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Work-Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan

A thesis

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by

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Abstract

Globally women have a long history of negotiating between public and private life. While each individual woman undertakes such negotiation, all women's lives are already shaped by historical, political, religious and cultural forces. This study focused on contemporary academic women in Pakistan and their experiences of negotiation between professional and family responsibilities – in an Islamic nation, shaped by an imperial history. In particular it investigated both the possibilities and limitations of family and institutional support as women worked to fulfil both work and family responsibilities.

This qualitative study employed semi-structured interviews, with individuals from three groups: women academics, husbands of women academics, and heads of department of two Pakistani universities. The data from these interviews were then read alongside selected theory, to produce accounts of the visible and invisible discourses shaping the positions available to women as they navigate family and career responsibilities. The study's findings show that patriarchal traditions that position men as breadwinners and women as homemakers are disturbed when women take up career opportunities in academia, at the same time as patriarchal gender practices rob women of opportunities they have earned, as in examples of a woman giving up a job offer in favour of her husband, or giving an academic husband financial support for publication. As a further example of contesting discourses the study identifies that academic women are expected to be productive on the terms of globalised neo-liberal education at the same time as a traditional school curriculum and teaching practices position educated women - parhi likihi- as responsible for the basics of their children's learning within the home. Academic women are caught in the tension between the expectations of globalised tertiary education and the reality of the limited material resources in universities in a developing country. The analysis of women academics' accounts of family support includes few but significant examples of disturbing and resisting patriarchal gender practices, in ways that the thesis argues contribute to a "democracy to come". However, for the most part, the narratives of support include women academics' husbands' limited contributions and stories of women academics' struggles, compromises and sacrifices of their own career progression for their

husbands' careers. The thesis argues that identifying the possibilities of questioning and undoing patriarchal gender practices and producing alternative discursive practices might open up possibilities for gender justice within family and academic institutions.

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Dedication

In loving memories of my Aunty Mummani Jamila, Uncle Mohammad Shafi and Aunty Bilqees Shafi, who are no longer in this world to celebrate my achievement. May Allah grant them high ranks in Jannah.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This doctoral research study is linked to lived experiences of my personal and professional life in its investigation of family and institutional supports and barriers for women academics in Pakistan. It is an effort to find a way out of my situation as well as to contribute to the lives of women academics, and to higher valued education institutions through valuing the contributions of women academics. I belong to a family that education for girls and gave me opportunities for education as well as support for my career progression. Through this study, I learned that my family's commitment to education and support through my career provided me the first steps towards what Derrida (2004, p. 331) described as "democracy to come".

I received my higher secondary and bachelor's education as a private candidate due to the long distance of educational institutions from my home. My first exposure to a public institution was when I got admission to a university to do a Master's degree in education. I taught in private institutions alongside my studies, as I loved to teach. I started my career as a university teacher immediately after completing my Master's studies. I was an enthusiastic teacher determined to improve my teaching skills and promote interactive teaching and learning to facilitate students learning. I focused on building a rapport with my students to understand the problems they faced in their learning process.

However, alongside producing possibilities for a democratic education opportunity, my family was positioned by the traditional, socio-cultural, and religious discourses and practices of marriage and motherhood that encouraged me to marry after the completion of my Master's education. When I got married and had a son in my own family, I found myself in a difficult situation which at times resonated with the research participants' lives. My husband was working in another city and came home on weekends or fortnightly and I left my son with my mother to take care of him. Being primarily responsible for my son's care, I used to leave the university immediately after fulfilling my professional responsibilities and tasks assigned by the university management and department. But calling on my identity claim as an academic, I remained concerned about the passion I had

had at the beginning of my career and my own performance as an academic. Due to the competing demands of work and family life, I was going through a guilt as I put my responsibility of childcare on my mother's shoulders at the time when she needed my help and support rather than another responsibility. So, as I travelled all the way from my workplace to home, a journey of one and a half to two hours, I would focus on the competing priorities of my situation.

The dilemma related not just to my family life but there was also the question of my performance as an academic. With responsibilities as a mother, and without the on-hand support of my husband, I found myself with less time and energy available, than previously, to devote to my work, and thus to developing my academic career, whether teaching, research, or administration. Aware of increasing expectations of academic productivity (HEC, 2022), it was very easy to judge myself as falling short (see Foucault (1980a) on self-surveillance, discussed in chapter two of this document).

Previous research conducted in a Pakistani context has addressed the work-family interface among university employees by employing quantitative methodologies to investigate matters such as work-family conflict, job satisfaction, and job turnover intention (Ahmad & Masood, 2011), determinants of job stress and job satisfaction (Bhatti et al., 2011), work-family conflict and organizational commitment (Ashraf et al., 2011; Rehman & Waheed, 2012), determinants of work and life imbalance (Fatima & Sahibzada, 2012), impact of work-life balance on employees' productivity and job satisfaction (Kamran et al., 2014), and gender and institutional differences in job satisfaction, professional stress and work-family conflict in academia (Yasin & Naqvi, 2016). Qualitative studies have focused on the perceptions of women academics regarding work-life balance (Naz et al., 2017), barriers women face in academia (Yousaf & Schmiede, 2017) and social factors influencing women's career advancement to senior management positions in universities (Raja, 2016). Research studies conducted with reference to the need for and importance of support confirmed that different forms of supports such as organisational and societal (Baker, 2010; Marcinkus et al., 2007), institutional (Heffernan & Heffernan, 2019); personal strengths and husband's support (Saleem & Ajmal, 2018) play significant roles in work-family balance and career progression. My study's contribution is to investigate both the

experiences of work-family life of women academics along with some ways out of such situations through exploring the role of academic institutions and family in supporting women academics' career progression.

My study contributes to the field of research on women academics' work-family life and career progression through institutional and family support systems as well as being shaped by my life as a researcher, and a mother.

As a researcher with a quantitative research orientation, coming from Pakistan to learn more about qualitative research, I developed and refined qualitative interviewing skills by practising these skills with my supervisors, and doctoral colleagues. I learned how to ask questions as I conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews for rich data generation. Well formulated and relevant follow up questions made the generation of rich data possible and brought forward the stories of limitations as well as small possibilities for democracy to come that I identified.

As a mother, and a doctoral student in a Western country with more flexibility in school education, I developed parenting skills with more attention to listening to my children's everyday stories, valuing and responding to their questions, playing games, riding bikes, reading stories, washing dishes, and exploring new shapes of cooking flat breads. These experiences shaped my relationship with my children as well as providing them new ways of learning and experience new ways of thinking while it provided me with opportunities to think about new possibilities in terms of disturbing and questioning traditional gender practices and producing alternative discursive practices.

Setting the Context-Pakistan

To understand the current position of women in Pakistani society, I trace the history of how state, religion, and women's organisations shaped women's lives in postcolonial Pakistan (Jafar, 2005). In this first section, I discuss how political developments in Pakistan produced possibilities and limitations for women's lives and careers. After this substantial section on politics that includes the ongoing playing out of patriarchy, I offer an account of

the social construction of gender in everyday life, showing the effects of politics in women's private, as well as public, life.

Pakistan is a South Asian country, bordered by India in the east, China in the north, and Iran and Afghanistan in the west and the Arabian Sea in the south. The landscape of the country is diverse; it has a coastline on the Arabian sea, long stretches of desert, fertile plains, and some of the highest mountain peaks in the world. As the world's fifth most populous country (in 2022), Pakistan is home to more than 228 million people, with a current Muslim population of 96.4 per cent. Nearly half of its population are women. Urdu is the national and Urdu and English are the official languages, with other regional languages including Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Balochi, Hindko, Brahui, and Saraiki (The World FactBook, 2022).

Pakistan emerged as an independent country in 1947 after the end of colonial rule of the Indian Sub-continent by the British, who initially entered India for trading purposes and then colonised India for a hundred years (Qadeer, 2006; Zaman et al., 2006). Pakistan became an independent nation, but it remains ideologically colonised through the "colonial educational apparatus inherited from the British colonial rule" (Mansoor & Malik, 2016, p. 491), and is influenced by the Hindu culture as part of the Indian Sub-Continent (Tabassum, 2016).

Pakistan is a Muslim society with feudal patriarchal structures and traditions. Gender norms are mainly acknowledged as stabilising the existing division of labour and these norms are justified through religious beliefs, culture and value system (Grünenfelder, 2013). Home is defined as a "woman's legitimate ideological and physical space", while a man dominates the world outside the home (Durrani & Halai, 2018, p. 28). Family, in Islam, is a basic social unit and women have the nurturing responsibility towards family while men are the breadwinners (Shah & Shah, 2012). Women's lives in Pakistan cannot be viewed as homogenous. Depending on geographical location, a Pakistani woman can be "a highly qualified and self-confident professional or a modest domesticated housewife, leading an extremely isolated life cut off from all decisions and information" (Qureshi, 2007, p. 3). Women's existence in the social context of Pakistan is interpreted through the

notion of motherhood and family, associated with domestic role, often creating oppression for career-oriented women (Rab, 2010; Shah & Shah, 2012). These socially constructed gender roles of women are endorsed through school textbooks depicting them cooking, cleaning, washing dresses, raising children, and taking the lead in domestic chores, constructing patriarchal situations. Representation of females in professional life is also confined to limited options including schoolteachers and doctors, primarily (Durrani, 2008; Ullah & Skelton, 2013). However, men are presented as role models with exceptional qualities and masculine characteristics (Jabeen et al., 2014).

Traces of Women's Struggle for Rights

In this section, I discuss how women's social position in Pakistan has evolved from the pre-independence period to the present. Throughout the different civil and military governments in Pakistan, the argument about the positioning of women within public and private domains has remained contradictory. I note that governments tend to use women's potential in the wider interest of the country rather than giving consideration to women's rights.

Pre-Independence to Pre-Zia-ul-Haq Rule (1977)

During the pre-independence period, Muslim women actively participated in the independence movement against the British colonial rule. They took part in political activities by participating in public demonstrations even when they were tear-gassed or arrested for their participation, and were candidates in the 1946 elections (Jafar, 2005; Weiss, 1993). In 1942, encouragement of women to be political partners also came from the matriarch of a powerful Punjabi family, Lady Maratab Ali, as she said:

> The days have gone when Punjab's Muslim women were considered fit only for cooking food and minding children. It is now essential for them to take an equal share of responsibility with their menfolks in the field of politics. (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987, p. 45)

Weiss (1993) asserted that women's active engagement in political activities created the possibility of considering women's pursuits outside home as acceptable. Mumtaz and

Shaheed (1987) argued "the nationalist struggle provided the environment in which Muslim women broke through traditional rules and restrictions, cast off their veils, left their homes, approached strangers, confronted the police, and entered politics" (p. 47).

After independence was achieved in 1947, women's political activities were redirected to providing care and charity work for the immigrants coming from India. This was the time when a large number of women became teachers and doctors (Jafar, 2005; Rouse, 1998). However, women holding political positions continued advocating women's political empowerment. As a result of their efforts, the new government passed legislation, the Muslim Personal Law of *Sharia* (1948), which recognised a woman's right to inherit property consistent with Islamic law. Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan (wife of Pakistan's then president Liaquat Ali Khan) as president of All Pakistan Women's Organisation (APWA) played an important role in getting the Pakistan state to become a member of UN Human Rights Commission, including agreeing to the 1953 Convention on Political Rights of Women. APWA also recommended ten seats for women to be reserved in the national assembly as well as in each provincial assembly. The other achievement made by APWA was to include a Charter of Women's Rights in the 1956 constitution, the first ever constitution of an independent Islamic Republic of Pakistan under the presidency of the Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan. Later, in 1960, Muslim Family Law Ordinance (MFLO) was approved (Rouse, 1998; Weiss, 1993, 2012, 2017). According to Weiss (2012, 2017), the purpose of MFLO was:

> …[to] give economic and legal protection to women by regulating marriage and divorce and restraining polygamy. It required registration of all marriages, the written permission of a man's wife (or wives) to be presented before an arbitration council to decide if the man may marry again, the abolition of divorce by simple repudiation (talaq), and other safeguards for women in the event of divorce. (Weiss, 2012, p. 4; 2017, p. 352)

The Ordinance also affirmed a woman's right (over that of her family) to make a choice about to whom she would marry, as well as to initiate divorce (Jafar, 2005).

In 1973, Nusrat Bhutto, wife of the then Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and mother of the first woman Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (1988), was one of the co-introducers of the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) at the United Nations. Weiss (1993) argued that this was "an act symbolising that Pakistan saw itself at the forefront of initiatives empowering women worldwide. Pakistani women began entering the workforce and government service in unprecedented number" (p. 98). However, Jafar (2005) suggested that these changes in policies only influenced the lives of a small group of professional women, and women from middle and upper-middle class. Shaheed (1999) made a similar point about class:

> Unfortunately, however, these redefinitions of the parameters of women's personal lives were largely insulated by boundaries of class privilege in metropolitan locations. Class identity shielded the women who embodied these changes from public visibility and overt criticism. For other women, changes were far less dramatic, the most important being the increased access to and acceptability of education, with the bonus of increased mobility. (p. 156)

Rouse (1998) also argued that not all women benefited from these developments:

> …women's education was not construed necessarily as a right for women but as part of the process whereby the bourgeois class was to define itself in opposition to its others, most notably the working and producing classes, as well as so-called tribals… (p. 55)

The inclusion of women into work was not about their rights but to realise the developmental project of the new state as a modern state within the international community (Jafar, 2005; Rouse, 1998).

Importantly, despite women's participation in the work force, they were expected to maintain their private roles as mother, daughters, and wives. Hence, workspaces created for women maintained patriarchal privilege as middle-class women entered jobs that reproduced their private roles such as teachers, charity, and relief workers. Certain other jobs such as medical profession made available for women due to segregation and

seclusion of women as it was considered inappropriate for women to be treated by nonfamilial men (Rouse, 1998).

In 1973, the third constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was approved under the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. The constitution of 1973 affirmed the state's commitment to eliminate exploitation and hence promote women's legal rights. For example, Article 25 (1) guarantees that all citizens are equal under the law and are entitled to equal protection of law; Article 25 (2) adds, "There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex." Article 27 prohibits discrimination based on sex, race, religion, or caste for government employment. Finally, Article 34 in the principles of policy section states that "steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life," and Article 38(a) adds that it is the responsibility of the state to "secure the well-being of the people, irrespective of sex, caste, creed, or race, by raising their standard of living" (Weiss, 2012, p. 4; 2017, p. 353).

Zia-ul-Haq's Rule (1977-1988)

However, these developments were threatened when in 1977, soon after general Zia-ul-Haq came to power, he overthrew what he claimed was the "un-Islamic" government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (who was later hanged under Zia-ul-Haq's order) and introduced his vision of the "Islamization of the laws and social fabric of Pakistan" under Martial Law (Jafar, 2005, p. 39; Rouse, 1998, p. 58). To prolong his military rule, Zia-ul-Haq made an alliance with the Jamaat-e-Islam (the fundamentalist religious group) and drew attention to the growing visibility of Pakistani women in the public sphere which already had been a matter of concern for the religious groups. Zia-ul-Haq suggested women's work outside the house as a Western and anti-Islamic concept emphasised a "return to Islam" that "signified a return to traditional/patriarchal social structure" by confining women within the "chadar (a very long veil which covers most of the body) and the chardivari (the four walls of the house) according to Jafar (2005, p. 40). While the state was pushing women to return to the "chadar and the chardivari", poor rural women continued working in the agriculture along with men, as Shaheed (1999) pointed out:

> The leaders of the political discourse were notably not (and still are not) interested in the conditions of women working in the fields... Their primary concern, of course was how to obtain power and retain power. And women and gender issues were relevant only insofar as the issue was how to cope with (and control) the implications of changing social and economic circumstances. (p. 154)

Thus, Zia-ul-Haq's political policies of so-called Islamisation targeting women visible in public sphere, working in professional positions, factories, sports and television reveals that he wished to confine those women whom he considered Westernised, and a threat to the patriarchal system and traditional gender norms (see Jafar, 2005).

During Zia-ul-Haq's regime the law that was the most damaging to women was the Zina Ordinance of 1979 (part of the Hudood Ordinance which deals with fornication, adultery, rape, theft, alcohol consumption, and defamation). The Zina Ordinance covered the crimes of adultery, fornication, and rape. The crimes such as adultery and rape were taken out of the penal code and redefined under the Hudood Ordinance (Jafar, 2005; Rouse, 1998). The controversy related to the Zina Ordinance was that the Ordinance "made no legal distinction between *Zina* (adultery) *Zina-bil-jabr* (rape) and because its enforcement was discriminatory against women: a man had to be observed committing zina to be convicted, while a woman could also be convicted if she became pregnant (i.e., pregnancy was allowable as admissible evidence)" (Weiss, 2017, p. 353). The other discriminatory law against the victim, mainly women, was related to the laws of evidence as "women can no longer testify in courts on their own behalf or on behalf of others in rape cases; four adult male witnesses were needed" (Rouse, 1998, p. 62). Women's Action Forum (WAF) came into being against the discriminatory Hudood Ordinance and organised protests in support of the accused under the Zina law (Jafar, 2005).

Benazir Bhutto (1988–1990; 1993–1996; 2008-2013) and Women's Rights

In 1988, following the death of Zia-ul-Haq and other high ranking army officers in a plane crash, Benazir Bhutto, whose father was executed by Zia-ul-Haq, became the first

woman prime minister of Pakistan. Having a woman as prime minister brought hopes among women that this would be the end of the era of women's oppression as Benazir's political party, Pakistan People's Party (PPP), had a manifesto promising women empowerment through literacy, employment and dismantling all discriminatory laws against women (Jafar, 2005; Weiss, 1990). But Bhutto was criticised by the advocates of women's rights for providing election tickets to a very few women in 1988. Weiss (1990) pointed out:

> Aside from herself and her mother, only one other woman was given a PPP ticket to run for a National Assembly seat and few women were given provincial assembly tickets. No women were initially given ministerial portfolios, although this was reversed on March 23, 1989, when Benazir expanded the federal cabinet to 43 members, including five women. Of the 24 ministers, only one-her mother who is a minister without portfolio-is a woman. Of the 19 ministers of state, four are women. (p. 437)

Bhutto's government during its two terms (1998-90; 1993-96) managed to take certain steps for women's empowerment including elevation of Zia-ul-Haq's women's division to a level of a Ministry of Women's Development. This ministry took initiatives such as constituting a women's Legal Rights and Legal Aid Committees, establishing women's development banks to empower women economically, and introducing women's studies programmes at four universities (Weiss, 1990). Bhutto's government also established special women's police stations and for the first time in the history of Pakistan appointed women judges to the High Court, accompanied by the establishment of Family Courts led by women judges (Awan, 2020). Bhutto (2007) explaining the purpose of her initiatives contended:

> …government established special women's police stations to give confidence to women to report crimes committed against them, as well as appointed women judges for the first time to the high courts of the

> country, we established family courts headed by women judges to hear issues related to child custody and family issues. (pp. 414-415)

In 1995, Benazir Bhutto participated in the UN Fourth World Conference for Women in Beijing, and in 1996 Pakistan became a state party to Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). But no action was taken, and no legislation was passed to repeal the Hudood Ordinance enforced by Zia-ul-Haq that so negatively impacted women's rights. The release of women imprisoned under the Hudood laws remained limited to those already sentenced and hence ignored the majority of women awaiting trial (Weiss, 2012, 2017). The reason behind the government's failure to repeal the Hudood laws was the difficulty to gain two-third support in the National Assembly. Weiss (1993) noted that:

> … the platform on which the party had won favored women's empowerment, [yet] most individual members of the provincial and national assemblies remained entrenched in patriarchal views of women's place in society. The new listeners to convince were no longer the national political leaders but rather the local political elites within the system, the ones upon whom the PPP [Bhutto's party] was dependent for political support and survival. (p. 103)

During its third term (2008-13), Pakistan People's Party (PPP) formed the federal government in the absence of Benazir Bhutto who was assassinated in 2007. The PPP government continued to advance legislation for women's protection and empowerment. For example, "Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act 2012" includes "all intentional acts of gender-based or other physical or psychological abuse committed by an accused against women, children or other vulnerable persons, with whom the accused person is or has been in a domestic relationship". For women's legal empowerment "Prevention of Anti-Women Practices Act 2011" was approved. This act included certain punishable offences against practices involving *karo-kari* (premediated honor-killing), *wanni* and *swara* (women given as compensation) depriving women from inheritance and forced marriages. Additionally, "Acid Control

and Acid Crime Act" and "Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Act 2011" were approved (Awan, 2020, pp. 365-366; Weiss, 2017, pp. 356-357).

Musharraf's Regime (1999-2008) and Women's Status

On 12th October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf took over the civilian government and established a military government when the then prime minister Nawaz Sharif tried to sack the Army Chief Musharraf in his absence (Alam et al., 2020). Musharraf's rule according to Zia (2009), a Pakistani feminist researcher, was of "enlightened moderation" (p. 37).

Since Pakistan became party to the CEDAW in 1996, no significant step was taken to review and eliminate the existing discriminatory laws against women including Hudood law until Musharraf's government revitalised women's empowerment as a key component for Pakistan's national development. In order to promote women's rights consistent with the global requirements articulated in the CEDAW, Musharraf in 2001, endorsed the National Commission on the Status of Women and involved local politicians in developing a consensus on the National Policy on Women. This National Policy for Women later in 2002 transformed into the National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women to promote social, economic, and political empowerment of women in Pakistan.

Musharraf's government worked towards women's political empowerment by reserving seats for women in national and provincial assemblies. Women were appointed as ministers for important ministries such as women's development, education, ministry of law and social welfare (Weiss, 2012, 2017; Zia, 2009). Musharraf also announced the three-month release of women prisoners involved in minor crimes, which affected the large number of women imprisoned under the Zina law of the Hudood ordinance.

As the Hudood laws, which held being raped to be a crime in contrast to other jurisdictions where rape was the crime, were causing a global damage to the international image of Pakistan, Musharraf's government approved laws that included "the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 2004 – popularly referred to as the 'honour killing law' – followed by passage of the 2006 Protection of Women Act that placed the

crimes of rape and adultery back into Pakistan's Penal Code" (Weiss, 2012, p. 6; 2017, p. 355). This change in law held men responsible for acts of rape.

Musharraf supported women's public activities, such as contentious mixed-gender marathons in the conservative Punjab province, and called for increased numbers of women in the armed forces as well as the appointment of women guards at the tomb of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of the nation (Zia, 2009).

Amid conflicting and competing discourses and practices of women's position and power within Pakistani society, and the complexity of developing and articulating laws fulfilling the international and domestic expectations of women's rights (Weiss, 2012), Musharraf's government is credited with contributing in women's empowerment. However, Weiss (2012, 2017) argues that Musharraf's government's use of the specific terminology "creating enabling conditions" to signify the requirements of the CEDAW in its various initiatives suggests that the government was more concerned about Pakistan's standing in the international community than promoting women's rights domestically (Weiss, 2012, pp. 6-7; 2017, pp. 354-355).

Nawaz Government (1990–1993; 1997–1999; 2013-2018) and Women's Issues

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz, like the Pakistan People's Party, were into power thrice. Nawaz Sharif, a member of the industrialist family, was the only leader with the opportunity to become the prime minister of Pakistan for three times. As Nawaz Sharif had been the political partner of Zia-ul-Haq's regime, he received support from the Islamist parties such as the Jama'at-i-Islami and won the elections in 1990 (Awan, 2020; Weiss, 1997). Following Zia-ul-Haq's footsteps, Nawaz announced the implementation of Islamic laws and introduced the *Sharia* Bill (1991) which declared the superiority of Islamic law over the constitution. This bill created room for biased interpretations of Islamic laws within courts. For example, it influenced a woman's right (granted under the Family Law Ordinance 1961) to make a choice of a marriage partner, which was considered un-Islamic (Awan, 2020; Jafar, 2005).

Other detrimental laws of *Qisas* and *Diyat* Ordinance, first introduced by Zia-ul-Haq, were approved during Sharif's rule. This law according to Jafar (2005) "deals with

murder, attempted murder, and bodily injury. *Qisas* refers to retribution (equal to the extent of injury caused) and *Diyat* refers to monetary compensation"(p. 50). Hence, through these laws serious crimes turned into private matters and the number of murders of couples involved in adultery or fornication increased. However, there were more women victims of honour killings, murdered by their husbands or fathers. (Amnesty International Pakistan, 1999; Jafar, 2005). *Diyat* that referred as monetary compensation turned into "the practice of *bed-e-sulh* -handing over a woman or women as compensation for a crime" (Jafar, 2005, p. 51) committed by any of their male family members, thus producing the idea of woman as a property.

Instead of prioritising women's education and technical training, Nawaz's government focused on institutionalising Islamic ideology through Islamic studies and Pakistan studies curriculum. With the loss of state education, women's organisations through NGOs played a significant role in providing opportunities for educating women about "their legal rights, adult literacy, or income generating activities" (Weiss, 1997, pp. 136-137).

In 1997, Nawaz became the prime minister for the second time with "two-thirds of the seats in the National assembly and three-fourths of the seats in Punjab assembly" and disappointingly only six women were the part of the National assembly. However, in 2013 during the third term of Nawaz's government, women's participation in the elections created possibilities for amendments in Criminal Law Act known as "Anti-Honour Killings Laws (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill" and "Anti-Rape Laws (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill" (Awan, 2020, pp. 377-379).

Imran Khan (2018-2022) and New Pakistan

Imran Khan, a member of an upper-middle-class family, educated at Oxford, a former cricket champion and captain, a philanthropist who established the first-ever cancer hospitals in Pakistan, entered politics in 1996. Khan launched his political party "Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf" (PTI) with a promise to "deliver justice to people" and build a New Pakistan. People's hope for a New Pakistan "through *tabdeli* (change) embedded in justice" emerged as a huge support for PTI (Hussain et al., 2021, p. 86;

Yılmaz & Shakil, 2021). Khan's narrative of a transformed Pakistan implied "an Islamic State (Riyasat-e-Madinah, a welfare state's Islamic version) that creates an equal society based on Madinah's Islamic State" (Hussain et al., 2021, p. 86; Yilmaz & Morieson, 2022, p. 3).

In the 2013 elections, Khan's party managed to form a coalition with the religious party Jama'at-e-Islami and formed a provincial government in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (Hussain et al., 2021; Yılmaz & Shakil, 2021). Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, formerly known as Khyber Agency, used to be the part of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and was merged into the KPK province in 2018. KPK, sharing borders with Afghanistan maintains a traditional tribal and patriarchal culture, with limited opportunities for women to receive education and women's low participation in paid labour (UN Women Pakistan, 2020).

In 2016, During PTI coalition government, KPK Commission on the Status of Women was established to reinforce the legislation and policy-making related to the status of women in the province. The Social Welfare and Women's Empowerment Department established eight shelter homes for women, victims of domestic abuse, gender-based violence or poverty. These shelter homes "known as *Darul Amans* or women crisis centers provided shelter, food, clothing, and religious and vocational education" (Government of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, 2020, p. 14). Moreover, to promote economic empowerment of women, Industrial Training Centers in different districts of KPK were established to provide "free training courses on various income-generating skills including embroidery, sewing, knitting and stitching" (Government of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, 2020, p. 20). Other initiatives include establishment hostels for working women and introducing Bolo helpline to support women report gender-based violence with provision of psychological support and legal aid (Government of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, 2020).

In 2018, Imran khan became the prime minister when PTI won the majority of the seats in the national assembly and formed a federal government and in two provinces: Punjab and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK), and a coalition government in Balochistan. With its

inception, PTI established a women's wing with a manifesto of ensuring women's representation and participation in different fields of public life. This manifesto focused on the provision of health, economic, educational, and legal resources, opportunities for employment and political participation for women's empowerment. However, as far as women's political participation is concerned, in the general elections in 2018, only four women out of 50 members managed to become part of the PTI government (Hussain, 2022; Stiftung, 2022).

PTI government took initiatives and approved legislations in support of women, such as Domestic Violence (Prevention & Protection) Bill 2019. The country's reports on human rights practices in Pakistan shows that in Punjab, the provision of legal protection to the victim of domestic abuse is ensured through centres offering "a range of services including assistance with the completion of first information reports regarding the crimes committed against them, first aid, medical examinations, post trauma rehabilitation, free legal services, and a shelter home" (U.S. Department of State, 2021, p. 44). Furthermore, the Punjab police introduced a cellphone application to facilitate women being harmed in domestic abusive intimate relationships to secretly contact the police and to avoid retaliation from the abuser (U.S. Department of State, 2021).

To support women's careers, the establishment of four women's career centers was funded by the Punjab government. Additionally, 16 women's hostels in 12 districts were established to provide women with safe and affordable stays while searching for a job. For economic empowerment of women in rural areas, the then female minister for Women Development in Punjab, Ashifa Riaz Fatyana launched a programme for women to "earn in four ways, earning through certified vocational courses, selling their own local brands as entrepreneurs, linking them with local markets, and in providing access to online selling, especially agri-based items" ("'Kissan Ki Beti' launched to aid women from agri-based families," 2020; U.S. Department of State, 2021).

Other legislations approved and endorsed during PTI government included Anti-Rape (Investigation & Trial) Ordinance 2020, Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance 2020,

Legal Aid and Justice Authority Act, 2020, Enforcement of Women's Property Rights Act 2020, Zainab Alert Response & Recovery Act 2020 ("'Imran stands for women's respect and rights'," 2021).

In addition to province specific initiatives for women, Khan's government devised a National Gender Policy Framework in 2022 with a focus on promoting equality and quality education by "creating enabling environments for girl and young women to learn and be equipped with employable & high-income". It includes a plan and implementation strategy for employment and economic development for women through promoting "equitable access to work opportunities with conducive workplaces, enabling enterprising environment and necessary business skills" (Government of Pakistan, 2022, p. 40). The policy also emphasises women's active political participation, and decision-making by providing "avenues for and advance female leadership, mentorship and engagement to meaningfully integrate their voices in program design and policy decisions" (Government of Pakistan, 2022, p. 47).

Why Politics Matters

It is clear that women in Pakistan continue to struggle for basic human rights such as protection, recognition, and shelter. At the same time the social transition towards modernity and globalisation demands women share economic activity and thus participate further in public life. However, the socio-cultural traditions of a patriarchal society remain largely unchanged and leave women responsible for the household and childcare. This situation has created a dual social pressure for women to play their role in the world of work along with undertaking all family responsibilities at home. One example of the playing out of this situation is that the majority of postgraduate female students consider school teaching as an ideal career with which they can manage their family responsibilities (Aziz & Kamal, 2012; Nausheen & Richardson, 2018). This preference reflects the socio-cultural expectations of women's role of balancing work and family in a patriarchal society.

Women joining academia in the situation of such a strong stereotypic gender ideology face many socio-cultural barriers such as family and home-based responsibilities, lack

of structures and facilities, instances of unsympathetic attitudes in the workplace and at home, and lack of professional support for their career development (Batool & Sajid, 2013). Hence, the challenge of managing work and family responsibilities, and organisational culture, the focus of this doctoral investigation, affects women's career progress (Rafi, 2012; Yasin & Naqvi, 2016).

Family and workplace are two prime sites that maintain gender differences. Despite increased participation in the workforce, women in many parts of the world have to fulfil the traditional responsibility of taking care of family members and doing housework. In dual earner families, women do more house and care work than men even if they work for longer hours and earn more money (Hjelm, 2014; Lorber, 2012). Working mothers in contemporary traditional societies carry the majority of childcare responsibilities and household labour. Davis and Greenstein (2013) contend that the way housework is negotiated between men and women in the family, shows power inequalities. Generally, the partner with more power (man) avoids doing domestic chores (Sullivan, 2013). Hence, I argue that organising a family with household labour in a traditional way can burden women and make them compromise their career for their family needs.

Organisations and institutions internationally are also gendered. The gendered substructure is created in the organising processes in which inequalities are built into job design, wage determination, distribution of decision-making and supervisory power, the physical design of the workplace, and rules (Acker, 2012).

