi Structure Interview)

She got married late to meet her family needs and had many dreams about married life but when she got marry it was totally opposite to her imaginations. She has to manage her expenses after marriage because in traditional context women anticipate that after marriage their economic responsibilities will be taken by their husbands. She

is completely convinced that all relationships in her life are only connected with money. She narrates her experiences of married life;

My husband promised me before marriage that I will quit my job and we will start our own business but right after marriage, he said never to quit your job. I was again helpless and day by day I am getting older and tired but nobody is here to help me (She started weeping). I can't survive without my job because from where I will eat. I feel that there is no connection of economic empowerment with happiness but it makes a woman life time slave of her family (Aima, Married Semi Structure Interview).

It has become difficult for her to live with her husband happily due to his materialistic nature because all her relationships are on the basis of money. Her husband is spending lot of money on his first wife because she is housewife but her needs are taken for granted due to her working status. Her experiences as a working woman clearly show the oppression of the family structure to control all aspects of an individual's life. Another woman's narrative is important in this regard who is living alone with her three kids in Pakistan because her husband is in abroad for earning money to fulfill the needs of joint family. She completely negates the relationship of money with happiness and narrates;

I never get happiness and satisfaction through money. I want such amount of money through which I can fulfill my needs. I want a small house but that house must be a home full of love and care (Saiqa, Married Life History)

The above quote shows a feeling of a woman who is without a family unit. She is earning sufficient income and wants her husband back to Pakistan but her husband has to fulfill the needs of his siblings who are married but still a liability on him. She has money in her life but she has not husband in her life which is the matter of unhappiness for her. Previous research also found that people in collectivist culture emphasize more on relationships than money (Borrero, 2010; Diener et al., 1995). On the other hand, three widow men and a widow woman completely negate the importance of money and are living a contented and satisfied life. The narratives of a widow man and a woman are presented here as an example.

Money is not a source of happiness because Allah has promised us for basic needs so I think money cannot bring an extra happiness in my life (Ali, Widow Life History).

Money is nothing I give pension of my husband to needy and poor people. I only believe on humanity which makes me happy. All material assets and money are worthless and there is no relationship of happiness with them. I spend money on charity but I don't need money for myself (Palwasha, Widow Semi Structured Interview).

They say that money can never make individual happy because want of money' never ends at any point in life. They are passing life with a firm belief on divine power and believe on gratitude whatever the situation is. These individuals believe that this type of contentment and satisfaction comes through daily practices of prayer and gratitude. These individuals find true happiness in helping the needy and poor peoples. The findings of the cross-cultural research found that (Ahuvia, 2002) collectivism is a cultural trait that help poor people to cope with difficult times in developing countries and kin matters more than individual efforts (Graham, 2009).

It can be concluded from the narratives of men and women participated in this research that money is a reality of life and it adds happiness in life. One must be realistic enough to accept this reality that money is an important element to maintain balance in life. Most of the individuals irrespective of their gender place money at the core of their personal and marital lives and link it with their construction of happiness. However, previous research also suggests that the individuals' satisfaction with their family life decreases as the importance of their goal for financial success grew (Nickerson, Schwarz, Diener & Kahneman, 2003) and women are hard hit in this situation because male members of their families start controlling their income. Current research also confirms that in case of women who forcefully spending money on others, rather than spending money on oneself, generally provides individuals with higher levels of unhappiness (Geenen, Hohelüchter, Langholf, & Walther, 2014). Amato and Previti (2003) as well as Dew (2009) suggest that abuse, incompatibility and financial problems between couples lead their marriage to divorce and separation.

In married group, all men and two women out of four strongly admit that money is happiness and it continuously adds happiness in their lives. However, two women

strongly negate money as happiness and argued that relationships are more important than money to pass happy life. Therefore, more men than women in married group related their happiness with money and reason behind this is men's role as bread earner and women's life experiences. In divorced group all men and women strongly believe that money is an important and essential source of happiness to meet the standards of successful life. In remarried group all men and two women attach their happiness with money and the remaining two women claim that it is a partial source of happiness and all other elements such as care, trust and love are primarily needed to live a happy life. In separated group three men and three women believe that money is happiness but one man narrates a unique perspective in which he places health as a source of happiness. However, one separated woman argues that money has secondary importance in her life. In widow group three men and one woman negate the importance of happiness to bring happiness in life. While three women and a man places money at a central position to spend respectable life.

Overall, it is summarized that thirty out of forty individuals give high importance to money as source of happiness. In these individuals sixteen men and fourteen women claim that money is happiness which show that there are no gender differences highlighted in this particular theme. Previous research also found that both men and women experience happiness and satisfaction when their income increases but when women earn more than their husband the chances of divorce increase (Tzeng & Mare, 1995; Zagorsky, 2005). The chances of divorce also increase when wives contribute 50% in household income and their decreased economic dependence leads their marriages to dissolution (Rogers, 2004). According to Risch et al. (2003) money and financial issues are ranked as third important factor that is a source of conflict within marriage. She further adds that the increase in the rate of wives' employment money related issues have potential to increase conflict and marital discomfort among couples. The rest of individuals claim that the money is secondary source and not important at all to bring happiness in life. All men claim that due to their bread earner role they think money as a significant source of happiness, however women belonging to divorced, remarried, separated and widow categories highly emphasize on money as a source of happiness to meet their needs and their kids' wellbeing. The importance of

money is vital in this material era, it is source of happiness and also plays the role of binding force between couples and families for their long last happy marital relationships.

6.2. Workplace: A Tight Spot

Workplace is an important part of any individual's life where individuals pay out most time of their daily lives. It is very important to keep balance between work and other matters of life. In this materialistic society where everything is attained through money therefore work becomes inseparable part of people's lives. Money and workplace go side by side and money is an important element of motivation for individual to become the part of workplace. Workplace is a location where individual fulfills his/her career aspirations and gets economic resources. It is a place which may range from a home to formal organization. It is the irony which is highlighted from the narratives of individuals that if money is not attached with workplace and individuals are asked to fulfill their life aspiration, they will soon lose interest and walk away from workplace. Work life is one of the important features of individuals' lives (Dulk, Groeneveld, Ollier-Malaterre, & Valcour, 2013). Most of the individuals perform multiple activities at their workplaces in exchange of money in the form of salary and other monetary benefits (Stiglbauer & Batinic, 2012). The world has been changing drastically day by day which also changes the nature of work environment in which women out numbers due to high levels of academic growth and participation in labor force and the same findings were reported by the informants of the current research (Baran, Shanock, & Miller, 2012; Connell, Gough, McDonnell, & Burgess, 2014; Koukoulaki, 2010; Quinlan, 2012). It is suggested from the previous research that most of the research in the areas of work are concentrated with consumer satisfaction rather employees' satisfaction. However, happiness at the workplace is important to both individuals and organizations (Fisher, 2010; Simmons, 2014), the research on employee happiness in organizations is limited (Fisher, 2010; Hosie, Willemyns, & Sevastos, 2012; Sloan, 2005).

In the current era, individuals spend most of their quality and quantity time at their workplaces. Most of the people in the world are pre-inquired about the economic

benefits they will get after joining some particular workplaces. Workplace is another important aspect of human society to earn their livelihoods. Workplace is an important source of money through which individuals' material needs are fulfilled and it also provides platforms to meet career aspirations for their satisfaction. Workplace is concerned with the social relations, normative codes, and organizational structures that inform the behavior, experience, and identities of people during the course of their working lives.

This segment is about narratives of informants regarding their experiences at workplace and its relation with their construction of happiness as well its effects on their marital lives and vice versa. Over the past few years, it has been observed that traditional role of a man as bread earner and a woman role as home maker has lost its strength in the institution of family and marriage. The findings of the research show that individuals who enjoy their work are more productive and happier both at workplace and at home. They feel themselves satisfied and are more active in making new as well as maintaining old social relationships with zeal and enthusiasm. Individuals feel inspiration at workplace and it is a potential source for them to make significant contributions in their own lives, families, organizations and larger society. It also endorses self-confidence and incites hidden talents of individuals by enhancing their personality development through learning and socialization. A better physical and social environment promotes and enhances emotional as well as mental wellbeing of individuals which positively affects their personal and professional lives. But on the other hand, some of the individuals also claim that when workplace environment is not conducive it may also create dissatisfaction among individuals due to politics, favoritism and harassment which leads to low professional achievements and familial disputes.

During the transcription of individuals stories, I found that workplace is a dimension of human life which is completely separated from their married lives in a way that men never discuss their workplace issues and aspirations with their spouses but their family issues do affect their professional lives and vice versa. However, women want to discuss and share their workplace accounts with their spouses but they are not interested and don't consider it as something important to listen. Workplace also

poses multiple burdens on individual when there is a constant conflict between nature of job and personal interest in a particular career. It is also important to mention that workplace is an important source of happiness for most of the individuals in which no gender differences are seen but some individuals are unhappy at their workplaces due to many reasons. It is also found that women are more compassionate and closely relate their happiness with workplace even having multiple burdens of family and social life responsibilities because they rely on workplace achievements for their personal growth and recognition. While, men mostly relate workplace happiness with money and their role as bread earner. However, four standpoints are elucidated from the life stories and semi structured interviews of the individuals participated in the current research and are discussed under this theme in a row.

Firstly, most of the individuals feel that their workplace is an important source of happiness for them. They have a complete harmony in their personal and professional goals which help them to achieve their targets. Most of the individuals specifically women claim that they face stress at their workplaces but they are never afraid of professional competition because they have complete trust on their abilities. Out of multiple domains of life, workplace is an important domain of life and is related to happiness of individuals. They believe that having good relations with colleagues and boss, getting salary on time are all the indicators of happiness at workplace. The narratives of two professional women are given below to show the relationship between workplace and happiness in their lives.

I believe on hard work at my workplace which takes me to my desired destination. I keep on going with all the hardships and struggle because all these elements actually keep me motivated. I never give up and I am very persistent, if I decide to do any work, I will do it in any case. It is true that workplace is an important aspect of my life which sometimes makes me happy (Ramsha, Married Life History).

I enjoyed a lot all of my workplaces and stuck to my performance. I perform according to my goals and I am comfortable with myself (Nadia, Married Semi Structure Interview).

Some of the women state that they have multiple problems in their marital life and their workplace supports them. A married woman named Saiqa shares her experiences that she discusses her marital issues with her colleagues because she is working in female environment which provides her an edge to openly discuss her issues. Her coworkers' behavior is very supportive towards her and they come up with different solutions of her problems. They are always ready to console and provide relief which gives her positive energy to move forward. She feels relax and comfortable at her workplace and enjoys the company of her fellow workers. Her narrative is presented here as an example.

I never have any problem at my workplace and it also supports me. I bring my family problems to my workplace and I get satisfaction. I forget all my problems when I am at workplace and I get relax (Saiqa, Married Life History).

Some of the women also feel happy at their workplaces because of women only places and their family members allow them to work. The words of a remarried woman named Fatima are offered as an example.

I am respectfully earning my livelihood. My workplace is like a home and it is an extension of my feminine role at home. There are no male workers at my workplace which is a source of satisfaction and my husband is also satisfied that I am at safe place. (Fatima, Remarried Semi Structure Interview)

Most of these women also started their academic or professional career after marital failure and achieved many milestones in their lives. These women overcame all obstacles in their family life and career with courage and hard work. These women also struggled for years and now are moving positively in their lives. The life experiences of two divorced women are worth sharing here who faced stigma of being divorced at their workplace but are strictly determined to career development. Their excerpts present their life experiences at workplace as follows.

When I joined corporate sector after doing my MS from Abroad my male colleagues were not happy on my appointment because of their own insecure feeling about themselves. They created all types of visible and invisible barriers for me in which

character assassination was most prominent because I was divorced. I made my targets and made myself realize that I have to achieve my goals to stand again on my two feet. So, after enjoying nineteen years of luxury life it was very tough for me to modify in mid-forties to adjust with new hectic routine at workplace. I have gone through very difficult time but when I achieved my targets it became the element of happiness for me (Huma, Divorced Life History).

If I observe my life at my workplace with my divorce status, I feel male colleagues have bad intensions about me because of my single status. I feel they don't give me respect like my married woman colleagues. They make me feel that I am available to everybody. But my own academic and professional achievements make me happy and take me out from stress and depression. I feel satisfied and happy at workplace. When I shall get a top leadership position in any reputed organization, I shall be very happy. I think I have excellent leadership skills. I feel I am born to be a leader (Taniya, Divorced Life History).

This indicates that the women having different marital status have different experiences at their workplaces. They get happy when are appreciated on their work and achievements. They celebrate their achievements with themselves and their kids by purchasing gifts and dining out. The life experiences of most the women show that they feel an utmost feeling of independence and freedom at their workplace which they never able to exercise in their socio-cultural spaces. These findings relate to the study of Erdogan et al. (2012) about happiness at workplace with the satisfaction, honesty of leadership, equal opportunities to career development and better social space available to an individual to best fit in the organizational environment.

The accounts of men informants participated in the research are somehow different in a sense that they mostly do not face any stigma of being divorced and separated at their workplaces. Their narratives depict that they enjoy their male authority at their workplaces which makes them happy. A married man named Shariq belongs to strict rural background where profession of legal practice and *panchaiyat system* (traditional court) is a symbol of power and respect. He enjoys his profession

both at formal and informal workplaces to solve the problems of people. His excerpt is presented to understand how workplace is a source of happiness for him.

I am happy with my professional life because I feel authoritative when people come to me with their problems and issues. The feeling of awareness about people's weakness and problems is a source of happiness in a way that I am in position to solve their problems (Shariq, Married Semi Structured Interview).

The narrative of another widow man is very unique regarding his different nature of workplace. His excerpt is given below.

I have no formal workplace and my workplace is to spiritually serve the people at the tomb of my forefathers. I sit on the tomb and interact with people from all walks of life. I offer spiritual prayers and taweez (amulet) to people. I am completely satisfied with my work because it is a religious work (Atif, Widow Semi Structured Interview).

After the death of his wife, he spends most of his time at tomb and only goes to her sister in laws house to sleep at night. He doesn't ask money from people but they give *nazrana* (xenium) in the form of kind and cash according to their own will. He mostly distributes these things in his followers who are very respectable to him. His followers serve him with good food and clothes and obey his orders. He says that his workplace is more a matter of spiritual satisfaction rather than material satisfaction. His workplace is a source of respect for him and his ancestors' followers gather around him as well as serve him which is a source of satisfaction in his widow status. He is completely happy with his workplace. However, the excerpt of a remarried woman is also important in this regard who enjoys her workplace and plays a gender-neutral role which adds more satisfaction in her professional activities. She shared;

I say to my female subordinate staff that if you will take the advantage of being female, I am your big enemy because in this way females themselves disgrace female gender to have the privilege of going early and having more leaves than males. I consider individual as an employee not male and female. Both of them are taking same salary why a woman should get more privilege than a man. I don't feel it is a matter of gender

equality but I feel that females are portraying themselves less capable and inferior than males (Fizza, Remarried Semi Structure Interview).

These individuals claim that their work is an important element of life and key contributor of their satisfaction. They extract social and economic empowerment from their professional lives and get awareness about themselves and their hidden abilities which is a source of satisfaction. Workplace is an important aspect of human social life which is never be separated from material satisfaction of an individual. Previous research (Bakker & Demerouti, 2008; Gebauer & Lowman, 2008) also claims that the individuals which are highly involved and dedicated with their professional lives are the most satisfied and happy in their lives as a whole. These people excel in their personal and professional lives because they are satisfied with their careers (Judge et al., 1999). This satisfaction with careers is linked with their personal preferences and interests in which main indicators are salary, job security and career accomplishments are key contributors (Gattiker & Larwood, 1988). In short, the individuals who are happy at their workplaces are more active, approach oriented, energetic, interested in their work, sympathetic to their colleagues, and persistent in the face of difficulties compared to unhappy employees (Cropanzano & Wright, 1999; Lyubomirski, 2001; Seligman, 2002). Individuals spend most of their daily time at their respective workplaces, if the workplace environment is pleasant and supportive; it becomes source of satisfaction and also a place of consolation for some of those individuals who have marital disputes. On the other hand, if the physical and social environment of the workplace is not conducive and supportive it makes them dissatisfied.

Second standpoint from a married man and a widow woman is that their workplace is not a source of happiness because it is not their career aspiration. Their view points are presented individually to understand how their workplace is a source of unhappiness for them but they are stick to it because their livelihoods are dependent on it. People who work in the fields of their interest are happier than those who are forced to stick to professions because their livelihood is dependent on it (Porfeli & Mortimer, 2010). The individuals' interests can be concerned with meaning of work (Michaelson, 2011). Some people are undoubtedly happy to pursue professional careers which are consistent with their intellectual abilities (Grady & McCarthy, 2008; Michaelson, Pratt,

Grant, & Dunn, 2014). A married man named Abbas is working in an organization which has very restricted environment. His workplace is not a source of happiness for him because he belongs to traditional culture where he was socialized to give orders. His parents were illiterate and there was no educated person in his family to guide him to choose academic career of his personal interests. He learned from his peer group about potential professions available in job market and he chose that career in which the probability of getting job was higher. When he actually started working, he realized that the career he chose is only the source of earning and cannot provide him aspiration to excel in his career. In multicultural societies, the caste of an individual is not as important as its achieved status because organizational structure decides the hierarchy of employees. The nature of work settings demands to behave politically and diplomatically according to situation which is not his nature. He is simple and straight forward person and gets irritated from the people's words and actions which are entirely different from each other.

My workplace is the hard part of my life because I chose the profession not of my interest. I belong to high caste and it has become the part and parcel of my personality that I feel discomfort able to obey the orders of my bosses who belong to lower castes (Abbas, Married Life History).

He performs his duties sincerely and devotedly but it is the culture of public sector organizations that senior suspects the sincerity of the juniors which makes him unhappy. The people on upper hierarchy give importance to those who are loyal to them but not to work. He thinks he is misfit in this job but he has to do this job for the livelihood of his family. He never has any issue at home which doesn't affect his workplace performance. He is a social person and feels uneasiness in restricted workplace environment which causes frustration. However, a widow woman named Salma was forcefully attached with the profession of housekeeping after love marriage even having Hons degree in Science. Throughout her life, she used to hide her profession from her father and sisters. She also convinced her kids not to tell anybody in her family that their mother works as a maid. She spent fourteen years of her married life in an unbearable situation because his husband didn't trust him. She narrates her experiences as;

My workplace was never a source of happiness for me and I felt below human level. I daily killed my ego and self-esteem to make me agree to go for work for past fourteen years. But after my widowhood, currently I am working in respectable profession and I am feeling immense pleasure (Salma, Widow Semi Structure Interview).

She got married without the consent of her parents and this became life time punishment for her. Her husband never wanted her to do some good job because he was of the view that she might run away with some educated man. She spent fourteen years in that work which was completely unbearable for her but she was bound to do that work for the sake of her kids. These individuals are bound to work for their families but an important aspect of their lives is unhappy.

Thirdly, some of the individuals narrate that their workplace exactly matches with their interest but due to the social environment, unfair practice and lack of reward make them unhappy. They are happy with their professional lives but unhappy due to organizational structure and politics as well as the culture of leg pulling makes them dissatisfied. These individuals have diverse work experiences in different organizations and started their current professional lives with passion but soon lost interest due to favoritism and dishonesty from the senior officials. The excerpts given below present this reality.

I work with honesty and put my full efforts to achieve my goals but I feel unhappy and depress when people are rewarded and promoted for doing nothing (Manzar, Married Semi Structure Interview).

My bosses want to have a cup of coffee with me but I do not accept this. This is the main reason I am waiting for my promotion for last ten years. I am also the victim of workplace harassment (Aima, Married Semi Structured Interview).

The realities of workplace are different for a man and a woman even both are unhappy at their workplaces but a woman is exploited and undermined due to her gender. It is also a matter of great courage for a married woman from east to share the experiences of harassment. The narrative of a divorced man is unique in a way that he

is a religious scholar and unveils those realities of religious realm which are not visible in an everyday life. He shares his lived reality in these words.