Social Construction of Gender

Feminist theorists, according to Connell (1990), argue that patriarchal institutions such as family, school, church, and media construct gender. My brief account above, of the political history of Pakistan, gives a background to the patriarchal construction of women as subjects, and of women's place in public and private life. Social constructionism gives attention to the practices by which gender is constructed, that is to gender as a process that is constantly being enacted in everyday situations.

Social constructionists insist on taking a critical stance towards taken for granted knowledge and remain suspicious of assumptions about how the world appears to be (Burr, 2015). Thus, in a study of women academics' family and work life, assumptions about gender and gender practices come up for critical investigation. Butler's political commentary argued that gender is socially constructed rather than tied to biological sex (Morton, 2007; Ullah & Skelton, 2013). Similarly. West and Zimmerman (1987) proposed that gender is something a person does, rather than has. "Doing gender," they say, "involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micro political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine natures" (p. 126). Following on from this point, gender becomes an institutionalised system of social practices for constituting social relations of inequality between men and women (Risman, 2009).

Risman's (2018) theory of gender as a social practice presents three dimensions; the individual, the interactional, and the macro levels of analysis. At the individual level, gender identity is constructed through cultural norms, beliefs, and worldviews of gender along with alignment with physical makeup. Interpersonal relationships are developed through stereotypes and expectation underlying cultural gender ideologies; access to material resources and its effect on relations such as household debates. At the macro level, bureaucratic structures within institutions disadvantage women through minimal access to resources, low wages and discriminatory work expectations for men and women – and as my account above shows, through laws that oppress women. Shared hegemonic cultural beliefs about gender in various relational and interactional situations – in this case, work and family - maintain and change the gender system (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). My thesis makes use of these ideas that suggest that gender is constructed both politically and in day-to-day practices.

Research Questions

In this thesis, I explored the work-family life of women as women and academics in Pakistani context. My research curiosity was to investigate how academic institutions

and family shaped the lives of women with work-family responsibilities as academics. The following questions guided my research inquiry:

a) How do women academics in Pakistan manage work-family responsibilities?
b) What kind of institutional support is provided to women who manage work and family responsibilities?
c) What kinds of family support is available to women to manage work and family responsibilities?
d) How does the institutional support help women to develop their academic careers?
e) How does family support contribute to the construction of 'women as academics'?
f) What expectations - institutional and societal/familial - do women academics have for the facilitation of their career development?

The first research question explored the experiences of women academics about being responsible for work and family and how they construct themselves as women and academics. Research questions two and four provided insight into how academic institutions support women in their career progression and family life, while questions three and five investigated family support for work and family life. The last research question was aimed at exploring women academics' expectations about institutional and family support for their career progression.

Summary of Thesis Chapters

In Chapter Two, I discuss the historical and religious perspective of social position of Muslim women during precolonial (pre-Islamic, early Islamic and Muslim rule in Sub-Continent), colonial and postcolonial epochs in the Indian Sub-Continent. I introduce Islamic feminism as an approach that revives the gender egalitarian teachings of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). As I continue this overview, I present postcolonial feminism to refer to the contestation between patriarchal gender practices, postcolonial representation of women as third world women, and the epistemic domination of Western knowledge. In the final section of this chapter, I introduce further the theories that guided me in the process of analysis I presented in my findings chapters Five to Eight. I begin with Foucault's theorisation of power, power/knowledge (Foucault,

1980b), and disciplinary techniques (Foucault, 1977) of power. Next, I discuss the conceptions of subject, subjection and subordination by Foucault and Butler followed by Butler's (1990, 1997) theory of performativity and mastery and submission. I also discuss Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory with a focus on how dominant discourses and practices produce power relationships that offer subject positions.

In Chapter Three, I present a review of related literature about the socio-cultural positioning of Pakistani women within family and higher education institutions. I also discuss the institutional and family support available for women academics in their work-family contexts. Institutional support includes national policies about maternity and paternity leave, child care facilities, collegial/departmental support and flexible work arrangements while family support involves parents' and husband's support.

In Chapter Four, I discuss the research method and steps I followed in the research process. I outline the ethical requirements and change in ethics application as the opportunity to interview husbands of women academics emerged when I was in the field. I also include details on how I recruited the research participants for my study and introduce my research participants. I provide details about conducting semi-structured face-to-face interviews for data generation, and the process of producing interview transcripts by transcribing and translating the interviews. I conclude the chapter with the details about the analysis I used as an approach to investigate the research materials.

The following chapters from Five to Eight are findings chapters. In Chapter Five, I present my analysis of the disciplining of academic mothers through the dominant discourses of "good mothers" by being teachers of their own children and hold it as a responsibility for which they are accountable. I present the nature of school home work in Pakistani context and details on how the school home work becomes an unshared responsibility for mothers in academia. I offer analyses of mothers' involvement in children's homework to make women academics' struggle within family domain as visible. I conclude the chapter with my personal account of a mother-son interaction that occurs on different terms than the disciplinary terms.

In Chapter Six, I present the analysis of some alternative discourses about Pakistani women's position within family and society, shared by two Pakistani men participants, Ali and Ahmad, who were in the husband participants group. The data and subsequent analysis became particularly meaningful to me: listening to a man calling for women's rights, respect and honour has been unfamiliar to me throughout my life as a Pakistani woman. My work with these data have made this call more familiar to me. Men acknowledging women's struggles within work-family life and calling for equality, recognition and respect for women are the highlights of this chapter.

In Chapter Seven, I present stories of family support. I begin the chapter with a woman academic's account of her father engaged in care for his wife, daughter and grand-daughters, disturbing the dominant traditional gender practices of care. Then, I present another account of a woman academic whose mother disrupted the rigidity of traditional patriarchal power relations by taking a bold step to support her daughter's higher eduation and then her career by taking care of her grand children. I also offer insights into women academics' perspectives about their husbands' and husbands' parents support in their family and career. I also highlight women academics' narratives of compromising and sacrificing their own careers for their husbands' career progression. Finally I present my analyses of women academics' accounts who depend on domestic support as an alternative to fulfil the work-family responsibilities.

In Chapter Eight, I focus on the perspectives of women academics and heads of departments about workplace challenges and available institutional support in response to these challenges. I discuss the sites of contestation due to the postcolonial situation and global neoliberal demands in universities in Pakistan. The postcolonial situation of limited availability of a range of resources has effects for opportunities and so for career progression for women academics.

In Chapter Nine, I show how my research contributes by identifying the possibilities of questioning and undoing patriarchal gender practices and producing alternative discursive practices that might open up small possibilities for "Democracy to come" (Derrida, 2004, p. 331) within marital and family relationships. I also suggest

implications for mutuality and reciprocity at workplaces. I begin the chapter with my personal account of how questioning traditional practices opens up possibilities for change.

Chapter Two

Situating the Study: History, Religion, and Theory

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the social position of Muslim women from a historical perspective. Over time, this position has been shaped by the contested practices of patriarchal gender traditions and the gender egalitarian teaching of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), followed by the patriarchal interpretation of the Qur'anic text, during the times of caliphs. This contestation between patriarchal gender practices and gender egalitarian teachings of Islam continued across dynasties, either through co-opting Islam inspired by the cultural traditions of the occupied lands, division as Sunni-Shia sects, or through traditional reformative and modern approaches towards the social reform of Muslim women under British rule. I introduce Islamic feminism as an approach that revives the gender egalitarian teachings of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). As I continue this overview, I present postcolonial feminism to refer to the contestation between patriarchal gender practices, postcolonial representation of women as third world women, and the epistemic domination of Western knowledge. With this background in place, in the final section of this chapter, I introduce further the theories I employ in my study.

Status of Women During the Pre-colonial Age (Pre-Islamic, Early Islamic, and Muslim Rule)

Since the roots of the religion Islam can be traced to Arabia (Donner, 2010), the socio-cultural life of Arabic society is relevant to understand how women's position has developed over time. In pre-Islamic Arab society, the birth of a daughter was considered a dishonour, and some tribes were involved in the inhumane practice of burying their daughters alive. Regarded as subservient to men, women were effectively treated as their possessions and they had no rights to inherit or keep possessions (Engineer, 2008; Shakir, 1976). The Arab law allowed men to have more than one wife at a time. Women had no

say in their marriage and the tribe could determine a woman's marriage without her consent. The practice of dowry was considered a token of a woman's nobility and the future husband used to pay a dowry to the woman to spend on herself and her needs for the marriage. In some situations, the woman's family used to keep the dowry for themselves or apportion some of it to the woman to be married. A man had the right to divorce a woman, but a woman had to stay in her marriage even if she was ill-treated by her husband. If her husband died, a woman had to re-marry another man from her family or she might be sold (Sulaimani, 1986).

Contrary to these patriarchal gender practices, the advent of Islam brought about a revolution in gender relations within Muslim society and claimed equal rights for women, as Wadud (2002) asserts:

> Islam brought radical changes regarding women and society, despite the deeply entrenched patriarchy of seventh-century Arabia. The Qur'an provides women with explicit rights to inheritance, independent property, divorce, and the right to testify in a court of law. It prohibits violence towards women and girls and is against duress in marriage and community affairs. Women and men equally are required to fulfill all religious duties and are equally eligible for punishment for misdemeanors. (Wadud, 2002, p. 16)

In the year 610 CE, the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) received revelations from Allah, collected and written in the form of the Qur'an. The Islamic teachings introduced through the revelations of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) offered particular perspectives that shaped the social position of women as daughters, wives, and mothers. The Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) prohibited the brutal practice of female infanticide, announced the birth of a girl as a blessing, and viewed women as equal to men. He emphasised the Islamic view of the marital relationship between men and women as complementary and mutual to each other (Jaafar-Mohammad & Lehmann, 2011). Family life in Islam is not merely based on a formal hierarchy of rights and responsibilities; instead, relationships in Islam are embedded in "*sakīnah* (peace, restfulness, honour), *muwaddah* (affection), *raḥmah*

(forgiveness, grace, mercy, compassion) and *rufq* (gentleness)" (Akhmetova, 2020, p. 60). The Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) said, "The most perfect in faith amongst believers is he who is best in manners and kindest to his wife" (as cited in Jaafar-Mohammad & Lehmann, 2011, p. 3). The Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) used to help his wives in domestic work, showing that no loss of status was attached to performing the domestic duties of cooking, cleaning, and washing. Although Islam allows men to take up to four wives, the Qur'an forbids multiple marriages if the husband is unable to support more than one wife or treat all of his wives equally. Women cannot take more than one husband at a time and have the right to seek divorce, an act known as *Khu'la* (Hasan, 2013; Jaafar-Mohammad & Lehmann, 2011).

The Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) recognised women's right to own property and inheritance. Daughters were, just as sons, rightful heirs of their parents' wealth and women, regardless of whether they had children or not, would inherit the wealth of their husbands in the event of their husbands' death, so that they would not become dependent on others. The Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) also asserted that a dead man's relatives had no rights over his widow. She was a free agent and could remarry if a good opportunity presented itself. There were no restrictions on women participating in the economic establishment and acquiring independent status through their earnings. For example, Khadija, the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) first wife was one of the most important merchants of that time, and the Prophet himself was one of her employees (Ibnouf, 2019).

Considering the holiness of motherhood, the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) said, "Paradise is at the feet of the mother" (as cited in Shakir, 1976, p. 71). With respect to education, Mosques were the centres of religious education during the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) lifetime and during the caliphates period. Ahmed (1987) suggests that an enclosure known as *suffah* was connected to the mosque of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) within Madinah. This enclosure was used as a "regular residential school where reading, writing, Muslim law, memorising of chapters of the Qur'an with *tajwid* (how to recite the Qur'an correctly), and other Islamic sciences were taught under the direct supervision of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)" (p. 322).

Following the death of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) in 632 CE, his followers appointed *Caliphs* (successors) known as *Rashidun* (rightly guided) caliphs. The first four caliphs (632-661); *Hazrat*[1] Abu Bakr, *Hazrat* Umar ibn al-Khattab, *Hazrat* Uthman bin Affan, and *Hazrat* Ali ibn Abi Talib, ruled "by virtue of their personal connections with Muhammad and Arabian ideas of authority" (Lapidus, 2014, p. 144). During the Rashidun caliphs' rule, the social positioning of Muslim women remained contested between the teachings of Islam and pre-Islamic traditions. Abu Bakr, the first caliph, and Prophet Mohammad's companion remained busy in managing the rebellious activities of the false prophets and warring against those who refused to pay *Zakat* (charity) (Ahmed, 1986). Umar, the second caliph, was one of the companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), and was regarded as "an authoritarian [and] somewhat angry character" who, before accepting Islam, had been a "sworn enemy of the new faith" and its followers (El-Hibri, 2010, p. 80). Umar as a caliph believed in an observation of law and initiated "a series of religious, civil, and penal ordinances, including the punishment of stoning for adultery" (Ahmed, 1986, p. 689; El-Hibri, 2010). Continuing pre-Islamic traditions, Umar tried to confine his wives and other Muslim women to their homes and restricted them from attending mosques (Abbott, 1985). After being unsuccessful in his efforts, he emphasised segregated prayers. Contrary to the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) precedent of appointing women as imam (the person who leads the prayer in mosque), Umar appointed a male imam for women and also prohibited the wives of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) from going on pilgrimage. However, Uthman bin Affan, the third caliph, overturning Umar's policies, continued the legacy of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) by allowing the Prophet's wives to observe pilgrimage and Muslim women to offer prayers in the mosques with men but as a separate group (Ahmed, 1986).

Following Uthman bin Affan's assassination, Aisha (a wife of the Prophet Mohammad PBUH), in a public address at the mosque in Mecca, announced that Uthman bin Affan's murder would be avenged. Since Ali ibn Abi Talib (the Prophet Mohammad's cousin and son-in-law), the fourth caliph, refused to take revenge for Uthman's murder, Aisha actively

[1] A title used to honour a person.

participated in politics and led an army in the battle of Camel, “named after the camel on which Aisha sat” (Ahmed, 1986, p. 690; Nisa, 2021). However, Ali ibn Abi Talib undermined Aisha’s leadership by misleading her warriors when she commanded them during the battle of the Camel resulting in Aisha’s defeat (Ahmed, 1986). This incident facilitated “the later rise of the Umayyad political claim”, the opposition of Ali by Sunni followers, and “the emergence of Shi’ism generally” (a sect/group claiming that Muslim leadership belonged only to the fourth caliph Ali bin Abi Talib) (El-Hibri, 2010, pp. 210-211).

The possibility of Aisha leading the battle is acknowledged by progressive Muslim scholars and Islamic feminists as evidence of women’s participation in the political life of early Muslim society (Nisa, 2021). However, the opponents of Aisha’s participation in the political arena argued that “Aisha had violated the seclusion imposed by Mohammad, who had ordered his wives to stay at home (women’s proper place in this new order), [and they] seemed the more fully vindicated by her defeat” (Ahmed, 1986, p. 690). Following her defeat, Aisha adhered to the new order of women’s place at home and left the public life.

Early Islam encouraged women’s participation in social and professional life. Women, during the Prophet Mohammad’s (PBUH) lifetime, had “participated in the life of the community and performed functions - attended the mosque, led prayers” from which they were restricted after the death of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) (Abbott, 1941; Ahmed, 1986, p. 690). As the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) was the “interpreter of divine revelation”, after his death, the caliphs were responsible for “interpreting Qur’anic precepts and translating interpretation into practical decisions” (Ahmed, 1992, p. 88). The Prophet Mohammad’s (PBUH) successors were not completely shaped by the new practices of Islam, but remained influenced by the gender practices that had prevailed in pre-Islamic society and hence restricted women’s participation in the public sphere (Ahmed, 1986). Extending this argument, Abbott (1941) asserts that women’s public roles in religious exegeses were excluded as a means to further confine women to their homes.

Following the rule of the Rashidun caliphs, Islamic history records Muslim rule in the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties, followed by the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires.

Umayyad Dynasty (661–750 CE)

The Muslim state under the Umayyad dynasty (661–750) continued to expand into North Africa, Spain, and Central Asia. Once the Islamic state was established, Mu'awiyah (661–80), the first Umayyad caliph, moved its capital from Medina to Damascus, which had been part of the Eastern Roman empire centred on Constantinople. This change from the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) city Medina to a city immersed in Roman civilisation and Christian traditions secularised Islam. The Umayyad rulers adopted many courtly and administrative practices of the conquered land's traditions but made no attempt to Islamise them. The dynasty quickly died out but a branch survived in Spain until 1492 (Akhtar, 2010, p. 170; Guity, 2008, p. 236).

During the first two centuries, *Sharia* (Islamic law) was being shaped by the caliphs' interpretations of the Qur'an as well as Arab's conquest of the "foreign territories" (Ahmed, 1992, p. 88). The increased population of non-Arab converts to Islam and Muslim Arabians mesmerised by the cultures of the conquered nations interpreted the Qur'anic verses in a way that "suited the temperament of a population that was urban in its worldview" (Guity, 2008, p. 237). They supported their interpretations with *hadith* (the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad PBUH) and the practices of his close companions. Thus, they included "behavior that limited and even discouraged women's public role with attitudes and behavior that encouraged their seclusion" (Guity, 2008, pp. 237-238).

During the early Umayyad period, women participated in the wars of conquest and were among the beneficiaries of wealth gained through those conquests. Women had freedom in their social and family lives. They enjoyed economic freedom and could own their own business and acquire wealth without interference from their husbands or male family members. Women also had the right to consent to their marriage, initiate divorce or remarry, and arrange their own social and religious gatherings. Women's legal rights were protected by the rulers and courts which practised customary values. There appeared to be fewer instances of domestic violence and women had equal opportunities to education (Malik & Rohilla, 2018).

As the new conquests brought wealth, slaves, and concubines, the concept of *harem* (a section of a house reserved for female members of a Muslim household) was introduced within ruling families. The prevalent availability of wealth within the public made women demand high dower (a widow's share in her husband's money and property after his death) in marriages. High dowers enabled a comfortable and easy life for women, and they concentrated on collecting properties and jewellery to secure their future. Hence, instead of being engaged in public life, women preferred to stay at home, leading to the discontinuation of their own source of income and an increasing dependence on the income of men.

Although women were not actively participating in politics, the wives of the caliphs and governors, Atika bint Yazid, Ummul Banin, Fatimah bint Abdul Malik, and Ramilla bint Awam tried to influence political activities. Some educated women contributed to Arabic language and literature, the Ulume Quran, Hadith literature, Arabic poetry and prose, as well as to medicine, history, law, and other subjects (Malik & Rohilla, 2018, p. 174).

Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258 CE)

In 762, the Abbasids became rulers of the Muslim empire with Baghdad as their new capital (Akhtar, 2010). The conquests not only shaped gender relationships but also brought wealth, women, and children as slaves. The widespread availability of slaves eased the married Muslim women's outdoor activities and confined the majority of women to their homes. Wealth enabled large majority of wealthy people to establish *harem* that could be afforded by the rulers only (Guity, 2008).

Women of the ruling and upper classes inherited wealth and had control over large estates. Some women were involved in entrepreneurial activities and invested in local trade. They also invested in local and international trade. Some provided financial support to religious schools, mosques, and orphanages. The strict division of gender roles restricted the economic rights of urban women and limited their activities to household tasks and childrearing. Working-class women had greater employment opportunities such as domestic work, midwifery, and manufacturing for textile industries. Even so, women were not allowed to work alongside men in factories and did the spinning and weaving at home.

A woman's marriage was encouraged and reinforced through *Sharia* (Islamic law). A father or a male relative had previously held authority over an unmarried woman, but she became somewhat independent after marriage. That said, a woman was not considered equal to her husband, even though both had clear rights and obligations as husband and wife. The birth of children, especially a son, could contribute to the social status of women.

The education of girls was arranged at home whereas boys were taught in madrassas (religious schools). Girls from the elite and middle-class families used to read the Qur'an, Hadith (sayings of the Prophet Mohammad PBUH) and other religious subjects. However, some girls specialised in the study of the Qur'an and *Sharia* (Islamic law). Apart from these subjects, some girls were allowed to study philosophy, literature, economics, art, and calligraphy (Guity, 2008; Jennie et al., 2008).

The Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Empires

The great Muslim empires of the Middle East and South Asia - the Ottoman, the Safavid, and the Mughal - were linked by shared historical, ethnic, and cultural traditions. The Ottoman Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans (1281– 1924), the Safavid Empire in Iran (1501–1732), and the Mughal Empire in India (1526–1858) were all built on the legacy of the Timurid Empire (1370–1526) (Lapidus, 2014, p. 637).

The Ottoman and Safavid regimes were contested dynasties as the Ottoman Empire represented Sunni Muslims whereas Safavids announced Shia Islam as their state religion[2]. Women under Shia Islam faced more restrictions with respect to their public presence as women had to wear a mask or veil if they left the house. Moreover, women were forbidden to leave the house except in emergency situations (Jahandideh & Khaefi, 2011).

The Ottoman Empire (1218-1924)

The early tribal Ottoman women played public roles and were involved in managing the affairs of the tribe. However, in 1453, when the Ottomans conquered Constantinople, they

[2] Sunni and Shia are the two major sects in Islam. The Sunnis recognise the first four caliphs as the Prophet Mohammad's rightful successors while the Shia believe that Muslim leadership belonged only to the fourth caliph, Ali bin Abi Talib (Mohammad's cousin and son-in-law) and his descendants.

followed the practices of segregating and veiling women. The practice of segregation was common among the ruling and upper-class families (Guity, 2008; Jennie et al., 2008). Peirce (1993) argues that although royal women were confined to the *harem*, they enjoyed power, wealth, and influence. Having close proximity to the sultans, women of the *harem* were actively involved in political activities and used their wealth to support important public building projects and charitable works. In contrast, working-class women, had more freedom to move in the public sphere as they were involved in various economic activities such as working in various shoe, textile, and cigarette industries (Jennie et al., 2008).

Ottoman women enjoyed certain legal rights provided by the *Sharia*. Jennings (1975), who explored the social position of women through judicial records of the Ottoman courts at Kayseri during 1600-1625, observes that the records:

> … provided no information on the important subjects of veiling, seclusion in the home, or size and organisation of household, particularly the position of wife before husband, father-in-law, and mother-in-law. They provide virtually no information on the nature of women's employment in their homes (today many are busy making carpets), of their work in fields and gardens, of their shopping in public bazaars. (pp. 57-58)

Even so, Jennings (1992) points out that the judicial records may offer insights about the public life of Ottoman Muslim women since they used the court "to settle matters of marriage and divorce, to secure the support or maintenance necessary for their livelihoods, to secure or otherwise use their personal properties and to complain of physical violence of one kind or another" (pp. 16-17). These records offer some understanding of the legal rights, financial independence, and decision-making rights of Ottoman Muslim women.

Women in Kayseri and Busra (the commercial centre of the Anatolian city) could freely access the court and report complaints, confident that the court would hear them since the testimony of women had equal status to those of men. Moreover, women who owned properties had to give consent before their husband, father, or other male family member could use, sell, or rent that property. Similarly, a wife's property inherited before or after marriage was entirely hers to use or manage (Gerber, 1980; Jennings, 1975). Most of the

women in Busra owned houses and were “involved in selling, buying and leasing of urban and village real estate, a form of activity that was apparently most popular with women” (Gerber, 1980, p. 233). Kayseri, parents arranged marriages for their daughters and, typically, the socio-cultural tradition and family expectations compelled the girl to accept her family’s choice of her husband. While girls had the right to complain against the forced marriages, the number of such complaints were few (Jennings, 1975).

The Safavid Empire in Iran (1501–1732)

Similar to the Muslim women in Ottoman empire, information about the social life of Safavid women has been gleaned from a variety of sources, including travelogues, literary, religious, and medical documents, pictures, and paintings (Ahmadi, 2021). Royal Safavid women had previously participated in battles but soon after Safavid rulers came into power, they restricted women to the royal harem. Sources also show that women were trained in specific skills such as riding, hunting, and were educated as well. However, more details about how they were educated, whether all girls had access to education, and who used to teach them, remain unavailable (Ahmadi, 2021, pp. 312,314). Royal women participated in court politics and had also been involved in ending wars through political marriages with other tribal rulers or chiefs. As the wives, sisters, and daughters of kings, royal women could provide them with advice and, consequently, they were actively involved in decision-making. For instance, Parikhan Khanum, the daughter of the second ruler, Shah Tahmasb, played an active role in her father’s court (Ahmadi, 2021; Guity, 2008). As Woods (1976) suggests, “She was highly esteemed by her royal father and had great influence. Anyone in great difficulty referred to her for advice and took refuge in her. Her great intelligence and knowledge made her a consultant to the king.” (p. 86)

The data from written sources show the public presence of middle- and working-class women in society. There is evidence to suggest that middle-class women used to discuss and consult about different matters with their husbands. Meanwhile, husbands used to hand their earnings over to their wives who were independent in managing the finances and making decision about how to spend money. Working-class women were involved in

farming, knitting, and sewing and some were domestic workers, midwives, or practised simple forms of medicine for other women (Ahmadi, 2021).

The Mughal Empire in India (1526–1858)

In South India, Islam was first introduced by the Arab traders which led Muhammad bin Qasim to conquer Sindh (one of the current provinces of Pakistan). From 1000 CE onwards, Mahmud of Ghazni, followed by Mohammad Ghouri, invaded Northern India, and established the Turkish rule in India known as the Delhi Sultanate. When Iltutmish became the *Sultan* (King) of the Delhi Sultanate, he appointed his daughter Raziya as the Sultan of Delhi over his sons (Kazi, 1999; Vyas & Kumar, 2014). In her short reign of four years, Sultana Raziya removed the obligation for *purdah* (veiling) and made public appearances in a male dress. Thapar (1990) observes that:

> Sultana Raziya was a great monarch. She was wise, just, and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects, and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex, and so, in the estimation of men, all these virtues were worthless. (p. 269)

There is an overall lack of information about the social history of Muslim women during this time. The reasons behind this are the absence of women from public life and a prevalence of *purdah* (veiling) among the Muslim elites. In this period, the *Ulema* (Muslim theologians) interpreted Qur'anic verses and the *Sharia* (Islamic law). The *Ulema* stressed the need to regulate social interactions between men and women, which led to control over female sexuality and female exclusion from public spaces. The requirement for women to restrict themselves to their houses, the private family domain, reflects social ideas of women as primarily wives and mothers. Muslim women's education was restricted to religious knowledge. The Delhi Sultanate continued with Turkish dynasties of the Khaljis, Tughlaqs, and Sayyid. The Lodis invaded the last of the Turks but in 1526 Babur defeated the Lodis and originated the Mughal rule in India (Kazi, 1999).

Similar to the Sultanate period, the absence of Muslim women from public life and the predominant use of *purdah* (veil) produces a scarcity of information about Muslim

women's lives during Mughal rule in India. Initially, the idea of female seclusion was introduced as a means to prevent the effects of *fitna* (potential disorder) of women on men's life. However, the idea of *purdah* (veil) was subsequently regarded as a sign of respect among upper-class women. Hence, *purdah* remained a distinctive feature of Muslim women's lives in the elite class but not necessarily in the working class (Kazi, 1999; Lal, 1988).

The practice of *purdah*, early marriages, and the socio-cultural notion of women as primarily home-makers and child carers hindered women's education. The primary education of Muslim girls and boys was arranged in *maktabs* (primary schools). Girls from middle class families remained absent from *madrasas* (high schools/colleges) and were provided education by educated women at their teachers' homes. In these home-schools, religious education was imparted along with moral education. In addition to religious education, girls were trained in different arts, such as cooking, embroidery, and stitching, to fulfil their role as housewives. The higher education of Muslim girls in royal families took place in the *harem*, with tutors specially employed for this purpose. In addition to home-making arts such as embroidery, royal girls also had the privilege of a wider education, including book reading and poetry (Kazi, 1999; Shamim, 2010; Siddiqui & Khan, 2018).

During the Mughal rule in India, Muslim women enjoyed property rights. Property could be passed onto women through inheritance, *mehr* (bridal gift) and other gifts. Royal women owned vast lands and properties granted them by the emperor. On special occasions, they also received gifts (Bilgrami, 1987; Shamim, 2010).

The practice of early marriage and dowry for girls was also prevalent during the Mughal rule in India. The Mughal royals practised polygamy and Muslim women in polygamous marriages used to live with the other wives of Mughal rulers within the *harem*. The patriarchal gender relations positioned women as subordinate to men. Although women had the right to practice *khula* (women's right to seek divorce) this was ultimately subject to the husband's willingness to grant it or not (Kazi, 1999; Lal, 2005; Shamim, 2010).

With the death of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, the Mughal rule in India came to an end. The establishment of East India Company, which initially had trade objectives, turned into British rule over the Indian sub-continent (Kazi, 1999).

Status of Women in the Colonial Age

The subordination of women by Indian men provided the British people with one of the justifications for their rule over the Indian Subcontinent from 1857-1947. The British had an interest both, in maintaining women's subordinate position and in liberating it. The former was to show that India was not yet fit for self-rule, the latter to demonstrate Britain's superiority in relations between the sexes (Liddle & Joshi, 1985). In order to maintain their superiority, the British colonisers introduced their ideological mission of "civilizing" the natives by initiating reforms representing "progress and modernity". The civilising mission emasculated the Indian men by emphasising the assertion of their incapability to take care of their own women (Chitnis & Wright, 2007, pp. 1317-1318). As this was the time when women in Europe were struggling for their human rights (Shabbir, 2011), the civilising mission of "relieving Indian women of the horrors of their subjugated state" was not only propagated by the British imperialist men but also attracted the British women "who felt that they had some greater authority to speak on behalf of their Indian sisters than British men" (Chitnis & Wright, 2007, p. 1324). In advocating the cause of Indian women, British feminists engaged in the imperialist rhetoric of a civilising mission argued that giving women the right to vote in Britain would enable white feminists to "relieve Indian women's suffering and 'uplift' their condition." (Chitnis & Wright, 2007, p. 1325)

As far as Muslim women in the colonised Indian Subcontinent were concerned, there were two competing approaches towards social reform and the education of Muslim women: traditional reformative and modern (Kazi, 1999; Robinson, 1998; Shabbir, 2011). These approaches echoed contested views in terms of women's position within the public and private realms and they also reflected the form of education available to women in addition to adopting or criticising the western model of women's status. For instance, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi (1863-1943), an Islamic Indian intellectual, Nazir Ahmad (1831-1912),

an Urdu writer, social and religious reformer, and Abul A'la Maududi (1903-1979), an Islamic philosopher, jurist, and journalist, positioned women on the basis of orthodox Islamic traditions which segregated women from public spaces and regulated their social interactions with men. Although religious reformers advocated women's education, they focused on "religion, family values and the moral virtue of women" (Kazi, 1999, p. 7).

Thanwi, for example, claimed to believe that men and women had equal mental and intellectual abilities but continued to limit the position and education of women to domestic roles. In his book *Bihishti Zewar* (Heavenly Ornaments) written in the early 1900s, Thanwi documented the vitality of education in enabling Muslim women to read and write, fulfil their religious obligations, keep their homes in perfect order, raise children to be of good character, and maintain hierarchical relationships between men and women (Kazi, 1999; Metcalf, 1994, p. 6; Robinson, 1998).

In his book *Purdah and the status of women in Islam* (1939), Maududi criticised the Western model of women's freedom, suggesting that economic independence, gender equality, and free socialising between sexes was harmful for Muslim women's identity and Muslim society (Kazi, 1999; Metcalf, 2006). Maududi (1939) advocated *purdah* (veiling) and confined "women's sphere of activity" to that of the domestic realm. Like Thanwi, he endorsed education for women if it prepared them for domesticity and trained them to become "good wives, good mother(s) and good housekeeper(s)". He also insisted on the natural superiority of men over women as an Islamic concept (Maududi, 1939, p. 100).