I am satisfied with my profession as a religious scholar but I am not satisfied with the social environment in which I have to operate. (Ishfaq, Divorced Semi Structured Interview)

He elaborates that being in religious field; a religious preacher is considered as distinguished scholar if he demands much money. He demands nominal amount for his religious talks but people think that he is not knowledgeable scholar which makes him unhappy. In this materialistic society, everything is weighted against money even the religious and divine teachings are required huge amount of money for its authenticity. People call those scholars in religious gatherings who charge larger amounts for their speeches. He believes that to get heavy amounts for religious talks is not ethically and morally legitimate which makes him unhappy. The accounts of individuals depict that they enjoy their workplace activities but due to negative role of workplace management make them unhappy (Siegall & McDonald, 2004; Tadić et al., 2013). They are happy with their work because they feel they are involved in meaningful activities (Cleavenger & Munyon, 2013; Dimitrov, 2012; MacMillan, 2009; Vasconcelos, 2008) but lack of reward and injustice practices make them unhappy.

Lastly, some of the individuals claim that the setting of their workplaces is favorable but their personal and marital life problems add unhappiness and they are not successful in their professional lives. These individuals belong to divorced, remarried, and separated categories and the women are harder hit than men by their marital failures in all aspects of lives in which workplace is an important part of their life. A divorced woman describes her feelings about workplace and happiness in these words;

My workplace is a source of happiness and I don't face any professional politic and leg pulling. The environment of my workplace is very supportive but I am not successful because a satisfied life is successful life for me. My feeling of dissatisfaction about my professional development is not related with my workplace but it is more personal or individual in nature (Ayeza, Divorced Semi Structured Interview).

She is very eager to excel in her professional career but she can't focus on her career due to her personal life problems. Being a single mother, she has to put extra efforts to excel in her professional life but she can't leave her house for long period of time for her official commitments which is a barrier in her career growth and development. Although office provides her supportive setting but due to the sole responsibility of her son reduces her pace to outshine in career at workplace. It is commonly observed and is evident from the above quote that social support system is mostly not available for working women especially single mothers to overcome difficult situations. The narratives of two remarried women are unique because their husbands have a complete social and economic control on their professional lives.

I am not allowed to use my income independently and is snatched by my husband. This makes me completely dissatisfied (Nazia, Remarried Life History).

My workplace is supportive and I have created a friendly environment to make this place my source of satisfaction because my livelihood is dependent on it. I feel miserable because my husband is deputed at same place and he has conflicts with my boss which make things unbearable for me. He is also doing my character assassination and tries to control my professional activities but I am passing this stressed period with patience and tolerance (Annie, Remarried Life History).

These women are completely disappointed and unhappy at their workplaces because of their marital life issues and are not enjoying their workplaces because they are bounded to handover her fruits of hard work to those who have no part in it. The narrative of a remarried man is worth mentioning here because his ex-wife made his life miserable at his workplace and he shares;

After having dispute with my first wife, she tried her best to destroy my professional career. During our separation, she called my bosses and blamed me that I gave financial loss to my workplace. I faced multiple inquires which made me frustrated and short temper (Rizwan, Remarried Life History).

His colleagues mostly took advantage of his fuming nature and brought him to the limit where he exploded and then complained to bosses to degrade him in front of

high officials which became hindrance in pace of his professional achievements. His first wife wrecked his image with the help of his colleagues and also shared their marital life issues at his workplace which made him victim of social stigmatization and humiliation.

The narratives of the individuals participated in this research depict that most of the individuals are pleased with their jobs and are growing economically as well as professionally at their workplaces. The findings of the research also show that fourteen men and thirteen women out of fourteen informants are happy at their workplaces but their personal aspirations may be different. Two informants a man and a woman claim that their job is not a source of happiness for them because it doesn't match with their personal interests and only their livelihood is attached with it. However, four men and a woman state that they are passionate about their professional lives but the unsupportive social environment, lack of justice and reward are the root causes of unhappiness at their workplace. While five women and a man assert that their personal and marital life problems add unhappiness and dissatisfaction in their professional work at their workplaces. It is very important for organizational structure to maintain happiness and satisfaction at workplace which ultimately increases their productivity (Quick & Quick, 2004). The current research founds that happy employees are more productive at their workplaces and are also satisfied with their personal lives. On the contrary, unhappiness at workplace and in personal lives reduces workplace performance (same results in Aydin, 2012; Fereidouni, Najdi, & Amiri, 2013; Quick & Quick, 2004; Rego & Cunha, 2008).

In married group, more women are satisfied than men with professional life at their workplaces. It is found from the narratives of married informants that four out of eight informants are happy at their workplaces. While, three men and a woman are unhappy due to injustice and favoritism at their workplaces. In divorced group, equal number of men and women are satisfied with their careers. It is observed from the findings of research study that six out of eight divorced informants are happy and satisfied with their professional lives. However, one divorced man is unhappy due to the social situation of his professional life and a divorced woman is unhappy due to her marital failure. In remarried group, more men than women are pleased with professional

careers at their workplaces. It is observed from the findings that three remarried men and two women are satisfied at their workplaces. While, two remarried women and a man are unhappy at workplace due to their family issues. In separated group, more men are pleased with their jobs at their workplaces than women. All separated men are satisfied and happy at their workplaces however, two separated women are happy with their workplaces and two separated women are unhappy due to their marital problems. In widow group, equal number of men and women are happy at their workplaces. It is observed from the findings that a widower is disappointed due to lack of reward at his workplace and a widow is unhappy due to gap between her interest and profession.

The current research study highlights that there is a strong relationship between person's satisfaction from monetary benefits through workplace and life satisfaction (Caporale, Georgellis, Tsitsianis & Yin, 2009). The reason behind this satisfaction is revealed by most of the informants that higher income helps men to maintain their patriarchal bread earner authority while it empowers women to earn freedom and confidence to live alone lives and leave unhappy relationships (Binswanger, 2006; Frey & Stutzer, 2002; Paul & Guilbert, 2013; Schnittker, 2008). On the other hand, individuals who have problems in their personal lives may not fully concentrate on work at their workplaces and are mostly unhappy (Georgellis, Lange, & Tabvuma, 2012).

Generally, the narratives of men informants depict that they are distinct defined as bread earners but women at the same time are equally or more earning than men are considered certified housewives and have to perform all traditional roles defined for them by their context. Men face pressure in their professional life due to competition and working environment however, women face dual pressure of workplace and household management. Men are socialized under patriarchal notions and show less egalitarian gendered beliefs in their marriages having professional wives (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). Women also reveal that they feel overburdened with work and family responsibilities which make them unhappy (Tripathi & Bhattacharjee, 2012). However, Donohue and Heywood (2004) found no gender job satisfaction gap for men and women workers, in fact female satisfaction levels are similar to their male counterparts and same findings are stated by the informants participated in the current research

study. Sloane and Williams (2000) confirm higher levels of job satisfaction for females compared to males, despite getting low salaries. The reason revealed by the women participants of this research is that they have an utmost feeling of independence and freedom at their workplaces.

The life stories of most of the divorced, separated and widow women of current research depict that marriage was a barrier in their career advancement (Kabasakal & Bodur, 2002) because of adherence to cultural practices and norms but men informants disclose that marriage was not a hurdle in their career development and are unhappy on their marriage failures. Whereas these women also found marriage breakup as a turning point in their lives to achieve economic independence to leave unhappy marriage (Smock 2004). Individuals' happiness varies in different cultural contexts in which workplace is an important aspect of their lives. Happy people bring their happiness from the office to their home; likewise, they also transfer their happiness from their home to the office (Asiyabi & Mirabi, 2012). Workplace is the hard part of those informants' life who are not satisfied with their professions but it is a soft part of those informants who are getting career aspirations and satisfaction from their workplace.

6.3. Friends and Happiness: A Dilemma

Friends are an important part of any individuals' life because friendship rests on the mutual care, trust, support and cooperation. Friends sometimes become more helpful in the time of need as compared to siblings. Friends are not our blood relatives but they are secrets keepers of our lives and we can freely share all problems of our lives with them like any mishaps, funny stories, happy moments as well as everything about life. Majority of informants are convinced that friendship is such a relationship which is built on unconditional love and care without any expectation. They are good source of enjoyment and fun because when friends are together, they make everything entertaining. They motivate to experience new ventures which is difficult for an individual to even imagine alone. Friends are equally important at every stage of life to live life with fullest. The childhood friendship is pure and source of happiness which is only based on the belief of sharing and caring. Individuals may come across with problems in their teenage when they feel difficult to share those problems with their

parents and family members but it is very encouraging to discuss with friends because the level of intimacy and frankness is very high as well as feeling of shame is not attached with it. When they start their practical lives and indulge in multiple activities of life including family, kids, job and competition at many levels which make them suffer from mentally and physically. In this situation, friends always come forward with positive energies to handle emotional and mental turmoil. During old age, when individuals have completed all their social responsibilities such as building own house, education and marriage of kids etc., they are left alone. During this time, friends become source of satisfaction and make them alive as well as active.

Individuals participated in the current research narrate that marriage is such an institution which opens new doors of relationships and changes the priorities of individuals towards family life, kids, spousal relationships in which the social circle of individual is compromised. It is apparent from previous literature (Gameiro et al., 2010; Kalmijn, 2012) and also reported by the participants of the current research that life of individuals become entirely changed after entering in marriage institution and parenthood starts in their lives. They have less time for their personal interests, leisure and interaction with their respective social circle. Both men and women claimed that after marriage and kids they start playing their traditional gender roles; women spend more time at house for rearing and caring of children along with managing household chores, while men are involved to generate economic surplus to meet the needs of their married life responsibilities. They have less time to socialize with friends as compared to in their unmarried life (Claxton & Perry-Jenkins, 2008). Men start complaining that they have less time for their kids due to burdens of economic responsibilities and women complain about lack of personal time (Fox, 2009; LaRossa & Sinha, 2006; Schadler, 2013). However previous research (Stauber, 2011) also indicates to the lack of qualitative research about change in social life activities of both men and women after marriage and parenthood. The individuals having different marital statuses argue that friendship is a social relationship developed in the course of an individual's life and work as an emotional binding force among people (González et al., 2010) and gives individuals a pace of free expression and happiness (Froneman, 2014). They also say that they have more friends in unmarried status but after marriage they prefer to stay at

home and have less time for friends (Gillespie et al., 2014; Leibler & Sandefur, 2002). In nutshell, their narratives indicate that friendship, happiness and interaction with social circles are highly gendered and contextual (Stacey, 2011).

The social context also determines the nature and acceptance of friendship specifically for women after marriage. It is very important for them to get spousal approval to keep in touch with pervious social circle. However, it is a common observation and also stated by the informants of this research that both men and women sometimes dislike the social circles of their spouses and it may create conflict and tension between husband and wife. The traditional context restricts a woman to focus her role as a wife, a daughter in law and a mother in marriage and limits her social activities in her social circle as compared to a man. This section describes the accounts of informants having multiple marital statuses regarding their social life, interaction with friends and community. This theme is based on discussion that marriage is an important responsibility and demands complete commitment and devotion from couple to make their marriage successful. However, after marital dissolution how nature of friendship is changed and its relation with their construction of happiness. The narratives of individuals indicate four viewpoints about the construction of their happiness with relation to friendship and interaction with social circles. Individuals have childhood friends, friends at workplace and friends of their academic journey. The striking gendered view observed from the accounts of individuals is that men are allowed to move freely in public spaces and make friends but women are not allowed to make friends and need a permission from family to meet their friends. However, it is also worth mentioning that married individuals without kids are less burdened and they have time to enjoy social circle activities but it is also true that childless status also poses many social stresses which may forbid an individual to freely socialize in his/her public orientation. Informants miss the genuineness and loyalty of friends due to economic as well as social competitions.

Firstly, most of the individuals report that friends are an important source of happiness in their lives but they have less time to interact with them due to their personal life responsibilities and busy life schedules. Women claim that due to household management and professional commitments, it is difficult for them to be the part of

their social circle activities. These women claim that they enjoyed their friends' company before marriage. The excerpts of two women depict this reality.

I had only one friend which is still my best friend. I enjoyed my university time with her and I even spent nights on her house. It was the happy time of my life. But now I have to manage alone all household responsibilities along with my workplace activities. I seriously lack time for myself and my friends (Saiqa, Married Life History).

I feel happy to meet with old friends but everybody is so busy in his life that it becomes difficult to socialize with friends (Fatima, Remarried Semi Structured Interview).

Women participated in current research having different marital statuses claim that all household responsibilities are their domain which prevent them from meeting their friends. A widow woman living with her only son is struggling a lot to achieve many milestones in life. She shares that she has a complete friendship with her son but in her childhood, she had a huge communication gap with her parents. She was brought up in a very restricted environment and was never allowed to make friends. The narrative of a widow shows the realities of single motherhood and its responsibilities.

I have left my entire social circle for my son. I never go out with my friends and give my whole time to my son (Saima, Widow Life History).

However, men informants also complain that the lack of time due to their professional and family commitments hinder their participation in friends' gatherings. The narratives of two men are presented here as an example.

Whenever, I come home for one or two days from my religious preaches my whole time is for my family. Even my friends complain that I don't give them time but it is beyond my control. (Ishfaq, Divorce Semi Structure Interview)

I feel happy with my friends' circle but after having kids it has become difficult for me to manage time for community (Yaqub, Remarried Semi Structure Interview).

They try to spend quality time with their friends but due to traveling for professional commitments and kids' responsibilities, they have no time for friends. The bread earner role of men also put multiple barriers in the way to happiness because they

have to manage the finances of large families. These individuals are mostly busy in his professional as well as marital life responsibilities and hardly get time to meet and interact with friends to get positive energy to move forward in life that is full of boring activities and stress. They become so tired after completing their professional duty and family chores and they prefer to stay at home. They have a big social circle but the availability of time is the main concern. In this technological era everybody is connected with each other through social media but actually face to face interaction provides happiness and satisfaction. The life stories of these individuals depict that they feel immense pleasure whenever they meet their childhood friends and community.

The narratives of informants irrespective of their gender depict that friends are an important source of satisfaction and happiness in anybody's life but today's global society inculcates multiple competitions at many levels starting from family life to professional careers. This competitive environment has highly burdened married individuals in meeting social standards in their personal and practical fields. It is also true that friends provide leisure and happiness (Amati, 2015) but with kids, people feel hard to maintain their social circles (Wrzus et al., 2013). People start making new friends and social circles around their family (Kalmijn, 2012; Rözer, Mollenhorst & Poortman, 2016). Women in most cases maintain and sustain their social contact on the behalf of their husbands (Nelson et al., 2014). The consequences of marriage and having kids differently affect the lives of men and women. After kids' women are demanded to give more time at home for child care and men to spend more time at workplace to generate more income (Cherlin, 2010; Cotter et al., 2011). Whereas recent research also shows that the variation in life patterns are not much changed for men and women due to greater equality in gender roles (Kalmijn, 2012).

Secondly, some of the individuals mostly men state that friends are an important source of happiness for them and they are regularly taking time out of their busy life schedules to meet them. There is a huge gender difference in this view point because only one woman claims that she regularly meets her friends to get satisfaction. While men informants state that they have more liberty to meet their friends and the diverse social and professional life gives them freedom to meet many people and make friends which are the source of their happiness.

I feel happy to meet my friends and my wife never infringes my personal freedom. She gives me space to continue social circle activities with my friends. (Manzar, Married Semi Structure Interview)

These men also arrange get to gathers and recreation trips on holidays to enjoy the leisure time. Their social gatherings are male-oriented which are based on discussions related to professional domains and material assets. They also believe that a person is very fortunate who has sincere friends because friends are the source of social and moral support during hard times in the life of individual. The quotation given below states this reality that friends are only source of a satisfaction for a man in his single status.

I was fond of traveling and I visited many places in abroad. Now, I have few friends and I feel happy while interacting with them. My ultimate satisfaction is spending time with my friends and they are key source of my happiness (Altaf, Divorce Life History).

The narratives of all these men depict that they are free to move in their social circles but change in context and professional life commitments are main hurdles in their participation in social life activities. So, the narratives below depict that men mostly make friends at their workplaces for easy access to participate in various social activities.

I have a very good friend at my workplace; he helps me to overcome my weakness and I feel positive change in my life (Asif, Separated Life History).

I had lot of friends in my childhood but due to nature of job I more interact with my professional community (Ijaz, Widow Semi Structured Interview).

These individuals have friendships at their workplace and also want to spend more time out of house due to their marital issues and to avoid the pressure of family to reconcile with wives or remarry. At the same time, life experiences of a widow woman are unique in a way who manages her single parenthood responsibilities along with regularly meeting with her friends to stay positive and happy. She has a huge friends' circle throughout her life and has the main essence of her life. She spent a childhood with large number of friends and lived her life full of festivity. She spent

whole unmarried and married life in gathering with lot of friends. Initially, his husband didn't want her friendship with boys but after marriage both of them started sharing huge social circle and they spent life full of recreation and enjoyment with their friends. She shares that the time in abroad was the happiest time of her life. They had so many friends who were always ready to explore different places and the moment weekend came they went to other cities to spend leisure time for their delight. She enjoyed at home with family members and amused outside home with community and friends.

The element of happiness is there due to the supportive environment. I feel that's why I could be able to do lots of struggle in my life. My family has a strong social background and I have a huge social and friends circle. It helped me to combat with difficulties and I could survive (Zartaj, Widow Life History).

She feels herself extremely happy person to have very good family and friends. Positivity is essence of her life. She daily spent two hours on social media to interact with her friends to make her satisfied and happy. She had many good friends who supported her in difficult times of he life. This particular narrative of a widow shows that the strong parental economic and social support makes her weekend mother of her kids and she fully involves in building her professional career along with socializing with friends. The accounts of these individuals show that men are free to interact with their social circles and friends to pass time. They have an urge to find lifetime friend through marriage. Socializing with social circles is blurred during married life but (Hruschka, 2010; Smith et al., 2015) when marriage dissolve through separation, divorce and death of a spouse may give space to interact with friends but due to gap of interaction with friends during married life leave people alone in their lives and in patriarchal structures specifically women are more restricted to be within house. However, people make efforts to renegotiate with their friends' circle to get satisfaction and happiness (Carr et al., 2006; Hoonaard, 2010).

Thirdly, some of the informants claim that friends are source of happiness but their marital issues and their marital statuses like divorced, separated, remarried and widow make it difficult for them to interact with their friends. There is a huge gender

difference that only a married man due to his childless status feels uneasy to meet his friends. The life experiences of this married man are presented here as an example.

Community and friends are not source of happiness except few friends because I can't face them due to my childless status (Siraaj, Married Life History).

He had a huge social circle before marriage which was a source of happiness but after marriage, when he was not blessed with kids, he left the friends circle due to social embarrassment, disgrace and their pressure for remarriage. However, the account of a married woman about friends is same as married man. A married woman spent her life with masculine traits and never fit into female social circle but has more male than female friends. She didn't disclose this fact in her family and friends except her mother and brother that she is the second wife of her husband. It is not socially acceptable because wherever she will disclose it in her friends' circle, they will blame her that she has snatched the right of her husband's first wife.

I want to have few people around me with whom I can discuss my things and they don't manipulate my situations. I want some real friends. My mother and brother are my friends and I visit them on every alternative day (Aima, Married Semi Structure Interview).

She argues with pain that his husband was one of her good friends and she used to go with him on lunches and dinners before marriage. But to her sheer surprise, he became a complete stranger and he stopped her to socialize with friends' circle. It is apparent from literature (Ghisleni, 2012) that social interactions with friends are not consensual but conflicting as well.

The accounts of women show that their the marital life issues and death of spouse indulge them to manage economic resources for the survival of kids and have no time to socialize with friends. Almost all women informants are working, have kids and they are restricted to limit their activities at workplaces but are not allowed to freely involve in social activities. Parenthood specifically single parenthood forces individuals to put more time and energy in socialization of children which results in less time for themselves and reduces their socializing outside home with friends and social circles

(Dykstra & Poortman, 2010; Song, 2012). Divorce, separation or loss of spouse actually puts many responsibilities on either gender to generate economic resources as well as in most of the cases to complete their education which was left uncompleted due to marriage (Liefbroer & Billari, 2010; Klesment & Van Bavel, 2017). They have seen harder time of their life particularly in personal development and life experiences (Guedes & Canavarro, 2016; Mills et al., 2011). The narrative of a divorced woman is worth mentioning here who shares that once she called one of her university fellows and when she came to know about her divorced status, she stopped interacting with her. The excerpts of two divorced women are given below to show this reality.

I don't have any friend and lack friendship or friends in my life. If I may have some friends, I don't feel so alone which I feel most of the time (Ayeza, Divorced Semi Structure Interview).

I have few friends but have not much intimacy with them. I spend most of time at workplace and with my kids (Huma, Divorced Life History).

These women want social support from social circle in coping with their loneliness and mental stress. Friends are the potential source in the time of need but the strength of friendships becomes weak after marriage due to the demands of personal lives. It is also a hard reality of life that due to multiple responsibilities of life; people fail to remain in contact with their friends and this experience becomes more severe in the case of crisis such as single parenthood because difference in context and social activities (Van Der Horst & Coffè, 2012; Smith et al., 2014). A remarried woman enjoys roaming around in her family and neighborhood but her mobility is restricted by her third husband. She was loved child of her parents and was allowed to have friends in her native area. She is currently running vocational training center at her home and number of women and girls come daily for different courses but his husband has strict surveillance on her not to share her family issues with them. She admits that she has habit of sharing her marital life issues with women for her catharsis which becomes the matter of anger for her husband. She shares;

I am deprived of to meet my friends. I miss old days when we sit together, laugh and gossip so much. Now I am not allowed to interact with women even in my vicinity (Nazia, Remarried Life History).

It is also shared by informants during interviews that they feel misfit in their social circles due to divorced and remarried status as well as their friends' community who are struggling with their own difficulties of life are not always welcoming to listen their issues. Everybody wants to be part of social gatherings with an intention to get relaxation from societal burdens but never wants to be part of those discussions which affect their mental health and make them stress. It is observed from the accounts of individuals that social circles of divorced, remarried and separated individuals get disturbed because friends start avoiding those individuals who are tabooed with the title of divorce in these cases individuals prefer to remarry, because in (Mullatti, 1995; Wang & Zhou, 2010) traditional societies specifically female social status is attached with father before marriage and with husband after marriage.

However, remarriage after divorce also introduces new demands to meet the needs of new family with step children which lessen their chances to interact in their social circles (Hines, 1997; Sweeney, 2010). Both husband and wife suffer from emotional tensions but women's lives are drastically changed (Huang, 2012; Sonawat, 2001). Marriage is a multifaceted experience in traditional social context which discourages social activities and compels individuals to focus on family life. It is also revealed by women informants that they deliberately limit their own social activities with the fear of being stigmatized. They are also not allowed by male members to socialize and share marital life issues with friends. The excerpts of two women unveil the realities of life.

I have few friends in my college and my home matters forced me to not stay in touch with my friends after my marriage. So, I stopped interacting with my friends (Rania, Separated Life History).

I don't feel good when my father gets angry with me to chat with my friends and to ask permission to meet them. I feel utmost feeling of disgrace (Hina, Separated Semi Structured Interview).

It is a common practice in east that the women are confined to perform their activities inside house especially after marriage because it is widely accepted that early years of marriage are very important to develop long lasting marital relationships. Women are held responsible to play their role in making marriage successful by compromising their social activities with their friends and social circles. Marriage in east is such a serious phenomenon which demands women to stop visiting even their parent's house without the permission of husband and to focus more on married lives. Therefore, in these circumstances' friends become the least priority. The important dimension in the institution of marriage is the loving relationship of husband and wife in which couple proudly invites friends at their homes but if there is some problem in married life, they start avoiding their social circle to save them from disgrace of social gaze. However, these women also feel bound and are not allowed to do anything without the permission of male member of the family. The male members of their families are of view that easy access to friends and social circles makes them empowered to demand divorce or remarriage. These women also narrate that it is demanded from them in status of divorced, separated or widow to live in the situation of woe (soag); they are not allowed to enjoy life with their friends and their activities are limited in their respective social circles. They are already unhappy with their lives and may get some positive energy while interacting with friends but are not allowed to break defined social norms for particular marital status. Women are pressurized to stay in marriage and keep it continue in any case. Women having young age with no professional and academic careers are trapped by culture and family to keep their marriages intact at cost of their own happiness.

The narratives of separated individuals highlight that they intentionally plan their social life activities in such a way that should not harm their already distributed married life. Their activities are mostly confined within close family members and they avoid their social circle due to the stigma of separation attached with their married lives. Nelson (1981) argues that women are emotionally hard hit by separation and divorce. The void created between spouses due to separation is lessen with social interaction and social support of friends and family. Whereas literature also shows that women are under severe surveillance and get more social support than men in traditional cultures

due to patriarchal notions of being weaker sex (Smerglia et al., 1999). However, people living in separation are also faced strong disapproval and harsh judgments in their social circles (Gottlieb, 2000; Kuan, 2015). They are living consciously limited lives with the fact that their free interaction and mobility in their respective social circles may convey awful message and develop misunderstanding with their spouses which may lead to divorce. In this whole social situation, women are under strong surveillance of their parental family and are living more confined life. The normative order of the society strongly hit women as compared to men.

Lastly, a unique viewpoint is narrated by women informants that they are not allowed to make friends due to strict gendered socialization. The narratives of these two women are separately offered here to understand how gendered identities construct happiness in the realm of friendship. A foreign qualified hard-core professional woman who had travelled lot of countries for her professional commitments expresses a different account about her friends and way of socializing with community. She had one friend before her marriage and when she came to meet her, she felt so uncomfortable in sitting with her alone because they had nothing to share in private. She states her childhood socialization in these words;

My father never allowed me to make friends and I feel this is something missing in my life. I was not allowed to visit my class fellow's house and school functions. I never attended any marriage ceremony in my family except my siblings. So, now if I have to attend any marriage ceremony or funeral, I don't know how to behave there (Nadia, Married Semi Structured Interview).

Whenever she interacted with her social circle after marriage, she felt herself misfit in discussions because she was childless and, in our society, particularly married women talk about their kids and their socialization. She shares that after greetings, she had nothing to talk and she was tagged as anti-social but the moment she adopted kids, she became alive and social. This is an important aspect of traditional context that girls are not trained to make friends with intention that they may not become social and outgoing. They are socialized to remain at home and their role is limited within house. This role also prolongs through later stages and after marriage whenever they get

opportunity to interact with their fellow women, their discussions are central with their roles as mother and wife.

Another widow spent her whole life in restricted environment who was not allowed to visit her relatives' houses and she got married at the age of fourteen years old. She completely observed *pardah (veil)* from her very early age and completed her studies through distance learning after marriage because she was childless and her husband wanted to keep her busy.

I am not allowed to make friends. I am only allowed to socialize with relatives and neighbor women in restricted environment (Palwasha, Widow Semi Structured Interview).

Currently, she prefers to stay at home and only visits her close relatives' home to meet sick peoples of her family and attends marriage as well as funeral ceremonies. She passes most of his time in teaching religious study to kids of his vicinity. Gendered socialization prepares individuals to spend pre-determined lives in pre-defined roles. Women mostly confine themselves within home and keep busy in professional activities and do not interact freely with community to save them from bad reputation and tiled as noble women (Blythe et al., 2014; Li, 2009; Sonawat, 2001). Lives of women are mostly revolving around their prime role as housewives and focus on husband and children. Therefore, they are left with less time for their social circles and friends.

The narratives of the individuals participated in this research depict that most of the men have freedom and ample time to socialize with their social circles and friends but women have less time and are confined to perform their primary role of care givers at home. The findings of the research show that sixteen out of forty informants claim that friends are an important source of happiness for them but family and professional responsibilities stop them to meet them regularly. While twelve out of forty informants state that they regularly meet their friend to get positive energies and satisfaction. Whereas, ten informants tell that friends are source of happiness but their marital and family issues stop them to meet with their friends. However, two women informants argue that gendered socialization never allow them to make friends.

The findings of the research show that individuals who discuss their life matters outside family and spouse may come across with issues in their marital lives. Social context directs individuals to give priority to married lives and spousal involvement in all life matters. Marriage is a twenty-four hours job specifically for women because men are more operative in public sphere of society where they are involved in more open interaction in multiple social circles. They have more chances and opportunities available to mingle with their old and new friends but after marriage and having kids; it becomes difficult to take time for meeting friends. In married group, both men and women have less time to meet their friends however, a married man and woman do not meet friends due to their married life issues. Whereas, a married woman has no friends due to her childhood socialization. Marriage in east has a priority over friendship and socializing of individuals in diverse social circles of social life. Friendship is associated with happiness but it is stronger in individualistic culture as compared to collectivists societies (Apicella et al., 2012; Hruschka, 2010; Lewis et al., 2015; Li & Cheng, 2015).

In divorced group more men than women have freedom to enjoy their time with friends but women due to their divorced status do not interact with friends. The narratives of divorce informants reveal that the men are involved in their professional commitments and have less time to socialize outside home but their mobility is not restricted being divorced. Women are confined and limited to perform social activities in their social circles and are compelled by power structure to focus on their feminine role within house. Friendship is more likely to disrupt in case of divorce and widow (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2010). However, Lopata (1996) and Blieszner (2006) widow women feel happy in interacting with friends. But forced isolation in widowhood leads to unhappiness (Fields & Casper, 2000; McAuley et al., 2007; Stolzenberg & Waite, 2005). In case of divorce women, they confine within household to save themselves and their kids from stigmatization (DePaulo, 2006; Nock, 2005; Trimmerger, 2006) but divorced men enjoy more liberation in singlehood because they don't have any household responsibilities because kids are mostly with their mothers in case of divorce and have more time to pass with their friends (Gerstel & Clawson, 2014; Moen & Sweet, 2006; Townsend, 2002).

In remarried group, both men and women have less time to meet friends but women are confined by their partners to focus on their role as wives to make their current marriage successful. Remarried individuals have indispensable ties with the previous marriage in the form of kids and there are large gender differences present in social interactions. Whereas, both men and women fully focus on their remarried lives and interact with new social circles formed after remarriage (Berntsen & Kravdal, 2012; Chen & Li, 2014; Hu, 2016a). Therefore, their social circle gets narrow down and they limit themselves within family life. One reason of this limited social interaction rests on the experiences of individuals having lack of trust on friends because some of them have been cheated by their friends. On the other hand, individuals share their materialistic approach towards friendship for getting financial benefits. Most of the individuals argued that in this fast era it has become difficult to take time out from their busy schedules to meet friends other than their workplaces. Therefore, people use to socialize with likeminded people at their workplaces to save time as well as money with an objective to get some relaxation and recreation.

In separated group more men than women have freedom to enjoy their time with friends but women due to separation from spouse lack interaction with friends and are confined to stay at home. Separation in married life is a complex phenomenon in a sense that couple is living without each other but bound to all marital life responsibilities being husband and wife. These individuals lack communication and trust which can be further agitated by any third person to end their relationships. However, people living in separation are also faced strong dissatisfaction and disgraceful judgments in their social circles (Kuan, 2015). Women restrict themselves within home and keep busy in their professional activities and do not interact with male relatives and male colleagues to save their reputation and stigmatization of other woman as men snatchers (Blythe et al., 2014; Li, 2009). In case of separation, women confine themselves within household to save themselves and their kids from stigmatization (Nock, 2005; Trimberger, 2006) but separated men enjoy more liberation in singlehood because they don't have any household responsibilities and have more time to pass with their friends (Gerstel & Clawson, 2014; Townsend, 2002).

In widow group, all men enjoy their social circles freely but women are restricted to meet the needs of single parenthood and also not allowed to interact with friends. The narratives of widow individuals show that widowhood is a constant state of grief and loss of an important relationship. The picture of complete family disturbs with the reality of death and the whole family responsibilities come on the shoulder of a single individual. The woman mobility is restricted and it becomes more difficult for widow women to socialize in their social circles due to their single status and having diverse responsibilities. The loss of spouse more strongly hits to childless individuals because their life becomes completely purposeless and they prefer to stay alone without having any interaction with their friends. The interviews of widow informants having kids reveal that the death of spouse hits them with many social and economic responsibilities but their kids are the only hope to move forward positively in life and they socialize with their social circles for the sake of their children. Men remarry quickly to retain place in their social circles because they are not much welcomed in their family functions due to their single status but (Bennett, 2010a; Bennett et al., 2013; Stroebe et al., 2007) women are counseled to maintain their widowhood pious.

Most of the informants participated in the current research are migrated from rural to urban areas for the sake of education and job. The dilemma of these individuals is that they belong to two contrasting social contexts in which it becomes difficult for them to locate their social identity. They continuously try to find out the purity and originality of friendship of their previous context in which friendship is based on sincerity and loyalty. But in the present context, anonymity is present among individuals having face to face interaction on daily basis but they are lost in the crowd having no feeling of intimacy in their social circles. They mostly interact with their social gathering to develop social contacts for achieving social and economic benefits. In this situation, they are not actually enjoying their social company but this is the extension of specialization of tasks in various domains of life. These individuals take time out from their busy schedules with an intention to get relaxation but come back unhappy with the heavy burdens of competition. Nobody can deny the importance of friends because they make life more enjoyable and provide fun and laughter. It is extremely fun making to go on party, gossip with them for long time, watching movies,

shopping and involve in crazy activities. Friends provide support, care and encouragement. Friends are considered as best support mechanism and individuals feel comfortable in sharing their personal as well as professional life problems with them.

6.4. Ideal Life: Missing Dots of Happiness

Life is unpredictable and uncertain for everyone. Happiness is a phenomenon which is hard to define and there is a constant battle between heart and mind. The definition and interpretation of happiness varies from individual to individual. The concept of idealism is relative and individuals strive hard to achieve idealism. It is also very important to comprehend that an individual spends different stages of life from birth to death. Each stage of human life is situated in different social context which demands differential social identity and its happiness is dependent on that very context. The findings of the research show that an individual's life is limited within the normative order designed by power structure at large and his/her construction and deconstruction of happiness is solely dependent on the fact that how much someone is exactly fit into context. The informants of the current research are completely convinced and agreed that happiness exists in acceptance of normative order and through social recognition of the context. In order to get this social recognition, individuals strive hard to fit in their cultural context and claim that they are happy but having the feeling of something missing and don't live life with its fullest. There are many dimensions of happiness in one's life but these are defined by his/her context in which he/she is operated and is consistent with gender and marital status.

The context of happiness is sometimes same and entirely different for a married individual as compared to divorced, remarried, separated or widowed. However, experiences unveiled by the informants during married life are mostly gendered and based on the assumption that happiness in marriage can only be achieved in pre-defined social roles in which a man dominates and a woman is subordinate. The ways of life of all individuals at different stages are determined by the power structure and rest on the power relations in which people are stratified on domination/subordination relationship. It is hard for everyone at any stage of life to achieve their own version of happiness independent of their context because it is not a private phenomenon but it is persistently

dependent on the social world. These informants also confirm that (Heukamp & Arino, 2011; Kitayama, 2002; Suh, 2002) the feelings and elements of happiness require interdependence on culture and social relationships. Their ways of life are patterned under social and cultural ways of living which are the outcome of life long socialization at different stages of life produce mental images, beliefs and behavioral patterns through which happiness is the product of social world and is related with other people. Happiness is not only the product or the (Inglehart et al., 2008; La Placa et al., 2013) outcome of personal growth and achievements but individual narratives show that their construction of happiness is deeply rooted and embedded in large scale social structures, relationships and socially recognized social actions. Culture is the strongest element in this sense that influences happiness (Diener et al., 2003; Dodge et al., 2012; Hone, Jarden,& Schofield, 2014; Knight et al., 2014; Larkin, 2013; La Placa & Knight, 2017; McNaught, 2011).

This theme concludes the analytical discussion of various socio-cultural discourses which lies at the heart of construction of happiness among individuals and is strongly embedded in their gendered identities and marital statuses. The dialogue process involved throughout this chapter unveils many taken for granted assumption intricated in day to day practices of individuals and hidden in many dominant discourses. This theme has an argument that how individuals analyze their lives as whole to relate their real and ideal versions of life. The individual's narratives depict that most of the men informants want to be either more successful in their professional lives or want to change professions along with marital success but women informants desire to have successful married lives. However, some of the informants also want to have a carefree life without any responsibility of kids as well as never want to marry. Most of the informants are very positive about their lives that their present situation is not the final destination and many good things are yet to come in their lives.

Most of the men informants focus their role as a bread earner and feel burdened with social and economic responsibilities of families. The most powerful indicator of happiness is associated with the subjective feeling of happiness (Veenhoven, 2010). The excerpt given below highlights the difference between real and ideal experiences of life and its relation with the construction of happiness.

If I get a life once again, I shall want to be a soldier and shall marry to my cousin within my family because I shall have to put fewer efforts in making some social adjustments with my in laws (Pervaiz, Separated Life History).

This particular excerpt depicts the unhappiness generated from lack of interest in professional life as well as dissatisfied married life. However, most of the men wish to change their professions and be the part of those careers which seem authoritative in society. The excerpts given below unveil that the men feel gratification and happiness in domination.

I want to become a bureaucrat and marry with an educated but subordinate woman (Shariq, Married Semi Structure Interview).

If I get chance to live life once again, I shall choose police officer as profession to exercise authority. I shall highly educate my kids and want to see them on higher professional status (Akbar, Widow Life History).

These men have spent their whole lives to raise social and economic status of their families and have become the notable personality of the area with constant struggle. Human beings are striving hard to achieve happiness throughout their lives but it is difficult to reach on the conclusion whether they live happy life or not (Gilbert et al., 2012; Salerno, 2010; Veenhoven, 2010). Happiness is natural but it varies from person to person because of its contextual nature (Gilbert, 2010). However, the most important indicator of happiness is marital happiness in the lives of most of the individuals (Veenhoven, 2010) specifically women.

The life experiences of many women having different marital statuses show that they focus on their married lives to spend successful and happy life. A married woman is happy in her life and she feels there is no big variation in terms of happiness before and after marriage. She believes that only marriage and the birth of daughter top off her interpretation of happiness. When she focuses on her role as a mother and a wife, some moments of her life are very happy and some are unhappy because in the cultural context, marriage poses responsibilities and differential identities for both man and

woman that may affect their happiness positively and negatively. The missing elements of her life are;

I never wanted to be a teacher but if I get the chance to adopt teaching as a profession, I shall take educational training for professional teacher to excel more in my professional life. I shall marry four to five years earlier with same husband (Ramsha, Married Life History).

Generally, she is a happy individual who is satisfied on the things available to her and believes on constant hard work to achieve her happiness. She wants to marry earlier because to have two kids at her current age. Most of the women narrate that a happy married life with kids is their ideal life. Marriage becomes stronger with kids and kids are a source of strength for her. They argue that marriage is socially acceptable and recognized through kids and a woman gets a sense of completion after marriage with kids. A married woman expresses her feelings about childhood which was unhappy time because she never felt herself as a child. She highlights some missing elements of her life and shares the ideal version of life in these words.

I want care free life in my 20s. I will make friends and go to market. I want to live life without a responsibility. I learn to be happy on small things. I shall marry in mid 20s and give birth to kids. I want to live a fullest life and my husband will be the same I have right now (Nadia, Married Semi Structured Interview).

She expresses that she wishes to marry in young age and wants to give birth to her own kids. She feels that her marital relationship became cold and feeling of monotonous became high but the moment, she adopted kids both husband and wife became alive and they started communicating with each other with each passing moment of life.

The research highlights that the women even having strong professional life found their happiness in traditional gender roles in the institution of marriage. They claim that a woman should be feminine and should pass her life according to her natural role of the wife and mother. She strongly admits that a woman can only achieve her true happiness in her traditional and natural roles and those who deny to this ultimate

fact of life are the biggest fools of the world but at the same time these women declare that every woman needs love, care and respect from her husband.

A divorced woman after passing many years in traumatic married life still wishes to have a loving companion in remarriage. She shares her ideal life in these words. *I want a very loving and trust worthy life companion (Taniya, Divorced Life History)*. Currently, she spends life with freedom and emancipation but due to the stigma of divorce she wants to remarry. These women want to see their kids growing positively and want to have successful married lives. The narrative of a divorced man shows same feelings towards life. His narrative is presented here as an example.

I wish to have successful married life. I want a home maker woman for marriage and spend happy life with kids (Adnan, Divorced Life History).

People who show deviation from cultural notions of happiness get strong social disapproval (De Leersnyder et al., 2015; Mesquita et al., 2014; Schwartz, 2011) and try to align their personal happiness with dominant cultural values (Fulmer et al., 2010). A remarried woman currently living with her third husband is completely dissatisfied with her life due to social and economic control of her life by her husband. She was happy in her childhood because she was loved by her parents and nobody challenged her authority. She only finds happiness in fulfillment of her material needs.

If I get the chance to live life once again, I shall marry to a rich man who will fulfill all my wants in the blink of an eye (Nazia, Remarried Life History).

She wants to have a marital relationship in which her husband will give him economic and social freedom to live her life according to her own choice. However, a separated man has a different perception about successful marriage and narrates;

If I get life once again, I shall marry with mature and wise girl who can help me in overcoming my weakness and spend ideal marital life without any dispute and regret (Asif, Separated Life History).