Similarly, Nazir Ahmad, the proponent of women's education, promoted his "reform package" which centred around the "emancipation of women devoted exclusively to homemaking and bearing children and rearing families" (Lal, 2008, p. 17). In his book *Mirat al 'Arus* (The Bride's Mirror) published in 1869, Ahmad portrayed the domesticity and obedience of women through a character named Asghari who, being a *parhi likhi* (educated) woman, taught girls from *sharif* (respected) families at her home without any monetary benefits. In addition, "she successfully fosters good relationships with her mother-in-law and sister-in-law, efficiently organises the daily chores of the household, and sorts out the domestic expenses" (Lal, 2008, p. 19). Asghari was presented as a role model

for Muslim women in British India and exemplifies my argument that male religious scholars and writers, through their writings, re-inscribed the status quo by positioning women as home makers only.

While traditional reformists, in the name of *Sharia* (Islamic law), were trying to "place women strictly within the home, endorsed purdah and idealised domesticity", the modernists sought for the "abolition of traditional gender roles, reform in Muslim law, and a greater public role for Muslim women based on the principle of equal rights" (Kazi, 1999, pp. 7-8). As entry into public spaces such as government jobs was conditional on having a Western education and fluency in the English language, the modernists advocated Muslim women's access to modern education and raised their voices for women's rights (Shabbir, 2011). Sayyid Mumtaz Ali (1886-1935), an author and reformer, and his wife, Mohammadi Begum, drew attention to important issues of women's education, marriage, and *purdah* through a newspaper *Tahzib-un-Niswan* (Women's Reformer) first issued in 1898. Ameer Ali, a lawyer, and an author, argued against polygamy and stressed the need for reform in Muslim law. Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), an intellectual, jurist and reformer, had initially been unconcerned about Muslim women's education but subsequently came to favour modern education along with Islamic education. Eventually, Khan and other leaders of the Aligarh movement, a movement which sought to establish a modern system of education for the Muslim population of British India, took a progressive step to enhance the social status of Muslim women by establishing educational institutes offering degree classes (Ahmed, 2007; Robinson, 1998; Waseem, 2014).

These efforts resulted in the emergence of Muslim women as leaders of women's organisations such as the All-India Women's Conference, the Women's India Association, and the National Council of Women of India (Asghar, 2000). Thus, Muslim women played an active political role by coming out of the domestic sphere and protesting alongside men for the independence of Pakistan. The Founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, during the independence movement for an independent homeland for Indian Muslims, expressed the desire for Muslim women to work as comrades along with men in all spheres of life (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

The social position of Muslim women within public and private life in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, that came into being after independence from the British rule over the Indian Sub-continent, had been discussed in Chapter One. Having just outlined how the continued contested practices of patriarchy and the teachings of Islam shaped Muslim women's social positioning over time, I move now to a discussion of Islamic feminism and its emphasis on reviving the Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) teachings of gender equality.

Islamic Feminism

Islamic feminism is based on the idea that the responsibility of women's suppression lies with Muslim men, not Islam itself. What many Muslim people actually practice is a form of popular religion that comprises elements deeply rooted in culture and indigenous beliefs, rather than Islamic principles. Indeed, Islam possesses strength that opens the way for the advancement and empowerment of both genders (Galloway, 2014).

In explaining Islamic feminism, Badran (2009), the Islamic scholar argues that:

> The basic argument of Islamic feminism is that the Qur'an affirms the principle of equality of all human beings but that the practice of equality of women and men (and other categories of people) has been impeded or subverted by patriarchal ideas (ideology) and practices. Islamic jurisprudence, *Fiqh*, consolidated in its classical form in the 9th century, was itself heavily saturated with the patriarchal thinking and behaviors of the day. It is this patriarchal-inflected jurisprudence that has informed the various contemporary formulations of *Sharia.* (p. 247)

Badran (2002) further suggests that the agenda of Islamic feminism is twofold: the first is to reveal and eliminate patriarchal ideas and practices annotated as Islamic, and the second is to recover Islam's basic idea of gender equality. Islamic feminism according to Badran (2009) helps women "untangle patriarchal customs and religion" and provides them "Islamic ways of understanding gender equality, societal opportunity and their own potential" (p. 249).

Postcolonial Feminism

Postcolonial feminism, suggests Young (2003), "involves any challenge to dominant patriarchal ideologies by women of the third world". The challenge may remain limited to the contestation of local power structures, or it may be a "question of challenging racist or Eurocentric views of men and women (including feminists) in the first world" (Young, 2003, p. 109). Postcolonial feminism is thought to be shaped by the "active legacies of colonialism", and postcolonial struggles are "directed against the postcolonial state as well as against the western interests that enforce its neo-colonial status" (Young, 2003, p. 109). Bahri (2009) argues that women impacted by globalisation and the domination of capitalism throughout the world need urgent attention.

Certainly, Western feminism, representing the concerns of first world feminists, has been criticised for paying insufficient attention to the unique experiences of women belonging to postcolonial nations. For example, Mohanty (2003) opposes the "production" of the "Third World Woman" as a "singular monolithic subject" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 49) in certain Western feminist texts. She critiques the homogenising practice of Western feminism which often lumps all women into a single group without taking into account the differences of race, class, religion, and circumstances, a negation that deprives these different women their "historical" and "political agency" (Mohanty, 1988, p. 67). Mohanty (1988, 2003) argues that the assumption by first world women of their right to represent and speak on behalf of third world women reflects the skewed power relations and cultural domination that comes with colonialism. Spivak's consistent emphasis to consider the "material histories and lives of 'Third World' women in its account of women's struggles against oppression" resonates with Mohanty's viewpoint about the heterogeneity of women's experiences (Morton, 2003, p. 71).

Like Mohanty, Spivak contends that Western subjects speaking on behalf of third world women is effectively a displacement of third world women. Spivak (1988, as cited in Andreotti, 2011) refers to the paradoxical colonial and native representations of the practice of widow sacrifice (Sati) in India. She describes how the British intervention to ban the Sati practice on the basis of their "civilizing mission" was framed in terms of "white men saving

brown women from brown men" (Andreotti, 2011, p. 40; Bahri, 2013, p. 659) while native Hindu discourses and practices of sacrificing widows with the deceased were portrayed as the widow herself wanting to die (Andreotti, 2011). In asking the pertinent question, "Can the subaltern speak?", Spivak (1994) highlights how the widow's voice is ignored and hence (mis)represented by those who hold the power to represent her according to their self-interests. Spivak (1988) suggests that even when the female subaltern does speak, she cannot be heard (p. 308). Spivak's argument with reference to others "speaking for" and "speaking about" (Andreotti, 2011, pp. 40-41; Kapoor, 2004, p. 628) the third world woman suggests the third world woman having her own voice and control over representations of herself.

Spivak defines subalternity as a space of difference where "discursive regimes locate/imprison the body or voice of the marginalised" (Andreotti, 2011, p. 37). In this study, I employ Spivak's theory of subalternity to describe how women, through the relations of power/knowledge, are positioned as marginalised within familial, social, institutional, and legal structures. I also theorise how the global discourses of internationalisation and neo-liberalisation of higher education marginalise third world women academics.

A further dimension of post-colonialism (see Rizvi, 2007) is the global diffusion of Western ideas in education. The national educational policies in developing countries are largely influenced in a globalised neoliberal direction so that "with few exceptions, the direction of influence is from [the] European core to [the] southern periphery" (Samoff 1999, as cited in Rizvi, 2007, p. 257). Similarly, Stein and Andreotti (2016) assert that academic institutions are a key site of knowledge production and Western epistemic domination wherein Western knowledges are considered "universally relevant and valuable" by framing non-Western knowledges as merely "local culture" (Stein & Andreotti, 2016, p. 2). Moreover, research in the areas of Western sciences and technologies tend to be the ones that are privileged by funding and supported by grants (Stein & Andreotti, 2016). Spivak refers to these types of cultural production and domination as an epistemic violence (Andreotti, 2011). According to Kapoor (2004), "For Spivak, the epistemic violence of imperialism has meant the transformation of the 'Third

World' into a sign whose production has been obfuscated to the point that Western superiority and dominance are naturalised" (p. 629).

I borrow the term "gendered subaltern" from Spivak (1988) which represents the competing challenges experienced by the women academics in my study. As Spivak states:

> Between patriarchy and imperialism [neoliberalism], subject-constitution and object formation, the figure of the woman disappears, not into a pristine nothingness, but a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the "third world woman" caught between tradition and modernization. (p. 306)

I argue that three different elements – patriarchal gender discourses and practices which position women primarily as homemakers; the pressure on women to participate in the labour market as a result of globalisation; and neoliberalism introducing the ideal of the entrepreneurial self – intersect to create competing and contrasting situations for women in Pakistan. This challenge affects the family and professional lives of these women by compelling them to compromise their academic identity by either sacrificing their careers entirely for the sake of their families or by privileging their husbands' careers over their own career progression. My research provides a place and space to raise the subaltern voices of a group of intellectual women. It also explores the familial and institutional dimensions of support operating within these power structures that support women to develop academically.

Although my study is an examination of a group of Pakistani women and their lived realities, the work of a Western male theorist, Foucault, is useful to my investigation. Foucault's seminal work reveals how institutions in his own society (France) had shaped the particular forms of life that were possible to assume. Foucault's work has been valuable to Western feminists, and I draw on his work in addition to employing the work of Butler in understandings of gender practices. My study also refers to the work of Davies with respect to her work on gender and neoliberal universities. As my account of history has shown, women's lives are constantly shaped by competing forces, and Foucault offers a range of concepts, that I now outline, that inform my approach.

Power/Knowledge Relations

In this section, I describe how post-colonial feminism remains at work through power/knowledge relations, producing specific discourses as truths that create power relationships within family, society, and institutions. Foucault's genealogical approach, according to McLaren (2002), focuses on the specific nature of the relations between discourse and practice through which knowledge becomes invested with power (p. 4). Relational power, for Foucault, "is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to"; rather, it is something which is performed. Foucault (1980d) explains how relational power works:

> Power must by analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization . . . In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application. (p. 98)

Foucault's idea of power as a "net-like organization" presents power as a system of relationships dispersed throughout society. As vehicles of power, individuals play a role in these power relationships either by being subjected to or resisting the exercise of power. Foucault (1988a) conceptualises power as a set of power relations which are "multiple, have different forms, [and] they can be in play in family relations, or within an institution, or an administration" (p. 38). Power in these relationships is exercised through producing knowledge, discourses, and thus subjectivities. Foucault (1977), proposing the idea that knowledge and power are in reciprocal relation, points out that:

> Power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute as the same time power relations. (p. 27)

Foucault's (1978b) theory of power/knowledge is closely associated to the concept of discourse as he argues that "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (p. 100). Burr (2015) contends that discourses include all social phenomenon, or social systems of relation connected to institutional and social practices that "have a profound effect on how we live our lives, on what we can do, and what can be done to us" (p. 87). For Foucault (1972), discourses are "practices which form the objects of which they speak" (p. 54).

Discourses produce statements of knowledge and enable certain practices to be considered and accepted as a truth within a given society. Hence, discourses produce taken for granted truth, and power is exercised through the production of truth (Foucault, 1980d, p. 93). Foucault uses the term "regime of truth" (1980c) to explain how power is exercised through privileging specific knowledges as given truths:

> Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (p. 131)

Discourses not only constitute specific knowledges as truth but also produce power relations through authorising who can decide what counts as truth.

In this study, I employ Foucault's theorisation of power/knowledge to explain how "production, accumulation, circulation and functioning" (Foucault, 1980d, p. 93) of a discourse constitute specific knowledges and practices as truth, hence producing power relationships within the family, society, and institutions. For example, the dominant socio-cultural discourses and practices of men as breadwinners and women as homemakers produce gender power relations that disadvantage women's career progression as academics.

Disciplinary Techniques of Power

The disciplinary techniques of power position individuals "both as objects and as instrument[s] of its exercise" (Foucault, 1977, p. 170). The goal of such disciplinary techniques of power is to "qualify, measure, appraise and hierarchise" individual conduct according to regimes of truth (Foucault, 1978b, p. 144). Foucault (1977) employs Bentham's conceptualisation of the panopticon to explore the effects of continuous surveillance in the disciplinary society. Bentham had introduced a circular prison design, in which prisoners were placed in small and separate spaces, subject to constant surveillance by the inspector who himself remains invisible to the prisoners. As the prisoners remain uncertain about when they are being observed or by whom, the panopticon produces "a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault, 1977, p. 201). The prisoners' knowledge of this constant but unverifiable visibility induces self-surveillance through disciplining their own behaviour and actions. As Foucault (1980a) explains, the effect of self-surveillance may or may not be benign.

> There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own over seer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over and against himself. (p. 155)

Foucault (1977) introduces the concept of normalising judgement that is used to maintain disciplinary power. Normalisation operates by setting up discursive practices to which individuals are positioned to conform. Through normalising judgement, a standard of behaviour is established, and individuals are judged and measured according to that standard of behaviour. Thus, the panopticon functions as a "perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes. In short, it normalises" (Foucault, 1977, p. 183).

Foucault's theorisation of governmentality is referred as the "conduct of conduct" or in other words, "a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons" (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). Such form of government according to Foucault (2000a)

not only covers the “constituted form of political and economic subjection” but also acts “on the possibilities of action of other individuals” (p. 341) and works as a “mode of action on the actions of others”. Hence, according to Foucault et al. (2007), “to govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of actions of others” (p. xxii) to produce a docile body “that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (Foucault, 1977, p. 136).

In this study, I employ this concept to theorise how power/knowledge operates through gender discourse and demonstrate how the internalisation of such normative discourses and practices produces self-regulation and self-surveillance among the women academics in Pakistan.

Subject, Subjection and Subordination

Foucault (1982a) argues that dominant discourses and practices produce power relationships which operate to create certain kinds of subjects:

> This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize, and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word subject: subject to someone else by control and dependence and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. (p. 212)

While Foucault refers to the process of subject formation through the operation of power and its duality through the techniques of domination and the techniques of the self, Butler (1997) argues that the term “Subjection” signifies the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject (p. 2). As Butler (1997) suggests:

> Power acts on the subject in at least two ways: first, as what makes the subject possible, the condition of its possibility and its formative occasion, and second, as what is taken up and reiterated in the subject's “own” acting. As a subject of power (where “of” connotes both

> "belonging to" and "wielding"), the subject eclipses the conditions of its own emergence; it eclipses power with power. The conditions not only make possible the subject but enter into the subject's formation. They are made present in the acts of that formation and in the acts of the subject that follow. (p. 14)

Butler adopts an approach coupled with power to explain the mechanism of subject formation through submission. Following Foucault's conceptualisation of power, Butler argues that subject formation is dependent on powers external to itself – powers that can be resisted but at the same time desired for existence (Butler, 1997; Davies, 2006). Butler (1997) suggests that:

> To seek recognition of its own existence in categories, terms, and names that are not of its own making, the subject seeks the sign of its own existence outside itself, in a discourse that is at once dominant and indifferent. Social categories signify subordination and existence at once. In other words, within subjection the price of existence is subordination. (p. 20)

I employ Butler's theory of performativity to describe how dominant gender discourses are enacted by the participants of my study to maintain their social existence.

Performativity Through Mastery and Submission

Butler (1990, 2006) uses the term performativity to refer to the formation and division of gendered selves through "socially instituted" and "maintained norms of intelligibility" (Butler, 1990; 2006, p. 23). The gender identities of being masculine and feminine are assured through conformity to, and reiteration of, regulated discursive practices. Hence, "gender is always a doing" as "gender is performatively produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence" (Butler, 1990; 2006, p. 33).

Butler (1995), explaining the process of performativity, asserts that:

> A performative act is one which brings into being or enacts that which it names, and so marks the constitutive or productive power of discourse.

> To the extent that a performative appears to "express" a prior intention, a doer *behind* [emphasis added] the deed, that prior agency is only legible *as the effect* [emphasis added] of that utterance. (p. 134)

Performativity is understood not only as an act through which "a subject brings into being what she/he names, but, rather, as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains" (Butler, 2011, p. 2).

Moreover, the subject is not constituted once and for all but is subjected time and again. Hence, the status of being a subject is only assured through the "reiteration of constituting conventions or norms" (Butler, 1995, p. 135). Being the site of such reiteration, the subject needs to master certain performative skills, reproducing them as one's own activity and submission to and reproduction of rules of the dominant ideology (Butler, 1997, pp. 116-119). This concept is referred to as mastery and submission:

> The more a practice is mastered, the more fully subjection is achieved. Submission and mastery take place simultaneously, and this paradoxical simultaneity constitutes the ambivalence of subjection. Though one might expect submission to consist in yielding to an externally imposed dominant order and to be marked by a loss of control and mastery, paradoxically, it is itself marked by mastery. (Butler, 1997, p. 116)

In my study, the concepts of mastery and submission are used to describe how a subject comes into being by performing and reiterating gender identities even as a mastery of the subjection is required by practising certain skills that brings competence in subjecthood.

Discourse, Power Relations, and Positioning

Foucault's (1980b) conceptualisation of power relations in discourse suggests that some discourses have more power than others to legitimise themselves through particular regimes of truth. Such dominant discourses offer subject positions which, when taken up, have implications for subjectivity and experience. Burr (2015) asserts that one cannot choose to avoid the way discourses invite him/her to take certain subject positions, and the way one represents himself/herself and others within that discourse. One's position is only to accept

or resist such positions, and if one accepts or is unable to resist a particular subject position, one is then locked into the systems of rights and obligations that are carried with that position. Willig (1999) argues that "individuals are constrained by available discourses because discursive positions pre-exist the individual whose sense of 'self' (subjectivity) and the range of experience are circumscribed by available discourses" (p. 114), a point that is seen in the playing out of gender discourse.

Davies and Harré (1990) refer to this process of producing certain identities through socially and culturally available discourses as positioning. Davies and Harré (1999) suggest that "an individual emerges through processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate" (p. 35). Subject positions are constituted through power relations entailed in particular discourses. Besley (2002) describes how discourses produce subject positions:

> Subject positioning involves power relations in that it operates discursively determining whether a person can speak, what is sayable and by whom and whether and whose accounts are listened to . . . each of us stands at multiple positions in relation to discourse, which we engage or participate in on a daily basis. Thus discourse . . . is seen as the organising and regulating force of social practices and ways of behaving. (p. 138)

Just as Foucault (1980b) argues that there is no relation of power without the possibility of resistance, so Davies (1990) suggests that "we can take up and put down the different subject positions available within these discourses" (p. 505) and hence adopt an agentive position (Drewery, 2005). In an explanation of agency, Davies (1991) states that:

> Agency is never freedom from discursive constitution of self but the capacity to recognize that constitution and resist, subvert and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted. It is the freedom to recognize multiple readings such that no discursive practice, or positioning within it by powerful others, can capture and control one's

> identity. And agency is never autonomy in the sense of being an individual standing outside social structure and process. (p. 51)

In this study, I employ positioning theory to understand how women academics are positioned in family and the university.

Having introduced a history of the social positioning of women within Islam, followed by an outline of more recent feminist scholarship, and theory of discourse that I have employed in this study, I turn to a review of relevant literature in Chapter 3.

Chapter Three

Review of the Relevant Literature

Introduction

In this chapter, I present a review of relevant literature about the sociocultural positioning of women within family, society, and higher education institutions in Pakistan. Reviewing the existing literature, I explored the socio-cultural and institutional challenges women academics face in their career development. While exploring the challenges experienced by women, I also give attention to the institutional and family support systems for career development.

Women in Pakistani Society

Pakistan is situated in a region where eight of the South Asian countries (Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Sri Lanka) rank between 65 and 156 in the Global Gender Gap, with Pakistan ranked 153. Women's participation in the labour force remains low (22.6%), with few women having managerial positions (4.9%). Women's participation in professional and technical roles has improved (25.3% up from 23.4 % in the previous edition of the Global Gender Gap Index 2020). However, women do not have equal access to justice, ownership of land, non-financial assets, or inheritance rights (World Economic Forum, 2021).

Women in Pakistan are struggling to access decision-making positions at the micro (personal), meso (organisational), and macro (societal) level and are often excluded from serious consultative processes. Although Pakistan has a high rate of women in Parliament (19% of representatives in the upper and lower houses) compared to other countries in South Asia, their presence in Parliament did not translate into more decision-making power in society (Yousaf & Schmiede, 2017).

Considering the historical, religious, and political perspectives that have shaped the social position of women within Pakistani society, it is important to have a look at the current social position of women within the family and higher education institutions in Pakistan.

Family Structures and Gender Roles

Family in Pakistani societies consists of a group of people related by kinship and blood living together and striving for the socio-economic well-being of the whole group. Male family members, especially heads, have the authority to decide about the life of other family members, including determining their education, mobility, and marriage (Qadeer, 2006; Tabassum, 2016). Hence, the family structure is strictly hierarchical, where power structures are clearly defined along the lines of gender and age. Patriarchy rules women's lives, with women controlled by fathers when young and dominated by husbands as married adults (Qadeer, 2006; Zaman et al., 2006). The status and authority of women continually changes over her lifecycle. As an adolescent and marriageable woman, she is controlled by her family as family honour is tied to her sexuality and hence protected through control. An adult woman with grown-up children has more freedom in decision-making as a mother and mother-in-law. Gender relations are often overturned at a later age as men become dependent on women for care and support (Asian Development Bank, 2000; Qadeer, 2006).

Patriarchal structures are relatively stronger in rural and tribal settings where local customs establish male authority and power over women's lives. Women are exchanged, sold, and bought in marriages. They are given limited opportunities to create choices for themselves to change the realities of their lives. On the other hand, women belonging to the upper and middle classes and those living in urban areas have increasingly greater access to education and employment opportunities and can assume greater control over their lives (Asian Development Bank, 2000; Qadeer, 2006).

The different common types of families prevailing in both rural and urban areas of Pakistan are nuclear, semi-nuclear, joint, and extended families. Nuclear and semi-nuclear families are more limited to urban areas, and joint and extended families are found in both urban and rural areas of the country (Tabassum, 2016). However, in recent years, globalisation has tended to promote the nucleation of family units. Thus, family structures in Pakistan, especially in urban areas, are going through continuous change by breaking down the

traditional extended family system, which is being replaced by families consisting only of parents and children (Khan et al., 2012; Qadeer, 2006).

In a male-dominated Pakistani society, the gendered division of labour is strongly endorsed through sociocultural norms and religious values. Men carry a productive role as breadwinners and providers for the family while women undertake a reproductive role as homemakers and carers and remain in the household domain (Malik & Khalid, 2008; Zaman et al., 2006).

Marriage

Marriage in Pakistani society is considered a natural, fundamental, and expected part of being an adult, and women continue to get married for family formation and childbearing. The ideal age for girls to get married is considered between 18 to 25 years. Marriage is seen as the best security for a girl (Qadeer, 2006; Shahzad, 2017; Tabassum, 2016). In the socio-cultural context of Pakistan, marriage signifies a relationship between two families rather than only between the two persons being tied in a marriage relationship. Marriages involve the *nikah* (marriage contract) and *mehr* (the marriage gift that the groom pays to his bride on the occasion of marriage). The *mehr* (marriage gift) needs to be as per Islamic law and be paid for the legal and social acceptability of the marriage relationship (Fazalbhoy, 2003; Shahzad, 2017).

While *mehr* is presented as per Islamic law, dowry, a traditional social practice, is also prevalent in Pakistani society. A dowry is considered a gift for the bride from the maternal side given at the time of marriage. However, it predominantly became an expectation from the groom and his family to receive dowry at the time of marriage and for the dowry to preferably include clothes, utensils, crockery, gold, and silver, or maybe even a house, car, and money as bank balance to their daughters. Hence, dowry is becoming a burden on the parents of girls as girls whose parents cannot afford to give a dowry as expected by the groom and his family remain unmarried and sitting at their parents' home (Tabassum, 2016).

Marriages are preferably arranged by parents or elders, and such marriages have a greater social recognition than love marriages, where the partners have exercised their own choice (Fazalbhoy, 2003; Hamid et al., 2011; Tabassum, 2016). These arranged marriages usually take place within the caste, ethnic group, and socio-economic class. Hence, endogamy (the custom of marrying only within the limit of the local community, clan, or tribe) is practised to maintain the community identity. Marriages between cousins and relatives are more common in villages and tribal territories than in urban areas, as such marriages assure stability within marital relationships and also keep property within the family. Sometimes, such restrictions of marriage within specific communities are so strong that women remain unmarried due to the unavailability of suitable partners within their community (Fazalbhoy, 2003; Zaman et al., 2006). Girls are not expected to choose their own partners as such a practice is not considered good from a socio-cultural perspective. However, due to modern social trends and media exposure, in situations where a young man and young woman have their own choice of partner, they need to have their parents' or elders' consent for getting married (Tabassum, 2016).

After marriage, a woman's status and position in the new house depends on having children, especially sons. The birth of a son is celebrated most while the birth of a daughter brings about a sense of burden for the parents who now have to worry about finding a suitable partner and financially arranging for the girl's dowry. The status of a married woman becomes more privileged and better in a new house with the status of her husband in the family hierarchy of male patriarchs and the number of sons she bears (Tabassum, 2016).

Parenting Practices

Parenting in Pakistan is driven by Islamic values, gender roles, and social norms. Bhatnagar (1983 as cited in Stewart et al., 1999) commenting on the traditional parental role within South Asian families, wrote that a father "is expected to play the role of an authoritative figure, responsible for discipline" whereas a mother is a person "to whom children turn for economic, physical and emotional support" (p. 752). The practice of raising children in Pakistan includes "*taleem aur tarbiyat* (education and upbringing), instilling *tehzeeb*

(refinement and good breeding), and *parvarish* (nourishment and support)" (Zaman, 2013, p. 95).

As far as parenting practices in Pakistan are concerned, involvement in a child's life, specifically a child's learning at home, is considered a maternal domain. Mothers, as compared to fathers, are found to be more involved in their children's academic activities at the elementary level (Chaudhry et al., 2015). Mothers supervise and assist their children in doing homework, in addition to keeping an eye on their daily life activities, such as who their children are playing with, what they are playing, and ensuring their children are learning the *Qur'an* (Ashraf, 2019). Mothers who are educated and working typically participate more in their children's academic activities as compared to educated but non-working mothers (Ara, 2012). Working mothers tend to show more concern about the academic achievement of their children as compared to stay at home mothers (Shafi & Mumtaz, 2013).

Research on parenting practices in Pakistan have largely gathered data from children (Akram et al., 2019; Bibi et al., 2021; Iqbal & Akhter, 2019; Najam & Kausar, 2012), diasporic Pakistanis (Ahmad, 2018; Shafiq, 2016), or focused on parental contributions in their children's early years of development (Bhamani, 2012; Jeong et al., 2018; Maselko et al., 2019). The few studies that examine parental contributions in the Pakistani context indicate the beginnings of a social change in parenting practices with reports of active involvement by fathers in the early years of their children. For example, in rural areas of Pakistan, observations of fathers and mothers in early childhood education centres identified shared parental involvement in developmentally stimulating activities such as reading, story-telling, singing, and playing (Jeong et al., 2018; Jeong et al., 2019). Another research study on fathers in the urban area of Karachi Pakistan also revealed similar experiences of being involved in the early childhood development of their children by participating in their routine activities (Bhamani, 2012).

Women's Education and Employment

Being part of the global and national education agendas, such as Universal Primary Education (UPE) Education for All (EFA), and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),

Pakistan has a commitment to gender equality and to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all", referred to as Sustainable Development Goal SDG4-Education (World Education Forum, 2015, p. 20). Pakistan's National Education Policy (2009), however, has reported evidence of "gender, rural-urban, and provincial disparities", wherein "females and pupils in rural areas face systematic disadvantage at all levels of education" (Government of Pakistan, 2009, p. 66). Similarly, the current National Education Policy (2017-2025) acknowledged gender-based and regional disparities and resolved "to achieve gender parity, gender equality, and empower women and girls within [the] shortest possible time" (Government of Pakistan, 2017, p. 13). However, despite global and national commitments towards gender parity, 22.5 million children in Pakistan are out of school. Compared to 21% of boys, 32% of primary school-age girls are out of school in Pakistan. By grade six, 59% of girls are out of school versus 49% of boys. Only 13% of girls manage to remain in school by ninth grade, 34.2% attend high school and 8.3% are enrolled in tertiary education courses. Although both Pakistani boys and girls are missing out on education, girls are worse affected (Human Rights Watch, 2018, p. 2; World Economic Forum, 2021). The details of enrolment in higher education institutions are as below:

Table 1: Total enrolment in universities and degree awarding institutes by level and gender (2017-2018)

Education Level	**Male**	**Female**
Bachelor	644,889	458,557
Master of 16 years of Education	114,193	152,033
Master of 16+ years	104,575	72,269
PhD	13,363	8,784
Post Graduate Diploma	3,745	3,385

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2021

The gender disparity does not remain limited to education but continues across women's participation in the labour force. Women's employment and careers in Pakistan are not

considered primary concerns and are typically superseded by gendered discourses of marriage, family, homemaking, and motherhood. Unmarried women and their families continue to remain concerned about marriage and whilst they may seek recognition of the woman's employment by her prospective husband and his family, for married women, the focus is exclusively on their traditional role as homemakers and carers (Ali, 2000; Khan, 2017).

Women's access to careers and participation in the labour force are restricted through a gendered segregation of spaces and a sexual division of household labour (Rashid, 2012). The practice of women's seclusion and gendered discourses of traditional gender roles of women as homemakers and men as breadwinners are enforced through socio-cultural traditions, patriarchal structures, and religion (Isran & Isran, 2012; Rashid, 2012; Tanaka & Muzones, 2016) that produce power imbalances between the genders.

The institution of *purdah* (veil), symbolising gender segregation in the name of family honour, "further reinforces women's subordination and their economic dependence on men" (Grünenfelder & Siegmann, 2016; Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 280). Moreover, men's social position as primary breadwinner entitles them to access employment on a priority basis that positions women as "secondary workers" and hence legitimises their traditional work of homemaking and care as their primary responsibility (Grünenfelder & Siegmann, 2016, p. 19). Despite strict gendered roles, cultural constraints, and family responsibilities, women who manage to build a career tend to face gender disparity through occupational segregation. Crompton and Sanderson (1990), in explaining occupational segregation, referred to horizontal segregation as the recruitment of men and women into different jobs based on their masculine and feminine attributes and vertical segregation as the confinement of women to low-level positions once they have entered into certain segregated jobs. Hence, as a result of socio-cultural and gendered discourses and practices, occupational segregation limits career choices for women and hinders their career progression.

Literature on the career choices of women in Pakistan show a range between traditional and contemporary roles. Patriarchal discourses of women as homemakers have the effect

of limiting their career choices to traditional professions such as teaching. For example, in a quantitative study exploring career preferences among post-graduate students across different departments in a public university of Pakistan, Nausheen and Richardson (2018) found that the majority of female students from a range of disciplines, including Mathematics, English Language Teaching and Linguistics, all end up being influenced by the conventional career choices available to women in their intention to become teachers. Similarly, Khan's (2017) gendered analysis of school teaching in Pakistan found that women in Pakistan enter the teaching profession due to gender segregation, better work-family balance, and social recognition of teaching as a respectable profession for women. However, another study by Aziz and Kamal (2012), which investigated gender role attitudes and occupational aspirations among male and female adolescents in Pakistan, showed a wide range of contemporary career choices for women. Their findings demonstrated that the majority of women sought careers across a variety of sectors including becoming doctors, psychologists, and university lecturers, and working in computer technologies and in the civil service. Although this study suggests that many women are looking beyond the conventional career choices prescribed to women, overall, patriarchal discourses of women as homemakers and men as breadwinners continue to place limitations on the careers of women.

Women in Higher Education Institutions in Pakistan

The Current System of Higher Education in Pakistan

Higher education in Pakistan is broadly recognised as education beyond 12 years of schooling, which generally corresponds to the age bracket of 17 to 23 years. The higher education system in Pakistan is made up of two main sectors: the University/Degree Awarding Institutes (DAI) sector and the affiliated colleges sector. Universities are broadly categorised as general and professional universities in Pakistan. Professional universities usually provide academic programmes in one discipline, such as engineering, agriculture, and medicine. General universities offer a variety of programmes ranging from liberal arts to information technology. Various categories of universities have been devised by the

Higher Education Commission for ranking purposes: Agriculture/Veterinary, Health sciences, Engineering, Business/ IT, Art/Design, and General.