Marriage was a fantasy for him before entering into this institution but the moment he got marry, the charm was over and he became unhappy and depress. He was

blessed with two kids which are only source of satisfaction for him. He is spending his life with a hope of reunion with his wife and for a successful future of his kids. The current research also highlights that men want to have a companion in marriage who can understand their problems and provide them emotional support in their lives. While women wish to have a companion, who can provide economic support as well as respect in marriage. The narratives of two women are highly important in this regard.

I shall marry to an educated and economically stable person who can manage responsibilities of married life (Hina, Separated Semi Structure Interview).

I want an educated life companion who will give me trust and respect. I want a responsible man as my husband who knows the meanings of a family. I wish to be a part of a family where I have right of my own life decisions (Farwa, Divorced Semi Structure Interview).

Currently, these women have an immense feeling of loneliness and are facing stigmatization of being separated and divorced. They are living a life with a feeling of insecurity because their father and brothers have a complete decision-making authority in their lives. While a widow gives a different opinion about married life. She spent blessed childhood because she was the youngest child of her parents. Both of her parents met sudden death and she got married immediately with the help of her sister. She had all fantasies about marriage and spent initial two years with her husband but when she became mother the fantasies of her life changed into cruel realities of life. She gives her account about the ideal form of her life in these words;

I shall want the same son but I shall not want the same husband. I shall marry a man three years elder than me and I want a family-oriented husband whose focal point must be wife and kids. I shall marry a man who will love me as a person and will not love the color of my skin. I want a marital relationship in which we both complement each other (Saima, Widow Life History).

After the death of her husband, she spent one year in constant harassment and she decided to break this vicious circle with courage and bravery. She left her in laws house with a very young son and asked help from her brothers and sisters but none of

them were ready to help her and advised her to pass rest of her life quietly at in law's house. Only one of her sisters offered her own house because she was living abroad. She started her life alone with a son and initially it was very hard for her to live in the word of strangers but he never gave up and with constant hard work and great efforts, she became able to achieve her destination.

However, some of the individuals have a desire to spend care free life without any responsibilities and it is related with their construction of happiness. A remarried woman has passed different stages of her life with many responsibilities, violence, harassment and social stigmatization. Her childhood was full of responsibilities being elder daughter but felt happy with the encouragement of her father on her achievements. She is the mother of four grownup kids and she derives her happiness from them. She believes that all the things are not always present in one's life and something is missing.

If I get life once again, I wish to have a relax environment in my life and I shall live a life the way I give environment to my daughter. I don't want to be burdened with household chores and I shall study instead of sharing my mother's responsibilities. I shall become Lady Doctor and shall not choose current profession (Annie, Remarried Life History).

She is unhappy in her married lives but portrays a happily married woman in the eyes of society. She wants to build her own house and marry her kids respectfully. She is also worried for the major surgery of her disabled child but hopeful to see him healthy and physically fit in her life. She is facing her life challenges with determination and is hopeful for the betterment but never gets frustrated because she cannot control the results. A divorced man has a different version of carefree life. He was the happiest in his childhood because his academic life was always source of inspiration and motivation for him. Being the only and the eldest son of the family, he was loved by his single mother but was burdened with multiple responsibilities. He shared his ideal version of life in these words;

If I get life once again, I want to spend carefree life without any responsibility because I am freedom loving person. I want to spend a Rahib (priest) life because my inner

person wants a life free from any social liabilities. (Jo mai sochoon wo karta jaon). I want whatever I think I start doing it (Ishfaq, Divorced Semi Structured Interview).

He describes his life like a walking through a garden full of flowers, water streams and meadows but in that path, he also encounters deserts, no water, no shadows, strong sun rays and hottest sunlight and bears all those things with patience, tolerance and struggles. He wants a complete authority on his life and a life without any struggles. McKnight and Kashdan (2009) argue that purpose in life is a mental process which defines people's personal meanings and goals of life. Purpose in life includes good and meaningful life which must be compatible with the social and cultural context in which an individual is embedded which ultimately brings happiness (Bronk et al., 2009; Wnuk & Marcinkowski, 2012).

The above descriptions depict that most of the informants want to be successful in married and professional lives as well as spend carefree life without responsibilities. Whereas, a divorced woman presents a different interpretation about her ideal life. She was happy in her unmarried life because she was mostly out of house for her academic and professional activities. She never found any emotional and loving attachment with her family members except her father. Therefore, she got a strange feeling of happiness when she was in love with the husband before marriage. It was a fairy tale like feeling for her and she dreamed about living happily forever but realities of life are different from imaginations.

I have regret on my marriage decision. I shall stay single and never pursue PhD degree. I shall become a showbiz model very much glamorize and successful (Ayeza, Divorced Semi Structure Interview).

She doesn't want to be in typical professions like doctors, engineers and teachers etc. She never wants to be the part of women only professions and wants to break gender stereotypical roles but it is the dilemma of her life that she is currently working in Women University in stereotypical role of teacher. She feels frustrated because this profession is considered as suitable for women by society but she has her own standards of life and to fulfill the socio-cultural standards actually makes her dissatisfy and unhappy. She got married at the peak of her professional life, if she did

not quit her job at that time, she may be the head of any reputed international organization in social sector. Her decision to marry destroyed her career that is a life time regret for her (Maine shadi kar k apnay career pay jo laat mari ha). After marriage, she never went back to social sector and teaching is never be her passion. She says if she chooses a profession which is not accepted by society at large, she must feel happy within herself. She wants to break defined societal standards and wants to do something different.

The narrative of a remarried man is very different because his whole life was a true example of oppressions of his identity being a low caste individual. He was very happy in his school life due to his good grades and always stood first in class. He was mostly being beaten by his father due to not working as tenant that developed a feeling of disgrace in him. He was beyond his joy when he got his job. His life was full of charm when he was in love with a girl to whom he wanted to marry.

I wish to born in high caste family of my village and want to be heir of large land from my ancestors. I want to be politician because it is symbol of authority in society (Aurangzeb, Remarried Semi Structure Interview).

He was married with a girl of his parent's choice who belongs to upper middle class but within same caste. He is not blessed with kids for many years in first marriage. He remarried without telling his first wife and family because he has a fear of social disapproval from his in laws. He wants to disclose second marriage when he will be blessed with kids to make his case strong to justify remarriage. His ideal life is still not come and he is hopeful it will come in his life one day. The elements of happy life are relative across people and contexts (Fleche et al., 2011; Howell & Howell, 2008; Jorm & Ryan, 2014).

The narratives of most of individuals irrespective of their gender and marital status reveal that social context is central in all aspects of their lives and they want major changes in their childhood lives, nature of marital relationships, loss of spouse, having kids if not, loyalty and trust in married lives, type of marriage, age gap between spouses, age at marriage, change in personality, change in academic and professional careers. But exceptions are present in all situations of social life, therefore there are

individuals who are contented and satisfied with their different stages of their lives. The missing elements identified by the individuals in any aspect of their lives have some link with the context and a particular individual wants to fill that gap with the best element with the approval of social structure to achieve happiness. However, there is large gap (Clark, 2015; Putnam, 2015) around what people dream about happiness and what actually occur in their lives about happiness at different stages of life. The socio-cultural context place at the heart of happiness debate (Ura et al., 2012) and cannot be defined in true absolute manner because it is a subjective social experience (Musikanski, 2015; Stiglitz et al., 2009). Most of the recent research (Allum et al., 2010; Argyle, 2001; Diener et al., 1999; Dolan et al., 2008; Frey & Stutzer, 2002; Luhman et al., 2013; Lyubomirsky, 2011) shows a strong association between external factors and happiness such as being married rather than divorced, separated and widowed, having job, good social status, academic qualification and age.

The accounts of individuals show that they have some missing elements of happiness at some stages of their lives. These missing elements become the part of their memories and at some moments of their lives may indulge them to re-think and make them dissatisfied. Acceptance to changing social scenario in life is the most crucial element to get long lasting feeling of happiness. After conducting interviews from individuals having diverse cultural and social orientations, it is revealed that all of them are unique and shared magnificent memories of their lives which are embedded in the web of social and cultural embodiments. They are trying hard to extract small moments of happiness from events happened to them and take strengths and opportunities to re-birth in their life journeys. It is also true that all stories are emerged from pain and pleasure but pain is the strongest element in the life of any individual where he/she transforms life which comes through confrontation. But this transformation is essential for growth and way forward towards happiness. In my quest to understand the phenomenon of happiness from individual life paths, I found being the part of strong cultural settings of collectivists society it can only achieve in surrender towards the context in which one is living.

These three chapters present phenomenological interviews and provide a detailed description of individuals' life paths in order to provide a holistic picture about

happiness from the point of view of selected men and women having diverse social identities. In this study, it is explored that different life periods of individuals are interrelated and connected to each other and it is impossible to study marriage as an institution in isolation. I studied emotions, opinions, feelings and experiences of the individuals and presented the data in the words of individuals. This research study is an effort to add in the existing body of knowledge about peoples' lived experiences and offers a unique perspective from Pakistan. It also summarizes various and dominated discourses embedded in multiple domains of diverse social groups. The central phenomenon of inquiry is happiness which is clearly observed from the narratives of individuals. It also highlights that how happiness is fixed in the socio-cultural context of individual gendered lives. This research study provides the eye-opening experiences of men and women having diverse social groups with a constant struggle to construct and reconstruct their gendered experiences of happiness in their everyday life through power negotiations. It is a small attempt at the part of research to fill a small gap in sociological research about happiness which still has a long journey to go in this path.

Chapter No. 7

Discussion, Summary and Conclusion

This chapter offers a detailed discussion on the phenomenon of happiness by combining the empirical findings of phenomenological interviews through discourse analysis with a purpose to relate findings with thesis statements and theoretical frameworks along with summary and conclusion. It examines and explains the major findings in the light of Chapter 2, to connect the findings of current research with pervious literature having sociological lens. This chapter provides the readers a discussion on the narratives of individuals from Pakistan and their gendered lives in relation to happiness within the broader social and cultural context.

7.1. Happiness: A Socio-Cultural Phenomenon

In this research, my aim was to develop a qualitative understanding of phenomenon of happiness by doing discourse analysis with a purpose to unveil those taken for granted assumptions related to gendered experiences of happiness embedded in socio-cultural context. The power of culture is beyond anyone's control and constructs and reconstructs the different ways of social lives for men and women. Previous researches (Diener & Suh, 2000; Pflug, 2009; Uchida et al., 2004) conducted in the field of happiness argue that the power and influence of cultural is beyond control of the experiences of happiness of individuals from diverse nations. They consider culture 'a particular way of life' (Williams 1963, p. 90) and not only one of the fundamental factors shaping happiness but it is a cardinal factor: 'culture can be a major force constructing the conception of happiness and consequently shaping its subjective experiences (Lu & Gilmour 2004, p. 271).

The reality of marriage is based on two different subjective realities, the subjective reality of husband and the subjective reality of wife which do not always overlap. The study found that marriages are dominated by husbands backed with power of religious institution, state and patriarchal authority. The state law and religious doctrines whether written or un-written along with diverse cultural orientations of a Pakistani context defined the marital union have been based on male conceptions, and they have supported male authority. The narratives of individuals show that men are

more satisfied with the marriage institution having complete authority as compared to women. Women are created for men and are commanded to be obedient to their husbands in married lives and fathers and brothers in unmarried lives. The conception of marriage is rested on unchallenged authority of husbands. The structure of families and societies imitates the positions allocated to men and women. The performance on the basis of these allocated positions are directly related with reward and punishment. In this scenario, when women exercise power, they are not rewarded; they are punished. They are called deviant. But on the other hand, when men exert power, they are rewarded. It is found as the natural expression of authority. The prestige of authority goes to the husband whether or not he is actually the one who exercises it. Therefore, there are two marriages in every marital union, his and hers. It is visible from the findings that the idea of marriage in Pakistan is predominantly in favor of 'his' marriage not 'hers'.

This study has taken into consideration that not only gender but wide variety of social identities of an individual are also an important aspect of his/her life in construction of the meaning and experiences of happiness in day to day practices. Conceptualizing gender as an individual identity is inadequate without recognizing institutionalized oppression which produces certain social identities and perpetuates prejudice historically against women. Hence, contemporary feminist discourses acknowledge that gender, both as an individual identity and as a social phenomenon, is the product of an ongoing "interactional process" across many contexts (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009, p. 442). Some feminist sociologists refer to this phenomenon as doing gender or more generally describe it as the socially and culturally constructed meaning people assign to biological characteristics (Catalano & Shlasko, 2010; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The study also claims that gender cannot be studied in isolation from other social identities and have various intersections with other socio-structural conditions. Therefore, I claim that social identity of the research participants is the product of their gender, social location, socialization, class and marital status. In this sense, I chose the concept of intersectionality as a systematic rather than individual focus which not only examine social identities of individuals but also closely look at the structural inequalities present in the institutions of family and marriage based on

intersections of multiple systems of oppressions. The philosophy of happiness is very much grounded in the beliefs of individuals (Koo & Suh, 2007). Therefore, the happiness of an individual is dependent on type of beliefs he/she holds about his/her life. This study inquires as to how individuals define their personal and individual happiness. The accounts of diverse social groups having different marital statuses show that gendered experiences are present in narrating their personal happiness and it is highly dependent on the social and cultural context in which they are operating their social lives. These individuals are continuously adopting their defined gender roles, social practices and identities with changing marital status and are also striving hard to get social recognition from the larger social context. Their happiness is largely positioned in its relation with the power structure and they drive the meaning and interpretation of happiness from the prevailing normative structure.

Suh and Diener (2001) claim that individuals in traditional societies have an exclusive dimension of getting social approval from others such as family. Radhakrishnan and Chad (1997) argued that people have cultural dimensions of happiness and found their satisfaction in societal goals rather than personal goals. However, internalization of social norms and values by individuals and their social practices are associated with high subjective well-being but those who are non-conformists have lower satisfaction. The informants participated in this research report that the individual behavior is much gendered in nature because women have to negotiate with complex hierarchies to best fit their everyday lives within the context as compared to men. About all individuals claim that social roles are the embodiment within hierarchies which are established by authority and this authority is distributed among various social groups depending on their gender and social status.

Along with these established notions of authority, the gender division of labor places individuals in public and private domains of the society. In this regard, a high degree of conformity is demanded from individuals to strengthen various socio-cultural contexts for the survival of society. Individuals also argue that most of the time in their lives they subjugate their personal wants and choices for securing cultural notions. People in collectivist culture also attach their happiness with social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and societal agreement.

According to Triandis (1995), obedience to cultural norms and values is the main feature of collectivist culture and is related with family relationship which increases the happiness of individuals. Triandis (1995) claims that social behavior is directed by prescribed norms and values, however, this adherence to normative pattern becomes stricter when gender roles are concerned. The individuals from married group struggle to keep their marriages within the defined boundaries of cultural notions. However, it is also worth mentioning that men from all social groups seem to be more in the position of power to relate their self-happiness in collectivist culture. On the other hand, women are more confined to their defined gender roles in performing social practices and their individual happiness is strictly attached with the institution of marriage. The tyrannies of divorce, remarriage and separation are hard for women as compared to men to strongly adhere with power structure and limit their social activities in the circle of culture. The social context provides sympathy to those individuals who belong to widow group but women in this category have to prove their social identities according to the existing cultural notions. All individuals having diverse identities relate their happiness with their social relationships and families.

In this research study, some of the women informants narrate that they don't feel happy in their empowerment. It is globally accepted that women are the main receipt of fruits of development and it is predicted that their subjective well-being has improved but there is no empirical evidence available for this assumption (Blanchflower & Oswald, 2002; Herbst, 2011; Meisenberg & Woodley, 2015; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2009). This indicates that women empowerment does not usually provide more advantages to women than men (Vieira Lima, 2011). Experiences of people regarding happiness are much contextual in traditional cultural. Most of the women informants claim that construction of happiness about empowerment becomes powerless in front of cultural construction of happiness and directs individuals to enjoy happiness within the boundaries of their defined social context. It is very important for an individual to accept this reality that the determining factor for life is society.

In previous literature on happiness, marriage is regarded as an important source of longer life expectancy, positive behaviors, higher incomes and material assets as well as better social status (Burman & Margolin, 1992; Waite, 1995; Waite & Gallagher,

2000; Williams & Umberson, 2004). It is often assumed that married people are happier than singles (Diener et al., 2000; Gundelach & Kreiner, 2004; Stack & Eshleman 1998; Stutzer & Frey, 2006). Whereas, better physical health and economic situation also increase happiness in marriage (Di Tella & MacCulloch, 2006; Kiecolt-Glaser & Newton 2001; Ross et al., 1990; Stack & Eshleman, 1998). Generally, the previous literature about marriage, happiness and subjective well-being highlights increased rate of happiness of married people in comparison with other marital statuses such as divorced, separated and widowed. However, it is very important to compare (Haring-Hidore et al., 1985; Kim, 2012; Umberson, 1992; Williams & Umberson, 2004) married people with unmarried because being widowed and divorced do not link with the loss of an important relationship but they are victims of stigmatization and distress in traditional societies which is associated with their high levels of dissatisfaction.

Another study conducted by Gundelach and Kreiner (2004) states that influence of culture is more on marriage as an institution than economic situation. Culture associates positive norms and happiness with marriage and stigma with being single. The findings of pervious research also conclude that rate of marriage and happiness is higher in underdeveloped countries due to their strong cultural foundations (Kim, 2012). However, due to globalization and increased choices for individuals, there is a transition in marriage institution towards deinstitutionalization of marriage (Cherlin, 2012; 2016). Most of the Individuals of the present research define marriage as an institution based on a companionship which is a matter of individual choice not as social responsibility (Kim, 2012). They are also convinced that there is strong relationship between marriage and happiness in traditional cultures and singlehood is considered as a deviant social status which increases unhappiness among divorced and separated individuals. In traditional societies, such as Pakistan (Amato, 2010; Gibbs 1969; Lec et al., 1999; Martin, 1976; Stack, 1980; 1990) individuals with single status are subjected to social stigma on not fulfilling prescribed social expectations because marriage is considered as religious and social responsibility. These individuals show high levels of unhappiness in their respective lives.

Life experiences of all married informants specifically men show that they are satisfied with their marriages but are struggling to keep marriages within domination/subordination relationship for their happiness. Most of male informants participated in current research study have diverse experiences of married lives like firm belief on spirituality, sacrifice of authority at the cost of beauty, internalization of normative order and social obligations which lead to marital happiness or unhappiness. The narratives of the women show less happiness in their marital life due to number of reasons such as their subordination, lack of control and access to material and social resources, lack of control on their life decisions, feeling of dishonor and interference of joint family members in their private lives. The realities of marriage are very different because when individuals actually start their social practices, it rests on the ideology of give and take. The inequitable division of labor is linked with marital unhappiness among women (Grote & Clarke, 2001; Stevens, Kiger & Mannon, 2005) and inadequate emotional support provided by husband also increases dissatisfaction among wives (Loscocco & Walzer, 2013). It is socially learned by a man that it is his right to be loved and cared but a woman also enters in marriage institution with high expectations and faces many difficulties to learn her conventional role to make marriage happy.

The ideology of socialization rests on the belief to prepare girls to perform their defined role of wives in marriages. Men like beautiful, confident, independent and in some cases young age girls as their future wives but the moment girls enter in the institution of marriage, men assume girls will automatically start follow its defined gender role. The socio-historical sources (Birnbaum et al., 2008; Birnbaum, 2010) narrate several stories about the attraction of opposite sex in such a way that actually create mental images about the ideal identities of a man and a woman in marriage which is far from the real role in marital relationships.

Feminist perspective (Bernard, 1972) holds the claim that marriage is an oppressive practice against women which only privileges men. Feminism strongly stresses the subordinated and undervalued position of women in society at large specifically in the institution of family (Osmond & Thorne, 1993). However, scholars like (Walker & Thompson, 1995; Finlay & Clarke, 2003) emphasize on the idea that male authority embedded within family system is not a natural process but it is an

outcome of women's subordinate position. This unfair system of power relations is associated lower marital happiness among women (Brezsnyak & Whisman, 2004; Gray-Little, Baucom, & Hamby, 1996).

All women from diverse social groups are highly qualified and are engaged in formal/informal professions except one separated woman, they point out unequal distribution of power in marriage and share their experiences of obedience and resistance to patriarchy in marital relationships. Their experiences are better understood through symbolic interactionism and are mainly different from mainstream feminist discourse (Goredema, 2010) due to the power of context which forces them to perform within the legacy of Pakistani culture (Mikell, 1997). Whereas, some of these women create a middle space in this domination/subordination relationship to mediate the effects of patriarchal normative order through compromise (Nnaemeka, 2004). However, symbolic interactionist school of thought guides to unveil and understand marital interactions within different forms of family systems and women's experiences to negotiate for their happiness. The pain and miseries in the life experiences of several women are obvious which make them helpless and enforce them to live an uncertain, empty and broken life but they are identified as wives and mothers (Akujobi, 2011; Kyalo, 2012) to gain social respect (Dube, 2007) and extract their happiness from these socially approved identities in their day to day practices. They pretend to be happy every day in multiple social settings but from inside are completely or partially unhappy because of unhappy lived experiences. However, patriarchal myths claim that men enjoy all the privileges but in reality, narratives of men show the feeling of dissatisfaction with authority because they associate it with multiple forms of responsibility.

The life experiences of most of the men clearly show the complexities of married life which look very simple as a person enters in this institution but the social context has its own defined dimensions that makes marriage or marital relationship happy. In marriage, men also report experiences of (Roxburgh, 2006) extreme pressures to meet the demands of work and family life along with complaints of having less time to spend with family. Men also make efforts to develop an understanding with their life partners, managing their social, economic and emotional needs and wants as well as

feeling of dissatisfaction to please their wives (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Societal structure also traps them in pleasing multiple social relationships which makes their lives difficult. The stories of individuals illuminate that power structure of marriage is creating illusionary myths not only for women but also for men about the privileges enjoyed by them being at top positions of power relations but in reality, they are also vulnerable and face many tyrannies to keep their married life intact. It is also true that male domination is deliberately cultivated through the knowledge produced by the power structure in the institutions of family and marriage and is clearly observed from narratives of informants (Chisale, 2016a ; Dube, 2007).

The informants of the current research emphasize that the commitment to marital relationship from both husband and wife acts as a binding force to keep marriage intact. However, element of love and care is needed for men informants and element of respect is demanded from women while element of trust is demanded from both genders in marriage. A study conducted by Zhong and Cramer (2010) found similar elements to bring satisfaction in inter-ethnic marriages. It is difficult to define commitment because it is a relative and has different meanings for everybody. However, the trust and respect are the most significant components in any relationship but specifically in marriage to get deeper understanding and awareness about the process of marriage formation, its functionality, construction and meaning of happiness in a relationship, continuity or closure of a relationship (same findings in Jones & Adams, 1999).

Previous research supports the findings of the current research and claims that the commitment is the main motivation for long lasting durable relationships and it is the indicator for the overall working of a relationship (Becker, 1991; Crawford et al., 2002; Lee & Waite, 2010; Lin & Rusbult, 1995; Weigel et al., 2006). Research conducted by Markman, Stanley and Blumberg (1994) found that people claim that commitment works as a glue which holds relationship intact and increases the happiness in relationship (Ambrus et al., 2010; Murray & Holmes, 2011; Stanley, Markman, & Whitton, 2002; Voena, 2015; Whitton et al., 2008). It helps in maintaining long term marital relationships and adjusting with one another having many differences of opinions irrespective of difficulties come in the life of individuals (Le & Agnew, 2003;

Thompson-Hayes & Webb, 2004). Le and Agnew (2003) claimed that "commitment may be the most important construct in investigating relational processes" (p. 52). Whereas, it is a primary thing being observed from the narratives that informants' lives are revolving around their particular context and they continuously make efforts to come closer with the expectations of prevailing structure to achieve their happiness.

One aim of this research study is also to find out how men and women construct and experience happiness with respect to their gender and context. It is the big dilemma to claim equally happy life for both men and women based on gender neutral experiences. However, the equality of happiness becomes very challenging for individuals having different marital statuses. Culture has its own power to shape the system and directs individuals to produce mental images in their thoughts about happiness and prepares them to handle social uncertainties of life. The construction of happiness is an outcome of dialectical process occurred in the life of every individual based on socially and culturally defined fulfillment of obligations and demands of rights irrespective of his/her gender. Culturally specific definition of happiness reflects from the gender lives of individuals specifically their intimate relationships. The happiness has no straight forward one liner meaning but it is universal and natural experience having many intricate social and cultural layers embodied in gendered identities and their experiences. Suh's (2000, p. 63) metaphor of "self as the hyphen between culture and subjective well-being", the construction of self, the participation of self in social institutions and the daily lived world may hold the key to our understanding of the experience of happiness in various culture systems.

The heart of Pakistani culture is embedded in its norms, values, folkways and mores, which are considered as the building blocks of core culture along with variety of sub-cultures. These building blocks are product of various socio-historic and cultural process occurred in power structure to produce knowledge about gendered bodies rest on the relationship of domination and subordination. These gendered bodies guided by power knowledge operate in their defined 'normal' realms to construct their experiences of happiness. Those who behave 'normal' are happy and those who behave 'abnormal' are unhappy. The lived experiences of being happy is linked with the quality of being normal attributed by power structure and power relations. This symbolic

structure is organized as a discourse which is visible in gendered bodies, words, silence, laugh, cry, obedience, social actions, language and social institutions which are commanded and sustained by hierarchical notions of cultural discourses.

Individuals are held accountable for their culturally disapproved social behaviors and attitudes for their specific gender. In this regard, gender acts as (West & Zimmerman, 2002) conceptual tool of power which constantly constructs, reconstructs and legitimizes approved gendered activities and practices with changing socio-cultural context. As Connell (1995) stated that gendered boundaries are neither timeless nor immutable entities but are susceptible to historical transformations and changing social circumstances. Therefore, gender becomes a socially and culturally deployed construct that is evolved from power structure and operates in power relations. The construction of gendered identities (Ferree, 1990) involves multiple negotiations and reconciliations between men and women. The conduct of gendered bodies is dependent on the social positioning which is embedded in powerful cultural contexts and is regulated through various forms of normative and institutional systems. Cixous (1981) also claimed that these cultural notions are applied on a couple that is male/female. However, men and women are not only natural biological bodies but they are also social and cultural bodies which are engraved, rooted and acted within its context.

The dominance of masculine power and feminine submission is an ideology which we do not only accept through our minds but it is social, economic, physical and political and is evident from our gendered performance through wide variety of social relationships and interactions. The main element in this process is power, which in Foucault's term is the field of power relations and the outcome of this field of power relations is the gendered body which is not only affected by power structure but it is also the main driving force which constantly, consciously and unconsciously becomes the product and agent of maintaining power structure. This power structure is constantly producing guidelines which directs us towards socio-cultural notions, limits and regulates our behavior and we completely surrender ourselves and become an active representative of culture to get a social identity which is solely fixed in and dependent on the power relations. When at certain limit we attain accepted gendered identity after continuously performing defined gendered roles, we become active agents of power

structure to not only produce culturally recognized power knowledge but also strengthen it with gender performance for next generations.

It is observed that our gendered bodies and identities are not only fixed in particular context but our happiness becomes socially and culturally defined, dependent and interpreted. Butler (1987) in this regard had her argument that body is producing historically and culturally specific performance in which discourses are produced and this body is regulated through gendered notions by intricate iterative social and cultural processes. Thus, these processes constantly embark through gendered performance of husband and wife in marriage, attach social stigmatization with divorce and separated, demand sacrifices from remarried, relate miseries with widows, continuity of marriage for the sake of children, legitimize violence to regulate gendered bodies and so forth. In this scenario, a woman can't claim that divorce or death of her husband is the sense of relief or happiness and a man can't take this prerogative that he is unhappy in patriarchy because these expressions are not relevant with particular gendered identities. Therefore, power of discourses becomes clearly visible in the relationships between gendered bodies and interplay of power knowledge.

The discursive constructionist perspective claimed that social world is constructed and reproduced through discourse (Potter, 1996). The ideology behind constructionist epistemology is based on the language which is producing social images of the world and discourse is the core component in construction of socio-cultural and historical processes (Nikander, 2007; 2008a ; 2008b) that form our most of the gendered beliefs. These gendered beliefs can be gathered through accounts of people and can be understood through "forms of talk that provide descriptions, explanations or justifications of activities, people, events and so forth" (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2008: p. 242). In this regard, individuals become knowledgeable cultural entities who hold specific social and gendered identities. The (Rogers, 2005) meanings, they attach with their social interactions and realities change with every passing moment and ultimately change their lived realities.

The historical and cultural milieu of Pakistani society gives significant importance to social roles, obligations and accomplishment of social responsibilities for achieving happiness. Social harmony and cohesion are the key responsibilities of social groups (Lu & Yang, 2004). Individuals are repetitively making efforts to promote variety of social identities in order to get better social place within larger context. In doing so, the pursuit of happiness is totally reliant on socially and culturally authorized normative beliefs rather than achieving one's individual satisfaction. Individual has to sacrifice his/her personal happiness to save larger social and cultural institutions of the society such as family and marriage. These ideologies of happiness are the vital part of Pakistani cultural discourse. Pakistani culture is the culture of norms and values in which (Hsieh, 1994) home is the female domain and society is the male domain.

In present research, the narratives of individuals produce many discourses embedded in socio-cultural context and are clearly visible from the lives of interdependent gendered identities who have central position in social relationships, as Lu and Gilmour (2006) and Markus and Kitayama (1991) argued about interdependent social oriented self. The meanings and interpretations of these socially constructed gender identities are shaped and reshaped by culture. However, it is very crucial to unveil that the gendered identity which is formed from complex socio-cultural processes related with his/her pursuit of happiness which is the embodiment of power structure and nurtured through power relations. This can only be achieved by exposing individuals' voices about their lived experiences and how they relate their happiness with their context. The individual accounts of happiness are diverse and unique in their own way. However, I took accounts of individuals as cultural repositories which are embedded in socio-cultural contexts. These accounts are also the (Backman, 2011) display of social practices of social actors performing on various social positions.

It is observed from the narratives of married individuals that the survival of marital life rests on traditional domination/subordination structure and obedience to prescribe norms and values for husband and wife. Happiness in marriage is only achieved through observance of gender ideologies and performance. It is observed from many pervious sociological studies (Waite & Lehrer, 2003) that individuals are happier at the start of marriage for shorter period of time and happiness starts disappearing as

individuals actually undergo marital experiences. The lives of married individuals of the current research depicted the gendered identities to keep their marriages and save themselves from the ironies of cultural rejection. These individuals face various gender related experiences in their lives whereas women in married group are more committed to expected gender roles and obligations. Even though, all these women are qualified and working but are constantly negotiating in their intimate spheres to bring happiness and satisfaction in their lives.

The life stories and interviews of men informants clearly reveal that any change in domination/subordination structure of marriage leads to unhappiness. The women informants claim that their feeling of unhappiness is not attached with empowerment but it is the outcome of authority of culture which enforces them to fulfill their gender roles and it is the clear notion of control within empowerment. They also stress that their husbands and family members allow them to enter in labor force but are not willing to share the burdens of family life. However, the study finds out that gendered oppressions are more apparent in the lives of women having divorced, separated, remarried and widow status. Almost all women informants of divorce group were victims of different types of violence in their married life and are facing severe stigmatization and dishonor in current marital status. All of them are highly qualified and faced severe pressure from cultural structure to align their behaviors with expected notions. The divorced women in the present research also mention that the control of their ex-spouses on their lives along with forcefully changing their personalities is the main cause of divorce and marital dissatisfaction. The gender perspectives and socio-culture context of the society are very essential which make divorce as an option for individuals but in traditional societies, a divorce is a taboo and is used as threat against women.

The present research also shows that men mostly want to stay in marriage and never initiate divorce deliberately but mostly divorce in anger. However, women initiate divorce deliberately because they feel sense of relief, satisfaction and happiness in divorce status. All divorced women state that divorce is a taboo but it gives them relief and happiness in their current lives while divorced men narrate that they are stigmatized not to perform traditional masculine identity in marriage. In case of

remarriage, men are remarried easily as compared to women because the failure of first marriage is attached with disability of women to perform expected gender roles. A divorced woman is never a potential candidate for remarriage. The experiences of remarried women reveal that they are under strong observation of cultural order to perform gender roles in second marriage because it is a chance given to them by power structure to prove their piety and remove the stigma of divorce attached with them. However, remarried men also become more careful and deliberately adopt caring and respectful behavior to make marriage successful which are mostly gendered.

The experiences of separated individuals highlight a constant feeling of uncertainty, unhappiness and dissatisfaction in their lives. Their separation is negatively linked with the well-being of their marital relationship and socialization of children. In this marital status, both the men and women are vulnerable but women are more at disadvantage position. The men are allowed to marry again in the presence of first spouse but people do not trust them due to not performing according to defined gender roles in previous marital relationship. They are asked to settle first marriage either by reconciliation or divorce to move forward in his life. In widow group, men feel more sense of loss and loneliness as compared to women. They want to remarry but face societal pressure of marrying again in the presence of adult children but widow women never want to remarry. It is also true that a widow has to face multiple gendered notions and has to confine her actions within limited boundaries. Widow women are also forced to display specific behavior during widowhood and to limit their social activities within private domain. The exclusive notion of *Aiddat* which is only observed by women as a religious duty is the unhappiest time period for widow women participated in the current research and is discussed in detail in previous chapter.

The idea of happiness is very complex in traditional societies because it is solely dependent on the range of socio-cultural choices available to individuals. Culture has the power to construct the meanings and interpretations of happiness and shapes subjective experiences of individuals in day to day life. Weisz et al., (1984) stated that people belong to primary orientation of life strive hard to maintain social relationships for getting reward and social appreciation. We develop self-regulatory mechanism

which becomes the part of our life during the process of long-life socialization to direct everyday social behaviors for enhancing overall happiness. The individuals participated in the current research are also enriched with diverse sub-cultural orientations and hold different meanings, conceptions and ways to endeavor their happiness which is not only socio-cultural in nature but also gendered. These sub-cultural orientations are taken as a point of reference to evaluate happiness not only by individuals themselves but also by their societies. These cultural systems also guide individuals (Lu & Gilmour, 2004; Suh, 2000) to regulate their behaviors for the pursuit of happiness and to constantly focus their thinking, feeling and acting towards conforming norms and values for getting durable satisfaction. There is a constant (Clinard & Meier 2008; McCaghy et al., 2010) conflict between dominant ideologies and individuals who are nonconformists which is an ongoing socio-historic process.

Durkheim (1964) stated that non-conformity and deviant behavior is against collective conscience and it actually damages the social fabric of the society. Erikson (1966) claimed that non-conform behavior is the outcome of the failure of social structure because it fails to fulfill human needs. The informants specifically women argue that stigmatization, social dishonor and disrespect are the means of social control for non-conformists such a divorced, remarried and widows. They are (Sagarin, 1985) labelled as negative or bad individuals. They have to pay the cost of their deviance throughout their lives due to non-adherence of social and cultural norms. The non-conformist behavior of women is considered an attack on the honor of the family and disturbs the society at large. They are only praised in approved social identities of wives and mothers in marriage and have to face serious consequences in all other identities which are declared deviant by the hierarchical dominant structures of the society.

Social identities of women highlighted by current research study are bossy, selfish, and self-centered but men are honor saver, strong and powerful to regulate women's behavior through divorce, separation and remarriage. These women want a marital relationship with independence, freedom and self-directed life but their decision to be autonomous is punished through multiple social sanctions such as rejection, disrespect and isolation. The narratives of both men and women (same findings in Buss, 2001; Brauer & Bourhis, 2006; Roccas, & Sagiv, 2010; Van Vugt & Iredale, 2013)

show that societal standards socialize men as assertive, dominant and strong but women as submissive, weak and beautiful. This socio-historic division of labor designates different social roles for men and women along with the expected behaviors to endorse socially and culturally defined qualities. Thus, conformity makes women attractive and suitable partner in marriage and social structure which is considered as an orderly arrangement of the parts of social system has its foundation on pre-defined norms and values. Therefore, if an individual disconfirms some parts of normative order it not only affects the lives of individuals but disturbs the whole structure along with their families.

The women being weaker sex are more vulnerable as compared to the men because their sense of relief as a divorce from unpleasant relationships is considered as their disconformities from the largest power structure and they can't openly discuss and display their happiness. Women mostly seek equality in relationship because men are endowed with power but hierarchical gender patterns make it much difficult to equally distribute power among men and women due to pre-defined cultural notions of marriage (Coontz, 2005; Loscocco & Walzer, 2013). Men internalize cultural notion of individualism for themselves while women are always socialized to be held accountable for maintaining social relationships (Hansen, 2012; Silverstein & Parker, 2002). Traditional gender ideologies are present in lives of most of individuals and disobedience from gendered notions is attached with unhappiness. The stories of both men and women are the true picture of gender-based experiences and cultural embodiment of power structure.

In this thesis, one key finding highlighted by informants is about money and workplace which are interrelated aspects of individuals' lives and its relevance with their happiness. Money is considered as an important source to spend satisfied life because we are living in postmodern societies where the medium of exchange is money. Literature (Diener, 1984; Diener et al., 1985; Easterlin, 1974; Veenhoven, 1991) showed that there is a positive relationship between money and happiness. Marriage is a serious social responsibility in which individual has to manage the needs of whole family including spouse and kids. It is also important to mention that in traditional societies, married individuals are not only responsible to meet the needs of their immediate families but they have to manage certain social belongings related to parents,

siblings, relatives, community and friends irrespective of family system they are living either nuclear or joint. All these social and marital responsibilities are dependent on an ample amount of money. Money is important for buying good food, better living condition, new fashioned clothes, appropriate kid's schooling and health facilities, own transport, celebrations of kids and spouse birthdays and wedding anniversaries, participation in family and community social functions, friends' reunions and recreational activities.

The narratives of individuals produce three different viewpoints about the money and its relation with marital happiness. Most of the informants consider money as a central component which leads to happiness but some of them totally negate that money has no relevance with marital happiness. However, some of the informants also have a balanced approach that the appropriate amount of money is needed to fulfill the basic needs as well as a source of social respect. These individuals are already discussed in the previous section of discourse analysis. It is worth mentioning here that the money was the one of important elements which directly or indirectly influence the marital relationships and create disputes between spouses and their family members. The narratives of the most of individuals specifically women belonging to diverse social groups highlight that they became the victims of material assets which made feeble the pillars of marriage institution and the continuous intrusion of the element of money in individual's lives affected the happiness of individuals and ultimately collapsed the marriage institution.

Money is more related with marital relationships in particular and with society in general (Stutzer, 2004) and Sacks et al., (2012) viewed the relationship of money and marriage as cooperative conflict. Men informants claim that they control the income of their working wives and provide them some set allowances for household management and same results are documented by Zelizer (1994) and Pahl (2000). The present study shows that women refer an ideal and happy marriage in which they mutually control and dominate financial decisions of the household as a couple (Papanek & Laurel, 1988). Women challenge income related decision making when they are working as full-time employees due to work place time pressures along with managing household

chores (Treas et al., 2011; Woolley, 2000). Financial decisions at household level in traditional societies are mostly taken by men or older person in the family (Lyons et al., 2007; Taft et al., 2013). But some of the informants also state that they as a couples are more committed with each other and rarely come in conflict on financial matters (Stetzer, 2014). However, it is concluded by numerous researchers that conflicts and disagreements among individuals about money related issues are one of the most difficult conflicts to resolve and lead marriage to divorce and separation (Arnold, 2016; Krull, 2016; Navidian et al., 2014; Parrott & Parrott, 2013; Scott, 2016).

Financial stability is the most important indicator that brings happiness in marriage (Carroll et al., 2012; Khazan, 2014). Men informants claimed that they tend to focus on more logical and concrete decisions in money related issues however, women handle economic decisions with emotions (Melgosa & Melgosa, 2004; Phillips et al., 2012). The narratives of most of the individuals with divorce and separated status claim that money is associated with power at household level which can be easily become the matter of fight and conflict between couple because they may have gender differences in making priorities about the usage of wealth and material resources (Phillips et al., 2012). The money related clashes are easily emerged between couples and persist for long period of time (Killewald, 2014; Killewalda, 2016; Pelt, 2008; Papp et al., 2009). Married informants are convinced that couples who take mutual and agreed financial decision are happier in their marital relationships (Skogrand et al., 2011) but remarried and separated informants state that when husband and wife separately manage and have individual choices to use money have less satisfaction in marriage (Addo & Sassler, 2010).