A large number of affiliated colleges and institutes also cater for the need for higher education throughout the country. Degrees are awarded to graduating students at these affiliated colleges and institutes by the affiliated university. Universities are responsible for conducting examinations and maintaining curriculum standards, teaching, and other services of these affiliated colleges/institutions. Many universities have established sub-campuses in different locations of the country, offering fewer or the same academic programmes as the parent universities but of equal standard and recognition (Mahmood, 2016).

The division of Universities/Degree Awarding Institutes across four provinces (Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and Sindh), two autonomous territories (Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan), and one federal territory (Islamabad Capital Territory) is as follows:

Table 2: Number of HEC recognised universities and degree awarding institutes (2017-2018) in Pakistan

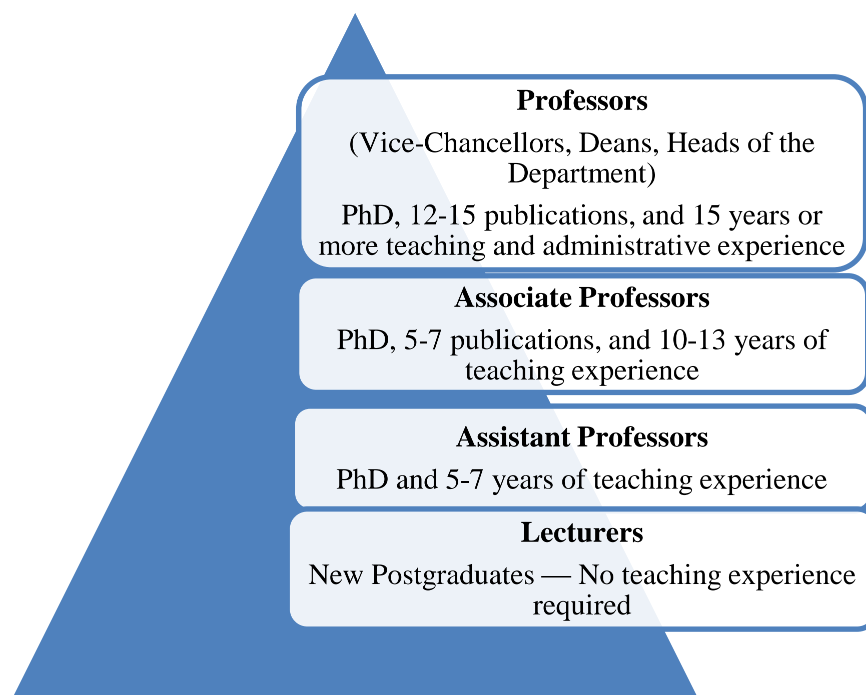
Provinces	**Public**	**Private**	**Total**
Punjab	35	26	61
Sindh	23	31	54
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	25	10	35
Baluchistan	7	1	8
Islamabad Capital Territory	15	5	20
Azad Jammu and Kashmir	5	1	6
Gilgit Baltistan	2	0	2
Pakistan	112	74	186

Source: Higher Education Commission (HEC) Pakistan

Hierarchical Positions in Higher Education Institutions

The service structure of Pakistani public sector universities is explained below to clarify the career progression of academics working in universities and the requirements for promotion to the various levels (Rab, 2010).

Figure 1: Key stages of career progression in Pakistani universities



The job structure in universities is pyramid shaped. For example, a department will have six or seven lecturers′ posts at entry level, but only three or four posts for assistant professors, two to three associate professors, and only one or two posts for professors. Consequently, women rarely make it to the top positions because they have fewer support networks to promote themselves within the statutory bodies of universities. For example, in public sector universities, there is a higher percentage of male faculty members, who then support their male counterparts in elections for representative positions on statutory bodies. Another significant issue is the presence of male members from government administrative departments. For instance, a public sector university will have ex-officio members from the Departments of Education, Finance, and Law along with one judge from a high court, who

in most cases are men. Even in universities for women in Pakistan, an academic syndicate consists of 14 members in all, out of which seven or eight are necessarily men. If there are no or few women present at such senior levels, there are not enough to influence decision-making on such boards, including appointing and encouraging more women to rise through the ranks (Rab, 2010). Thus, women academics tend to occupy the spaces at the bottom of the pyramid.

In the universities listed above, the gender constitution of academics is 69% male and 31% female (Government of Pakistan, 2018). Data around gender representation across higher education institution staff in Pakistan is not systematically maintained, a trend consistent with other countries in the region. For instance, as a part of the South Asia Region – Global Education Dialogues (GEDS), the British Council in Pakistan recently gathered and compiled data on women, higher education, and leadership from six South Asian countries (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka). This report found there was an overwhelming absence of statistical data in the region regarding women and leadership. When gender was factored into the collection of statistical data and reports, it related only to students, and not to staff. The report also concluded that there was a lack of substantive scholarship and research on the topic of women and leadership in higher education in the region (Morley & Crossouard, 2015). Statistics about women in academia in Punjab, one of the most populous provinces of Pakistan, can be traced through the Punjab Education Statistics 2016-17 (Government of Pakistan, 2018), as below:

Table 3: Number of teaching staff in general universities in Punjab

Year	Male teachers	Female teachers	Total
2004-5	1713	966	2679
2014-15	3412	2456	5868

Source: Punjab Education Statistics 2016-17

Unfortunately, data about the number of women working in various hierarchical positions and fields in universities are yet to be compiled. Female representation at Vice Chancellor

level in higher education in Pakistan is minimal and limited to the women-only universities. This low proportion of females in the top position reflects ongoing gender, regional and economic disparities. The lack of available data on the number of PhDs awarded and the number of female academics at the provincial level prevents a more disaggregated analysis (Morley & Crossouard, 2015).

Women's Work Versus Academic Work: Gendered Academia, Neoliberal Universities, and Career Development

Researchers have found that the road to academia is significantly different for men and women internationally (Acker, 2012). The underrepresentation of women in higher organisational positions in academia is a common problem across different countries such as Australia (Winchester & Browning, 2015), Japan, China, Hong Kong, India (Morley, 2014) and Nigeria (Eboiyehi et al., 2016). Reasons for this underrepresentation of women in academia overlap with reasons for the underrepresentation of women in other professions and can be traced back to gender-related stereotypes and rigid organisational practices (Saleem & Ajmal, 2018).

Davidson and Burke (2011) suggest that "women face discrimination and gender, ethnic, cultural and religious stereotyping; there is continuing male domination at senior management and corporate board levels" (p. 11). Women's career progression is hindered by the social environment, legal and institutional structures, unequal employment opportunities, work-life balance, and restricted access to professional development opportunities associated with economic resources. In Asian contexts like India and Pakistan, while avenues for work are now increasingly open for women, they still have to struggle against gender bias (Mirza & Jabeen, 2020) and they face barriers at personal, organisational, and societal levels (Yousaf & Schmiede, 2017).

In the context of Pakistan, traditionally the male breadwinner model has been applied within a strong gender hierarchy, where men have exercised more power over women due to social, cultural, and religious factors (Malik & Khalid, 2008). Although women have started to join the labour market (Bibi & Afzal, 2012), women's employment still has a very limited impact on the traditional sexual division of labour. Thus, men are commonly

seen as breadwinners and women as homemakers. Men, in Pakistani society, are not expected to share domestic responsibilities. This is because men and women, from an early age, are socialised in different ways. The difference in socialising practices has constructed a gender imbalance and an uneven division of work. Getting men to share domestic responsibilities sometimes presents a great challenge for women because of existing cultural, societal, and family norms (Rehman & Roomi, 2012).

Women as Mothers within Family and Academia

A family is usually the priority for professional women in Pakistan (Afzal et al., 2010) and the average Pakistani woman sees herself primarily in the parental role, with the protective gender provisions in Islam being transformed into strict patriarchal gender institutions in Pakistan (Syed, 2010). According to Fakhr and Messenger (2020), a "good woman" in Pakistani society "spends most of her time at home, especially after giving birth to children, resulting in a reduction of educational and work opportunities" (p. 76). Since career is of secondary importance, women's employment and career progression are not encouraged and appreciated culturally (Ali et al., 2011). In Raja's (2016) study on the career advancement of Pakistani women to senior management positions, participants shared that societal attitudes and traditional beliefs regarding the ideal roles of women have a great influence on women's careers. Participants argued that there was no emphasis on the importance of women having an occupation. Consequently, women were not encouraged to develop their professional capabilities. Participants of another study on women working in banks in Pakistan (Faiz et al., 2014) regarded their family roles as major parts of their social identity and these role expectations affected their perceptions of work-family conflicts. Generally, the participants held traditional gender role ideologies: their family domain and family roles were more salient than their work domain and work roles. Family commitments have a direct link to the career progression of an academic woman. Women face uneven distribution of childcare and other domestic responsibilities, which become major barriers to the advancement of their careers (Batool & Sajid, 2013; Fatima & Sahibzada, 2012; Qureshi, 2007; Rafi, 2012).

Findings from international studies echo similar experiences of women managing families with careers in academia. In a study exploring the factors involved in the pursuit of academic careers by women in the Arab Middle East, Afiouni (2014) found that patriarchy and giving primary importance to family responsibilities were the primary factors affecting women's career progression and career choices. Additionally, a lack of supportive policies and practices in the university also affected these women's academic careers. Similar findings were revealed by Fritsch (2015), who studied the barriers faced by successful women professionals in different universities in Austria and the various ways they coped with these barriers. One of the difficulties these participants pointed to was managing their family role while simultaneously traveling for professional purposes. A study conducted in Turkey by Başarır and Sari (2015 as cited in Günçavdi et al., 2017) explored how female academics described themselves using metaphors. In addition to seeing themselves as individuals with "multi-missions and responsibilities", participants also invoked metaphors like "octopus" and "cloned human", because of the multiple and competing demands placed on them. Those in academic roles likened themselves to "warriors" and "supermen" because they had so many roles and responsibilities in their private life and academic life whilst receiving minimal support in their struggles to overcome the obstacles they faced in society (Günçavdi et al., 2017, p. 958).

Married academics in Pakistan are expected to continue fulfilling key household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and feeding the family while their husbands are entitled to rest. Women academics in Pakistan thus have little time at home to prepare for their professional commitments such as lectures, research, or marking assessments, a factor that negatively influences their career progression (Fakhr & Messenger, 2020).

Gendered Division of Academic Labour

Universities have traditionally organised academic careers based on men's life patterns making it more difficult for women to advance their own careers while building a family (Acker, 2012; Cummins, 2017). As Acker and Webber (2006) noted:

> Women academics in universities find themselves in a university that was created and developed by men and with men in mind . . . . historically,

> only a minority of men have been fortunate enough to gain a university education, let alone occupy the professoriate. Yet there are certain values and styles commonly associated with men that can be easily discerned in today's universities, such as competitiveness, success, individualism, hierarchy, and assertiveness (p. 486).

The gendered values and styles, coupled with the gendered division of labour, exacerbate gender inequality within workplaces. As Ali (2013) notes, women being socio-culturally positioned as homemakers in Pakistan reflect a widespread conception that they are "inferior to men", leading to their being "concentrated in the secondary sector of the labour market" (p. 294). Such gender discrimination can also be traced within higher education institutions across different countries. For instance, women academics in India appeared to spend more time on activities that are regarded as less productive in terms of research projects, publications, and hence career progression. Among various work responsibilities, such as teaching, research, and advising students both formally and informally, women were provided opportunities that were limited to only teaching and advising students, activities which have little importance in terms of career progression (Amer, 2013). Another factor that is often considered a limit to women's research development is that they have less access to academic networks, which are vital for a successful research career (Mishra, 2017).

In another study, Hakiem (2022) confirmed the gender inequality experienced by women academics in an Islamic Saudi Arabian higher education context. The participants, who were female academics, reported experiences of gender segregation, and excessive teaching workloads which proved a barrier to conducting research. Additionally, decision-making about research funding was made by male faculty members and resulted in a lack of research opportunities for women academics (Hakiem, 2022). Similarly, female academics in Ontario universities (Acker et al., 2016) experienced a gendered division of labour as service was considered to be women's work and they were expected to undertake more of the service responsibilities as compared to their male counterparts. Over time, this unequal division of labour hindered promotion to higher ranks for females since having peer-reviewed publications mattered the most whilst teaching and service mattered less to the

university management (Acker et al., 2016). The focus group of a study by Misra et al. (2012), conducted at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, referred to the ironic term "work-work balance" in direct contrast to the more common terms such as work-life or work-family balance to reflect the competing demands of teaching, mentoring, service, and research. The study found that associate and part-time women academics spent less time on research activities as compared to men (Misra et al., 2012, p. 313).

In the Pakistani context, Shah et al. (2020) found that women academics were involved in different administrative tasks, such as leading tour committees, timetable management, and discipline management, and they had less access to research activities. My Masters thesis (Rafi, 2012) reported similar findings with the majority of female academics interviewed sharing that the quality of their teaching was affected negatively due to their participation in office and managerial work such as tabulation, invigilation, admission, and discipline duties. Rafi (2012) found that female academics undertaking more of the administrative tasks had less availability to conduct research for publication. Other aspects that have negatively influenced the career progression of women academics in Pakistan include travel restrictions and restricted levels of socialisation with their male colleagues. Fazal et al. (2019) found that socio-cultural norms and security concerns prevented female academics from travelling alone whereas their male counterparts were free to travel to attend international conferences and undertake research activities. Moreover, socio-cultural and religious norms have precluded female academics from working alongside their male colleagues, effectively barring these women from situations where "classes were sometimes co-taught, research articles needed to be co-authored, and national as well as international conferences attended" (Fakhr & Messenger, 2020, p. 79). These incidents of exclusion from social networks within the institutions also limit the awareness of female academics about the promotion opportunities that may be available (Fakhr & Messenger, 2020).

Neoliberal Universities and Career Development

Neoliberalism, as a specific mode of governance, shifts the "regulatory competence of the state onto 'responsible,' 'rational' individuals [with the aim of] encourag[ing] individuals to give their lives a specific entrepreneurial form" (Brown, 2003, p. 17). Within the context of

a gendered division of labour in their institutions, women academics have to survive with neoliberal demands of competition and performativity which makes it challenging for them to progress their careers.

Support Systems for Work-Family Responsibilities and Career Development

A qualitative study exploring three work-family practices in the banking sector of Pakistan suggested that flexibility in terms of working hours, childcare facilities, and supervisor and co-worker support facilitate employees achieving work-family balance (Syed et al., 2022). Similar findings were reported by Anwar et al. (2013) who collected data from private school teachers and management through an open-ended questionnaire in Pakistan. The findings suggested some specific areas to support work-life balance such as the provision of a conducive working environment, training and development, professional commitment, and time management. Perveen (2013), who conducted a content analysis of eight essays relating to women's careers, professional identity, and work and family balance, found that women who had the support of their family and their employer institutions were better at maintaining a balance between work and family and achieved greater career progression than those who lacked these work-family support systems.

International Work-Family Policies

Work-family policies have been developed and adopted globally. International organisations such as the European Union (EU) (Chandra, 2012; Naumann et al., 2013), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations (UN), and the World Bank (Adema, 2012; Naumann et al., 2013; Whitehead, 2008) are making efforts to ensure gender equality through increased participation of women in the labour force and to support them through work-family policies. Internationally, the most common work-family policies that are implemented to help employees reconcile work and family demands include leave policies - maternity leave, paternity leave, and parental leave, early childhood education, and care policy (ECEC) - out-of-school-hours care services, and flexibility policies such as

breastfeeding breaks, flexibility in deciding when to start and finish daily work, reduced working hours, part-time work, and condensed work weeks (Lin, 2018, p. 1).

National Practices of Work-Family Policies

Maternity and Paternity Leave

Different provinces in Pakistan have different policies in terms of the duration of maternity leave. For example, in Punjab, The Civil Servants Act of 1973 and the Revised Punjab Leave Rules of 1981 mandate the provision of 90 days of full-paid maternity leave to female civil servants for their first three children. One-week paternity leave is provided to male employees for two children (Government of the Punjab, 2022). However, female employees under the federal government are granted maternity leave for not more than three times with “one hundred and eighty days on the birth of the first child, one hundred and twenty days on second birth, and ninety days on third birth” while paternity leave is provided for thirty days and not more than three times during the entire period of employment (Government of Pakistan, 2020, p. 2).

In their research on social barriers limiting the academic freedom of women academics across four provinces in Pakistan, Fakhr and Messenger (2020) found that the short duration of three months of maternity leave had a significant impact on career progression. Furthermore, women academics re-joining their institutions after availing maternity leave had very little institutional support on their return, encountering instead high expectations of taking on full work responsibilities and performing to the same degree as their pre-motherhood days.

Childcare Facilities on Campus

Academic mothers in a research study by Naz et al. (2017) identified the lack of childcare support on campuses in Pakistani universities. Participants shared their concerns about the well-being of their children, their upbringing, and early childhood education. Some had hired a helper to take care of their children while they were at work. Many participants suggested that if the university had provided them with the facility of a daycare centre, they could have achieved a better balance between work-family commitments and furthered

their careers. Similar concerns were reported by Shah et al. (2020) and Fazal et al. (2019) as female academics linked the lack of daycare facilities within universities as barriers to their career progression.

Flexitime, Reduced Work Hours, and Compressed Working Weeks

Findings of a quantitative study conducted by Kamran et al. (2014) revealed that the majority of respondents found flexible job hours (flexitime) as supportive in balancing work and family commitments. Some participants reported that reduced work hours and compressed working weeks helped them in balancing work-life commitments. This study indicates that work-life balance policies have a significant positive relationship with job satisfaction and, hence, better productivity. Its findings have proposed implications for the Higher Education Commission to nurture a family-friendly workplace for female employees of different universities.

Social Support

Social support is believed to have a positive impact on the working roles performed by women at workplaces by enhancing job satisfaction and creating balance, thereby eliminating work-family conflicts. Social support is an important resource for working women to manage their work and family domains. Work-based social support is generally considered to be associated with work outcomes and family-related social support with family or non-work outcomes (Malik et al., 2010).

Work-Based Social Support

Collegial/Head of Departments' Support

Most participants in a study by Naz et al. (2017) indicated that their respective Heads of Department and other colleagues were cooperative in taking classes or performing administrative duties as replacements if the female academics had some family commitments. However, some participants reported a departmental lack of support and understanding of their situations. Lack of support from senior male colleagues and university administration was also reported by some female academics in Fazal et al. (2019). Female academics expressed concerns about the behaviour of their male colleagues

who tended to treat them with condescension and even outright hostility. Particularly if these male colleagues were in positions of power, such as heading the department. These patriarchal attitudes could seriously undermine the career progression of the female academics (Fazal et al., 2019).

Fakhr and Messenger (2020) demonstrate that it is not only male heads of department that engage in gender discrimination: among their participants, junior female academics (lecturers) had reported that some female heads of department preferred appointing male faculty members who supported “Queen Bee” through “reinforcing genderised and conservative societal values, which militated against their own kind” (Fakhr & Messenger, 2020, p. 79). A female manager justifying the appointment of male faculty members argued that “there were many reasons for hiring men” and rationalised that “men communicate better and can spend more time in office” (Fakhr & Messenger, 2020, p. 79).

In another study, Fatima and Sahibzada (2012) reveal that female academics were less satisfied with the collegial support they received compared to their male counterparts. One reason for this dissatisfaction was that some of the colleagues of the female academics were also female and had similar work-family challenges which made it difficult to support each other. Female academics also felt that they were more affected by unfair criticism in the workplace compared to male faculty members. In their quantitative research on male and female academics of private universities in Pakistan, Kamran et al. (2014) reported that some female participants experienced less support from their manager or colleagues but most female participants were satisfied with their working environment and the collegial support they received.

Family Support

Parental Support

Parents, especially mothers, play a significant role in the career selection and progression of women as academics. In a qualitative study by Naz et al. (2017), female participants acknowledged their mothers’ contributions to their work-family life. Participants shared that their mothers encouraged them to continue higher education and to pursue a career. Similarly, some participants in a study by Shah et al. (2020) joined academia as they were

inspired by their parents who were teachers. Rab (2010) found that the mothers of female academics often provided childcare to their daughters to support them in their career progression and fathers frequently engaged in providing financial support for their adult daughters to continue their higher education.

Support from Husbands

Three qualitative studies exploring the work-family lives of female academics in Pakistan recorded the provision of support by the women's husbands. Participants referred to their husbands' support in terms of taking care of children during their mothers' absence (Naseem et al., 2020; Saleem & Ajmal, 2018), and providing emotional support in work-family life (Fazal et al., 2019; Naseem et al., 2020). Most of the participants in the study by Naz et al. (2017) were dependent on their husbands in keeping a work-life balance, with husbands generally involved in the upbringing of their children. Husbands shared caregiving responsibilities with their wives and encouraged them to maintain a balance between their personal and professional lives. However, findings from another study conducted by Fatima and Sahibzada (2012) showed that male academics were more satisfied with their work-life balance than females. Fatima and Sahibzada (2012) noted a theme that has recurred across multiple studies: female academics experience a greater strain due to childcare responsibilities, which compromises their career progression. Saher et al. (2013), reporting findings of a study on working women in Pakistan, revealed that participants' husbands did not help women in fulfilling domestic chores due to cultural stigmas. Instead, these men tended to leave their wives to manage domestic responsibilities by themselves rather than providing them with practical support.

This chapter delineated a brief review of selected international and Pakistani literature regarding the work-family responsibilities of women academics. It discussed how gender relations within the family influence women's position as academics within higher education institutions. It also highlighted how the gendered division of labour within institutions and neoliberal demands of competition and performance limit career development opportunities for women academics. It also provided an overview of the existing support systems for the career development of women in Pakistan.

Chapter Four

Research Design and Process

Introduction

This chapter details the research design and process adopted to conduct my research study. I begin the chapter with an account of the purpose of my study and employing a qualitative research design. Then I give a description of the research process, outlining recruitment and introducing research participants, adopting interviewing as a method of data generation, followed by using interview transcripts for analysis.

Description of Research Design

I adopted a qualitative research design as I came to Aotearoa to develop and extend my knowledge and skills in conducting qualitative research. I conducted this research study to explore the lived experiences of women academics about the family and institutional support systems for their career development in Pakistan. I employed a qualitative research method that would make it possible for my study to, as Marshall and Rossman (2014) suggested, "value and seek to discover participants' perspectives on their worlds and view inquiry as an interactive process between the researcher and the participants" (p. 30). Such interactive conversations produced the possibility of co-constructing the "thick, deep, dense, [and] detailed accounts…" (Denzin, 1989, p. 83) of participants' experiences through qualitative interviews. "Thick descriptions" of experiences create situations for "thick interpretations" that take a researcher "to the heart of what is being interpreted" (Denzin, 2001, p. 117).

Description of Research Process

After I obtained approval of my research project from the Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee and University of Waikato Postgraduate Research Committee (Ethical considerations discussed on pages 74-75), I adopted a systematic procedure of applying and obtaining permissions from the relevant authorities to recruit research participants for my research study.

As the fieldwork was conducted in two public universities, it was a requirement to seek prior permission from the Higher Education Commission (HEC) and Punjab Higher Education Commission (PHEC) Pakistan. I wrote request-for-approval letters and sent them via email to the Chairman (sic) Higher Education Commission, Pakistan, and Chairman (sic) Punjab Higher Education Commission (Ethics Appendices A1 & A2). After I received a positive response from the Chairmen (sic), I then wrote letters and sent them via email to the Vice Chancellors of the two universities I had identified (Ethics Appendices B1 & B2) to seek their consent for the data generation in their university. After receiving approval from the Vice Chancellors, I sent letters via email to the Registrar/Deputy Registrar (Academics) (Ethics Appendices C1 & C2) of the two universities requesting him/her to support me in recruitment of potential participants through any of the following ways:

1. Send by email the Invitation letter for Participation (Ethics Appendix D) and Information letter for participants (Ethics Appendix E) to all female faculty members and to all heads of departments; or,
2. Provide me the list of faculty members with contact details so that I can contact them personally by email and send them the Invitation letters for participation and Information letters; or,
3. Give me time to meet with the Registrars themselves and discuss the procedure of recruiting participants for my research study.

Recruitment Process and Research Participants

The fieldwork for this research project was conducted in Pakistan in the area where I had served as a lecturer and where I am familiar with the cultural background, administrative procedures, and language of communication. Data were collected in two public universities in a province of Pakistan. Initially, I planned to interview two different groups of participants: women academics and Heads of Department. The criteria for recruiting women academics were that they would have family responsibilities that included childcare, taking care of partners, elderly parents, or grandchildren. The criteria for selecting Heads of Department was that they would have at least three years' experience of

working as Head of Department. Fortuitously the possibility of interviewing men emerged during data generation when my first participant, a woman academic, spoke about her husband's support for her work. When I shared the idea of including husbands of women academics in my study, she suggested interviewing her husband. Having applied to extend ethical approval for my project, I interviewed husbands of two women academics.

In addition to the above-mentioned requirements of recruiting potential participants, I also considered certain ethical requirements. For example, I interviewed two women academics with whom I had prior collegial relationship. I managed the potential conflict of interest by transforming my relation from collegial to research-oriented. I informed the participant of this transformation, and that I would use the information shared by participant during interview for research purposes only. As well, the participant had the right to remove any information shared during interview that might make him/her uncomfortable, while reviewing the interview transcript. The two Registrars/Deputy Registrars (Academics) gave me permission to recruit potential participants directly. They suggested that I access participants by visiting the staff rooms and offices. I therefore met the potential participants by visiting different departments' staff rooms, introducing myself and my research study to the academics available in the staff room. I requested interested potential participants to share their contact details in order to meet them for an introductory meeting. Ahead of this meeting, I sent the information sheets (Ethics Appendices E1 & E2) and guiding interview questions (Ethics Appendices H1 & H2) to the potential participants via email.

In the introductory meeting with each individual, at mutually agreed time and place, I introduced the informed consent (Ethics Appendices G1 & G2). I discussed the procedure of informed consent with the participants so that they become familiar with the purpose of my study and the value of their contribution to my research study. I took this opportunity to develop a rapport with my research participants and responded to any questions or concerns they had about participating in my research study. The participants confirmed their participation by completing and signing the consent forms.

As noted, I made amendments in my Ethics application when the opportunity to interview husbands of women academics emerged when I was in the field. I developed an information sheet (Ethics Appendix E3), consent form (Ethics Appendix G3), and guiding interview questions (Ethics Appendix H3). Husbands were recruited to this study by their wives who on my request passed on the hard copies of Appendices E3, G3 and H3 to their husbands.

I protected participants' and institutions' identities by using pseudonyms. I labelled the interview recordings using a number, alphabet or date on the device containing the audio recordings and transcripts. In using transcript excerpts for academic and professional purposes, I changed the sources of participants' identifications. I made all efforts to ensure the anonymity of the participants, but it cannot be guaranteed in all circumstances.

I tried to interview the participants at the time when they had no professional commitment after the interview or so that they got enough time to compose themselves if any distress was caused to them. During interview conversations, I listened carefully to what the participants were sharing and showed respect by being humble and valuing their feelings, experiences, point of views and their contribution to my research study. During interview conversations with the women academics, there were times when some of them went through distress and pain while sharing about their experiences. In such situations, I paused the interview to show sensitivity towards their situation.

Participants' participation in this research study was voluntary. Participants could withdraw their contribution up to two weeks after approving the final transcripts of the interview, their interviews and any other data or materials would not be the part of the study. No one withdrew their participation in my research study.

My Research Participants

My research participants included ten women academics, four heads of departments and two husbands of women academics. In this section, I present a brief introduction of my research participants in tables. Table 4 presents information about women academics' institution, faculty, designation and type of employment, number of children and their age range. The husbands of the women academics were professionals in private practice and

public sector. Most of them had a masters or PhD degree. Table 5 shows information about heads of departments. There were three female and one male head of department who participated in my study. Table 6 provides information about the two husbands who became participants.

Table 4: Women academics' demographic information

Pseudonyms & Institution	**Faculty**	**Designation and type of employment**	**No. of children**	**Children's age range**
Sara U1	Science and Technology	AP (Tenure Track System)	2	06-12 years
Hira U1	Arts and Social Sciences	Lecturer	2	0-5 years
Farah U1	Management and Administrative Sciences	AP	3	6-12 years (1) 13-17 years (2)
Maria U1	Arts and Social Sciences	Lecturer	4	0-5 years (1) 6-12 Years (3)
Aisha U1	Arts and Social Sciences	AP (Adhoc)	3	0-5 years (2) 6-12 years (1)
Zahra U1	Science and Technology	AP	2	0-5 years (1) 6-12 years (1)
Fatima U2	Arts and Social Sciences	Lecturer	3	0-5 years (2) 6-12 years (1)
Kubra U2	Arts and Social Sciences	Lecturer	3	6-12 years (1) 13-17 years (2)
Sadiya U2	Science and Technology	AP (Tenure Track System)	2	0-5 years (2)
Maha U2	Science and Technology	Lecturer	2	0-5 years (1) 6-12 years (1)

Table 5: Heads of department

Pseudonym	Experience as Head of department
Nida (Head of department 1)	5 years
Huda (Head of department 2)	More than 7 years
Maryam (Head of department 3)	More than 10 years
Ahmad (Head of department 4)	More than 8 years

Table 6: Husbands who became research participants

Pseudonym	Occupation	No. of children
Ali	Government Employee	2
Ibrahim	Private Practice	4

Interviews as a Method of Data Generation

I conducted qualitative interviews to generate rich data for my research. Rich data according to Ponterotto (2006 as cited in Schultze & Avital, 2011) is similar to "rich soil, fertile and generative, capable of producing a diversity of new ideas and insights" (p. 3). I used semi-structured interviews to invite participants to share their experiences of work-family life, how they managed work-family responsibilities, and the support systems (institutional and family) they have, in order to develop academically while fulfilling family and professional commitments.

The research approach of conducting individual face-to-face interviews provided me with the opportunity to encourage participants to "freely present their life situations in their own words" (Kvale, 2006, p. 481). I used guiding interview questions (Ethics Appendices H1, H2 & H3) for interviewing women academics, heads of departments, and husbands of

women academics based on my research questions and the literature review. I sent the copy of interview questions to the participants one week prior to each interview.

Each participant within the three groups had one interview session. As the guiding interview questions for women academics encompassed the private and public aspects of participants' lives, I ensured that the interviewee guided the conversation, as it was his/her experience that was the focus of the interview (Seidman, 2013). The interview session with women academics was for 60-90 minutes, while the interview session with heads of department and husbands of women academics lasted from 45-60 minutes. The interview session with the heads of department included questions about the institutional support system available for women academics and husbands of women academics were interviewed about family support. The interview session with husbands of women academics was 30-40 minutes.

I audio recorded the interviews using digital devices. Following each interview, I transcribed the conversation in the language it was recorded in and sent the transcript to the participant to review, remove, or change any material if they wish. To ensure that transcripts were delivered and reached the participants safely, I negotiated with the participants about their preferred delivery mode for sending and collecting the transcripts. All the participants of my study preferred to receive the transcript through email. Out of 16 participants only two requested a minor change. The rest of them were appreciative of the work that went into the transcript.

Conceptualising Social Constructionist Research Interview

My approach towards qualitative interviews was based on the social constructionist claim that knowledge and meanings are socially constructed (Burr, 2015; Gergen, 2009). The goal of the interview was to engage in a dialogue with participants and actively contribute to knowledge production (Greenwood, 1994). Following Banister et al. (1994) the focus of my study was to do research *with* rather than *on* people [emphasis added]. From such a perspective, my research journey became a collaborative, contextual and interactional process (Fontana & Frey, 2005). So, this co-constructive dimension of the interview process produced active narratives (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).