The narratives of male informants clearly show that they are considered as bread earners of the family in patriarchal societies. Therefore, workplace is an important aspect of men's lives whether they are happy or unhappy with the nature of job and are forced to work to meet family needs. The women state that men should take all economic responsibilities of household and their bread earner role is highly contextual, brings stability and happiness in marriage (Nock, 1998; Sweeney, 2002; Sayer et al. 2011). This research study reveals that some women informants became the part of labor force willingly and happily to achieve their career aspirations. The second

category of highly dissatisfied women informants started working to achieve economic empowerment but they became the victim of workplace harassment and are economically exploited by their families. The most of women never wanted to be working but the failure of their married lives and death of their spouses forced them to enter in labor force for their own selves as well as their kids' survival.

Gender division of labor has been undergoing profound changes and the women have become more active in educational and professional attainments (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Maloney & Schumer, 2010). Women face gender discrimination both at home and at their respective workplaces, however men face more pressure rather than discrimination to be successful in their profession careers for societal recognition and to fulfill familial responsibilities (Erickson, 2005; Hochschild & Machung, 2003; Ridgeway, 2011; Sayer et al., 2009; Weaver & Stansbury, 2014). Women occupying any social identity such as married, divorced and widowed etc. are happier than men at their workplaces. Men also exhibit attitudes, beliefs and practices at home and workplace which are highly embedded in gendered performances (Fiske et al., 2007; Tracy & Rivera, 2010).

The findings of the current research show that men are more determined in pursuing their careers and give less importance to their spousal career development while gaining all the benefits of their income. Recent studies found that married working women are unhappier than non-working married women (Dudhatra & Jogsan, 2012; Manas & Mubeen, 2011) and this is also true in the case of some women participated in the current research. Working women from middle class families holding diverse marital identities in Pakistan have to fulfill many obligations and play multiple roles in their daily lives such as wife/mother/daughter in law along with managing their workplace responsibilities. Working women have to fight various battles at home and workplace and they are in the continuous effort to keep balance between their home and workplace at the cost of their own happiness (Gani & Ara, 2010; Khawaja & Habib, 2007; Sadiq & Ali, 2014). However, research (Corrigall & Konrad, 2007; Davis & Robinson, 1991; Desai et al., 2014; Kroska & Elman, 2009) showed that in dual earner families, egalitarian attitude of men, women control over their income and having equal

prospects in career development while getting space from household responsibilities bring more happiness in marital relationships.

Men are mostly unaware of their gendered socialization and unconsciously learn from their family that main role of a woman is household management and ignore her professional life responsibilities. This gendered socialization is clearly visible in their marital and professional lives. Scholarly work found that unpaid household labor is the part of women life as their traditional feminine role. They are sole responsible for child care and household management (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Marital stability is more attached with women's unpaid labor at home along with their professional lives (Hochschild, 1989; Stone, 2007).

Marriage is one of the important social institution and determinants of marital happiness vary with respect to time and space. It is commonly observed (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Goldin, 2006; Sweeney, 2002;) that women give less time to household chores due to their professional commitments and their gendered lives become egalitarian to men. Risman (2011) stated that every society has its own normative patterns and structures to define certain specific roles for men and women and also expects from them to behave according to cultural norms in their social practices. The women participants of the current research are encouraged to participate in labor force by their own families, husbands and in laws but they are asked to perform their tradition roles of a woman at home. While men sharing life with professional women are considered bread earners but are performing patriarchal role in their personal lives (Cooke, 2006; Sayer et al., 2011). It can be concluded that (Killewalda, 2016; Ruggles et al., 2015) women in their divorce and separated status are happier with their earnings and workplace performances as compared to their married lives.

Another striking feature illuminated from this research study is the interaction of informants with their friends and social circles and its relevance with their construction of happiness. Friends are the integral part of any individual's life at his different life stages. Almost all informants admit that childhood friendship is the most real form of a true relationship in which the level of intimacy and closeness is high and it gives them a feeling of happiness. This friendship is long lasting and life long

relationship which gives positive and constructive energies in the time of need as well as in celebrations. However, these individuals also claim that after starting practical lives, they are left with least time and have minimum interaction with their friends due to marital and professional life responsibilities.

Individuals contributed in the current research study report that after marriage, they start playing more traditional gendered activities and parenthood becomes the salient feature of their marital lives (Kalmijn, 2012). Therefore, they have lack of time for their own selves as well as to take part in their social life activities. It is also observed from the life experiences of individuals that men are burdened with economic responsibilities and women have to perform social and economic duties which completely isolate them from their friends and social circles (Claxton & Perry-Jenkins, 2008; Schadler, 2013, Stauber, 2011). All informants irrespective of their gender and social statuses are completely convinced that friendship is one important aspect of their lives which provides them emotional support and a free space to express their feelings but it needs time to be part of friends' circle on regular basis (Froneman, 2014; Gillespie et al., 2014).

Married informants both men and women complain that they have least time to meet their friends but divorced, separated and remarried research participants specifically women argue that social stigma of marital failure as well as patriarchal structures confine them within house. Along with the societal tyrannies, single parenthood in case of separation, divorce and widowhood puts many extra responsibilities on the individuals which make it difficult for them to meet their friends for seeking happiness (Boman IV et al., 2012; Carr et al., 2006; Guedes & Canavarro, 2016; Hoonard, 2010; Klesment & Van Bavel, 2017). Women informants share that they are under complete surveillance of their fathers and brothers in their separated, divorced and widow statuses due to patriarchal notions of being weaker sex (Smerglia et al., 1999) but remarried women are more vigilant to meet the demands of new marriage and deliberately limit their social activities to make their remarriages successful (Sweeney, 2010). In short, their narratives indicate that friendship, happiness and interaction with social circles are highly gendered and contextual (Stacey, 2011).

The research study also attempts to find out the missing elements of happiness in individuals' lives and their ideal version of happy lives. It is worth mentioning here that all informants belong to collectivists' socio-cultural context which is dominated in their construction of individual meanings and practices of happiness. They strive hard throughout their lives to stay happy but it is difficult for them to relate their happiness with life experiences. It is highlighted by the research findings that happiness is attached with the web of social relationships. For instance, happiness in traditional societies of Asian culture (Suh et al., 1998) is closely related with getting social appraisal than inner feelings of individuals, (Kitayama & Markus, 2000) it is closely associated with social engagement rather socially disengagement and (Oishi et al., 2008) it is constructed on a belief that how others perceive us. Therefore, Kitayama and Markus (2000) stated that the concept of happiness in modern societies is an inner feeling but in traditional cultures, it is considered as inter subjective experience which is culturally driven.

My quest to study the discourses of happiness is not only to understand hidden or underlying meanings of individuals' gendered experiences of happiness but to understand their actual occurrence in the context in which they are situated or deployed. All individuals irrespective of their gender and marital statuses narrate that the lack of money and material assets, having no kids, failure of marital and family life, bitter childhood memories, lack of power and control over their own lives as well as low academic and professional growth are the missing elements in their lives. It is difficult for individuals to separate happiness from their social context because happiness is a private and internal experience which is shaped, interpreted and articulated through cultural approval and social recognition. The lived experiences of these individuals especially women show that their social construction of happiness is deeply embedded in the social and cultural notions and they relate their happiness with prevailing customary beliefs.

It is observed that individuals build their (Moynihan et al., 2015; Thoits & Hewitt, 2001) reservoirs of happiness on their social relationships and mostly display socially saturated actions and link their happiness with these (Bojanowska & Zalewska, 2016). The cultural structure is so fundamental that it looks impossible for individuals

to isolate themselves from their socio-cultural context and narrate their self-constructed meanings of happiness independently. Cultural context puts strong emphasis on promoting social harmony rather than achieving personal happiness (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). Happiness is a matter of cultural notions which provide collection of cultural choices for its individuals to construct their experiences of happiness in their respective social worlds. These cultural choices are sometimes painful at individual level due to their pre-determined nature (Mathews, 2012). Happiness is embedded in and emerged from social interactions with diverse social relations (Ahuvia et al., 2015; Glaeser, 2011; Hausman & McPherson, 2006; Haybron, 2011). They are not independent in defining their happiness without relating it with their social life in which marriage and family is the focal point of their lives. People never think of their happiness outside their social context and social worlds. They constantly assess and relate their experiences of happiness from the standards of their social structure and institutions to spend happy life (Boudon, 2002). Previous work (Michalos et al., 2001; Myers, 2000; Veenhoven, 1989; 1999) validated that happiness of people mostly in collectivist traditional societies is related with their family life, marriage and children. According to Durkheim (1964) family life is not only the security system available for anomie and suicide but also a shield against unhappiness.

The narratives of informants depict that both men and women attach their concept of happiness with their socio-cultural context in which there are socially operating. The cultural construction of happiness is not only rooted in normative structure but is embedded in (Uchida et al., 2004) historical developed ideologies. Therefore, analysis of happiness needs to involve with the 'history of the culture' (Kitayama & Markus 2000, p. 114). The phenomenon of happiness cannot be studied in separation from mainstream culture because according to Taylor (2010) culture is a complex and is the constitutive part of human social life which provides multidimensional meanings, interpretations and ways to achieve happiness but these ways are highly differentiated across genders and social identities. These culturally specific definitions of happiness actually construct (Lu & Gilmour, 2004) culturally specific experiences which are situated in social relationships (Kitayama & Markus, 2000).

The current research has contributed in the field of sociology of happiness based on qualitative lens and found that the attainment of happiness rests on the idea of interdependence on culture and social relationships and is also supported by previous research (Heukamp & Arino, 2011). Individuals' lives are constructed on lifelong socialization and are embodiment of social and cultural structures and system. Individual accounts are cultural representatives and present that culture shapes the idea, meanings and social practices attached with happiness (Hone, Jarden,& Schofield, 2014; La Placa & Knight, 2017). Life has different definitions and is uncertain for every individual irrespective of his/her gender and context. A phenomenon of happiness is the top priority of all individuals from all over the world but it is hard to define due to diversity of social life. Human beings never define an ideal version of life because it keeps on changing with change in social life but they struggle hard to bring their lives closer to their version of idealism. All stages of human life have its own contextual experiences and demand a complete harmony with power structure. Individual life is demarcated and designed by power structure for the construction and deconstruction of happiness and it is embedded in acceptance of normative structure with authorization of culture.

7.2. Summary

The social and cultural context is considered vital for the existence and endurance of society. Individuals may come across numerous moments of happiness and sadness which are formed by social norms and values. Happiness (Parducci, 1968; Veenhoven, 2010b; Veenhoven, 2011) is a relative social experience which is reflected by the inquires and investigations of various theorists and philosophers from many past decades. They have explored and explained several mythologies about happiness (Adler, 2013; Ahuvia et al., 2015; Diener, Daniel & John, 2010) along with social and cultural construction of happiness (Ford & Mauss, 2014). The phenomenon of happiness is generally divided into two broad classifications. Aristotle (1934, p.67) defined happiness as an “activity of soul in accordance with virtue”, supported by a long life, health and money. The second definition of happiness is mostly associated with sociologists and psychologists, who linked it with subjective well-being, quality

of life and life satisfaction. A renowned sociologist Ruut Veenhoven defined happiness as “the degree to which an individual evaluates the overall quality of his/her life-as-a-whole positively” (Veenhoven, 2013. p. 5).

Research on happiness in social sciences is mostly produced by psychologists and economists in recent era. Sociology one of the main disciplines of social sciences has few contributions towards research in the field of happiness. Sociologists are mostly unwilling to conduct subjective study of happiness due to the heavy influence of positivist research with some notable exceptions (Thin, 2014; Veenhoven, 2015a; Veenhoven, 2015b; Veenhoven, 2016). The main argument of the present research is that happiness is a natural phenomenon but its meaning is cultural. In this study, I unveil and explain the gendered experiences of happiness situated in the socio-cultural context of Pakistan in multiple domains of individual’s life such as childhood, school life, marital relationship, family life and kids, money, workplace and interaction with community and friends. All these dimensions of individual life have been unveiled through discourses analysis to illuminate lived experiences of individuals in their day to day practices. The research sociologically locates the socio-cultural construction and embodiment of happiness in marriage one of the main social institutions of an eastern context. Therefore, my aim is to explore happiness within the institute of marriage as socially and culturally dependent phenomenon. I argue that experiences of happiness vary among different marital status with reference to their gender.

This research explains how happiness is constructed and understood through culture, identities and genders. The research closely connects the experiences of happiness through masculinities and femininities. It highlights the relationship between socio-cultural values and happiness with a specific focus on the right of power of individuals to define their happiness independent of context. It also investigates discourses of power in which happiness is embedded as cultural dependent experiences of people. According to Foucault, (1972/1991) individuals place their life experiences in dominant discourses to understand meaning of their lived realities in the existing social normative order to develop harmony in their lives. Reality is created by discourse itself, in accordance with what is said and who said it at each particular time in history. Truly, happiness is one aspect of people's lives that can be understood through a variety of dominant social and cultural discourses. Happiness is not simply an internal feeling

but it is constructed, formed, interpreted through culturally dominated ways of social life. The current research intends to present exploration of sociological literature and the analysis of qualitative interview data about experiences and perceptions of happiness and how people use a range of dominant discourses in producing these gendered experiences.

I took qualitative strategy as a research process in which phenomenological interviews were conducted to describe and chart the way in which cultural discourses guided the behavior of individuals to achieve happiness (Becker, 1996; Loseke, 2012; Rubin, 2006). Phenomenological interviews also focus on the method how phenomenon of happiness is interpreted, drawn upon, utilized and ultimately produced by individuals participated in this research study. My own life experiences and the experiences of informants depict that social perceptions, cultural context and interactions are subjective and shape our identities. It also influences field work which has profound effect on the interpretation and analysis of research findings. The qualitative research has many complexities due to the nature of research process and its rationale is to identify hidden realities through narrations of informants' voices. It creates power relations between researcher and informants and may produce some reservations which should be identified for establishing rigorous research and also to (re)locate the shifting identities of the researcher in fieldwork. Therefore, the research process is constantly shaped and reshaped with change in social setting, cultural orientation, with every new informant and their gender.

The selection of participants was very challenging task for me because I was looking few but unique individuals to be the part of study sample for gaining deeper and profound understanding about gendered happiness. I was extremely willing to identify those informants who have exclusive and exceptional life stories on 'happiness' and are also ready to disclose their personal details for the purpose of research. I used purposive sampling technique to smoothen the (Gelman, 2010; Miles & Huberman, 2013) process of comparisons between gender and across social groups. All selected individuals are distributed in five groups representing different marital statuses and the voice of each individual (e.g. all women or men whose duration of marriage is five years) is compared to all other individuals in order to recognize the

underlying phenomenon. However, the comparison on the basis of gender and social identity (e.g., women vs men and their happiness regarding duration of marriage or divorce for ten years) guided the analysis of study from richness of data. I used separate interview guide for each diverse social group and conducted face to face interviews in three stages. However, semi structured interview questions were developed separately but the process of conducting the interviews was same.

Interviews of informants were not performed in robotic manner but I was dynamically involved with my informants in the discussion and variety of questions were stimulated in dialogue process to enter in meaningful result-oriented conversation. This helped me in capturing and exploring a wide variety of meanings revolving around the construction of happiness, relative experiences and how it shapes their lived experiences. The analysis of the data is guided by both Smith's phenomenology and Foucauldian discourse analysis which are very flexible in use and give an ample freedom to researchers for constructing their own analytical tools to best explore, describe and explain collected data. The purpose of phenomenology interviews is to illuminate the specific lived realities of individuals which are directly and indirectly related with happiness and to get an understanding about their lives including their life paths from childhood to current life with specific focus on marriage. The findings are discussed under seven themes extracted from the data. The detailed explanation of constructed themes with description of diversified standpoints from informants are presented for comprehensive understanding about happiness. Raw interview data was analyzed through creation of codes and generation of themes.

The findings of the research claim that that the phenomenon of happiness is universal for all human beings but it is contextual in nature and has multiple socio-cultural dimensions. The present research study also contributes a sociological analysis about happiness as a phenomenon which is social, cultural and gendered in nature. The research illuminates some of the significant aspects of societal indicators which construct the experiences of happiness for men and women differently. Whereas, most of the individuals both men and women are happier in unmarried life but are burdened with responsibilities of married life in displaying strict gender roles. Majority of the informants except few claimed that childhood is the happiest time period of their lives.

The happiness of men lies in portraying authoritative roles in various domains of life and this domination increases their responsibilities which makes them unhappy but to get social recognition they display defined patriarchal roles. However, women get social recognition and happiness in subordination and those who break defined social boundaries are mostly unhappy and victims of social disrespect but exceptions are also there.

7.3. Conclusion and Future Direction

The present research claims that the phenomenon of happiness is fundamental to every human being and is dependent on the socio-cultural context in which individuals exist. In the frame of post-structuralists paradigm, the dimensions and subjective experiences of happiness can be interrogated through the understanding of the relationship between individual's perspectives of happiness within dominant socio-cultural contexts. The study attempts to present sociological analysis of the phenomenon of happiness which is social, cultural and gendered in nature. The research produces individuals' accounts based on experiences of happiness in their married, divorced, remarried, separated and widowed lives which is socially and culturally driven. Happiness is not private, internal experience but it is visible, shaped, interpreted and articulated through social and cultural practices. The research reveals that institution of marriage is based on both practical and strategic needs but fulfillment of strategic needs is more crucial. All the informants of the research stress that strategic needs are mental compatibility, trust and respect which are the key elements of happy marriage. This research highlights some important aspects of societal indicators which construct the experiences of happiness for men and women differently. Whereas, individuals irrespective of their gender were happier before entering and experiencing marriage as an institution. Childhood is most beautiful and happiest memory of their lives except few informants.

The happiness of men is based on domination and authority which increase their responsibilities and make their lives overburdened but still they locate their happiness in patriarchal system. On the other hand, women who are displaying their defined gender roles in subordination are happy and the women who break stereotypes in their

lives are the victims of stigmatization and are unhappy but exceptions are also there. The majority of women argue that 'death of self' is an important practice for them to make their marriages successful. However, both genders admit that their marital statuses limit their social life activities. Workplace is the source of livelihood for most of informants however, it is also an inspiration for few individuals. Most of the informants depict that money is only important to meet basic needs but their life narratives are revolving around wealth and material assets. Some of the informants strongly confess that money has the vital role to achieve happiness. In the categories of undesirable marital statuses, women are more vulnerable, disrespectful and stigmatized as compared to their men counterparts. In brief, happiness of both genders is contextual and is situated in their social and cultural lives. The present research provides an in-depth empirical evidence on happiness which contributes to existing body of sociological knowledge on happiness. Happiness as a phenomenon is hidden under multiple socio-cultural layers shielded by power structure and supported by power relations in individual's life. However, it is acknowledged that I have inquired only tip of the iceberg using qualitative lens. This work provides a ground to further unpack many hidden gendered experiences of happiness which are wrapped in diverse layers of social and cultural context. This research is also a road map for social scientists specifically sociologists to unveil other areas of happiness through sociological lens in multidimensional aspects of people's lives.

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Annexures

Annex I

Consent Form for Interviews

Thank you for reading the information sheet about the interview sub-study. If you are happy to participate then please complete and sign the form below. Please initial the boxes below to confirm that you agree with each statement:

*Please
Initial box:*

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

☐

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

☐

I agree for this interview to be tape-recorded. I understand that the audio recording made of this interview will be used only for analysis and that extracts from the interview, from which I would not be personally identified, may be used in any conference presentation, report or journal article developed as a result of the research. I understand that no other use will be made of the recording without my written permission, and that no one outside the research team will be allowed access to the original recording.

☐☐

I agree that my anonymised data will be kept for future research purposes such as publications related to this study after the completion of the study.

I agree to take part in this interview.

☐

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Principal Investigator

Date

Signature

Interview Guide (for all informants)

Autobiographical Sketch of Key Informants

1. Can you please introduce yourself (This could include information about the place you belong to? Where you were born? The school/college you attended? When you were married? How the marriage was arranged? Number of children if any)
2. Would you please share some of the memories from your childhood and earlier life which are important to you? (This could include the following information)
 - a. Memories from your childhood, the type of child you were? (Difficult, naughty, quiet, obedient). Can you share examples of what kind of childhood did you have? For example it could be any incident/ occasion which you still recall.
 - b. What type of relationship did you have with your parents and siblings as a child? (Did you have a close relation where you discussed everything openly? Did you find it hard to communicate with your parents? Who were the people other than your parents who were close to you?
 - c. What type of student you were in your earlier life (i.e. Did you do well in class, did you take part in extracurricular activities? If so what kind of activities? Did you enjoy your schooling? What do you think was the perception of your teachers about you as a student? Please share any example/an occasion which you may recall.
 - d. How was your relationship with your friends at school and after school during childhood? (Did you have a lot of friends; was it easy for you to make friends? Did you get along with them well?
 - e. If you recall back do you find your childhood and later life as productive and satisfactory?