As a social constructionist researcher, I offered my research participants "an open space for conversation" to facilitate the dialogical process of mutually creating "new narratives and not-yet-said stories" (Anderson & Goolishian, 1992, p. 29). I approached participants from a not-knowing position through respectful curious questioning and respectful listening. The *not-knowing* position within therapeutic conversations, according to Anderson and Goolishian (1992) "entails a general attitude or stance in which the therapist's actions communicate an abundant, genuine curiosity (p. 29 original emphasis). I took the not-knowing position to activate my curiosity and encourage my research participants to share their experiences and let potential new perspectives come out (Anderson, 2005). Being positioned as not-knowing, I was also engaged in respectful listening - "listening in an active and responsive way" (Anderson, 2005, p. 503).

During interviewing, I adopted "relationally-responsive" (Shotter & Katz, 1999, p. 82) form of understanding with my research participants. This kind of understanding, as Shotter and Katz (1999) suggest, develops within the moments when the participants after finishing their utterance, take a pause, waiting for another's response. In such a situation, through my relational responsiveness, I focused on the particular utterance that struck my curiosity and touched the participant. I then used such utterance to open up the possibility for my research participants to provide unique details of their lives. Capturing such moments, provided me the opportunity to explore multiplicity of meanings, perspectives, and experiences.

Listening to women involved me in developing skills for listening around and beyond words. Devault (2014) refers the term "listening" in a broad sense, not limited to what we do while interviewing, but also to the hours we spend later listening to recordings or studying transcripts, and even more broadly, to the ways we work at interpreting respondents' accounts. I took up this position of a listener to enable women participants of this research to develop ideas, construct meaning, and use words that say what they mean (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992).

Feminist researchers conduct research interviews as a non-hierarchical exchange. I followed Oakley (2013) who points out that the intimate non-hierarchical partnership when

conducting interviews in feminist research is considered more effective than assuming a detached approach. Similarly, Roulston (2010) believes that from a constructionist perspective, the interview is a social setting in which data are co-constructed by an interviewer and participants. I developed a partnership with my research participants by emphasising personal interaction and reciprocity towards mutual creation of data (Edwards & Holland, 2013; Kvale, 2006).

While analysing interview data, following Holstein and Gubrium (2007), I focused on both the *whats* of the content and *hows* [emphasis added] of the production (p. 431). The interview narratives became situated and constructed reports not actual representation of facts or true experience (Holstein & Gubrium, 2007).

Transcribing and Translating Interviews: My Experiences

During initial meetings with the research participants, I informed them that they had a choice of language (Urdu, English, both Urdu and English) to use in the interview. I advised them I would transcribe the interview in the language(s) it was recorded in and return the transcript to the participants for their review and approval. Once the participants approved the transcripts, I translated it into English if it were in Urdu.

I spent quality time in transcribing interviews as the representation of data through transcriptions can affect the overall meaning and conceptualisation of the phenomena under study (Oliver et al., 2005). Therefore, all recorded interviews were carefully transcribed for the data analysis.

I started transcribing the interviews by repeated careful listening to the audio recordings. This process offered me the opportunity to develop familiarity with data and attention to what had been produced rather than what I had expected (Bailey, 2008). The interviews were recorded in Urdu, English and Minglish. Ling (2003 as cited in Halai, 2007) used the term Minglish for speaking English by mixing it with other local languages. The majority of the participants used Minglish to express their ideas and experiences. However, the Minglish language used during interviews consisted of mostly the Urdu with some words and phrases from English. Very few of the participants spoke only Urdu or English languages. Being a researcher from the same socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic

context, I knew that Urdu language would be comfortable language to communicate during interviews, so I encouraged my research participants to communicate in the language of their choice and comfort.

I transcribed the interviews verbatim by writing each and every word in the form of text, that is word for word, including pauses, emotional expressions and meanings of religious expressions used in Islam, such as greetings and expressions used to thank Allah. I transcribed the full interviews as Vygotsky (2012) suggests that "E[e]very word that people use in telling their stories is a microcosm of their consciousness" (p. 236).

I took particular steps in transcribing and translating interviews for data analysis. I started transcribing interviews by writing the words in the form of hand-written text on paper. But I experienced some challenges in this process. The first challenge was of the writing direction: English is written from left to right and Urdu is written from right to left. The second challenge was of the space required for writing English words within the Urdu sentence. The third challenge was the difficulty in writing some specific words in Urdu as I had lost the fluency of writing in Urdu as my higher qualifications and language of communication at my workplace expected me to be proficient in English. This influenced the speed of the transcription process. The interviews recorded in English language only were transcribed directly from listening to typing on a computer, without writing on paper.

The next step of the transcription procedure was of translation the interviews. I took the role of a translator because I believed that I could better understand the text in its context as compared to other expert translator of the target language (English). I started translating the handwritten text into English by reading each and every sentence written in Urdu or Minglish.

Approach to Investigating the Interview Transcripts

I conducted this research study to explore the lived experiences of women academics about family and institutional support systems available to develop academically while fulfilling family and professional commitments. Experience, according to St. Pierre (2009), is not simply material but also discursive as "what happens is recognised and made meaningful

only through available discourses" (p. 228). Scout (1992 as cited in St. Pierre, 2009) suggested that "I[i]t is not individuals who have experience, but subjects are constituted through experience. Experience [is not about] what is known but rather that which we seek to explain, that about which knowledge is produced" (p. 227).

In analysing the data, I drew on Foucault's (1972) conceptualisation of discourse as practice or set of practices. Discursive practices, according to Foucault, refer to the practices of discourses through knowledge formation, emphasising how specific knowledges or discourses operate and what work they do. Thus, I investigated how particular discourses shaped participants' lives and how participants accepted, refused, or resisted the positions offered to them on the terms of available discourse (Burr, 2015). I employed this approach to analysis to identify and unpack, for example, patriarchal gender discourses in practice of producing specific knowledge as truth that position women academics as subjects within private (home) and public (institution) domains of life. I called on Foucault's (2000a) idea of the subject to unpack how discourses in practice constitute women academics as subjects through two kinds of technologies: power and self (as discussed in Chapter 2). In the first instance, subjects are constituted through technologies of domination. In the second, subjects are formed via technologies of self as people act towards moral and ethical goals. Discourses are tied to the structures and practices prevailing in society benefiting the powerful group to be in powerful position in society (Boréus & Bergström, 2017; Burr, 2015).

Social constructionism views language as constitutive and generative of personal identity, relationships, and social institutions (Burman & Parker, 2016; King et al., 2018). Thus, while analysing the interview texts, I paid attention to the "constitutive and performative properties" (Willig, 2014, p. 341) of language used by the research participants in their narratives.

After transcribing and becoming familiar with the texts, the next step was the selection of data for interpretation. During the process of transcribing and translating the interview transcripts, I noticed that my research participants shared some novel and unfamiliar accounts related to their work and family life. When I reviewed the interview transcripts, I

realised that we, my participants, and I, had generated a rich data in the form of thick and detailed descriptions of the experiences. I was excited about my research data and I followed Jackson and Mazzei (2012) while making choices of data excerpts for analysis. I particularly identified moments that were "productive of meaning, voices that surprise us, both pleasantly and uncomfortably, with previously unarticulated and unthought meanings. It is not a voice that is normative, but one that is transgressive" (p. 3).

After the selection of data excerpts, I engaged in what Derrida and Caputo (1997) called deconstructive reading. Deconstructive reading, according to Derrida, "produce" a gap between what the author "commands" in her text and what she does not command (Derrida, 1976, p. 158; Derrida & Caputo, 1997, p. 78). As I adopted double reading, in the first reading I approached the data text to reproduce the apparent, simple, and singular meanings capturing what a participant intended or meant to say in that particular text. During the second reading, I attempted to look across the data through critical productive reading and disseminated the meanings produced in first reading to produce multiple meanings. This double reading helped me understand what the particular participant might have been doing, for example protesting, resisting, or accepting the terms of the discourses through his/her utterances.

As I was engaged in investigating the data excerpts for analysis, I was in a situation in which I did not know what to do next with my data. I experienced being in a situation Deleuze (1989) described as "we no longer know how to react to, in spaces which we no longer know how to describe" (p. xi). I turned to Jackson and Mazzei (2012) and embraced the practice of "reading-the-data-while-thinking-the-theory" (p. 4). For this purpose, I attempted to read and co-read. While reading and thinking with theory, I approached theorising as a practice and I experienced that through "theoretical reading" I started organising my research data (Spivak, 2014, p. 77). Jackson and Mazzei (2012) introduced "plugging in" as the process of arranging, organizing, fitting [data and theory] together" to create "something new" (p. 4). During the mo(ve)ment when I made an effort to plug theory into my data excerpts, I realised "how plugging in created a different relationship among texts" and produced "new analytical questions" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, pp. 4,6).

I drew on different theories during the process of data analysis, as I show in Chapters Five to Eight. I called on Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory, Butler's (1997) theorisation of mastery and submission, performative acts (1988), and Foucault's (1977) concept of self-surveillance, governmentality, and theorisation of discourse and power/knowledge (Foucault, 2000a). I also introduced Nel Noddings' (1984, 2003, 2013) theory of Ethics of care, followed by Joan Tronto (1993, 2013) and Niall Hanlon's (2012) theory of masculine care. I followed Marylin Waring's (1988; 1999) idea of recognising women's unpaid work within economic terms. I also employed Spivak's theory (1988, 1994) of subaltern with reference to representation of voice and superiority of knowledge produced in the West, followed by Davies and Bansel's (2007) theory of how neolberalism within universities produces academics as entrepreneurial selves.

In Chapter 5, I offered a double reading of academic mothers' experiences of the effects of homework diaries as the disciplinary practices such as panopticon, normalising judgement, and self-surveillance. I followed Butler's theory of mastery and submission along with Davies and Harré's positioning theory. In Chapter 6, I employed Butler's theory of performativity and Davies and Harré's positioning theory to describe how dominant gender discourses are enacted by the participants of my study to maintain their social existence. I called on Waring's theory to describe the narrative of a male participant, husband of a woman academic in my study, who enumerates the unacknowledged household labour carried by women in his society. I also employed Spivak's theory of subalternity to describe how women through the relations of power/knowledge are positioned as marginalised within familial, social, institutional, and legal structures. In Chapter 7, I presented a few exceptional accounts of resistance against the traditional gender practices as well as a double reading of women academics discourses of husbands' support. I drew on Nel Noddings theory of ethics of care and Tronto and Niall Hanlon's conceptualisation of care to interpret the narratives of women academics about masculine care. In the final findings Chapter 8, I discussed how women being academics are positioned within university and international context. I employed Spivak's theory of subalternity to theorise how the global discourses of internationalisation and neo-liberalisation of higher education marginalise the Third world women academics. I called

on Davies and Bansel’s theory of neoliberalism to investigate how women being academics in universities in Pakistan are positioned as entrepreneurial selves. I also followed Foucault’s theorisations of discourse and power/knowledge, governmentality, and docile bodies.

Chapter Five
Regulating Mothers in Academia through School Homework and Diary

Introduction

This chapter focuses on academics-and-mothers' experiences of teaching their own children in the evenings and holding this as a responsibility for which they are accountable. The chapter highlights how the continuity of children's formal education at home disciplines academics-and-mothers and puts them under surveillance. The analysis makes visible academics-and-mothers' taken-for-granted and considerable commitment towards their children's education at home.

Analysing the interview transcripts of women academics to gain insights about their family responsibilities, I expected to find familiar stories of women struggling with household tasks including cooking, cleaning, washing and taking care of children. But what took me by surprise was that half of the women also spoke about teaching their own children in the evenings and holding this teaching as their exclusive responsibility. They undertake household tasks as their responsibility but they might use technological support, in the form of automatic washing machines, and human support, in the form of a part-time domestic assistants, to assist them to fulfill those responsibilities. However, teaching their own children in the evenings was completely their responsibility without delegating it to others to provide tuition.

A question therefore arises about how school education in Pakistan works and how it produces these forms of responsibilities for working mothers. There is a diversity of schooling systems in Pakistan as four types of schools currently provide education: public schools, private schools with the medium of instruction in Urdu or English, religious schools and non-formal schools (Asian Development Bank, 2019). Students at primary and middle levels in public and private schools learn a wide range of subjects including Urdu, English, Mathematics, Islamic Studies, Science, Social Studies, Computer Science and Arts. These subjects have demanding syllabi to be covered by teachers within a set

time frame and students have to go through an assessment to measure their learning achievment in order to get promoted to the next level. To achieve success, students at these levels not only have to learn at school but they also take a series of demanding tasks to do at home as a home work.

Schools generally do not have any agreed upon definition of homework and there is no home work policy mentioned in the education policy of Pakistan. It is commonly understood that homework in Pakistani schools is intended to keep the school learning activities continuing at home so that students "finish off what they have started in class" (Inayat, 2014, p. 13). The purpose of homework includes covering the curriculum, learning or revising for retention rather than focusing on the academic needs of the students (Iqbal, 2012). For example, at primary level, the students are usually required to do the "homework in terms of learning lessons and timetables by rote-learning, writing (which usually comprises of copying the teachers' writing, to improve the script) and doing sums" (Inayat, 2014, p. 7).

Completing homework tasks at home is considered to contribute to the students' academic performance in class. Students who remain unable to show good academic performance in term assessments have to remain in the same grade. Thus, there is pressure on students and their families to achieve to the standard. Importantly for my findings, schools also have a tradition of a school diary to keep a record of students' learning at home which has to be signed by the person who supports children in their homework.

A number of Pakistani research studies (Atta et al., 2014; Naveed et al., 2019; Rafiq et al., 2013; Yaseen et al., 2017) have been conducted to explore children's perspectives about parental involvement in their studies at home. All these studies draw their conclusion by employing a common method of questionnaires which were administered to children of different age groups. However, the findings of these research studies do not distinguish whether the mother or the father contributes in children's studies at home, or what kind of contributions they have to make to enable their children learn.

In this chapter, I offer a critical analysis of gendered practices of holding mothers *only* as responsible for supporting children in their education at home. This chapter consists of

four sections. In the first section, I present selected excerpts from the research interviews with women academics about their experiences of being responsible for their children's education at home. The second section includes two women academics' accounts of their husbands' contributions in family responsibilities, especially children's school homework. The third section provides an insight into how mothers in academia are disciplined through the dominant discourses of "good mothers" in terms of being responsible for their children's school homework and how it influences the mother-child relationship. The chapter concludes with a personal account of a mother-son interaction that occurs on different terms than the disciplinary terms as experienced by mothers in my data.

Teachers at the Workplace and Teachers at Home

Parhi likhi [Educated] and professional women in Pakistan, who managed to overcome socio-cultural barriers to access higher education and who are in employment, experience positive changes in their lives; such as increased self confidence, awareness of their legal rights, economic independence, participation in decision making process, and contributing to the socio-economic status of their family and their husband's family after marriage (Malik & Courtney, 2011; Noreen & Khalid, 2012; Riaz & Pervaiz, 2018). Women's access to education and employment opprtunities allowed them to take up new roles by entering the male-dominated public domain, which is still beyond the reach of women with less or no opportunities of formal education (Khan, 2018; Khurshid, 2017).

Mothers in academia in my research study shared their experiences of being responsible not only for their children's care but also their children's academic performance at school. Being *Parhi likhi* [Educated] and university teachers, they are expected to solely engage in their children's education in the evenings. Although the purpose of school home work in Pakistani context is to discipline child's learning at home, I show in this chapter that it works to discipline mothers as well. I draw on Foucault's (1977) theorisation of discipline as a power technique to argue that how school homework and keeping a diary act as disciplinary apparatuses to regulate mothers who work in academia.

The women academics being educated and university teachers have to show a considerable commitment in terms of time and attention to make their children sit at the

table or specified place for specific hours and help them do the homework. Thus, for children, education at home remains limited to homework with no or less opportunity to experience informal learning through fun, creativity and playfulness. And women academics-and-mothers protest for being disciplined by holding them responsible for their children's formal education at home.

Farah, a woman academic and a mother of three teen-aged boys, recalled her experience of teaching her children the basics of Urdu and English:

> I have been teaching them since the beginning - like A B C - and it's very tedious when you are teaching here to the university students and at home. You need to have so much patience to teach them what is capital "A" and small "a" and what is Urdu and the… *choti shakleen bari shakleen* [small and big shapes in Urdu language] and it requires so much patience on the part of the mother. But I have never sent my small children, specially, to any tuition centre.

Farah shares her experience of being her children's teacher when they were young. She recalls very specific literacy tasks. She describes the hard work and patience required for teaching two different languages to her children. Farah's commentary indicates the pedagogical skills required for teaching languages to children, as the processes of writing Urdu and English are quite different. For example, if one writes a word in English, the letters of the alphabet maintain their individual shapes even when they join together. For example to construct a word like "Boat", the individual letters, *B,o,a* and *t* maintain their shape when they join together to make a word. But in Urdu, when letters of the alphabet join together, they change their shape. For example, if we write کشتی , meaning Boat, the word is made up of four Urdu letters of the alphabet joining together, ک, ش, ت and ی. This is what Farah mentions as small and big shapes in Urdu.

Farah's commentary constructs a system where considerable responsibility for teaching the basics of education, like A, B, C are devolved from school to home. It seems that the very foundations of literacy of young children are laid at home. Farah, being an educated mother, is responsible for the formal teaching of her children in the evenings. Farah uses

the adjective "tedious" to show the tiresomeness involved in shifting the pedagogies of teaching graduate students at the university and then teaching basics to her children at home. She mentions the patience required for teaching Urdu and English letters to her children and the formalities involved in it. But it seems that she has accepted that as her responsibility.

Farah positions herself as a responsible and a good mother in undertaking this teaching. She tells that no matter how hard it is and how much patience it takes, she herself teaches her children instead of delegating this responsibility to any tuition centre. Farah is thus disciplined by the discourse of the good mother which requires educated mothers to take the responsibility of their children's education at home.

Kubra, referring to similar experiences of the good mother discourse, explained:

> Kids are your responsibility, even teaching kids is your responsibility….you can't think of sending your children to tuition because you are a university teacher. Husbands also do jobs in a university but they don't have such reponsibilities.

Kubra's account echoes the gendered discourse that holds her responsible for the children's education at home-because she is a woman. Kubra's statement "you can't think of sending your children to tuition" implies the disciplinary discourse associated with educated women, especially university teachers. It seems that women university teachers cannot turn to tuition centres to get the responsibilty of children's education at home be shared. While a domestic worker might be employed for household tasks, a tutor cannot be employed to support children to undertake homework. And women can not turn to their husbands. Although Kubra's husband is a university professor he does not hold such a responsibility towards children's education because he is a man.

Fatima, another woman academic and a mother of three children, expressed the tension of being engaged in children's homework in the evenings:

> But you know…when I go back home, the thing that stresses me out is to check their [children's] bags and diaries for the homework every day. I

> would say that this is the thing which bothers me the most…this is the most important tension.

Academic mothers in my study seem to be under surveillance by being held accountable for their children's education. Such surveillance ensures their engagement in their homework and putting their signature on their children's diary.

Fatima, moving further, shared her feelings about being under societal observation and solely accountable not only for her children's education but their social and behavioural training as well:

> Because in the back of your mind you are always worried about this thing when people say that teachers and those who teach others' kids, their own kids get neglected. If your kids are not well taught or well behaved, or they not getting good grades, it's just because of your job. It's the society that brings that judgement. I try my best not to send them to tuition and guide them by myself.

Being university teachers, women academics have to comply with the normative discourses of "good mother" to avoid being judged and blamed by the disciplinary society. Fatima's commentary of "in the back of your mind you are always worried" suggests a state of being under observation. Fatima experiences what Foucault characterised as "living in a panoptic society" (Foucault, 2000b, p. 70). The panopticon, as Foucault (1977) described it, is a structure that creates the feeling of constantly being under observation by the authorities. Such a situation of being potentially always under constant observation has the effect of disciplining the self. Fatima's commentary reveals that she undergoes "a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power… a power relation independent of the person who exercises it…"(Foucault, 1977, p. 201).

At the same time, Fatima, by saying "it's the society that brings that judgement", takes a step from subjected position to resistance. It seems that she is protesting against that judgement that is made of mothers. Fatima knows something of how the normalising discourses of being a good mother are used to shape her as a subject. Fatima understands

that being a university teacher, she is more judged with reference to her children's education and training. By speaking about society holding a power of judgement, Fatima steps out of subjected position to resist the specfic form of power (Weedon, 1996) that governs the mothers in academia in Pakistani society.

But Fatima steps back from her position of resistance when she says that "I try my best not to send them to tuition and guide them by myself." Following Foucault's notion of normalising judgement and Butler's (1997) concept of mastery and submission, Fatima submits herself to the terms of the dominant discourse. Fatima shows how she normalises the social judgement through self regulating her behavior. The more practice Fatima does, the more the mastery of submission is achieved.

Thus, the analysis of Fatima's story implies that she moves between the moments of resistance, and masters the practice of submission at the same time. Although she protests against the terms of the discourse, she shows submission by performing the responsibility for her children's education at home as a good mother.

The normalising discourses of behaving like a good mother act as regulatory power by positioning women academics within the nexus of disciplinary technologies of home work and diary. Women academics have to respond to the competing situations in which globalisation and neoliberalism requires them and gives them opportunities to join the workforce, and yet society through patriarchal gender discourses and practices expects from them to solely carry the responsibility of teaching children at home.

Sharing Homework Responsibility

Parents in Pakistan either have to engage themselves with their children in homework activity or they need to send children to the tuition centres (Shah & Anwar, 2014). The reasons for sending children to tuition centres are either the mother had fewer opportunties for formal education, or the mother is unable to teach the difficult subjects like mathematics, and science (Ashraf, 2019). Fathers with primary and higher secondary education, mainly working in agriculture and labour, and having partners with fewer opportunities of formal education, share the responsibility of imparting religious education

and taking children to masjid [mosque], teaching the alphabet, common words, reading and telling stories (Jeong et al., 2018; Shafiq, 2016). However, for a woman academic in Pakistan the expectation is that she will take the lead with children's education.

In my research data, only two women academics out of 12 reported their husbands' engagement in their children's education at home. Aisha, a woman academic and a mother of three school aged daughters, shared her experience of being supported by her husband in both household tasks and homework:

> Yes, on weekends he helps me in preparing breakfast, helps kids study and do homework, like when I am teaching one daughter, he says, "I will teach the other one." When he is at home, he helps me in these kinds of work…

Aisha positions herself as the primary responsible parent and her husband as the subsidiary *helper* parent. Aisha's repeated use of the phrase "helps me" positions her husband in a supportive role, while the major responsibility of the above mentioned tasks lies with Aisha. The phrase "on weekends" may imply receiving her husband's support on his terms.

Another participant, Maria's, situation stands out for her description of her husband's involvement in their children's learning:

> Although he is busy he is actively involved in family matters. He has the responsibility of managing children's stuff like buying books and teaching them, and help them doing homework. He is much involved in children's studies and he gives importance to it. He usually does this on weekends. He reviews the home work done by children even if he comes late at night. He spares time for their studies during exams. I help children in English, Urdu and Islamic studies and he focuses on Science and Maths.

Maria gives details of how her husband makes himself available to share the responsibility towards their children's education. Maria's account of her husband's activities positions

him as a primary care giver. Maria uses "much involved", "reviews the homework" and "spares time" to stress/highlight her husband's efforts in terms of taking responsibility for their children's education. It shows how her husband resists the dominant discourse of holding mothers as only responsible for children's school homework and assessments.

Maria does not give any details of how they decided about dividing the school subjects to support their children in school homework. In retrospect, I wish I had asked her that how this came about. However, as I look at it now, I think, did it involve negotiation? And how did Maria's husband get engaged in this negotiation? Maria's account might indicate that they already had negotiations about who would support which school subjects. The gendered division of school subjects echoes what Ashraf (2019) reports about fathers' contributions in children's learning in the areas of maths and science, or by arranging tuition, if teaching those subjects is beyond the capability of the mother.

Aisha and Maria's husbands enact resistance to traditional gender norms in sharing the teaching responsibility of their children at home. Conceptualising gender as a social construct (Burr, 2015) and understanding masculinity and femininity as a product of doing gender (Butler, 2004; West & Zimmerman, 1987), my analysis suggests that Aisha and Maria's husbands are perhaps taking steps towards "undoing gender" (Deutsch, 2007; Risman, 2009) and "undoing hegemonic masculinity" (Peukert, 2019) by involving themselves in children's education at home. As Andersen (2005) contends, "the doing gender approach implies that if gender is constructed, then it can be deconstructed" (as cited in Deutsch, 2007, p. 108). While explaining the phrase "doing gender", West and Zimmerman (1987) suggest the term as encompassing both "conformity and resistence." Deutsch (2007) holds the view point that the phrase "doing gender" evokes conformity to the gender norms; and "undoing gender" evokes resistance (p. 122).

The process of taking small steps to undoing gender and undoing hegemonic masculinity position Aisha's and Maria's husbands as somehow involved fathers participating in their children's education at home. Aisha's and Maria's husbands show different levels of involvement towards their families as they make transition from the traditional fatherly image as providers to a more contemporary function as collaborators within the family. It

seems that their level of involvement depends on the extent they resist the traditional gender norms and undo gender.

The shift from detached father displaying power and authority, and confined to the role of economic provider, towards sharing and caring father is referred in Western literature as the "new involved father" (Johansson & Andreasson, 2017, p. 81). However, I note that this image of the "new involved father" is not altogether new in Islam. The Holy Qura'n and Hadith hold a Muslim father responsible for educating his sons and daughters equally (Hossain & Juhari, 2015). For example, the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) said, "There is no gift that a father gives his child more virtuous than good manners." In another Hadith the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) emphasising the best treatment of daughters said, "Whoever has three daughters, or three sisters, or two daughters, or two sisters and he keeps good company with them and fears Allah regarding them, paradise is for him"(At-Tirmidhi., 2007, pp. 33,59) .

However, contrary to the Islamic perspective of fatherhood, the dominant socio-cultural discourse positions fathers as primary providers and authoritarians in traditional Pakistani families. Being positioned high in the family hierarchy, the father remains detached from his children. The fear of loss of respect and authority among children discourages a father from expressing his love and affection to children (Seto et al., 2009).

While Maria reports a refreshing distinction of a father who is actively involved in his children's learning, most women academics in my study face the surveillance by being solely answerable for their children's education at home and progress in school. Although the purpose of extensive homework and diary is used to discipline a child's learning at home, it influences the mother-child relationship and disciplines the mother.

Regulated Motherhood and Self-Surveillance

The dominant socio-cultural discourses of holding women responsible for children's training gets intense for a *parhi likhi* [educated] woman who is a mother and a university teacher. It seems that the notions of being *parhi likhi* and a university teacher position mothers in a new form of disciplinary power by transforming punitive practices from the

body (by keeping woman confined to the private realm) to the soul or psyche (feelings of guilt) of the mother .

Sara, a mother of two school aged children shared her experience in the following words:

> They [children] come back from school at 2pm and I feel stressed when they are at the homeworktable, like, I think that I can't behave like a normal person as I am looking at my kitchen, I am looking at my laptop at the same time and I know that kids need my help in doing their homework. So that stress usually makes me blow up at my kids which is not good but it happens. I think that it's the worst thing with your job that you are not behaving normally with your kids. You cannot behave normally. I feel bad…I feel bad…like they need my attention, they need my love. This feeling makes me hopeless….what I am struggling for? If my kids are not getting all that they need, then what is the purpose of my job?

Sara's commentary of "behaving like a normal person" resonates with Foucault's (1977) idea of normalising judgement. Through this process of normalisation, Sara is expected to conform to the established norm(s) associated with a good mother discourse. According to the normative discourses of being a good mother and academic, she has to support her children in their homework, provide meals on time and keep on doing university work on her laptop at the same time – all without "blowing up", that is speaking angrily to her children, as a product of the multiple requirements to which she is answerable. In addition, these normative discourses of a good mother are "connected with morality" (Foucault, 1991b, p. 91). Academic mothers being university teachers hold teaching their children in the evenings as their moral responsibility.

Sara's account demonstrates how her "self" is discursively constructed as a subject through the technologies of dominant, normative discourses of being good mother. Foucault explains this process of constructing the subjected identity through the operation of power:

> This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word *subject*: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and ties to his own identity by a conscience and self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. (Foucault, 1982a, p. 212)

The dominant, normative discourses of "good mother" and "productive academic" work as technologies of power by which women academics in Pakistan "turn themselves into a subject through technologies of the self" (Foucault, 1982a, p. 208).

The competing demands of these normative and moral discourses, of being a good mother, position Sara as a failure to meet the terms of the discourse, which makes her "feel bad" and "hopeless". Sara's phrases such as "they need my attention", "they need my love" and "they need me" take me to the heart of my research study. Sara's account represents academic mothers experiences of struggle in holding the primary responsibility for fulfilling their children's needs.

Like Sara, Fatima expressed concerns about the effects of stress and tiredness on parenting:

> It [stress experienced by mother] somehow seeps into kids…inherited by kids. A kid who always sees her mother constantly unhappy and tired, will not be a happy child. Because he/she would not see a happy engaging mother. My kids everyday have a story to tell. If I am tired and exhausted, I would not be able to listen to what they want to share with me.

Fatima's emphasis is on another aspect of the "good mother" discourse, the responsibility and burden given to mothers for the emotional well-being of their children. On the terms of this discourse, a mother must manage her own tiredness (from fulfilling work and family responsibities) in order to be available to her children:

> You know kids want us to listen to them, be engaged with them as everything is important for them.

A child-centred approach to parenting positions a good mother with the affective responsibilities of being available to listen, in support of their children's psychological and emotional health. Again, as with the burden and responsibility of teaching the alphabet and signing the homework diary, there is an available normative judgement by which academic mothers can measure themselves as parents.

Examining Mothers and Self-Regulation

This chapter's analyses – of relationships and responsibilities required by the terms of the good mother discourse for women academics – prompted me to consider the working out of this discourse in my own day-to-day life as a doctoral researcher-and-mother. My participants' stories and my analyses of their stories prompted me to engage actively with asking when, how and why I myself might accept or refuse the effects of this discourse in my own life. In the story that follows, I illustrate some repositioning that became available to me as a Muslim-woman-mother-academic in suburban Hamilton, New Zealand.

Satisfied with a day of editing my literature review, I left the university library to pick up my children from school. I walked from university to school, passing through the university fields and roads. Although it was a longer walk, I enjoyed walking as I took it as an opportunity to see beautiful trees and a wide variety of plants on my way. I enjoyed noticing ducks dipping their heads underwater to scoop up plants and insects in the university lake. I observed other university students enjoying the company of their friends in the spring season. Saying "Hi" or "Have a good evening" to others grew happiness within me. I also met some familiar faces, some of them were mothers who used to join me on their way to school. While taking my children back home from school, I tried to make both of them believe that I am listening to both of them at the same time and that I was conscious of whatever they are sharing with me.

In the evening, looking out of the window from my home, I observed fathers and mothers playing with their children in the park. I could see the joy and happiness on the faces of all

family members, especially children. I also noticed a group of family members riding bikes, and another mother playing soccer with her sons in the park. The next moment, I found my son standing alongside with me, looking at the park. My son said, “I wish I had a mother who can ride a bike and play soccer with me.” I turned to him and noticed expressions of frustration on his face. I was upset about my son’s expressions of disappointment but I kept on thinking about what I could do for my son. Thinking about riding a bike, I remembered my experience of learning to ride a bike when I was young. I recalled how my father helped me learn how to ride a bike. While recalling my memories of bike riding, I collected all my courage and experience and I decided to start riding my bike with my son. So I declared that I would join him on his bike ride on weekends. My son was happy, but he asked me, “Mum how can you ride a bike? You are a Muslim girl”. I replied to him, “So what, my son, Muslim girls can do anything.”

On the weekend, I joined my son on my bike. When I rode the bike, I looked around to make sure that nobody was noticing me. I managed my scarf and was careful about my dress to ensure that I didn’t look awkward. Then, me and my son decided on the route we were going to adopt for biking.

Now we were so clearly enjoying ourselves, my smile as warm and gentle as my son’s was wide and open. Was our pleasure in the biking, or perhaps in each other’s company? I was happy to see my son having an experience that he has a mother who can ride a bike with him. On our way, we share our stories of childhood and good times. I felt that I have a different kind of relationship with my son as I joined him on a bike. I was his friend, not just a mother.

And then my PhD researcher-self thought back to mothers in my country. While I was studying in the library I kept on thinking about how mothers manage to fulfil children’s needs alongside work. What life lessons is my son learning in having a mother who breaks with tradition by cycling with her son while also respecting tradition by wearing her scarf? How do university students manage their family and study responsibilities together? How do women make life decisions, and balance what are often competing responsibilities of study and work and family and home? So many of my doctoral

colleagues, I reflect, are caught at the nexus of these responsibilities, complementing and competing.

Chapter Six

Feminist Discourses: Two Men Respond

Introduction

This chapter offers an analysis of ways of speaking about Pakistani women's position within family and society, shared by two Pakistani men; Ali and Ahmad. I focus on these particular aspects of my data, as they were novel for me. I took some hope from these men's observations of gender positioning, and gender power relations. Ali is a professional, a husband of a woman academic and a father of two school aged children while Ahmad is a head of department in a public university. This chapter focuses mainly on Ali's view points that I interpreted under four headings: women and girls are trained to submit; a woman owns no home; women earning money, domestic labour and men; and women's position as a subaltern. Ahmad's ideas are discussed at the end of the third heading; women earning money, domestic labour and men.

This section highlights what led me to include a chapter on two men's voices speaking about women's lives in Pakistan in this thesis. To begin with, conducting a research interview with Ali was an amazing experience for me. Engaging men in feminist conversations through research interviews was a new experience for me and the way Ali shared his observation, analysis, and lived experiences was suprising for me as a Pakistani woman. I have recollections of women engaged in feminist conversations such as women's rights and gender equality. But hearing Pakistani men talk about women's struggles and depriviations and calling for women's rights, respect and honour was unfamiliar to me.

I spent an extensive time in listening to Ali's interview recording for transcription, writing his interview in Urdu and then translating it into English. During analysis, I turned to the interview transcripts (Urdu and English) again and again as I was curious to know what position(s) Ali took in speaking about women. In my understanding, Ali might have taken four possible positions in a particular reference: 1) sometimes he just indicated the facts about what was happening for women within family and society; 2) sometimes he took a

step forward and raised his voice to support women; 3) sometimes he talked about his own personal journey towards his transformed self, for example, he said, "I am a rebel since my childhood, not a physical but a mental rebel. I usually raise questions about everything"; 4) at times he called on other Pakistani men to join him in a social change by challenging the traditional role as men. The four possible position(s) Ali took identify how traditional socio-cultural discourses and practices shape women's lives within family and sociey as well as offering possibilties for change which can facilitate women's career progression.

Women and Girls Trained to Submit

Ali expressed his non-traditional viewpoint about women's position in family and society in a response to my question about how his supportive role within the work-family context influenced his relationship with his children. Ali had hopes that his children would be different from how society traditionally constructs them as a girl and a boy because they have his example as a supportive father to follow. Continuing his response, Ali commented on how girls in Pakistani society are trained to be obedient and submissive:

> A girl has that kind of training and… [she] was brought up in a way that she has learnt to give preference to her brothers, give priority to her father…When her brother comes home, she has to present water to him, polish his shoes, and serve meals etc. so that's a part of our girls' training.

Ali used the expression "training" implying that girls in Pakistani society learn to be obedient and submissive through repetitive acts of service. This notion of training that Ali identified can be associated with Butler's (1988) theory of performative acts, which suggests that "gender is an aspect of identity that is gradually acquired" (Butler, 1986, p. 35) through a "stylised repetition of acts" (Butler, 1988, p. 519) thus creating these acts as discursive gender practices that construct girls as particular kinds of subjects (Butler, 2006).

Ali spoke of "our girl's training", suggesting that every individual girl undertakes these acts of service as these performances carry "a set of meanings already socially established" through regulative discourses (Butler, 1988, p. 526). These regulative

discourses arise from a script for girls training “that is always already determined within this regulatory frame, and the subject has a limited number of ‘costumes’ from which to make a constrained choice of gender style” (Salih, 2007, p. 56). Butler (1988) emphasises the need for individual action required for rehearsing the script to enact it as a reality:

> The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again (p. 526).

Thus, the script of girls’ training to be submissive and obedient has already been written and girls act by practising and rehearsing that kind of submissiveness and obedience that reproduce what is taken to be a reality of gender identity.

Ali continued analysing the socio-cultural factors behind woman’s submissive position within family and society when he said:

> They are trained in such a way because they have to survive... they have to serve their parents-in-law, husband and children. If [future] parents-in-law get to know that she is not a traditional woman, they would refuse [to allow their son] to marry her. They need a traditional woman who is obedient and submissive…they need that kind of woman.

Ali used the expression “have to survive” which might indicate that a woman does not have any other choice except to serve, in order to be considered marriageable or to save her marriage. This point suggests that only a woman who is submissive and obedient is acceptable to the man’s family. As Jalal-ud-Din and Khan (2008) explained, “The girl is a liability; at an early age the girl child is made aware that she is only a temporary member of the family. Any skills she learns will benefit not her own family but her in-laws” (p. 485). Hence, girls are prepared to become the “traditional women” by equipping them with service skills.

The question arising here is what makes a woman accept being positioned as a traditional woman? Such positioning might provide social recognition to a woman as a person in Pakistani society. Society's desire of idealising a woman in a subordinate position might force her to conform to these socially recognised practices, as Butler (2004) contends:

> One only determines "one's own" sense of gender to the extent that social norms exist that support and enable that act of claiming gender for oneself. One is dependent on this "outside" to lay claim to what is one's own (p. 142).

The dominant discourse that positions women to be obedient wives and caring mothers leads Muslim woman to internalise submissiveness and obedience as their own desire. This desire of submission and obedience then acts as a power about which Cherryholmes (1988) wrote:

> Power operates visibly and invisibly through expectations and desire. It operates visibly through formal, public criteria that must be satisfied. It operates invisibly through the way individuals think of themselves and operate…often power is most effective and efficient when it operates as a desire, because desire makes the effects of power invisible (p. 35).

Muslim woman's desire to be recognisable in the eyes of the others makes her construct herself according to the dominant social discourses, which becomes an invisible power that reproduces patriarchy. This desire for recognition is what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (2012) refers to as "what" woman "cannot not want" (p. 47). The formulation implies that wanting is itself compelled by social and political categories, "which means that such categories are not only objects of desire, but also historical conditions of desire" (Butler & Athanasiou, 2013, p. 76). Ali continued to show how these ideas work in Pakistani society:

> So, family and society train them [women] to fit in and adjust with parents-in-law and be successful. That's not an individual thinking…that's society's thinking as a whole. I think that woman is

> forced to accept the existent culture and society otherwise she can't survive.

Thus, a woman has to be submissive if she wants to be accepted by her husband's family and so to be "successful". Woman's success in Pakistani society is measured through her struggle to sustain her marital relationship. A woman who gets divorced is considered as unsuccessful and having failed to sustain herself as a married woman. Hence, a woman is bound to act according to the social norms for her social survival. Ali's repeated use of the word "survive" implies that woman has to accept her position as one who is dependent and submissive to be recognised by society and as an act of survival.

Woman Owns No Home

Ali continued sharing his thinking about how socio-cultural practices position women poorly. Listing a chronology of a woman's life, he showed how these practices deprive women from their right to own a place to live.

> A woman doesn't own any home… When she is born she lives with her parents. When she is grown up and gets married, she lives in her husband's home then she lives with her son and after that she lies in a grave. She doesn't have a feeling that she is living in "her home."

Dominant socio-cultural practices make woman take up available subject positions throughout her life (Hollway et al., 2003), Ali suggests. Referring to the notion of script (as discussed in the previous piece of analysis), I turn to Davies and Harré (1990) to reflect on how a woman gives meaning to the subject position offered to her:

> Positioning and subject position .... permit us to think of ourselves as a choosing subject, locating ourselves in conversations according to those narrative forms with which we are familiar and bringing to those narratives our own subjective lived histories through which we have learned metaphors, characters and plot (p. 52).

Ali mentioned "living with parents", "living in [her] husband's home" and "living with [her] son" to describe how a woman is "locked into" such subject positions (Davies, 1989,

p. 229) until she dies. It is only perhaps at death that she owns a place in a grave, her grave is perhaps “her own”. Rahat Indori an Urdu poet, expressed this through his poetry:

دو گز سہی مگر یہ میری ملکیت تو ہے،

اے موت تونے مجھ کو زمیندار کردیا...

Although it is only two yards that I possess… but O, death, you made me the landlord.

Hence, woman while being alive owns no place to live in, but as she dies, she owns a grave.

Moving further, Ali indicated the reasons behind woman’s uncertainty of calling home “her home” and the lack of ownership of the home she lives in at each phase of her life.

> She has to leave her parent’s home after marriage; [she is] forced to leave her husband’s home when he gets angry; and she has to leave home as a result of quarrel between her son and daughter in law.

Ali pointed out how woman is positioned as “other” in her parents’, husband’s and son’s homes. Ali’s description resonates with de Beauvoir’s (2011) argument that “she is the inessential in front of the essential. He is the subject, he is the absolute. She is the Other”(p. 26). Being other in her parents’ home, she has to get married, as marriage for woman is considered a social protection and is strongly emphasised in Pakistani society. It is rare to hear about a woman living as a single woman (Hussain, 1999). Again Ali comments on the limited options available to women:

> She makes compromises everywhere, in her parent’s home, then husband’s home and then with her sons and daughters-in-law because she can’t do anything else. She can’t survive without making compromises.

Compromise is required of her, according to Ali, because she has a fear of losing the only shelter she has. The word “survival” indicates that she has no choice other than making compromises to stay in a place owned by others.

I was moved by the way Ali (a man who himself is part of the male dominated society) observed and commented on woman’s social positioning within home and society with

reference to owning a place. Ali's speaking made the working of the gender power relations visible. What surprised me was hearing a man reflecting on gender power relations and how men use these gender power relations to keep women dominated for their whole life.

As set out in chapters one, two and three, the social positioning of women in Pakistani society is determined through the interplay of religion, constitutional laws, dominant discourses and prevalent social practices in Pakistan. As far as religion is concerned, the Holy Qur'an not only proclaims woman's right of inheritance as a human right but also defines her share in each case. Matters of inheritance are described in different chapters of the Holy Qur'an like An Nisa, Al-Baqarah, and Al Maida (Rubab & Ahmed, 2018). For example in the Holy Qur'an (4:7), Allah says:

> Men shall have a share in what parents and kinsfolk leave behind, and women shall have a share in what parents and kinsfolk leave behind, whether the property be small or large- a determinate share (Hoque et al., 2013, p. 46)

As Pakistan's constitutional and legal laws are based on Islamic teachings, article 23 of the civil laws grants an adult woman the right to possess, use, sell, transfer or dispose of property in any part of the country (Ahmad, 2010). However, complex legal procedures and unavailability of female revenue staff hinder women from claiming their right of inheritence (Rubab & Ahmed, 2018).

The dominant discourses embedded in the prevalent socio-cultural practices hold women in a subjected position by depriving them from owning a property and thus they remain dependent on men even for the basic human need of having shelter.

Women with different socio-economic and educational backgrounds, located in various urban or rural areas, have to confront challenges when claiming their share of inheritance. For example, educated women from the province Punjab hold different viewpoints about claiming their right of inheritance. Some women interpreted dowry given to their husband's family as a compensation for their share of inheritance from their parents. Apart from share in inheritance, women can buy their own property through their own sources of

income, but they are expected to discuss with their husbands before making any decision about buying or selling their own property. Furthermore, women's claim for their share in inheritance influences their relationship with their siblings as some women were made to believe that "those women aren't good or are greedy who ask for shares from their brothers' property" (see Rubab & Ahmed, 2018, p. 101). Brothers in Pakistani society play a significant role in women's marital life as they hold their sister in high esteem in her husband's family by sending them gifts on different occasions like Eids; contributing in the form of money or gold on the occasions of their nephews/nieces' marriages; and protecting her financially if she has an argument with her husband, gets widowed or divorced. So, in order to maintain a good relationship with her natal family and gain respect in her husband's family, a woman may have to compromise her right of inheritance (Ahmad et al., 2016; Rubab & Ahmed, 2018). A son or a daughter claiming for the property share while their parents are alive is also considered as showing disrespect towards the parents (Farooq, 2020).

There are some exceptional situations when women decide to claim their right of inheritance; they do so if they face financial constraints when widowed/divorced; or if their husbands/husband's family members force them to do so.

The above socio-cultural relations, pressures, expectations and structures work together to maintain patriarchy and deprive a woman of her inheritance right. This might be because a woman owning a land/property would be empowered enough to be indepenedent and able to re-define the social relations by challenging the existing gender in-equalities within society (Abdullah & Hamza, 1998; Pandey, 2010).

Women Earning Money, Domestic Labour and Men

Ali expressed the following viewpoint in a response to my question about his experiences of supporting his wife and sharing the responsibilities with her that are usually left completely to women. He began by exposing what might be taken as a traditional view of men, women, and work in Pakistan:

> Men think that they go out and earn so they have an advantage and edge over women who are sitting free at home.

First, I note that Ali saying men "go out" while women are "sitting at home" indicates that men have the liberty and freedom to step out of the house and access public spaces whereas women are to "sit at home" and be confined to home, a private space. "Going out" not only shows men's freedom to access the public spaces but also going out to earn money makes them valuable and gives them advantage over women who are "sitting at home".

Referring to women "sitting *free* at home", Ali ironically indicated the predominant notion within Pakistani society that women at home do nothing. They are *free* because they are not at work earning money. But what is the freedom that they have is Ali's question. Perhaps they are *free* to do all the household tasks for *free* and without being valued for doing those home chores. In contrast, on these terms, men are not *free* because they must earn an income and that earning make them a valued member of society. Ali critiqued the traditional division of labour as he continued:

> His [A man's]earning and his physical strength gives him the advantage over a woman who is busy in home with chores from morning till night; and who wakes up before he wakes up and [goes to] sleep after he sleeps. She [the woman] works from dawn to dusk, washes dishes, cleans the house, prepares meals, washes clothes, irons clothes, attends to children and takes care of them.

Ali first observed and commented on the misconception of woman "sitting free" at home and then drew attention towards the hard work a woman does all day long at home. Ali took a stand against woman's invisible and un-noticed struggle of keeping the home clean and tidy, and attending to children.

I had heard women participants of my study listing such household tasks and caring responsibilities. However, a man acknowledging major and minor task undertaken by women was unfamiliar for me. At first, I didn't believe that I was hearing a man recognising and talking about a woman working at home, in such a detail. I am more

familiar with echoes of a man asking a woman at home, “What did you do all day?” implying that she is indeed *free* from responsibility.

Ali, however, indicated that a man works for fixed hours to earn money and gets free time to relax at home, while a woman has no fixed hours to work as she has to work nonstop from “dawn to dusk”. Clearly, she is disadvantaged by these divisions of labour. Gendered discourses that position men as breadwinners and women as homemakers demonstrate the gendered hierarchy and power relations inherent in ascribed socio-cultural practices within traditional Pakistani society.

Apart from a woman’s position as homemaker, Ali added, she has the responsibility of “attending children” and “taking care” of them. I learnt as I grew up as a girl in Pakistani society that attending to children and taking care of them is not merely a physical activity but also it is a moral maternal responsibility to train the child to be a good child, citizen, and Muslim. Ali did not mention childcare as a paternal responsibility. But if one looks to religion, this responsibility does not lie on women’s shoulders only because parenting and parent-child relationships are described as a mutual responsibility in Islam (Arat & Hasan, 2018). As Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) said, “The best thing a father provides to his child is good manners and ethical training” (Amini, 2014, p. 6).

A critique of the gendered division of work continued, as Ali considered the potential economic value of women’s domestic work:

> We don’t evaluate her whole day’s labour and exertion from a monetary perspective, we consider it zero.

Ali’s commentary went a step further as he acknowledged the unseen, unnoticed, nonstop, and taken for granted domestic labour undertaken by women at home. The use of “whole day” indicates the unlimited and unspecified time woman invests in these household tasks. “Labour” and “exertion” emphasise the hard work and effort woman put to fulfil these responsibilities. Here the word “we” as the subject of the sentence shows the power position occupied by men within patriarchal society in deciding which labour is valuable or invaluable. By using “we” Ali points to the social dilemma of considering the entire

work woman do at home as worth nothing -zero- because that work does not bring clear economic benefit.

Marilyn Waring (1988), a prominent New Zealand feminist economist, has critiqued and questioned this practice of considering woman's unpaid work as unproductive. She commented that all the housework women do is considered on economic terms to be "leisure", and pregnancy and breast feeding are "not productive". In her seminal book "Counting for nothing: What men value and what women are worth" Waring (1999) argued that:

> Growing and processing food, nurturing, educating, and running a household - all part of the complex process of *reproduction* - are unacknoweldged as part of the production system. A woman who supplies such labour is not seen by economists as performing work of value (p. 23).

Waring highlights the importance of measuring woman's unpaid household work as an economic activity to acknowledge and give visibility to women's work.

Resonating with Waring's argument, Ali drew attention to the value of domestic work when it has to be paid for:

> If we calculate the wages for these works, it would become clear that she earns more than a man but we didn't determine the monetary value of these tasks. If this woman steps out to work as a maid, she charges a good amount for this.

Ali made the radical suggestion that women's work in their homes could be valued on monetary terms. Taking a pro-feminist stance, Ali suggested that a woman may even be working harder than a man. This statement constructed the possibility that women's domestic work could be valued.

We see another move here, from women as free/sitting at home, to women working non-stop all day without acknowledgement or payment, to women's domestic work being of economic value. Then Ali took the value of domestic work into another context, suggesting that if this work is done by someone other than a wife it is paid for, it becomes

"productive" because it involves exchange of money. Hence, productivity is measured in terms of income, which is how economists define, measure and value work:

> Cooking according to economists, is "active labour" when cooked food is sold and "economically inactive labour" when it is not. Housework is "productive" when performed by a paid domestic servant and "non productive" when no payment is involved. Those who care for children in an orphanage are "occupied"; mothers who care for their children at home are "unoccupied" (Waring, 1988, p. 25)

Moving further, Ali took a stance for the woman who is engaged in paid labour:

> She [working woman] comes equal to man when she earns money but it's quite an injustice when he [a man] says that doing home chores is only woman's responsibility.

Using the word "equal" Ali indicated that since women are participating in paid labour, men are not the only ones to hold a power position as breadwinners. Women share the power position accorded to men as they too are earning money like men. Just as Ali suggests the equal social positioning of men and women as earners, Muslim feminists provide alternative perspectives about the patriarchal discourses of men's superiority over women, as follows.

The Qur'anic term *Qawwamuna* [men as maintainers and protectors] in the Holy Qur'an (4:34), is usually referred to a patriarchal interpretation supporting Muslim men's authority over women, based on physical strength and the provision of livelihood (Syed & Van Buren, 2014). However, Muslim feminist scholarship challenges such interpretation of the term as it carries the idea of man's superiority over woman (Al-Hibri, 2001; Barlas, 2002; Mernissi, 1987; Wadud, 1999). Muslim feminist scholars suggest that it is man's religious responsibility to fulfil the economic needs of his family (Al-Hibri, 1982) rather than a privilege. Zainab Al Ghazzali, an Egyptian activist and founder of the Muslim Women's Association, offers a commentary on *Qawwamuna* [men as maintainers and protectors] and explains that it "demands the man offer the best treatment and *ins'af* [equity] concerning the woman in every matter whereof she is in need of any service"

(Roald, 2003, p. 151). Religious scholar Doi (1990) explains that "maintenance and protection are *wajib* [obligatory] for man" (p. 106). Thus, while dominant gender and religious discourses have enabled men to take a dominant position and superiority as earners, these writers make a significant argument for the responsibility to earn being an aspect of a discourse of care and service to the family, rather than conferring privilege or superiority.

Talking within the discourse of care and service, Ali critiqued the man considering household tasks as only woman's responsibility. He used the word "injustice" for a man whose responsibility of fulfilling economic needs for the family is shared by a woman, while the man still considers home chores as only woman's work.

I was moved by the way Ali questioned the dominant position of men (including his position as well) based on earnings. He, who had been brought up within the patriarchal social set-up, called for equality and justice in intra-household relations. In this research interview with Ali, it was the first time in my life hearing a Muslim man questioning the dominant gender practices that I grew up with.

Ali not only stood with and for women but also criticised the position men take in the context of sharing responsibilities:

> They [men] are not willing to share her responsibilities at home.

Ali claimed that men can share household responsibilities with women, but they are not willing to do so. A man has a choice to help but he does not take that choice up and refuses sharing home responsibilities as this is an unpaid work, beneath his status as a man.

> It's unfair to a working woman that she has to take the dual responsibilities. She earns money equal to man, but he is free at home while she is still busy in unpaid home chores.

Ali continued advocating for working women when he used "unfair" to show the situation working women face by being burdened with paid work outside the home as well as unpaid labour at home. I argue that Ali's words "Has to take the dual responsibilities" might indicate that a working woman took up the responsibility of earning money either to

support her husband through difficult economic circumstances, to make herself worthwhile and of value or to have control of her own life.

The question here is who decides that a woman does paid work. Reasons vary. Perhaps a woman has to come out of the home to share the financial burden with her husband, as educated men in Pakistan prefer to marry a working woman (Sikandar et al., 2019). In another situation, a woman might initiate to participate in paid labour to liberate herself from a subordinate position, as financial independence through employment empowers her and gives her value (Khan et al., 2017; Ul Haq et al., 2019). But despite being involved in paid labour and earning money like a man, she has no exemption or relaxation from household responsibilities. She not only has to take up the dual responsibilities but to meet the requirements of patriarchy she also has to face the social positioning of proving herself a capable home manager to be allowed to access the public sphere (Khan et al., 2017; Khurshid, 2016; Tabassum, 2016).

Ali drew attention to this inequality, noting that a man who considers a woman to be sitting "free" is himself "free" at home while she is busy with home chores when she comes back home from work.

> If they have equal earnings then why they are not equal in sharing the domestic labour as a man has lost his advantage over woman of being the sole earner in the family.

Ali invited men to come out of the bounds of a gendered division of work and to share the household responsibilities. Ali suggested the need for change to existing traditional gender roles so that men are not the sole breadwinners and women are not the sole home makers. They should equally share the household responsibilities.

Reflections on the gendered division of domestic responsibilities and freedom also came up in my conversation with Ahmad, a head of department. I asked Ahmad how he considered or looked at his female colleagues with family responsibilities. He replied,

> I myself feel that when I leave home in the morning, or when I go back home, I don't need to change any child's diaper, I don't have to prepare

> breakfast for anybody, I don't have to cook meals, so I enjoy freedom, when I reach home, I get the food ready, and I get the breakfast ready in the morning.

Ahmad's comment took me to the other side of the picture in which working women are surrounded with physical, emotional as well as mental challenges of fulfilling household and caring responsibilities. Ahmad's expression of freedom from these responsibilities highlights the attention, energy and exertion women have to invest in these taken for granted household and caring tasks. Working women have to manage these responsibilities before leaving for work and on returning home. Doing paid labour doesn't "free" them from unpaid labour like men who enjoy this freedom, and who have the responsibility of earning money only.

Moving further Ahmad commented:

> But women…have a number of responsibilities… a number of responsibilities…so managing such responsibilities with care and professionalism like taking class in time, with no or less leave. It is really remarkable [that women do this]. I think it must be honored, I personally think that we should respect them for that. They are contributing in the development of the society by doing a job and keeping their family stable.

Ahmad used the words "honour" and "respect" for woman's contribution to work-family domains. Again, this understanding for a man to have this view was unfamiliar to me. Although, he might not be sharing woman's domestic responsibilities within his own family, but at least he questions and realises women's efforts, struggle, and hard work in this context.

Women's Position as a Subaltern

Ali continued sharing his observation and critical analysis of women's subjected position. Ali observed that despite more progressive laws for women's legal support having been passed (see below), dominant social norms tend to prevail:

> Our social set up is so much dominant over laws that she can't access the legal support that could be available. If any woman dares to say that "I am going to court for support", no one will support her, neither parents nor children. They will not allow woman to go beyond the social norms or socially set patterns because it's not socially accepted…because she is not given the position or status to take any step for herself.

Dominant normative discourses hinder women from seeking legal support in terms of domestic violence. Ali used "dare" for woman who decides to take the legal support. It suggests that seeking legal support is not a common and easy practice among women in Pakistan. It requires courage on the part of the woman to go to the court for her rights. She may lose family support once she speaks about seeking legal support. Thus, a woman is not positioned to take a stand or speak for herself and call on her legal rights.

Women in Pakistan are subjected to three legal systems: Sharia (Islamic) law, state law and customary law. There are various Sharia and state laws to protect women from violence: Muslim Personal Law of Sharia (to ensure women's right to inheritance), Muslim Family Law Ordinance (to ensure women's right against unjust procedures of marriage, divorce, and polygamy), Sexual Harassment Bill, Prevention of Anti- Women Practices Bill (to refrain from giving a woman/girl from offender's family in force marriage as a compensation for his crime, or marriage with the Holy Qur'an, and depriving women of their inheritance), Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Bill (to prevent the misuse of acid and provide legal support to acid and burn victims, and Domestic Violence Act. But despite this extensive list of Sharia and state laws, the customary law is predominantly practised in various forms in Pakistani society, such as *Jirga* and *Panchayat* (informal gatherings of influential men who decide about the dispute) (Muneer, 2017; Ranjah & Cheema, 2014).

The gendered practices enforced through these customary laws and the gendered discourses of woman positioned as the guardian of family's honor or *Izzat* construct woman as what Spivak (1994) calls a subaltern, the oppressed subjects or more generally those "of inferior rank" (Spivak, 1988, p. 283) . Women as the guardian of family's honor

have to accept their position as a subaltern in Pakistani society because of different socio-cultural, economic, and psychological reasons. For example, as Ali implied, women have to keep silence over violence or denial of their human rights because they are made to believe that they are responsible to keep the family matters private and not to disclose them as it would influence family's standing within society. Lack of hope for women's own family support to speak against violence, compel women to keep quiet (Madhani et al., 2017). Women's economic dependency on men requires them remain silent. If they raise their voice against men, they might have to face adverse consequences. There are examples of women who had to experience increased abuse or violence from their husband or husband's family, fear, shaming, and embarrassing her because they reported violence (Sultan et al., 2016). Hence, women who have to suffer either they speak for their rights or remain silent.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter contributes as a significant step in my thesis as it includes two men's voices; one identifying and questioning gender inequalities within family and society, and the other acknowledging women's struggles within work-family life. Two men calling for equality, recognition and respect for women produce possibilities for men to support women within work-family life.

Chapter Seven

Narratives of Family Support

Introduction

This chapter starts with highlights of a woman academic's story of her father taking micro actions that disturbed the dominant traditional gender practices to support her work-family life and career progression. Then there is another woman academic whose mother disrupted the rigidity of traditional patriarchal power relations by taking a stand for her daughter and produced new possibilities for how gender power relations might play out differently. Then I offer accounts of how some of the women academics' parents-in-law demonstrated intergenerational solidarity to support their daughters-in-law by challenging traditional intergenerational relationships. However, with the exception of a father engaged in a lifelong commitment, there were husbands of a few women academics who had limited contribution to their wives' careers, enacting patriarchal gender power relation between themselves and their wives, resulting in women academics side-line their own careers. Then I give accounts of three academic women, relating their dependence on working-class women, the domestic assistants as an alternative to fulfill work-family responsibilities. This chapter documents how family support influence women academics' work-family life and support or hinder women academics' career progression.

Father Engaged in Ethics of Care

Aisha recounted a story of her father Hassan's lifelong love and care that made her academic career possible. Aisha's account revealed her father's lifelong care and support that started in the early years of her life:

> In fact I learned cooking from my father… he made me learn how to cook….he told me how much water and time is required to cook rice.

A father teaching his daughter how to cook is beyond the familiar gender norms, as cooking is considered to be a feminine domestic activity. The cultural schema of "cooking by our mother's side" identified by (Oleschuk, 2019, p. 3) positions women not only as primary cooks but also the transmitters of cooking knowledge. Lavelle et al. (2016) also confirmed

the gendered nature of foodwork as more mothers compared to fathers were involved in instructing children how to cook and more girls than boys were likely to learn cooking. However, in Aisha's story, a father took the responsibility of teaching cooking to his daughter.

Aisha recalled why her father himself learned cooking:

> My father learned cooking because my mother was also a working woman… a school teacher. She was diabetic and later on she suffered from heart disease. My father supported my mother. As my father worked in shifts, he used to prepare food before my mother comes home from her teaching job. He knew that she [mother] would take some rest if she would find that the lunch is ready.

Aisha's father Hassan taking responsibility for cooking disrupted the dominant gendered practice of domestic cooking as only woman's work. He resisted traditional masculinity by taking this initiative. Hassan showed respect to his wife as a working woman by learning to cook. Being a man socially constructed in a partriarchal society, he responded to a position call of his marital relationship in a novel way. His position perhaps contrasts with Ahmad, a head of department (mentioned in chapter Six), who also had a realisation that women hold a lot of responsibilities, but he did not offer an account of sharing responsibilities himself. On the other hand, Hassan contributed in his wife's life by not only taking the practical domestic responsibilities but also in taking the responsibility of teaching their daughter the important skill of cooking. He also contributed in terms of his values of care by providing opportunity for his wife to take rests, acknowledging her medical difficulties.

Aisha appreciated her father's significant contributions in her life:

> My father played a central role in managing my life, my father supported me in the completion of my PhD. After my mother's death, he played the role of both parents and he played it very well. He is my strength.

Aisha was moved by her father's contributions in her family and academic life. Aisha's narration of her father's support constructs him as a caring person. I turn to Noddings

(2002b) who suggests that "selves are not born" (p. 98) but rather remain under continuous construction as a result of different kinds of encounters. In this situation, the deteriorating health conditions of Aisha's mother and then her death might have opened further opportunities to Aisha's father to extend a caring self. Noddings suggests that "the organism is not the sole 'author' of the script-like self: other selves contribute to its construction" (Noddings, 2002b, p. 100). Aisha authored her father's caring self and contributes to its construction by appreciating her father fulfilling multiple roles, the role of a father and a mother at the same time. Aisha was overwhelmed with emotions when she talked about her mother's death and her father's contributions. And she composed herself when she strongly declared, "He is my strength".

Moving further, Aisha shared her experience of her father's remarkable support during her PhD:

> That was the time of my second daughter's birth. My PhD was in textile design, I had to do the laboratory work in the university located in a faraway city. So, my father went there with me, and he helped me in the lab. I stayed in the hostel, and he stayed at one of the homes of our relatives.

The quality of support Aisha received from her father stands out as he, on Noddings (2016) terms, "always acted so as to establish, maintain, or enhance caring relations"(p. 226). Research studies conducted in Pakistani context have referred to fathers' support in the form of providing equal opportunities for pursuing higher education and career to their sons and daughters (Malik & Courtney, 2011); providing financial support emotional support (Rab, 2010; Shah, 2015); and pushing them to undertake higher education (Moazam & Shekhani, 2018). However, Aisha's father, Hassan had values, love, care, compassion, hopes, and dreams for his daughter that was beyond limits. His love, care and compassion for his daughter led him to travel with her to a faraway city to support her to conduct her PhD experiments. It seems that he had sound understandings of the ethics of care and the refined care for the situation his daughter might need during her pregnancy. Aisha's narrative of her father's care demonstrates a strong emotional bond between an

adult woman academic and her father. It is perhaps that kind of relation Noddings (2002a) indicated which Hassan demonstrated in taking responsibility for his daughter's care.

> Why… do we recognize an obligation to care? … In the ethic of care, we accept our obligation because we value the relatedness of natural caring … When we care, we must employ reasoning to decide what to do and how best to do it … But reason is not what motivates us. It is feeling with and for the other that motivates us in natural caring (p. 14).

Hassan was not trained to care for others rather he was raised to be taken care of. But he developed a caring self and took the responsibility of taking care of his daughter.