- f. Do you think you are a happy person so far after passing different stages of your life?

Individual's Perceptions of Happiness

3. How do you define happiness in general?
4. What does happiness mean to you? What is your definition of happiness? Can you name a simple activity that always makes you happy (e.g. exercise, cooking, chatting with old friends, spending time with your children, listening to Music, being with your husband etc)?
5. Is there anything you know about happiness that you think you didn't know in your early/ teen life? Do you think young people are happier than people in their older ages?
6. If you had to choose one thing that prevents you from being happy what could that be? (e.g. being jealous, being selfish, not working etc)
7. What are/have been the happiest moments of your life? *(Having a good relationship with spouse, having children, ability to do something useful for your parents, or family, academic & professional achievements, academic achievements of children, satisfaction of basic needs & wants, time spent with family, travelling with family, having good friends, eating good food, having a pious religious life)*. Please share some examples from your life.
8. In your view what are the characteristics/attributes of a woman or man who lives happy life?
9. Do you believe happiness is constant or is it an ever-changing phenomenon and in a state of flux? Do you think the level of happiness varies, fluctuates for the same individuals within a short span of time? (e.g. do you think you could feel at the height of happiness and still be unhappy on a single day?). Has your definition of happiness changes over time for you? Please give examples from your daily life.
10. How important is it for you to achieve happiness in life? What kind of efforts do you make to achieve that level of happiness?

Experiences of Happiness in Marriage (When you were married for divorced, separated, first marriage experiences for remarried and widowed informants)

11. Do you feel that the reality of being married is entirely a different story after entering in to the marriage institution? Do you think it affects how you perceive happiness and your feelings of happiness?
12. How do you define happiness in married life? Or what is marital happiness?
13. Being a person from the east do you think marriage is the turning point of life or actually the starting point of life? Do you think you were happier before marriage or after marriage? Give reasons for your answer as to why you feel that way?
14. How do you define happiness in married life? Or what is marital happiness for you? Give examples please (being able to share your concerns with your partner; the ability to bear and raise children; marital satisfaction etc)
15. Does your husband/wife respond to your needs and problems? Do you enjoy the company of your husband/wife? Does the response of your husband/wife towards your needs and his ability to spend quality time with you influence how happy you feel in life?
16. Are material assets for example dowry also a source of happiness in marriage?
17. Being eastern men and women is it true that after marriage happiness is always related to relationships with their children and children's wellbeing? (whether they were healthy, educated, and living a moral life)
18. Explain to me how decisions are made in your home regarding parenting/raising children/finance? Are you involved during the decision-making process or excluded? Does your inclusion or exclusion influence how you feel happy in routine life?
19. How much your academic achievements are as important as your spouse? Or how your academic achievements actually add happiness in your life?

Gendered Experiences of Happiness in Socio-Cultural Context

20. How do you think the happiness of men is different from the happiness of women? Do you think men live a happier life than women? In your case do you

believe you or your husband lives a happier life? Please explain in detail with examples.

21. Culture is an important element of our life. Do you believe culture influences your happiness?
22. In your view how patriarchy influences the relative experiences of happiness among men and women?
23. How do you perceive that social and cultural elements influence the common perception that beauty is a specific attribute of women and authority is always attached with men for their everlasting happiness? Or do you think that these attributes are not the main ingredients of happiness for both men and women?
24. How you feel that cultural values actually teach the different aspects of happiness in marriage from the very young age of men & women? For example
 - a. Early age at marriage for women
 - b. At least 6-10 years of age difference at marriage
 - c. Women learn to play the role of subordinate in marriage
 - d. Same caste marriages are successful
 - e. Within family marriages are successful
25. How culture responds to the changing gender roles?
26. Do you agree with the perception that future wellbeing of parents depends on maintaining good relationships with their sons as compared with daughters?
27. Do you believe that culture defines happiness differently for men and women?
For example
 - a. men are allowed to enjoy more in public domain and women in private family domain
 - b. Does culture allow the mobility of women without the company of family members?
 - c. Is son preference being cultural aspect in gendered happiness.

Money and Happiness

28. How do you explain, money as the key source of attaining happiness in one's life?

29. Do you think that material things add more happiness to one's life? (own house, well settled job, high degree & other material assets)
30. How much money is important for marital happiness?

Workplace and Happiness

31. How much your workplace is a source of happiness and unhappiness in your life?
32. How do you manage between your workplace responsibilities and family time?
33. Do you think that your workplace environment affects your happiness with your family specifically spouse and children?
34. Do you think that sometimes your family issues affect your workplace management and your performance at work?

Community Friends and Happiness

35. How your friends and community people are the important source of your happiness?
36. How often you interact with your friends? How this interaction affects your mood and personal wellbeing?

Experiences of Happiness at different Life Stages

37. From your experiences in life so far do you think happiness varies in different stages of life? (Childhood, adulthood, youth, married life) Please explain and give examples from each stage of your life.
38. How your ideal type of life which you think is different from your present life? What is missing?
39. How much you are satisfied or dissatisfied with your overall life?
40. Do you believe you are living a life with purpose? How does that impact your satisfaction?
41. What changes would you like to bring to your routine life to make it happier?
42. If you had a chance to do it over again, would you do anything in your life differently? Why?

For Divorced Informants

Relationship with Spouse and Happiness (Ex-Spouse)

1. How do you think the happiness of men is different from the happiness of women? Do you think men live a happier life than women? In your case do you believe while you were married you or your husband lived a happier life? Please explain in detail with examples.
2. Did your ex-husband/wife respond to your needs and problems? Did you enjoy the company of your ex-husband/wife? Does the response of your husband/wife towards your needs and his ability to spend quality time with you influence how happy you felt with him?
3. Explain to me how decisions are made in your home regarding parenting/raising children/finance? Are you involved during the decision making process or excluded? Does your inclusion or exclusion influence how you feel happy in routine life?
4. How much your academic achievements are as important as your spouse? Or how your academic achievements actually add happiness in your life?

Reasons for being divorced

5. Can you tell me in your own words what were the reasons for your divorce?
6. Do you think your divorce is the sole decision of you and your spouse? Or other people from your family as well as your friends are involved in it?
7. Do you regret your divorce? Or when your marriage ended, did you feel you lost an important relationship?

Divorce and Happiness

8. How your divorce has affected your feelings of happiness at present?
9. How you define your happiness in married life as compared to divorced life and vice versa?
10. What was important for you to be in a marriage? Or is this relationship being meaningful for you or not?
11. Describe the experiences being divorced and how you believe it may have affected you at that time?
12. How do you feel in divorced life? Or are you satisfied with your current marital status?

13. What are the main difficulties that have come from the divorce? Please give examples of how you were treated after the divorce by family members, friends, relatives, community? What was the reaction of your children?
14. Did you get encouragement did people understand your reason for divorce or were you blamed for what had happened? Please give examples.
15. What are the main benefits that have come from the divorce? I.e. material benefits, personal freedom)
16. From where do you get satisfaction and happiness after divorce? Spending time with your kids, friends or in your work?

Cultural Dimensions of Divorce and Gendered Happiness

17. Do you think that divorced men are not stigmatized as compared to divorce women?
18. Do you think that culture defines divorce as a taboo for woman not for man?
19. Do you think divorce men remarried easily than divorced women? If yes why?
20. Why you do not remarry again? Due to your kids and it's your own choice?
21. If you get a chance to remarry would you, why? if not why can you please explain
22. How others' perceptions affected your choices or life path? Why?
23. Do you feel it is difficult to manage with divorce and having kids with you?
24. How kids are affected by the divorce either they are living with divorced mother or divorced father? Do you think that the title of divorced mother is more negatively taken by the society as compared with the divorced father?

For Remarried Informants

Reasons for remarried

Before remarriage was you divorced or widowed?

Reasons for divorced being remarried

- a. Was your divorce forced or your own choice?

- b. Describe the experiences being divorced and how you believe it may have affected you?
- c. What were your feelings in divorced life? Or are you satisfied with your current marital status?
- d. What are the main difficulties that have come from the divorce? Please give examples of how you were treated after the divorce by family members, friends, relatives, community? What was the reaction of your children?
- e. Did you get encouragement did people understand your reason for divorce or were you blamed for what had happened? Please give examples.

Individuals who were widow and remarried

- a. Please tell the age at the time of widowhood?
- b. What was the nature of your spouse death? Is it accidental or illness?
- c. How you manage your life after the death of your spouse? Who helps you in this critical moment your family, friends and relatives?
- d. Are your children being the ultimate hope for you to being again in life?
- e. How do you manage your livelihood expenses?
- f. From where do you get satisfaction and happiness in widowhood? Spending time with your kids, friends or in your work?

Remarriage and Happiness

- 1. Can you tell me in your own words what were the reasons for your remarriage?
- 2. Do you think your remarriage is the sole decision of you? Or other people from your family as well as your friends are involved in it?
- 3. Do you regret on your remarriage? Or when your first marriage ended, did you feel you lost an important relationship?
- 4. How you define your happiness in pervious married life as compared to remarriage?

5. Describe the experiences of being divorced (if previously divorced) and how you believe it may have affected your remarriage? Would you have the gain trust level from your spouse due to your previous marital status?
6. Describe the experiences being widowed (if previously widow) and how you believe it may have affected your remarriage? Would you have the gain trust level from your spouse due to your previous marital status?
7. Have you felt happiness in your remarried life? Or are you satisfied with your current marital status?
8. Are your kids are living with you after remarriage? What are the reactions of your children?
9. How you manage between your kids and your spouse kids from previous marriage? What are the major challenges that you face and how do you overcome them?
10. Do the issues related with children from previous marriage affect your current marital life? Please give relevant examples.
11. If you want to take some important decision about your kids regarding their education and marriage, would it will be your sole decision or your decision may be affected by your spouse?
12. What are the main difficulties you have come across in managing new household activities specifically if you have kids from previous marriage? Please give examples of how your children are treated by your new spouse his/her family members, friends, relatives, community?
13. Did you get encouragement from people understand your reason for remarriage or were you blamed for remarriage? Please give examples.
14. From where do you get satisfaction and happiness after remarriage? Spending time with your kids, friends or in your work?

Cultural Dimensions of Remarriage and Gendered Happiness

15. Do you think that divorced woman is more stigmatized as compared to divorce man for remarriage?
16. Do you think that culture supports the remarriage of woman and man?

17. Do you think divorce men remarried easily than divorced women? If yes why?

18. Remarriage is social phenomena in eastern societies affects the credibility of man and women?

For Separated Informants

Reasons for being separated

1. Can you tell me in your own words what were the reasons for your separation?
2. Do you think your separation is the sole decision of you and your spouse? Or other people from your family as well as your friends are involved in it?
3. Do you regret on your separation? Or you want to start or trying your marital life with your husband once again?
4. Did you feel you are deprived of an important relationship?

Marital Separation and Happiness

5. How you define your happiness in married life as compared to separated life and vice versa?
6. What was important for you to be in a marriage? Why you are still in this relationship being separately living from your spouse? Or is this relationship being meaningful for you or not?
7. Describe the experiences being living in separated marital status and how you believe it may have affected you?
8. Have you felt happiness in your separated life?
9. What are the main difficulties that have come from the separation? Please give examples of how you are treated after the separation by family members, friends, relatives, community?
10. What is the reaction of your children? How do you deal with the questions of your children regarding their father or mother?
11. Did you get encouragement did people understand your reason for separation or are you blamed for what have happened? Please give examples.
12. What are the main benefits that have come from the separation? I.e. material benefits, personal freedom)

13. From where do you get satisfaction and happiness after separation? Spending time with your kids, friends or in your work?
14. Do you think that your separation will lead to divorce or reunion?

Cultural Dimensions of Separation and Gendered Happiness

15. Do you think that separated men are not stigmatized as compared to separated women?
16. Do you think that culture defines separation as a taboo for woman not for man?
17. Do you think separated men are forced by the culture to remarry with some other women? If yes why?
18. If you get a chance to remarry would you, why? if not why can you please explain?
19. Being a man, you are allowed by the culture to remarry again? If you would take this decision later in life will it be due to your kids or it's your own choice?
20. How others' perceptions affected your choices or life path? Is it enforced by your family members? Why?
21. Do you feel it is difficult to manage with separation and having kids with you?
22. How kids are affected by the separation either they are living with separated mother or separated father? Do you think that the title of separated mother is more negatively taken by the society as compared with the separated father?

For Widow Informants

Widowhood and Happiness

1. What was the nature of your spouse death? Was it accidental or illness?
2. How you manage your life after the death of your spouse? Who helps you in this critical moment your family, friends and relatives? Other sources? Please explain
3. Do you see your children as the ultimate hope for you keep going in life?
4. How do you manage your livelihood expenses?

5. From where do you get satisfaction and happiness in widowhood? Spending time with your kids, friends or in your work?

Cultural Dimensions of Widowhood and Gendered Happiness

6. Do you think widow men with kids remarried easily than widow women with kids? If yes why?
7. Why you do not remarry again? Due to your kids and it's your own choice?
8. If you get a chance to remarry would you, why? if not why can you please explain
9. How others' perceptions affected your life choices in widowhood or life path? Why?
10. Do you feel it is difficult to manage with widowhood and having kids with you?
11. How kids are affected by the widowhood either they are living with widow mother or widow father?

Annex III

Personal Information of the Informants

Sr #	Names	Age	Gender	Academic Qualification	Profession	Marital Status	Duration of Current Marital Status (in years)	Number of Children (both male and female)	Mode of Interview
1.	Abbas	38	Male	MS	Engineer	Married	10	2	Life history
2.	Ramsha	36	Female	PhD	Sociologist	Married	6	1	Life history
3.	Siraaj	40	Male	Technical Diploma in Electronics	Government Officer	Married	8	Childless	Life history
4.	Saiqa	39	Female	Masters	Administration Officer	Married	10	3	Life history
5.	Manzar	35	Male	Masters	Technical Officer	Married	3	Childless	Semi Structured Interview
6.	Nadia	41	Female	PhD	Macro-Economic Analyst	Married	2 (married for past 6 year but lived with husband from past 2 years)	Childless	Semi Structured Interview

7.	Shariq	40	Male	LLB	Lawyer	Married	4	4	Semi Structured Interview
8.	Aima	52	Female	MBA	Banker	Married	3	Childless	Semi Structured Interview
9.	Altaf	46	Male	Masters	Private Contractor	Divorced	6	3	Life History
10.	Huma	50	Female	PhD	Consultant at Corporate Sector	Divorced	10	2	Life History
11.	Adnan	59	Male	Graduation (BBA)	Transport Business	Divorced	10	3	Life History
12.	Taniya	34	Female	Mphil	Consultant at Ministry of Health	Divorced	7	2	Life History
13.	Ishfaq	35	Male	Mechanical Engineer	Religious Scholar	Divorced	4	Childless	Semi Structured Interview
14.	Ayeza	44	Female	PhD	Teacher	Divorced	2	1	Semi Structured Interview
15.	Faizan	38	Male	Electrical Engineer	Government Officer	Divorced	2	3	Semi Structured Interview
16.	Farwa	34	Female	Masters	Teacher	Divorced	4	2	Semi Structured Interview
17.	Rizwan	43	Male	Masters	Software Designer	Remarried	8	2	Life History

18.	Annie	52	Female	PhD	International Relations Analyst	Remarried	10	3	Life History
19.	Zulifqar	50	Male	Masters	Agriculturalist	Remarried	10	5	Life History
20.	Nazia	52	Female	Masters	Vocational Trainer	Remarried	6	1	Life History
21.	Yaqub	48	Male	Graduation	Furniture Business	Remarried	4	3	Semi Structured Interview
22.	Fatima	28	Female	Masters	Chef	Remarried	4	Childless	Semi Structured Interview
23.	Aurangzeb	45	Male	MS	Technician at Air Force	Remarried	2	Childless	Semi Structured Interview
24.	Fizza	34	Female	Graduation	Consultant	Remarried	2	3	Semi Structured Interview
25.	Pervaiz	45	Male	PhD	Teacher	Separated	10	2	Life History
26.	Syeda	60	Female	Masters	Teacher	Separated	10	2	Life History
27.	Asif	45	Male	MBA	Government Officer	Separated	8	2	Life History
28.	Rannia	61	Female	Masters	Home Tutor	Separated	6	4	Life History
29.	Shan	35	Male	Graduation	Technician in Optic Fiber	Separated	2	Childless	Semi Structured Interview

30.	Hina	25	Female	Masters	Security Supervisor	Separated	4	1	Semi Structured Interview
31.	Imran	30	Male	Masters	Journalist	Separated	4	1	Semi Structured Interview
32.	Gul	22	Female	Graduation	Student	Separated	3	Childless	Semi Structured Interview
33.	Ali	52	Male	Masters	Government Officer	Widowed	7	4	Life History
34.	Zartaj	36	Female	Masters	Food Business	Widowed	10	2	Life History
35.	Akbar	65	Male	Masters	Private School Business	Widowed	10	5	Life History
36.	Saima	29	Female	Mphil	Teacher	Widowed	7	1	Life History
37.	Ijaz	62	Male	Masters	Home Tutor	Widowed	4	4	Semi Structured Interview
38.	Salma	34	Female	Graduation	Teacher	Widowed	2	3	Semi Structured Interview
39.	Atif	40	Male	Masters	Religious Healer (Spiritual Heir)	Widowed	2	1	Semi Structured Interview
40.	Palwasha	36	Female	Masters	Vocational Trainer	widowed	4	Childless	Semi Structured Interview

Autobiographical Sketch (Semi Structured Interviews)

Married Informants

Manzar from Khushab district Sargodah is the only male child of his parents. He is very aggressive and stubborn for his very childhood nature however, with the passage of time he made efforts to calm himself in different situations. He was married within family three years back and has no kids. He got his early schooling from Sargodah because his parents want him to study in English medium school. He did his Master's degree and is currently pursuing his career in a public-sector organization as a technical officer. Both of his parents are alive. He has strong religious qualities in his personality. He was much loved by his grandparents this unnecessary love spoiled him. He used to communicate his wants to grandparents as compared to own parents because they always fulfilled his needs within a blink of an eye. He was the best player of football in school and college team and the moment, they won match from other teams it was the happiest time for him. He felt good to stay at home but didn't like doing school work at home. His father also made extra efforts to lessen impatience in his behavior by delaying in fulfilling his demands. He has a diversified personality, being a technical officer in reputed organization, he is also a homeopathic doctor and provide free of cost medical services to people at his home.

Nadia is a macro economic analyst and the eldest daughter of her parents. She always acts like a man and fulfills all responsibilities of her family. She married at the age of 36 by the pressure of her father because she never feels herself as a woman. She has no kids and has adopted two baby boys from some unknown couple after six years of her marriage. She got his early education from Islamabad because her father migrated from their home town to Islamabad due to family rivalries. She did her PhD from Germany. She has very strong yet elegant personality. Her father died after six months of her marriage and her mother is alive. She is living with her husband and adopted kids in a nuclear family at Islamabad. The reason for late marriage is that she was studying and wanted to develop her career as well as of siblings because she was the elder sister of the parents. Her father wanted her to get married at the age of 19 years. She retaliated

and engaged herself in studies to escape from marriage. Nadia spent a very responsible childhood being the eldest child of her parents. She took the responsibilities of all her sibling's education and other aspects of their social life. His father got married at the age of 40 years because of some family issues with her mother who was 25 years younger than him. Being the eldest kid of her parents, she had to make extra efforts to manage the house hold matters and also helped her father in household matters. She developed a feeling to stand with her father like a man because her brothers were younger. She never wanted any recognition from siblings and that is the main reason she never felt like a mother. They all grow in her hands in front of her. She was too much involved in their lives to maintain household discipline. Now all of them are successful in their lives and careers that is a great source of satisfaction and happy for her. She always feels herself like a man but even though she spent a restricted childhood and was never allowed to visit any place other than school. Her father also did not allow her to attend any family functions like marriage ceremonies because he only wanted that she should study and never think about marriage or husband wife relationship before she actually enter in marriage institution. Parents wanted their daughters to spend a modest life even without thinking about a word marriage and suddenly one day they got married with some unknown person to behave a perfect wife in marriage institution, the thing that was completely absent throughout their socialization. Nadia shares that her childhood was not a happy time because she felt herself a mature person even in her childhood. She also faced her father's anger to not pursue PhD from abroad because he wanted her to marry at that time. She also spent restricted life in abroad because her socialization never allowed her to stay outside late even in the absence of her father. The girls in east are mostly spending their lives in given boundaries and culturally set limits. They internalize the norms and values of their culture so much that they cannot dare to disobey them even in different and modern cultural orientation. She defines happiness in very conventional way.