Aisha continued narrating the details of her father's support in conducting the PhD study experiment in detail:

> He used to come to me at 8 am and we both [me and my father] worked together in the lab… So, he used to hand over chemicals to me or fabric, sometimes I cut samples [of fabrics] and he used to count them, and I used to ask him "Papa please take these samples from this lab to the other lab" "Papa please bring those samples from that lab".

Hassan, who once used to be her cooking teacher, became her lab assistant when she had to conduct her PhD experiments. Hassan's in-time presence at the university where PhD experiments were conducted indicates that he was reading the situation. He was reading that his daughter would need a helping hand inside the lab. So, he made himself readily available to assist his daughter. He had this great skill of situation analysis and how to respond to the situation, which is unfamiliar to me from my socio-cultural perspective. I relate to Noddings (2013) in this reference:

> The concept of ethics of care implies a perspective on ethics as being relational and also situated. Actions are not motivated by reasons and principles – but instead by the needs of and the responsibility for others. The relationship with and the needs of the other are the motives for actions, not rules or virtues (p. 43).

Hassan used to follow his daughter's requests and instructions by taking and bringing the fabric samples to the labs. I do have memories of observing a father following a young girl's instructions as a way to show his love and care for her but a father following an adult daughter's requests was a pleasant surprise for me.

This series of father's support was not limited to teaching cooking and following instructions and requests as a lab assistant. It also extended to childcare, caring for Aisha's daughters, his granddaughters. Aisha shared the following:

> Once my daughter was not feeling well and she had some stomach problem or diarrhoea…so I said to my father that "I have changed the diaper you just need to feed her some food. I will come back at 11o'clock and will wash her again". But when I came home, he was feeding rice to her and he had changed her diaper. I felt relaxed that she was with my father and my father said "its ok, no problem, you just relax".

Hassan supported Aisha in work-family life by taking care of his granddaughters. He was engaged in childcare, which is considered feminised work. It seemed that he extended his caring abilities for not only Aisha as the adolescent and an adult woman but also included her young children. The way he was engaged in feeding, washing and changing the nappy of his granddaughter resonates with how Elliott (2016) defined feminist care "as not just practical but also relational, emotional, intimate, and affective (p. 249)." Hassan continued his contribution in terms of his values when he tried his best to support his daughter by sharing her academic, domestic and parenting responsibilities.

This unique and rich story of a Pakistani man opens new possibilities for reconstructing and negotiating gender practices especially masculinity. Hassan enacted a caring masculinity by engaging in caring practices. He took the initiative to extend masculine care from just breadwinning and protecting to nurturing and practising care. I argue that Hassan's certain practices of family care can be connected with the teachings of Islam as Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) said, "From among the believers are those who have the kindest disposition and are kindest to their families - such are those who show the most perfect faith. The best among them are those who are kindest to their wives" (Lemu, 2007,

p. 8). Hence, Aisha's father, Hassan in ascribing the Islamic values of care through his actions might disturb the patriarchal gender practices prevalent in Pakistani society.

Mother's Bold Step

While Aisha's story is of a father who opened possibilities, Sara's was of a mother, Amber, who disrupted the rigidity of traditional patriarchal power relations to produce something different for her daughter. Sara, a woman academic with two school-aged children, during our research interview, recalled a story of her mother's support for her higher education and by taking care of her grand-children. To begin with, Sara talked about the socio-cultural constraints she faced when she thought about participating in higher education:

> My own family, like my grandparents and even my father, used to think that…mmm…like I should get married at first and then I can do whatever I want. So, I was just allowed to do an MS.

Sara shared her experience of being positioned as a woman in Pakistani society. Practices of patriarchy mean the father and the grandfather have a say in their adult children's future. Sara saying "I was just allowed to do an MS" shows the available but limited positions she could take up. I argue that Sara having limited opportunities of higher education, conditioned with marriage as a pre-requisite was positioned within gender power relationships and traditional socio-cultural practices.

The important question that arises here is why marriage is considered more important than opportunities for education or higher education for girls and young women. In Pakistani society, timely marriage of daughters is one of the primary responsibilities of a parent, and an unmarried daughter is considered a great dishonour for the family (Masood, 2019). As far as education is concerned, parents invest in their sons' education to ensure a better future for them. However, girl's education in Pakistan is connected to the ideas and practices that consider marriage as the ultimate purpose of a girl's life (Ali et al., 2015; Noureen, 2011). Women experience parental pressure for marriage that often hinders them from continuing their education. But in Sara's family, a mother valued education for her daughter:

> When I got admitted to the PhD, that was a big step for my family. My mother was very passionate that I should do something. She always had the thinking and used to say that 'you can do, so try for it'.

It was Sara's mother Amber who took a very bold step of backing up her daughter to take this opportunity for further study. This very bold step that Amber took can be understood as a resistance to the dominant socio-cultural discourses and practices embedded in a patriarchal society. To understand how such resistance can produce change in social practice, I turn to Foucault (1997) who argues that:

> If there was no resistance, there would be no power relations. Because it would simply be a matter of obedience. You have to use power relations to refer to the situation where you're not doing what you want. So, resistance comes first, and resistance remains superior to the forces of the process; power relations are obliged to change with the resistance. (p. 167)

Amber resisted, and the power relations changed and opened new possibilities for her daughter.

Sara acknowledged the effects for her of her mother's values:

> I really appreciate her. She [mother] is not much educated … but she had a passion that her daughters should be highly qualified. In fact, it was her passion that she communicated to us.

I was moved by the way Sara recognised her mother's bold step on Sara's behalf. Sara's mother took an initiaive for her daughter's education even though she herself might not have had opportunities to receive education. Complying with the dominant socio-culural practice, Sara's mother might have had to marry first. But she had a passion for her daughter's higher education and she was not quiet about that passion. Sara's mother showed her passion and commitment for education in a very active way:

When I was unmarried, she was always with me… like… if my grandmother used to say that "she is grown up now and she does not do any household tasks"…she [my

> mother] used to be on my side… and used to say … "it's alright…she will learn". Now she feels pride in me and says proudly…"look…she has learnt. I [mother] told you [grandmother] that she will learn".

Sara's mother did everything she could to make it possible for her daughter, for example, by standing up to the grandmother and creating space for her daugher to make her own decisions. She resisted the dominant power relations by saying "No" to grandmother and the dominant discourses that girls are born to learn and do household tasks. I follow Foucault (1978b) conceptualisation of power when he argues that there is an inseparable link between knowledge and power. Discourses determine what knowledge is held to be true, right, or proper, so those who dominate the terns of the discourse determine the knowledge. Sara's mother resisted, took a stand ,and disturbed taken for granted gender practices in order to give her daughter access to education.

Moving further, Sara spoke of her mother's extended support in later taking care of her grandchildren:

> In my married life, nobody can take care of my kids like my mother. She is more than a mother…more than a mother, I think. She did training of my kids and played an important role in bringing up my children. When my kids were too young to go to school, they used to be all the time with my mother. She has a great contribution in my life.

Sara's mother created possibilties for her daughter, firstly by standing side by side with her to continue her education and then taking caring of her children. Sara repeating that her mother "is more than a mother" might highlight her mother's significant contributions in her life. Her mother did not limit her support to just saying to her daugher that she could achieve academically and so she should make the attempt. Amber took practical steps to make higher education possible for her daughter and facilitated her in her career by taking responsibility for her grandchildren. She not only took care of the younger generation but also provided moral training to them, which is considered a mothers-only responsibility in the socio-cultural context of Pakistan.

Sara's mother made an intergenerational contribution. Sara's children might notice how their grandmother made change possible for their mother and how much passion she [the grandmother] had for women's education and career. There might be a difference in how Sara and her children would think about their grandmothers.

Parents-in-Law's Support

Besides Aisha and Sara sharing a father's and a mother's significant contributions in their work-family life, some of the other participants of my research study told different stories in relation to their parents-in-law. In traditional Pakistani families, mothers-in-law are in particular relations of power with their daughters-in-law. Mothers-in-law assign the daily household tasks to their daughters-in-law and supervise them performing those tasks. The elder women, positioned as traditional mothers-in-law, support the continuity of patriarchal power relations with their daughters-in-law (Akram, 2018; Habiba et al., 2016).

The participants of my research study shared their varied experiences of work-family support from their parents-in-law. The storylines shared by the women academics indicated a spectrum from receiving no support to having significant support, by providing childcare or doing grocery shopping or household tasks. Women academics experienced different kinds of relationships with their parents-in-law. Hira commented about the traditional relationship with her parents-in-law:

> [Do they support me?] Not really… I mean sharing in the sense that you can hire a cook if you can afford who would cook on your behalf or you can hire a nanny to take care of your kids and do some home chores. But as such family members [husband's family] do not help and support. For example, if there are 6-7 family members in the family and they expect you to get food ready, clothes washed … that's not possible. You can hire help by using your money but family members [husband's family] do not offer any help. I do hire help and my mother really helps me….not my in-laws. My mother supports.

Hira's comments demonstrate the traditional relationship she had with her in-laws where no support is offered to her in the work-family context. She herself had to find alternatives to continue her career. This is in contrast with some of the other participants who had supportive relationships with their parents-in-law. For example, Zahra said:

> My mother in law is very supportive... she took care of both of my kids when they were very young.

In continuity with Zahra's narrative of mother-in-law's support, Kubra shared:

> My father-in-law helps me with grocery shopping when my husband is busy in his job and my mother-in-law attends to my children when I have to stay long in the university.

Kubra's father-in-law and mother-in-law joined together to support her through her career either by doing practical tasks to ensure the provisions or offering childcare. In Zahra and Kubra's accounts, a mother-in-law facilitating her daughter-in-law by taking up the childcare responsibility seems to be an unusual situation as biological mothers or maternal grandparents usually support their working daughters by making themselves available for taking care of their grandchildren (Rab, 2010). Sara's comments also endorsed the supportive relationship between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law as she said:

> My husband's mother is very co-operative and took the responsibility for our household tasks, but she said that kids' responsibility is beyond her capacity. So, my kids used to be with my mother. Both of the women [my mother and husband's mother] have shared the responsibility and played their role in my PhD degree.

Zahra's, Kubra's and Sara's accounts suggest a change in intergenerational relationships in which senior women are engaged in supporting adult women with their work-family responsibilities. It seems that these women do "solidarity" with other women, on the terms of intergenerational solidarity theory (Bengtson, 2004; Bengtson & Roberts, 1991), that is "solidarity among parents and children during the adult family life course is an intergenerational cohesion after children reach adulthood and establish careers and families of their own" (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991, p. 856). This is significant social

change in intergenerational relationship among the mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law within the social context of Pakistan. The adult women, daughers-in-law have decided to contribute in society by pursuing higher education and careers while the senior women, the mothers-in-law, provided support to the younger generations within family. The positive change in intergenerational relationship highlights the shared family values within the extended family systems. A daughter-in-law positioned as an academic changes her social position within the family and society.

Spousal Support

Following the accounts of a father, a mother, biological parents, and parents-in-law engaged in disrupting traditional gender roles in order to support women academics' careers and family lives, this section highlights the traditional social practices of enacting patriarchal power relation between women academics and their husbands.

In response to my question about how women academics' husbands support them in their career and family lives, some of the women academics recounted experiences of their husbands' support in childcare (family) and professional development (university). The accounts shared by women academics were not limited to the nature and range of support they received from their husbands but also echoed with two women academics' sacrifices for their husbands' career progression.

Fathers' Childcare practices

Two women academics spoke of the benefit to them of their husbands who were also academics. Zahra commented on his support with children-care.

> We are lucky that me and my husband are in the same institution. So sometimes, he used to pick up children from school and sometimes I used to pick them up. Sometimes, my husband used to take them with him in his office... As yesterday I had a class from 12:00- 2:00 pm and that was the off time of my kids from the school so I asked my husband to take both of them and they stayed with him. When I finished my lecture, I took the children from his office and went home.

Zahra's comment that "We are lucky that me and my husband are in the same institution" represents a picture of what first appears to be a collaboration that comes from Zahra and her husband both working as academics. Zahra's husband, being a father, is engaged in a kind of shared responsibility when it comes to providing the pick up for their children. When Zahra goes on to give a specific example of shared care, we can see a father caring for children during the working day. However, at the same time, I note that it was Zahra's responsibility to *ask* her husband for this support. And secondly, at the end of the working time, it was Zahra's responsibility to take the children home.

Sadiya also commented on the benefits for women when their husbands are also academics and they understand the work requirements of being an academic:

> [My] husband is supportive, like when I used to have class in the evenings, he used to take care of kids. As we are from the same field, he understands that I have such work commitments - like supervising research students, or any other administrative duty...he understands it. He doesn't help me much in household tasks but he attends the kids while I am busy in cooking. He doesn't help in cooking, washing or cleaning. I know I have to do....so I do.

While there is an understanding of the significant work responsibilities Sadiya carries as an academic woman, and some attention to the children, Sadiya comments that her husband limits his contribution to sharing family responsibilities. He does not cook, do washing or clean.

Zahra's and Sadiya's comments suggest that men have greater freedom of choice to be involved in childcare or not, but women hold caring as an obligation. In Zahra's and Sadiya's situations, husbands made themselves available to get involved in childcare when their wives were busy in either household tasks or work commitments. Reading through Zahra's and Sadiya's comments, I was also curious to know what Zahra's and Sadiya's husbands did when they had to spend time with their children: were they actively engaged in care when they have childcare responsibilities?

Some of these questions are perhaps answered in Fatima's more detailed account of activities her husband was engaged in:

> He is very hands-on with kids. Our maid is here to cook food but he is there to keep kids busy and entertain them. He used to have animated movies in his laptop. He can feed them as well... provided the food is ready. So, I think that's the best thing that I can expect. The kids used to be happy with him...

Fatima used the expression "hands-on" to show her husband's active participation in childcare. But there are some complexities in what Fatima said. For example, Fatima saying that "he can feed them…provided the food is ready" suggests that her husband depended on a woman [the family's maid] to get the food prepared to enable him to feed his children. Then he depended on technology to keep the children busy. He is "hands-on" to some extent, and his caring role depends on technology and a maid's support to look after his children.

The accounts of women academics about their husbands' limited availability and more passive role in childcare echoes the traditional gendered practices of care in patriarchal societies. These gendered care practices are socially constructed as men and women grow up learning different gender identities of care. For example, Tronto (2013) argues that masculine care is associated with "production" and "protection"(p. 72). Production is associated with breadwinning and caring as protection is viewed as being involved in traditional caring roles for men such as disciplining children and protecting the family. These masculine ideas of caring through work and protection are used to legitimise exemption for men from active participation in the care of children (Hanlon, 2012; Tronto, 2013).

Zahra, Sadiya and Fatima acknowledge their husbands' albeit limited availability and passive presence around their children as a support. These acknowledgements might carry a hope for a new beginning, a disturbance of dominant traditional gendered work. Husbands' (limited) availability for childcare might be a step towards resistance of traditional masculinity and signal a possibility for change in gendered discourses of care.

As Hanlon (2012) argued, “[d]oing caring work is associated with having a more flexible definition of masculinity, men’s roles, and men’s caring capabilities (p. 202).”

Less satisfied with limited availability, Hira was explicit about what she expected her husband to contribute:

> My husband does help me with the kids, I mean he takes care of kids when I am busy. But I need his support in sharing family responsibilities…like household tasks, paying utility bills and grocery shopping. I feel terrible doing all these. These demand a lot of time. I have to take children with me or leave them at home which is difficult for me. I need his physical help in doing these tasks.

While acknowledging and appreciating her husband’s childcare support, Hira identified specific day-to-day tasks such as “household work” “paying utility bills” and “grocery shopping” for her husband to participate in.

According to Rehman and Roomi (2012) men in Pakistani society find staying with and supervising children an acceptable expression of masculinity, but getting them to share the household tasks becomes a greater challenge for women. According to these gender practices, men engage in outdoor activities such as shopping and farming, while women are supposed to do cooking, washing and childcare (Hussain et al., 2015). Men and women internalise those normative gender practices as they grow up and become concerned about the social approval and disapproval of those roles (Hanlon, 2012). Engaging men in household work might disprove their masculinity as helping women in domestic chores might present them as weak (Farooq, 2020).

Ibrahim, a husband participant maintained normative gender practices as he shared:

> We (men) don’t support to the extent that it seems awkward to others...you know... I mean I don’t clean the floor...I try to support her in every possible way that doesn’t feel awkward or...you know odd.

Ibrahim’s commentary about limiting support shows that he protected his masculine identity by not participating in household tasks such as cleaning the floor. Ibrahim takes a

clear position when he decides what not to do. He uses the phrase "awkward" to show that cleaning the floor is not what men do. Ibrahim endorses traditional gender practices as he associates cleaning the floor as a feminine activity undertaken by women.

Supporting career development

The ambivalence of support in the responsibilities of home was echoed in women's accounts of support they had in relation to their careers. Zahra used the language of support:

> My husband supported me to continue my job and do PhD. There was a time in my life when I felt that I can't do PhD, I got tired of it but my husband pushed me to complete my PhD.

In the light of the previous discussions about family responsibilities, Zahra spoke about being "pushed" by her husband to do her PhD as a support. Her explanation made me question the kind of practical support she may have received from her husband. It is perhaps relevant to consider why it was that her husband "pushed" her through her PhD? And who would have a larger share of benefit from her PhD?

Aisha offered some details about the practical support she receives from her husband, both with work tasks and family care:

> He is supportive in a way that he knows that I am doing a PhD and he belongs to IT department and he helped me in my thesis, like I used to ask him that "I am going to cook something and you have to do formatting of my thesis"….. I used to say that, "I wrote all the references you just need to set them properly", so in this way he helped me in study. I used to ask him that I have written a paper and I didn't know how to publish so we both used to sit together and search for journals to publish….So he helped me in my computer work...And sometimes he looks after kids. When I handle one, I ask him "you handle the second baby"…

Aisha's husband has made active contributions. However, while Aisha calls her husband "supportive", I note that it was she who identified the specific situations in which she *asked for* her husband's support. Aisha says "I used to ask him" and "I ask him", suggesting that her husband's support may not have been readily available to her, she had to take initiative and request her husband for help. The same was the case with childcare as Aisha had to ask her husband to take care of the second baby.

It is heartening to me to some extent to hear about some of the women academics' husbands making themselves available for "on call help." But what leaves me in deep pain are the accounts I heard of women academics compromising their careers or having them undermined.

Hira told the following story:

> When we got married, we both were doing PhDs. I supported him [my husband] in his PhD. I used to do proof reading of his thesis at nights. Once he needed to publish an article in an impact factor journal and he didn't have money to get it published. So, I gave him money from my account for publishing that article. Once he needed to go to attend an international conference, he didn't have money, so I provided him money. I supported him financially and emotionally. I have sacrificed my career and career growth to give more time to my family and fulfil family responsibilities.

Hira gives explicit examples of how she contributed to her husband's professional development. Hira's comments that "I supported him" "I used to do proof reading of his thesis" "I gave him money", for publishing and travel, demonstrate what actual support looks like. At the same time as she has supported her husband's career opportunities, Hira comments that she has sacrificed her career to "fulfil family responsibilities", suggesting the ongoing playing out of traditional gender roles associated with partriarchal societies, despite the presence of women in the academic workforce.

Hira's account of giving money, time and compromising her career development for her husband, resonates with Sadiya who shared what she sacrificed for her husband and his career:

> I always dreamed of having a job in that institution as I had my own research lab there and a lot of other facilities [I was working there as a visiting faculty]...We both [me and my husband] appeared in the same selection board when they advertised the permanent post of Assistant Professor and I got selected. My husband was next to me on the selection list so I sacrificed my position for my husband because he had no job at that time.

Sadiya was offered the permanent position of Assistant Professor and she stood aside and gave it to her husband. She had doors open for her career to progress but she chose to sideline her own career for her husband's career. Both Hira and Sadiya sacrificed their own careers for their husbands, endorsing the traditional gender position of men as the breadwinners as an expression of the dominant gender power relation that women academics submit themselves to.

I experience the pain of these research stories. While accounts I offer in this chapter might tell of women academics who have managed to start a career with a father engaged in ethics of care, a mother who took a bold step for their higher education, and parents-in-law accepting change in intergenerational relationships, there remains the pain of the accounts of academic careers that have been sidelined in favour of men's careers. Out of the pain I experience, I find it meaningful to question the strategies, the visible and invisible power, by which Pakistani women academics find themselves sidelining hard-won careers.

Paid Domestic Support

Hiring a domestic worker was also a form of support to share the domestic responsibilities for some of the participants of my research study, as Fatima explained:

> I have a maid and she comes at 7 o clock in the morning. She helps me in making breakfast, preparing the lunch boxes, sending kids to school. She cleans the house and leaves, then she comes at 12:30 pm, cooks food and attends kids when they are back from school. So, there is nothing for my husband to do. I have to rely on others' support.

Fatima recounts specific tasks undertaken by the domestic worker, illustrating Waring's (1988) point that domestic work is seen as productive when it involves income.

Sara continued talking about managing household reposibilities:

> But he [husband] never has an objection the way I manage household tasks…like if I have maids, or any other support to do the household work, he says "do your work as you feel easy." So, I manage the households with the help of maids and machines.

Sara's comments that her "husband never has an objection the way I manage household tasks" and her husband saying "do your work as you feel easy" endorses traditional gender power relations of women being fully responsible for domestic responsibilities no matter whatever their work situation. Along with taking household tasks as only women's responsibility, working women have to decide how to manage those domestic reponisibilities.

> What I think is that here in Pakistan, you can hire a maid and manage things with their help. You know…you have to spend money to hire such a support and I do expect to get such a support. My husband offers that support and spends his money…so, that's a support for me.

Kubra considers her husband paying for domestic help as his support.

Fatima, Sara, and Kubra have an alternative solution to the socio-cultural and gendered constraints of asking husbands to share the household responsibilities. That alternative is hiring someone else, usually a woman, who might be of working class or migrant background (Peterson, 2007). This form of support is available to women with higher social status, based on their income. These women in privileged positions pass their part

of ‘women’s work’ to another woman, a domestic worker (Shahid, 2009). Explaining the relationship between the woman employer and the domestic worker, Rollins (1985, as cited in Shahid, 2009) argues that “the work done by domestic is a work which could otherwise be done by the employer herself” (p. 4).

The division between women, based on their social status creates social classes as Ray and Qayyum (2009, as cited in Harju, 2016) claim: “Class does not just exist out there but is made in the process of using maids: class makes maids make class” (p. 4). This division is not limited to a high-status working woman (woman academic) and a domestic worker (woman) but also divides women academics based on their social status as not all women academics might be able to afford to hire domestic help. Academic women are not a homogenous group, with some better supported by families than others.

Chapter Conclusion

Women academics in my research study resisted traditional gender practices by participating in academia and contributing economically to the family. But, with some exceptions, such as Aisha's father engaged in lifelong care to make his daughter’s academic career possible, and three husbands of women academics providing help on request rather than an equal share, women academics’ work continues to depend on women’s domestic labour, whether it is the domestic labour of the academic herself, of her mother, her mother-in-law, or working-class women, the domestic workers who are paid to help.

Chapter Eight
University Support

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the perspectives of women academics and heads of departments about the sites of contestation developed at the workplace due to the postcolonial situation and global neoliberal demands at universities in Pakistan. This chapter highlights on-the-ground realities such as working conditions, limited resources and a colonised governance system and the impact of externally imposed benchmarks from Western universities on a postcolonial university in a postcolonial country which is still in "institution-and nation-building mode" (Samier, 2017, p. 1522). This chapter offers an analysis of some effects of how women faculty members have to comply with the competitive globalised demands of quality education, research and accountability.

Before moving to the stories of my study participants, I contextualise the current situation of governance in higher education institutions in Pakistan. The current governance mechanism can be traced to British colonial rule (Mansoor & Malik, 2016; Zubair et al., 2019). The post-independent Pakistan with very limited resources and weak governance structures continued the colonial systems of governance. Although few reforms were introduced in the adminsitrative structures and the bureaucratic system inherited from the British colonisers, the majority of the policy development continued in consistency with western systems (Zubair et al., 2019).

While Pakistan as a developing and postcolonial country continues its struggle to survive as an independent state with its own Islamic identity, (re)colonisation takes place through globalisation. Spivak (1990) suggested that globalisation is the continuation of colonialism. "The West becomes global," that is how Western cultural reproduction and domination becomes "universalised and naturalised in the rest of world" (Andreotti, 2011, p. 38). Western educational values, programmes and practices as a neoliberal agenda become a norm to which developing countries must strive, regardless of their institutional arrangements, or the availability of resources and funds. One of the features of this

process is accreditation and quality assurance of higher education programmes of developing countries that leads them to confrom to a neoliberal model that privileges Western knowledge, structures and roles (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Saad-Filho & Johnston, 2005). This neoliberal model is further endorsed by the international organisations, for example IMF and World Bank, which sanction loans by imposing specific conditionalities (Muhumed & Gaas, 2016) and thus on intruding on local economies. Moreover the global university ranking systems produce global competitions in terms of academic productivity (Erkkilä & Piironen, 2020).

Using a postcolonial and neoliberal globalisation lens, the first section of this chapter captures women academics' and heads of departments' perspectives about what a postcolonial university looks like in Pakistan and how neoliberal demands influence women academics' professional development. The second section highlights the available institutional support to women academics to meet their work-family responsibilities.

Limited Resources in Postcolonial Universities

Many women academics in my research interviews drew attention to limited resources available in a postcolonial university. Hira shared a detailed account of the consequences for her and her colleagues of limited resources:

> We seventeen or eighteen faculty members sit in one small room, with a lot of noise, a lot of chit chat and a lot of distractions. That's the room in which our students come to meet us, to discuss their assignments. That's the room where we mark papers, that's the room where we supervise our research students, read books, and prepare our lectures. So, it's very difficult for us. Some of our faculty members don't even have a table and a chair…they spend [work] time by sitting on a sofa and I used to be one of them.

First of all, Hira indicates the lack of space resources: "one small room" functions as a workspace for seventeen or eighteen women academics. Phrases such as "a lot of noise" and "a lot of distractions" might indicate the adverse psychological effects of that workspace on her as a person and her productivity as a woman academic. Hira repeatedly

referring to "That's the room" highlights a single workspace used for multi purposes. The question here is what kind of tasks can be done in public or private spaces. The picture Hira draws also makes me think about her academic identity as a university teacher and how she constructs herself as an academic with reference to the available workspace and its condition. She has moved from a position working while sitting on a sofa to now having a table and a chair, but with little privacy or quietness for difficult academic tasks.

Hira makes a link between these workspaces and the neoliberal norm of being measured as productive:

> So, how can the institution expect us to be productive in an environment where physical facilities are quite non-existent. The internet facility is quite poor which is a basic and primary requirement to teach or do research.

Hira might compare her situation with faculty members in developed countries who might possess well equipped workspaces. Clearly Hira questions the fairness of generalising productivity requirements and holding equal expectation towards professional productivity of privileged and less privileged university teachers.

It is not only Hira who understands the situation of working in a postcolonial university. A head of department in her university also pointed out the contradiction between resource provision and productivity expectations.

> Nida [Head of Department 1]: The very basic issue we have is that nine or ten faculty members have just one room, so all faculty members' students come into that room to discuss about their things, and the atmosphere is not like to do anything productive. So, productivity is definitely influenced. But if you don't provide a professional working environment, you can't expect them to work professionally. Internet facility is available, but it has low quality, we have to arrange the internet at our own [department].

As head of department Nida realises the challenges faced by the faculty members and stresses the need for a conducive working environment to come up to the expectations of

professional productivity. Nida goes on to appreciate the women academics' professional commitment, even when physical resources are limited:

> Our work environment [interpersonal] is very good you know…everybody is taking classes in time and trying to do their best.

It seems that Nida is optimistic towards her faculty members, how well they work despite the lack of workspaces and resources. She might also be referring to her own leadership abilities in managing her faculty members, to have a department where everyone does their best. Nida concludes:

> Actually…. it's nobody's fault I think…our university is on its evolutionary stage, and you can neither blame university nor faculty members.

Nida takes a political position by using "evolutionary stage" to describe her university as a postcolonial university in the building phase in terms of meeting dominant international standards.

Globalised Standards of Quality Teaching and Research

Sara pointed out the contestation arising at the site of a teacher with limited resources available at university and the global demands of ensuring quality teaching and conducting research:

> Institutions don't provide any support in quality teaching. They just say verbally that you should do quality teaching. But we need resources to improve our course content. For example, we need good books, we don't have updated books to prepare lectures, we don't have access to large numbers of journals. How is it possible to prepare quality lectures and deliver new knowledge to our students if we have not read new research and updated books?

Sara's comments draw attention to how the global neoliberal discourse of knowledge plays out in higher education institutions in Pakistan. Sara's commentary might indicate "how colonialism remains embedded within the new discourses and practices of

globalisation" (Rizvi et al., 2006, p. 256). Using a postcolonial lens, I turn to Foucault's theorisations of games of truth (Fornet-Betancourt et al., 1987) and power/knowledge (Foucault, 1977). The games of truth of globalisation compel universities to align their higher education curriculum content to meet the neoliberal demands of global economic competitiveness and world rankings (Nixon, 2013), both in teaching and research.

Sara using phrases such as "good books", "updated books" and "large numbers of journals", I suggest, refers to the articulation of knowledge as a form of power based on "Western experiences, Western research methods, disseminated in the English language" (Geerlings & Lundberg, 2018, p. 234). Sara's commentary shows how academics in Pakistani universities experience power relations, on the basis that knowledge produced by the Western countries is counted as an academic knowledge. The "emergence of a global knowledge economy" creating "dependency on knowledge products for economic growth" (Majee & Ress, 2020, p. 465) turns into an ongoing and invisible colonisation of higher education.

Moving further, Sara drew attention towards the interplay of local knowledges and global expectations. Indigenous knowledges are undermined through propagating Western knowledges as the standard to which to aspire:

> We used to teach students books published by local authors and we expect them to become outstanding psychologists, that's not possible.

Sara's statement about "local authors" and the impossibility of producing "outstanding psychologists" indicates how the power/knowledge effect creates what Fricker (2007) calls an epistemic injustice. The term epistemic injustice, according to Fricker (2007) refers to a "wrong done to someone specifically in their capacity as a knower" (p. 2). Academics in Pakistani universities are "hermeneutically marginalised" as they do not have access "to equal participation in the generation of social meanings" (Fricker, 2013, p. 1319). The "credibility or intelligibility" (Fricker, 2013, p. 1318) of academics in Pakistani universities as knowledge producers is undermined as they have to rely on books written by American and British authors to develop course outlines and prepare lectures (Bockino & Ilyas, 2021). The Higher Education Commission (HEC), a regulatory

body managing public sector universities in Pakistan (Khan et al., 2019), provides curricula and suggested readings for a wide range of University programmes (Imran & Wyatt, 2019). These suggested resources followed by the universities offer international materials outweighing local resources (Imran & Wyatt, 2019).

Hence indigenous knowledges and cultures are marginalised by disseminating selected Western-dominated knowledges and epistemologies as universal truths. I argue that these taken for granted truths work as games of truth to subjugate local knowledges and position local people as epistemic others (Keet, 2014) whose "epistemic identities are mis-recognised" (p. 34). Spivak (as cited in Andreotti, 2011) affirms that power/knowledge influences the subaltern's perception of the self that positions her as an "inferior other" by legitimising the epistemic injustice in which Western superiority and domination is naturalised (p. 39). Sara's commentary showed how limited availability of teaching and research resources in universities position women academics globally.

Sara, in a further example of a site of contestation, highlighted the limited availability of teaching and e-resources in universities:

> We need internet facility to prepare lectures, we need multimedia to deliver good lectures, we need good lecture theatres to teach students. We don't have these facilities. We have only one multimedia unit that is used to be moved and circulated through classrooms. If two teachers at a time need that multimedia, they are in trouble. So, we have to teach students by using black/white boards placed in classrooms.