Shariq is a lawyer by profession and belongs to high caste of Punjab. He holds dominated and authoritative personality. He got his early education from his home town and took LLB degree from Lahore. He has two daughters and a son. Both of his parents are died. He is providing legal advice in High Court while his wife and kids live in his

native village in a joint family system. He was married at the age of 37 almost four years back to his illiterate first cousin because he wanted to marry within same caste and same family. She was the only sister of her four brothers. Shariq is the youngest child and was closer to both of his parents. He was very overconfident and dominant student. He always participated in extracurricular activities to become prominent in the eyes of teachers. He feels himself a prominent personality of his family and also involved in traditional Panchayat (Ravi Act) related activities. He selected law as a profession to become notable personality in home town because this feeling of supremacy makes him happy. He was very intelligent student and never failed in any exams.

Aima married three years back at the age of 49 with a man eight year younger than her and she is banker by profession. She is very supportive but having a strong bossy personality. Her father has died and her mother is alive. She supports all her siblings in their life struggles. She is currently living with her husband in a nuclear family and she is the second wife of her husband. The first wife of her husband is living in joint family system with her in laws. She has no kid and no plan to adopt any kid in future. She has a lot of regrets in her life. She has taken all her life decisions and now she has regrets on her decisions. She helped her siblings in all aspects of their lives and also the kids of their siblings. Her brother always said that she has spoiled his kids by providing them all the things. Aima has more masculine features in her personality. She never wore makeup, bangles and always used to play cricket with boys. She loved sports rather than playing with dolls. She feels it is natural instincts in a person to be more like a boy or girl. She and her sisters grow up at same place, studied in same school and spent their childhood under same social environment but she is totally opposite to them. They are purely feminine and she has more masculine characteristics. She has a beautiful heart which always wants to support everybody. She also spent very restricted life because his father was much dominated having traditional orientation towards girl's socialization and her mother had a huge age difference with her father. Her father was very strong headed and she had a big communication gap with him. Her father is a boss to her mother and they are not love buddy type of couple. Her mother always used to

terrify her that she will tell to him about her misbehavior. She also shares a strong relationship with her sisters and brother.

Divorced Informants

Ishfaq is a mechanical engineer and a religious scholar by profession. He is only son of her parents raised by single mother. He married within family to a girl of same age. Both have dominating nature and their marriage lasted for only three years. His wife initiated a case for divorce and he divorced her. His ex-wife remarried within a year after divorce and he is still living in divorce status for last four years. He doesn't have any kid. He holds very balanced and composed personality. Both of his parents are alive and live in separation. He spent his childhood with a single mother. His parents got separated when he was very young and it has been more than 30 years that his parents are living separate. His childhood was very tough because his parents got separated and being a male child of family, he has to manage household expenses along with studies. His mother was a school teacher and it was difficult for her to meet the economic expenses of two kids. He started giving tuitions when he passed grade nine. He earned his academic expenses till the end of education. He never compromised on his studies and did studies with distinctions as well as with 100% attendance. He completely enjoyed his school life and childhood. Cricket was his hobby and he was very passionate about playing cricket. He was the brighter star and center of attention for people and had God gifted abilities that people wanted to be his friends. His academic life is a source of inspiration and school is always a place where he always wanted to go. The other thing that he enjoyed in academic career was traveling with friends. He always felt an extreme happiness to explore new places. He also shares that he is a short temper man and always try to control his anger but once it is out of control nobody stops him.

Faizan is an electrical engineer serving in public sector organization of Pakistan. He got married at the age of 24 years old right after completing his Engineering degree. He has two daughters and a son. His marriage lasted for twelve years and he divorced her wife in anger due to clash between his wife and mother. He belongs to strict religious Pakhtoon family. He is living in divorced status from last two years and his kids

occasionally visit him. He is close to siblings being an elder brother of them. His father, he and one of his brothers are government servants. He contributes thirty thousand to father and his brother twenty thousand for household expenditure. His younger brother is a student of engineering and sister is happily married having MSc. in Chemistry. She is a housewife. They all three brothers are closely associated with each other and share same house and one kitchen even after their marriages. If their wives have some issues at home it never contaminates relationship. His wife is of the view that his mother does more love towards his brother's wife because she is the niece of his mother. He just consoles and convinces her by giving gifts of clothes and jewelry but he never takes an action on her complaints. He spent a very common childhood in traditional Pakthoon culture. He was very shy child in his school. He was closer to mother and felt comfortable in sharing views with his mother. His father always maintained a distance with kids being strictly embedded in religious pakthoon family. He only talked with them when they showed some negligence in observing religious ritual like prayers. His father also pressurized him to excel in studies as well as in religious education. He also got admission in local Madrassa for some time but lack of interest he left it soon. He was an average student at school. He also shares that his father forbidden him to make a phone call at home when he was at UET Peshawar for pursuing his career as Engineer. His mother used to give him extra money for phone call just to listen his voice because he was the eldest kid of his parents and whenever his father came to know about it, he became very angry on his mother. He never wanted to be an engineer in fact but a good football player. Playing football wasn't hobby but it was his passion which was eradicated by his father. At university he freely played football and it was the happiest time of his life because father wasn't there to forbid him.

Ayeza is a faculty member at Business administration department in a renowned women university. She married at the age of 33years and it was love marriage but with forced consent of parents. She ended up her relationships with her husband after two and half years of their marriage and started living separately with her parents. She lived in separation for seven years and did her PhD from abroad during this time period. She filed a case for Khulah when his husband did second marriage without telling her. She got divorced two years back after eight years of separation. She has a son who is living

with her but she doesn't want to keep him with her and his ex-husband is financially supporting his kid. She is very supportive but has somehow a bitter personality due to her life experiences. She is sharing house with one of her married sisters. Her father is died and mother is alive. She is one of the unhappiest people; I met her during my interviews for research work. She said there is nothing happy in her life and she is the most irrelevant person for this interview. She also added that it will be the unhappiest interview of your research. I observed her different because she is one of those people of our society who closely observe the injustices and highlights them and stigmatized for not being fixed in the defined cultural context. I do not agree with some of her points about marriage but I admit she is the one of the real informants of my research who openly unveiled the bitter truths of her life and marriage without any hesitation. She spent her childhood in a traditional family with strong cultural orientation. She was closer to mother than her father. Her mother consciously fabricated a distance between kids and their father. This is very internalization of patriarchy where mothers used the name of fathers to terrorize their daughters and mostly hide the mistakes of their sons from their husbands. Fathers are like aliens in eastern families who went for work in morning and came back in evening and their role is directly associated with the money they earn and their position as a head of the family. Whatever happens throughout the day at home isn't shared with him and when he comes back to home, he is welcomed with clean house, warm food and the picture presented to him is all is well. She shares that his father was literally absent from the lives of his children. Everything was communicated to him through mother and there was almost zero communication between father and kids. She also shares that her mother was mostly involved in family issues and never gave time to them.

Farwa is a simple and confident 34 years old woman. She was married at the age of 16 after her metric with a man 20 year older than her. It was an arranged *watta satta* marriage within same caste and family. She was blessed with twin babies after two years of her marriage. She filed a case for Khulah and got divorce when her kids were thirteen years old. She is living in divorced status for last four years. She started her education through distance learning when she was living with her kids at her parent's house separated from his husband. She earned master's degree in education and is

working as school teacher at government school in Rawalpindi. She is also running an independent educational academy in the evening. Both of her parents are alive. Farwa was a bit conservative in sharing her views about her life experiences in the first meeting but when I met her third time, she was more comfortable in telling her story. She was very obedient and serious child in her childhood. She was full of life and bright star of her school. She was closer to father because he was dominated and her mother was frightened from him so she could not properly communicate their needs to him.

Remarried Informants

Yaquub is the eldest son of his parents and was born after fourteen years of his parent's marriage. He started his wood's business after completing graduation. He married with his first cousin but this marriage lasted for only one year because his wife died at very young due to some gynae related health problem. After three years of his wife's death, he got married again with another cousin with the pressure of his parents. He was married second time but he doesn't bless with kids for eight years of his second marriage. His parents again started forcing him to remarry for kids but his second wife did not agree on this matter. She demanded if he will remarry, he should divorce her first. He tried his best to make her convinced but she did not agree. He remarried third time with his cousin who is fifteen years younger than him and his second wife got divorce from him. He is blessed with two daughters and a son in four years of his third marriage. Both of his parents are died. He is the eldest son of his parents and very loved kid because he was born after 14 years of their marriage. He was an average student. His parents never pressurized him for studies and he spent a type of childhood which one can wish for. He was very fond of watching movie and eating food outside with friends. He had very carefree attitude towards life. He never took anything in life seriously and it was the happiest time of life. College life was very thrilling and fun making. He never attended classes regularly. He always used to smoke and waste time with friends. He was very friendly person and never fights with anybody but he always played a defensive role to help her relative students.

Aurangzeb is working in Air Force and belongs to low caste family of district Faisalabad. He is married two times and is not blessed with kids till yet. He did not

disclose his second marriage to his first wife and family. Currently, he is doing MS in Mass Communication. He is the eldest son of his parents. Both of his parents are alive. He holds very dual faced personality. He has been in remarried status for last two years. He remarried for the sake of children and will disclose his second marriage if he got kids from his second wife. His first marriage was arranged after twelve years of his job due to some personal reasons and his love affair with a girl who was working with some prestigious organization. This affair lasted for ten years but they couldn't succeed to marry because his parents do not want marry him out of caste. He wanted to marry her by court but she did not like court marriage. He was the most difficult person to interview for research work because he twisted things so much and it was difficult to narrate his feelings because there were so many contradictions in his views. After 3 to 4 sittings and using many probes, I succeeded to relate his life experiences with each other. He is the only educated child of his parents. He belongs to low cast of Punjab, if someone belongs to low caste family always adds miseries in his life. He was very brilliant student and always stood first in class. He did 10th grade in first division. He always felt happy to stand first in class. He was very happy when he got job because he has lot of pressure to support his family being the elder son of his family. He was closer to his mother because his father was always angry on everybody due to poverty and economic crisis. He used to beat him every day to do work with him to earn livelihood and to not go to school.

Fatima is a chef by profession and belongs to Baluch family. She is 28 years old and has been living with his second husband for last four years. She doesn't have any kid from both of her marriages. She earned master degree in Home Economics and has done number of cooking courses. She is currently working as Head Chef in a restaurant at Islamabad. Both of her parents are alive. She has very caring and loving personality. She is very simple and soft-spoken lady and she shares her life experiences very openly. She looks very transparent in her relationships. She was very caring and helpful child from her very childhood. She always helped her mother in household chores because she was the elder daughter. She was very good student but due to financial problems she started working after grade 10 and completed her higher education through distance

learning. She did graduation from AIOU but the enjoyment of being a regular student of college is missed in her life.

Fizza is 33 years old woman having three kids, two from first marriage and one from second marriage. She is living happily with her second husband for last two years and pursuing her career as an executive director of a renowned international social organization. She is graduated from London and did multiple courses on public relations. Both of her parents are alive. She did love marriage first time and it was completely her decision. She was raised as an independent child and this personality development helped throughout her life. She started her life in first marriage with many positive intentions to grow professionally together with her ex-husband but marriage ended due to not acceptance of her marital life because they did not tell her in laws about their marriage. Her parents were very shocked they don't even believe what she is doing with her life at such a young age. Her parents wanted her to excel in studies because she went abroad for higher studies. They wanted her to excel in career and then decide about her future decisions. They became very disappointed with her decision but the good thing is she never stopped working as far as her career is concerned. She has a contented and satisfied personality. She always picked the positive things in the darker places. She spent an extreme quality childhood with the tremendous involvement of her parents in each and every step of her life. She was much disciplined child, very active, very organized and full of life. She was always involved in voluntary social work especially for women, she supported her mother who runs a National Trust for woman and her mother decided her career path in her very childhood. When she moved to England for higher education, she started an organization *Inspired Sisters* along with her studies and married life.

Separated Informants

Shan is 35 years old and is the eldest son of his parents. He has been living separately from his second wife for last two years. He divorced his first wife and has no kids from both marriages. He had a technical diploma in optic fibers after doing BSc and currently working with a private organization. Both of his parents are alive and he has very dependent and emotional personality. Currently he is living in separation from his

second wife due to disputes between his wife and mother on not having kids. Shan was brought up by his grandmother because he was first child of his family. He was the most loved kid of family and this love and care spoiled him a lot and still he is careless and freedom loving person in daily life. He enjoyed his childhood a lot and got whatever he wishes. He is very stubborn and nonflexible person. When he decides to do or get something, he tries to get it at any cost even how much loss that thing give to him or his family. He was very intelligent student but due to love of her family members, he wasted his time with girls and friends. When he sits alone, he regrets that his younger brother is an engineer but he wasted time with friends and girls. He mostly skipped school and college as well. He remembers to spend most of time in college with multiple girls.

Imran is 30 years old belongs to Awan family and has only son. He has been living separately from his wife who belongs to Urdu speaking family along with his kid in joint family system for last four years. He did masters in journalism and is working in a reputed private news channel. Both of his parents are alive and he holds emotional personality. He was closer to her mother from his childhood. His father is very strict traditional father. He never dared to share anything with him. He always felt proud because his father invested all money on his education. Even the kids of other people were inspired from his dresses, toys and foods lunch. His childhood was very blessed and happy. He enjoyed his academic life and was one of the best players of hockey in his school and college teams. He has very humble and loving personality but little bit emotional. People always gathered around him to make friend which makes him happy.

Hina is 25 years old and is working as a security supervisor at a public-sector organization. She is doing master's degree in education through distance learning program. She has one son living with her at her parent's house. She has been living separately from her husband for last four years. Both of her parents are alive and she has very dependent and frightened personality. Her father is a very simple person and her husband was the only son of her father's friend. She is very dependent woman for her life decisions. She brought up in very patriarchal family and enjoyed good childhood. She was closer to her elder sister and not with her parents. She liked wearing new clothes and jewelry in childhood and in unmarried life. She liked to be looked

beautiful and this was her childhood. She was good student but due to early marriage she has to suspend studies for some time and later completed her graduation after marriage.

Gul is 22 years old belongs to dominant tribe of Hungu and is living separately from her husband for past three years at her parent's house. She got married when she was doing graduation. Currently she is doing her master's degree in Sociology. Both of her parents were died in a road accident and she has very lonely personality. She is also giving home tuitions to small children to pass her time and earn her livelihood. When she completed graduation, her proposals came and her mother was in a hurry to get her married as early as possible. She didn't want to marry and wanted to study further but her mother didn't listen to her. On her insist to marry, she just said to her mother that she will marry in city not in village. Gul is the saddest informant throughout my research because her parents were died in a road accident and she also has many problems in her marital life. She spent much loved and caring childhood. She was spoiled kid and insisted for all the things a child can wish for in his childhood. She was closer to mother because their father was aboard and when he visited them in Pakistan, he used to spend his time in closed room and he never talked to them. He was very caring but he was very quiet man. He only used to speak with her mother. She was very good student and wanted to complete her studies before marriage. She belongs to strict pakhtoon family where girls have to be married in young age.

Widow Informants

Ijaz is 62 years old and is living with his children in own house. His wife died four years back with breast cancer. He has master's degree in mathematics from a renowned university and is retired from Military Accounts Rawalpindi. Currently, he is running his own educational academy. His father is died but mother is alive. He wanted to remarry but due to cultural pressure, he doesn't fulfill this wish. Ijaz is very soft-spoken person. He was obedient and simple child throughout his childhood and was equally closer to both his parents. He spent most of his time with father so he was more comfortable in communicating his issues with father. His father was very loving and he was very sensible since his childhood and never demanded anything which was out of

his father's capacity. He was very brilliant student and also did Hifz- e- Quran. When he completed Hifze Quran his father taught him 7 classes in 5 months. He took first time admission in federal high school in grade 8 where his father was teacher. He was very brilliant student but he had weak eyesight from his birth therefore, he sometimes felt some problem in his studies.

Atif is 40 years old and living with his only son after the death of his wife two years back. He is a spiritual heir and use spiritual practices at tomb of his family ancestors near Murree. He is also a famous Naat Khawah (a person who recites poetry in the praise of Prophet Muhammad). He has master degree in Islamic studies as well as he did multiple Arabic language courses from renowned Madrasa (Religious educational institution). He has very dominated and authoritative personality. Both of his parents are died. He got married at the age of twenty three years and did master's degree after his marriage. Atif spent his childhood with his grandparents and till his adulthood he did not know about his parents. After the age of 15 years he came to know that they are not his parents but are grandparents. His parents were living in another city with his other siblings. He was an average student throughout his academic career. God has gifted him with melodious voice and he participated in Naat competition which made him famous in school. He was closer to his grandmother and shared all his needs and problems with her. Although, he was very kind and hospitable but the whole social environment was very influencing and mesmerizing. The traditional and religious orientation in his personality makes me conscious in asking questions from him. I was also careful in my communication style to make conversation comfortable for both of us. He was surrounded with many followers and he was involved in different spiritual practices to heal their social, economic and physical problems.

Salma is 34 years old widow woman and is living with his father and kids in Karachi for last two years. She has two daughters and a son. Her husband committed suicide two years back. She has BSc degree in Mathematics and Physics. She started her career as school teacher six months back. Her mother is died and father is alive. Salma is very active woman. She spent very beautiful childhood because both of her parents were very loving. They were 8 daughters and no male child. She had lot of friends and they also came to her house with their mothers and they became the friend of her mother.

She also visited her friend's houses as well. She was very intelligent student and always got position. She laughed so much and remained with smiling face. Her mother always said to her; don't laugh so much you will get so much pain. But she never put attention why she was saying this and later life was a complete picture of pain. She spent very care free childhood. She didn't care about anything and understand the complexities of life. She took life very lightly which she had to bear for her whole life. She was closer to her father and he loved her so much because she was one of the active children of the house. Her mother scolded her lot not glamorized so much, do all these things after marriage. But she never paid attention to her.

Palwasha is 36 years old woman and is living as a widow for last four years. She spent nineteen years of happy married life. She doesn't have any kid and currently running her own free of cost vocational training school for girls at her home and also offers education of Quran to little girls. She holds master's degree in Islamic Studies. Both of her parents are died. She has been living at her brother's house after the death of her husband for last four years. Palwasha is very soft spoken and very simple woman. She spent very strict childhood under the adherence of defined cultural and social boundaries. She also strictly observes Purdah from her very childhood and enjoyed her school time. She was closer to her mother. She never used to speak loud in front of her father and never used to communicate with him. Her mother always conveyed her needs to father. She was not allowed to go out of home except for school and never visited any relative house or any marriage ceremony before her own marriage.

Glossary

Nikkah	Islamic agreement/Contract
Barrart	Procession of a Marriage
Bechari	Vulnerable
Kathak	A type of a ethnic dance
Pakhtoon	An ethnic group
Haq Mehar	A mandatory payment, in the form of money or possessions paid by the groom to the bride at the time of marriage, that legally becomes her property.
Khulah	Divorce initiated by woman
Watta Satta	A type of exckange marriage
Chilla	40 days after the birth of a kid
Vani	A young girl is married as punishment for some crime committed by her male relatives.
Aiddat	It is the period a woman must observe after the death of her spouse during which she may not marry another man
Peers	Saints
Nikah nama	A legal document of Nikkah
Jaye namaz	A piece of cloth to offer prayer on it
Na-mehram	An individual with which marriage is legal

Panchaiyat System	Traditional legal system
Melad	A celebration at the birth of Prophet (PBUH)
Mehndi	A function held before 1 day of marriage
Biradarris	Clans
Purdah	Veil
Sokan	Second Wife of a husband
Rukhsati	Final departure of girl to her husband's house after Nikkah
Manhoos	Green footed
Manat	Vow
Molvi Sahib	A man who performed religious rituals
Woe	Soag
Tawkal	Complete faith and trust on Allah