Sara draws attention towards the global pedagogical expectations of using multimedia and technology. She might hold the view that in an age of "going global" where world-ranking universities are using Massive Open Online Course Initiatives (MOOCs), and virtual learning environments (Maisuria & Helmes, 2020, p. 24), women academics in Pakistan have to manage the expectations of being world class academics with limited resources.

Sara has pointed out how the game of truth operates: the institution requires quality teaching, while neglecting to provide the resources needed; and globalization requires all

universities to be measured against the same standards when access to resources is not equitable.

Career Development: Limitations and Career Support

Another site of contestation for the participants of my study was the paradoxical challenges whereby the women academics of my study faced patriarchal gender practices and structural challenges of inequality and simultaneously struggle to fulfill the neoliberal standards of an ideal worker.

Maha pointed out how socio-cultural practices of women primarily being mothers produce gender-specific limits with reference to women's career progresssion as academics:

> I had no support from my institution. I always had to fight for my rights except getting maternity leave… I got study leave by going through a very difficult process, although it was my right. The institution where I intended to get enrolled for my PhD, it was their requirement to be on study leave and my employer university was not giving me the leave.

Maha's narrative of facing structural challenges towards attaining higher education reveals the playing out of gender in academia. There is an implication in what Maha says that as a woman she is denied opportunities that are available to men. Maha's commentary on the ease of "getting maternity leave" demonstrates the gendered positioning of women as home makers and primarily responsible for childbearing and rearing. This positioning constructs women academics as "housewives of academia" (Kim & Kim, 2021, p. 1313).

Maha's statement that "I got study leave by going through a very difficult process" implies that although she is meeting the criteria of the neoliberal university to do PhD by becoming an "entrepreneurial self who works individually and competitively in relation to some feasible actions in the new culture that emphasises competition and performativity" (Göktürk & Tülübaş, 2021, p. 267) she is constrained by the socio-cultural practices limiting her to a housewife of academia.

Neoliberalism according to Davies and Bansel (2007) introduced a new form of governance that “gives power to global corporations” and “installs apparatuses and knowledges through which people are reconfigured as productive economic entrepreneurs of their own lives”(p. 248). For women academics in Pakistan, developing an entrepreneurial self with limited institutional support for professional development, and dominant traditional gender practices becomes challenging. A contestation between the socio-cultural construction of women and the new culture of merit-based competition makes it challenging for women to develop their careers.

While Maha commented on her struggle to obtain PhD study leave, Maryam, the head of department, offered a more optimistic account of the institutional support available to women academics for their career development:

> Maryam [Head of Department 3]: Sometimes, I provide them [staff] an assistant to help them with preparing results. I try to adjust the timetable by keeping in mind the comfort of every teacher so that they have a good performance. I support them develop professionally because their professional development will strengthen the department and ultimately the institution. I do support them to go to attend conferences, present their papers...I recommend their duty leaves...My faculty members go abroad to present their ideas...If they have applied for funds from HEC, I strongly recommend them. We conduct research collaboratively... that’s what I can do and I do every possible thing to support them.

Maryam’s account showed that she offered a wide range of activities to support women academics’ professional development. The support activities she offered shows that she as a senior woman academic understands what woman academics’ professional life demands. For example, she stated that she made “an assistant” available to the women academics to support them in “preparing results.” It shows that Maryam understands the extent of efforts and time required for finalising students’ assessments and thus providing relevant support. Her willingness to “adjust the timetable” shows that she realises that taking women academics’ comfort into consideration would lead to “good performance.”

Moving further, Maryam taking actions such as approval of staff's "duty leave" and endorsing funding applications suggests that she recognises women academics' professional development in terms of providing opportunities for international exposure. She also realises that women academics' research output would contribute towards institutional development. Maryam's interest in collaborative research suggests that she acknowledges the interpersonal collegial support to contribute towards research productivity and hence women academics' professional life.

I argue that Maryam positions herself as a facilitative leader offering numerous possibilities of support. She acts as a career-oriented head of department who believes in providing opportunities to women to support them to develop professionally.

Accountability via Performance Evaluation

Farah, a woman academic, showed her concern about management practices in her department that have effects including on performance evaluation.

> In our department... we have a rule that whatever timetable has been assigned to us, we must stay for five hours in the department [room]…

I turn to Foucault's theorisation of governmentality, and disciplinary power to reflect on Farah's contribution to my investigation. Governmentality, according to Foucault (2000a) does not "refer only to political structures or to the management of states" but also paves "the way on which the conduct of individual or of groups might be directed" (p. 341). Farah's comment on the departmental rule of limiting faculty members to the staff room might suggest the presence of managerial practices within the university to regulate the "possible field of action of others" (Foucault, 2000a, p. 341). Such an institutional practice of "conduct of conduct" (Foucault, 1978a, p. 104) works to produce academics as governable subjects (Foucault et al., 2008). But Farah protested the position of governable subject, limited to occupying a particular space for a particular time:

> If we want to allocate some time for our research, we should be allowed to go to libraries.

Farah's statement, about having to be present in the department and not being allowed to go to the library and do research activities, shows how the disciplinary power exercised by the departmental managers is focused on disciplining academics' bodies. I draw on Foucault's (1991a) theorisation of docile bodies to explain the exercise of such a disciplinary power that defines:

> …[h]ow one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes...Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies (p. 138).

Farah's commentary about limited movement within department suggests women academics' bodies as the "object and target of power" (Foucault, 1991a, p. 136).

Continuing her critique, Farah put the following questions:

> If we are sitting here [in the staffroom] and there is no internet, then how does the institution benefit? And how does it benefit us [women academics]?

Farah's questions seem to indicate the contestation of her position as a docile body within the postcolonial institution and the neoliberal demands of academic productivity and accountability through regulated presence. Farah's inquiry about the "benefit" of limited movement within department resonates with Foucault's concept of modality. According to Foucault (1991a), the modality of control entails an uninterrupted supervision of the "processes of the activity rather than its result" (p. 137). I argue that limiting women academics' movement through requiring that they occupy a particular space for a particular time implies that the departmental managers concentrate on supervising women academics' presence instead of supporting their professional productivity.

Ahmad, a male head of department, expressed his concern - echoing Farah's - about institutional facilitation and expectations of women academics:

> Ahmad [Head of Department 4]: We expect them to do such things [quality teaching and research], but we do not provide them time and

> facilitation for these. We want results [professional productivity] but we are not ready to contribute to facilitate them.

Ahmad drew attention towards the paradoxical situation of limited availability of resources at the workplace and holding women academics accountable for their professional productivity. Ahmad extended his protest against the current practices of hierarchical accountability in his institution:

> So, there are instances where heads of departments go into classrooms and they sit in the class to see how the teacher is teaching in the class, and that's wrong…

The judgement "that's wrong" suggests that Ahmad sees such a hierarchical oversight as an injustice to a teacher who is expected to do quality teaching with limited resources. Ahmad's point of view about the hierarchical accountability resonates with Besley (2019) concerns about a "form of accountability oriented regulation resulting in de-professionalising teachers" (p. 191). The neoliberal hierarchical system, according to Besley (2019), removes the potential professional autonomy of teachers in relation to teaching and research as it enacts a hierarchical mode of authority.

Situating his protest, Ahmad drew attention to the historical relation between teaching in Islam and the concept of accountability in Islam:

> What I think is that you should not be a teacher if you don't have a sense of self responsibility….and teaching you know is a sacred profession…a prophetic profession. It's a blessing to be a teacher. We should have trust that the teachers we have selected have the capability to teach and give them freedom to teach.

Ahmad draws on values from his socio-cultural and religious context. Ahmad's comment suggests that in Islam, teaching is not only an intellectual activity but also a religious/historical inheritance from prophets, as Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) introduced himself as a teacher, giving value to the professional teacher.

Ahmad might be calling for the Islamic concept of self-accountability when he uses "self-responsibility" for teachers. Accountability in Islam, according to Mordhah (2012) does not hold an individual only as accountable for his/her actions but also includes "the accountability for individuals and objects under their charge" (p. 242). Hence, Ahmad calling for self-responsibility among teachers might be referring to self-accountability and accountability to society.

Accountability in Islam stems from one's spiritual relationship with Allah that leads to self-accountability. The spiritual relationship with Allah having fear, hope, confession and repentance towards Allah makes self-accountability more effective. Hence, Ahmad might be calling for the Islamic concept of self-accountability that "originated from inside the human heart" in comparison to market-oriented accountability (Mordhah, 2012, p. 243) that pervades universities globally.

Institutional Support in the Family Domain

In response to my inquiry about institutional support in the family domain, women academics shared another site of contestation, maternity leave policies and childcare services.

Sana highlighted the short duration of maternity leave and its impact on her post-natal work-family life:

> The institution has definitely given me the maternity leave to spend some time with my new-born, but the duration of that maternity leave is just 90 days which is too short. If I wish to avail a long leave, I can't. If I need flexibility in working hours, there is no flexibility, or if I wish to have less workload in semester I have to teach after using maternity leave or wish to have some relaxation in having no class in the early morning during postpartum period, it doesn't happen. In some semesters, you have to take class from 8:00-9:00 and then you have to take class from 1:00-2:00 pm which is quite unfair because either you can come early or stay late in the university. So, there should be some flexibility by considering your special circumstances.

Sana acknowledges the maternity leave that is available to her, but she identifies the limitations in that leave. Sana describes what is available to women returning to work with responsibilities of a new-born baby. She draws attention to the challenges women academics face during their post-partum period and institutional expectations from mothers in academia. As far as the duration of maternity leave in Pakistan is concerned, Addati et al. (2014) mentions Pakistan as one of the 11 Asian countries with short periods of leave. According to the federal labour laws in Pakistan, women can take maternity leave for 12 weeks (six weeks before and six weeks after childbirth) with full pay. However, this maternity leave policy is implemented differently based on the type of organisation and employment (Masood & Nisar, 2020).

Hira expressed her expectation about institutional support in the family domain:

> The support I want from my institution is to have human-friendly work policies neither male nor female but human-friendly. In Pakistan, paternal leave has recently been introduced, but you know, in Scandinavian countries, it has been implemented for a long time. Mother gets long maternity leave to take care of the new-born in his/her early years. If the institution has the assumption that the most of women academics have joint family systems and that husband's parents would take care of kids, that's quite unfair, they don't. I need a good day care facility for my kids.

Hira called for support on a humanitarian basis. She pointed out how post-partum child care in Scandinavian countries is considered a shared responsibility between parents. Hira referring to paternity leave in Pakistan raises question about how men in Pakistan would contribute in sharing the childcare responsibility during that leave.

Apart from maternity leave, some of the women academics – Hira and others – drew attention to another site of contestation which was childcare. The quality of childcare centres seems to be a serious concern for working mothers as there is no quality assurance system for childcare centres and these centres tend to be limited to big cities such as Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad (Ali, 2013). The quality of childcare centres across the two universities in my study varied even though both universities are public universities.

The participants in my study talked about their specific situations and preferences of using the childcare facility available within their institutions. Aisha spoke of her appreciation of the institution providing her the with day care facility:

> Day care… is a blessing for me. I am satisfied with it. … Look...we can't handle one kid at home, and they take care of approximately 20 kids at a time, and they don't say anything…so it's good…

Aisha contrasted her preferences for the onsite professional day care for her children with the relational complexities of intergenerational care available at home through her mother-in-law:

> If you leave your child at home and when you go back home and listen to your mother-in-law saying that your kid didn't eat anything, and they were hungry all day and your kids did this and that...and when you go back home you are already tired and listening to all this stuff makes you irritated or angry…

The situation of on-site child-care Aisha mentioned may reduce intergenerational complexities.

Sameera, involved in a similar situation of whether childcare can best be undertaken at home or child care centres, shared her experience:

> When my son was two months…with the pressure that my mother is taking care of my daughter who is only year old, I thought that my mother will be overburdened by the responsibility of taking care of two of my kids, I decided to bring my son with me but within one week, he was suffering from pneumonia, and he got that infection from the day care. At that time there were 45 kids and just three child carers to take care of them.
>
> Sometimes, you have no choice. But now the situation has changed… the day care is in quite good form.

Sameera commenting that "sometimes you have no choice" raises questions about the quality of childcare centres within institutions and mothers' helplessness in depending on some low-quality childcare centres for their children. However, Sameera mentioned a recent positive change in childcare centre located in her institution.

The response of Huda, a head of department, to the same enquiry about institutional facilitation of women academics within family domain, was pleasantly surprising for me:

> Huda [Head of Department 2]: Yes, we have faculty members who are availing this childcare facility. Look, a child needs an immense care of the mother in early 6 months of his/her infancy stage. When he/she learns how to walk and talk, he/she gets a level of independence. So, we need to look at it objectively that if a faculty member requests for facilitation in timings, it doesn't mean that she wants to continue this facilitation throughout the semesters. It would be a very short-lived thing and if you discuss with her quite realistically, that if she is comfortable to leave her child in the day care for 4 or 6 hours, so then she knew exactly what she is doing. So, it's both ways. I think if we [heads of department] are supportive then there's somebody who's very happy.

Huda's commentary suggests that as a head of department she holds an understanding of work-family interaction and how facilitation in one domain can positively influence the other. The provision of individualised need-based and time-bound support to mothers in academia has benefits both ways. Huda's suggestion of facilitation of mothers in academia is specific to providing them support during the infancy period of their children. This might show her concern about the quality time and mother's care children need at this stage of their life. She might also be concerned about mother's care of herself during post-natal period.

Chapter Conclusion

This findings chapter highlights the perspectives of women academics and heads of departments about workplace challenges and available institutional support in response to these challenges. It also documents how women with limited availability to institutional

resources and confined movement construct themselves as academics, and how they are positioned as professionals in terms of teaching and research by the global standards of universities. Inviting heads of departments to be the part of this study was of value in providing an insight into how heads of departments contributed to the women academics' work-family lives and career progression by offering support such as flexibility in the timetable and approving women academics' duty leaves to support their research activities.

Summary of Findings Chapters

These findings chapters are consistent in showing how women academics in Pakistan are, in the words of Spivak, "caught between patriarchy and modernisation" (Spivak, 1988, p. 306). In Chapter Five, my analysis shows how the dominant discourses of "good mothers" discipline mothers in academia by holding them responsible and accountable for their children's education at home. Noting fathers' limited involvement in this aspect of family life, this chapter's focus is on women academics' struggle within the family domain. In Chapter Six, my analysis documents the positions taken by two men who identify and question how traditional socio-cultural discourses and practices shape women's lives within family and sociey. With such questions in place it is possible to consider possibilties for change which can facilitate women's career progression. In Chapter Seven, I offer analysis of accounts of how some women academics' family members actively contributed the women's work-family lives and career progression through small actions that disrupt dominant traditional gender practices and gender power relationships. My analysis also documents those instances where some husbands who had made limited contributions to their wives' careers, enacting patriarchal gender power relation between themselves and their wives, benefitted when women academics side-lined their own careers in favour of their husbands' careers. In Chapter Eight, my analysis focuses on the perspectives of women academics and heads of departments regarding workplace challenges and available institutional support in response to these challenges The neoliberal expectations of productivity despite limited availability of workspaces, resources necessary to conduct quality teaching and research, and technological resources disadvantage women as academics.

Chapter Nine

Aporia and Hope for Democracy to Come

This chapter documents my research contributions by making visible the socio-cultural practices of gender producing disadvantages for women academics within work-family life. It also records how limited availability of workspace, resources for teaching and research position women as academics. My research contributes by identifying the possibilities of questioning and undoing the patriarchal gender practices and producing alternative discursive practices that might open up small possibilities for "Democracy to come" (Derrida, 2004, p. 331) within marital and family relationships. It also includes implications for mutuality and reciprocity at workplaces. The chapter starts with my personal account of how questioning traditional practices opened up possibilities for change.

Introduction

As I entered the kitchen thinking about what to do first, wash dishes or make roti [flat bread], my daughter appeared with a smile on her face saying, "Mom, I want to help you, can you please tell me how I can help you?" And I said, "It's ok my dear, I will do it by myself." She insisted, "No, just let me know if you need my help." I responded, "Ok, can you please help me wash the dishes." She became excited and happy. I dragged the wooden stool near the kitchen sink and helped her sit over it. After settling down on the stool, she asked, "What do I need to do, can you please explain it to me?" I replied, "I will wash dishes and you have to place them in the rack." I applied dish wash liquid on a plate and my daughter silently observed me. As I took the first plate from the warm water, I passed it to her and watched how her fingers grasped at the plate. She used her both hands to carefully hold that plate. She looked at me with a question in her eyes about where to put that plate in the rack. I understood her unspoken inquiry and responded.

As she carefully placed her favorite bowl in the rack, my daughter turned to me and said, "I just, I don't like having a roti for lunch and dinner". Surprised, I paused, and my researcher-self came forward and I asked, "What's the problem with having roti for lunch and dinner?" She replied, "I'm fed up with the round shape, can we make a different shaped roti than a

circle?" I queried, "What sort of shapes?" She responded, "I don't know, just different shapes." I said, "I am not sure, but we can give it a go."

After washing the dishes, we prepared to experience making different shape rotis. So, we placed the dough, dry flour, roller board and pin on a table in the kitchen. We replaced the wooden stool near the table for my daughter to sit on. I took a small piece of dough, made a small ball, rolled it in the dry flour and flattened the dough ball by pressing it between the palm of my right hand and the fingers of my left hand. Then, I dipped both sides of the flattened dough in dry flour and placed it on the rolling board. My daughter who was silently observing the whole process of making the dough ball, said, "Mum can I please roll-over the pin on the flattened dough?" She was excited to take over the roller board and started rolling the pin over the flattened dough. As she was rolling, she was saying, "Mum, it's fun to make a roti." I felt the happiness she experienced through rolling. After some time, she handed over the things to me and I started rolling the flattened dough enough to make it bigger and smooth. We had negotiations that initially we would have the round shape and then we would decide what shapes we wanted to cut from those flattened discs. So, once we had these round shaped flatten discs, I asked my daughter, "What shape roti would you like to have?" She answered, "Well, I love to have a heart shape, triangle and square shape roti." I brought the pizza cutter from the kitchen drawer to cut different shapes. My daughter was continuously giving me instructions on how to move the pizza cutter on the flattened dough to make a heart, a triangle and square shape from it. She stepped down from the stool, held those shapes in her hands carefully and made some moves like Dora the Explorer (a TV cartoon character), saying, "We did it, we did it." I was happy because she was happy.

The next step was to cook these different shaped flattened doughs to make the roti. We moved the wooden stool to a safe distance from the stove. My daughter took her place on that stool and continued observing me. I put the pan on stove, and once it was heated enough; I placed all the three different shaped flatten doughs in the pan. After few minutes, air pockets began to appear. This made my daughter excited and happy but more curious as she asked me, "Mum what is going to happen next?" I replied, "We need to flip them over one by one to cook the other side of the shapes." Then I flipped them on a naked fire one by

one until they got puffed. I put them in a plate and my daughter just stepped down the wooden stool and rushed into the living room announcing, "We have different shape rotis for dinner today."

As a woman brought up in a Pakistani society, disciplined by the socio-cultural gendered practices of culinary training and rigidity of rules, I never thought about making roti in a different shape other than round throughout my twenty-five years of experience. I struggled to learn how to make a perfect round-shaped roti throughout my adolescence. It was a new learning for me that roti can be of any shape other than the traditional round.

This new learning emerging from my daughter's question not only shaped me as a mother but also as an academic and a researcher. As a mother, I experienced how questioning and undoing the structured and rigid ways of learning can shape mother-child relationship. This undoing provided me the opportunity to enjoy my daughter's conversations, listen to her questions, value her questions, think how to respond to those questions, and observe her learning differently in response to her questions.

As an academic, it made me realise how learning can be of different kinds. Theoretically, I knew about various methods of learning but my daughter's exploration of making roti in different shapes made me experience how questioning and undoing the taken-for-granted ways of learning can shape my teaching and research. It opened up possibilities for learning filled with excitement, happiness, and curiosity. Furthermore, I realised how learning can be different, enjoyable, and surprising if it is not disciplined by the school homework and diary, which makes learning limited to writing or memorising.

As a researcher, my daughter's question for something different made me think how questioning patriarchal gender discourses and practices can open up possibilities for democratic gender relationships within family and how it can shape women academics' work and family life differently. In this research study, I intended to explore how institutional and family support works in shaping the lives of women with work-family responsibilities as academics.

As the globalised economy has transformed the position of women in Pakistani society, women- now have the opportunity to play a more significant role to contribute to the family

income through work rather than merely serving their families at home (Malik & Courtney, 2011). Women have taken on the position of being financial contributors, but the main responsibility for their traditional role as homemakers and child carers continues. When women are positioned as homemakers and childcarers they may also step out of that domain of homemaking to pursue a career and develop their own identity as women with careers. But family and society tend to consider their careers as a financial benefit only. The competing demands of how they are positioned in the family alongside developing their career identity produce limitations for women. My research study draws attention to how the interplay of patriarchal gender discourses and practices embedded in historical, religious, and socio-cultural context position women within family and institution. And it also demonstrates how “internationalisation, globalisation and neoliberalism perpetuate unequal relations of colonialism” (Rizvi et al., 2006, p. 255) and position women poorly as academics within institutional perspectives in Pakistan as well as globally.

Socio-Cultural Practices of Gender as Games of Truth

The argument of this thesis is that socio-cultural practices of gender, presented as “games of truth” (Foucault, 1988b, p. 1), produce serious disadvantages for women academics. While men call on masculine entitlement to limit their contribution and support within family life, at the same time investing in their careers, women academics continue to encounter visible and invisible limits and effects, such as constrained opportunities for career development that compromise their career progress, while they also juggle multiple roles within their work-family life.

I offered an analysis of an account told by Zahra, a mother of two school aged children (Chapter Seven), who had spoken about feeling fortunate that both she and her husband are academics in the same university. She took the position of acknowledging her husband’s presence at the same place to be conveniently available for childcare. However, Zahra’s account of being fortunate became complex when I investigated the story further. I note that Zahra spoke from a maternal subject position as it was Zahra’s responsibility to ensure her husband’s availability for childcare when she had a teaching responsibility in the afternoon. When he cared for the children, the implication is that they remained in his

office under his supervision. I argue that Zahra's account showed how dominant gender power relations within heterosexual relationships continued functioning within the workplace as her husband's career took preference. Once Zahra's teaching session was over, she resumed the traditional gender role of primary caregiver of children. At the same time, her husband kept on working in his university office after making a limited contribution as a children's guardian. On the terms of dominant gender discourse, what perhaps remained invisible to Zahra is that her husband made limited contributions to childcare, in practical terms, and being a male academic had freedom to focus on his career progression. Zahra did not have that opportunity as she had the overall responsibility for childcare. Hence, Zahra's position of responsibility as wife and mother disadvantaged her academic career.

In Chapter Five, Sara, another academic and a mother of two school age children recounted how she took charge of multiple tasks immediately after she returned home from university. She observed her children waiting for her active involvement at the homework table while she was busy on her laptop undertaking university work, and at the same time she looked into the kitchen to prepare dinner for her family. Sara was invited to take up and respond to the competing position calls (Drewery, 2005) of being a good mother, a competent housewife and a productive academic. As she moved between her laptop, children's homework table and kitchen, she went through what Derrida (1989) calls "an absence of path"(p. 132), that is she faced an undecidability about what to do or how to respond to these competing position calls. She might not even contemplate that she had any choice to make a complaint or resist taking any action in response to the competing situations. Meanwhile, her husband remained at the university focusing only on his work responsibilities, unaware of his advantage.

Fatima (Chapter Seven) spoke about her husband's relatively passive role as a child carer. Fatima acknowledged her husband's involvement in childcare while she was working and called it a "support". But her husband's actions, such as his dependence on a domestic worker for cooked food and on technology to keep children busy through animated movies, illustrated that he had a limited personal interaction in caring for the children. Fatima needed to request her husband to take over the childcare, and to facilitate him with the

availability of a domestic worker to serve cooked food, to enable him to engage with children and undertake the range of childcare tasks involved.

Although women academics acknowledged their husbands' limited and temporary participation as a "support", my analysis demonstrated that women academics often had to struggle to even have that level of limited and temporary participation of their partners within family life in terms of childcare and parenting. What makes it impossible for women academics to expect their husband's active participation in childcare and household tasks is that men call on a position that western literature has characterised as "masculine entitlement" (Adams & Coltrane, 2005, p. 239). Gendered entitlement, in terms of gender role practices, is a characteristic of men's hierarchical position in patriarchal societies (Jordan et al., 2017). My findings gave numerous examples of how patriarchal gender power relations played out in parenting relationship between mothers and fathers. Foucault (1980d) argued that "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (p. 100) and power is exercised "through the production of truth" (Foucault, 1980d, p. 93). According to Foucault (1980c), each society "has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true..."(p. 131). The gendered discourses of men as providers of economic and physical protection, and women as carers and home-makers (Shah & Shah, 2012), continue to be constructed as truth within Pakistani society, including in the family lives of education woman who work in academic roles. Further, the patriarchal interpretation of the Quranic term *Qawwamuna* [men as maintainers and protectors] continues to reproduce a discourse of masculine entitlement based on physical strength and the provision of livelihood (Syed & Van Buren, 2014).

Notably, these traditional taken for granted gender practices continue to be endorsed throughout the education system across the provinces of Pakistan, including through school textbooks. For example, in Baluchistan's English textbooks of grade1-5, Sultan et al. (2019) indicated that taking care of family and doing domestic chores are shown as a female-only responsibility and men hold a dominant position within home and society. Men in primary level Urdu and English textbooks of the province Punjab men are presented as role models by citing examples from Muslim history and politics. On the other hand,

limited numbers of females are represented in these books. And when they are represented, they are shown as traditional females playing supportive roles to men (Jabeen et al., 2014). Women in Sindhi language primary school textbooks continue to be shown busy in their traditional role of fulfilling the familial responsibilities within the house and young girls associated with such households were depicted as good girls (Agha et al., 2018). Such gender practices are reinforced not only through formal education but also through children's literature (see for example Shahnaz et al., 2020), print media (see for example Huda & Ali, 2015; Ullah et al., 2016) and TV dramas (Malik, 2021), thus shaping the lives of children, young people and adults.

The playing out of the games of truth of such gendered social practices are demonstrated throughout my findings chapters. Ibrahim (Chapter Seven), a husband participant, called on a "masculine script" (Mahalik et al., 2003) when he limited his support within the boundaries of dominant gender identity. He protected the socially prescribed norms of masculinity when he decided not to engage in activities such as cleaning the floor of the house. He did this on the basis of that it would look "awkward" for him to engage in cleaning. Although Ibrahim might have realised the need to support his wife by undertaking household tasks, he chose not to exceed the patriarchal socio-cultural "borderline" (Wang, 2005, p. 46) drawn between the traditional gender roles.

Ibrahim's actions of ascribing to the familiar position by calling on the masculine script, I suggest, contributed to re-inscribing patriarchy through gendered roles and responsibilities. As cleaning is considered a feminised or low status task, women either do such tasks by themselves or hire domestic workers who are mostly women. Ibrahim protected his masculinity by not participating in low status tasks. It was possible for him to use the status of being a breadwinner and remain "blocked within that dominant discourse" (Whitehead, 2001, p. 72) to not to participate in household tasks and thus take advantage of such discourse to promote his own position and career. This patriarchal dominance has real effects for academic women in their work and home lives, where possibilities of refusal are much less available to them.

The choice that Ibrahim had to not do cleaning was echoed in Aisha's description of her husband's contributions. She reported that her husband helped her in a range of ways. He helped her in preparing breakfast for all family members. He also stepped into the teaching role to teach their second daughter as a subsidiary helper parent when Aisha remained busy in teaching the first child. Similarly, Maria's husband, chose the school subjects of his comfort to help their children with studies at home. Maria and Aisha ascribed their husbands' somewhat limited availability and participation in family life as a "support". My analysis showed the gender power relationship at work within family life as in both situations the husbands had the freedom of choice about what to do and when to do it; they were engaged in selective tasks on their own terms and times. Meanwhile women carry traditional responsibilities along with their careers and are positioned to be grateful for their husband's limited support.

Being a woman, an academic and a researcher from the same socio-cultural context, I can identify how patriarchal gender discourses and practices produce an aporia for the women academics in my study. The women academics are caught in aporia as they keep on juggling between a wide range of roles as university teacher, primary at-home teacher for their children, mother, cook and cleaner. Women are positioned in a way that they do not have the possibility of contemplating questioning their husbands to give more care for their own biological children. I record the aporetic moments in women academics' lives when I see the "immobilisation of thinking" (Derrida, 1989, p. 132), one of the results of aporia and also the unimaginable act of questioning patriarchal gender discourses and practices that position women poorly and produce disadvantage.

The competing demands of traditional gender practices along with professional productivity and progress within academic life produce dilemma for women academics. They also have limited choices about whether or not to continue their academic work at home when they return from university. I identify this place as aporia on the grounds of the immobilisation of women academics' thinking about the limited availability and participation of their husbands in family care, and how women are positioned to acknowledge selective help as "support". Another question that I raise is how women academics might be satisfied with the quality of child-care provided by their husbands. As my findings documented, fathers'

involvement may be merely keeping children occupied with technology or working as a guardian by keeping an eye on children.

This thesis has shown that what Morris (2015) examined as "relational subjectivity within heterosexual relationships" produces an impossibility for women academics to even think about the possibility of asking their husbands to extend their availability and participation in household tasks and childcare. Women appear to have no expectations that their husbands would offer their support without being asked or even extend that support when women are not in class or busy with household tasks. On the other hand, husbands expect women to be grateful for that temporary help as husbands and fathers because as men they may consider that they have already crossed the borderline of the traditional gender practices.

My findings chapters have shown women academics struggling with multiple challenges on the terms of patriarchal gender discourses and practices that leave them positioned as sole homemakers and childcarers with access to only limited spousal support, at the same time as masculine entitlement gives husbands freedom to pursue careers. Relational subjectivity produces an impossibility to question or expect husbands' support, Hence, I argue that academic women in Pakistan face disadvantages in terms of career progression and developing an identity as career women as a direct product of familial arrangements.

Career Progression and Institutional Experience

In this section, I discuss how patriarchal gender discourses as they play out in universities limit the opportunities for career progression for women academics. Career opportunities are affected by crowded workspaces, inadequate physical facilities and technological resources, limited access to teaching and learning materials and research facilities, as well as confined physical movement, for instance not being able to work in a library. Opportunities are also limited by the terms of discourses that position women to subject themselves to the terms of male privilege for career progression, as women forgo academic positions and career opportunities as academics.

Maha, a woman academic (Chapter Eight) spoke about her struggle to get PhD study leave. She contrasted this situation with the maternity leave that was readily available to her. My

analysis suggested that her comments produced a protest against the dominant discourses and practices of women being constructed primarily as child carers that thus limit the opportunities for them to develop professionally. I argue that Maha's account draws attention to how the gendered discourses that position women academics as primarily carers, that is primarily maternal subjects not only within family but also within academic institutions.

It is of course a matter of social justice that women get access to maternity leave. However, the point here is the contradiction of the availability of different types of leave. Ready provision of maternity leave but limited provision of PhD study leave produces roadblocks to women academics' career development. I argue that women academics are professionally paralysed when not being awarded PhD study leave as holding a PhD qualification is the standard criteria to climb up the career ladder as an assistant professor in higher education institutions in Pakistan (HEC, 2022a). According to Rab (2010), the majority of women in Pakistan enter their academic career as lecturers compared to men who join academia on higher salaries and in more advanced positions. More recently, the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan reported gender-specific data of full-time faculty members, for the year 2017-18, working in a total of 186 public and private higher education institutions. The quantitative data shows that women are disadvantaged in the provision of opportunities for obtaining PhD qualification as there were only 3524 female PhDs as compared to 11090 male PhDs (HEC, 2022b), providing a background to the analysis I have offered based on my qualitative findings.

The dominant gender discourses and practices of women being the primary carers and men as breadwinners continue to work as roadblocks for women's education and careers more generally in Pakistani society, as well as in universities. Such roadblocks include limited opportunities for school education as Pekular (2019) reported that 44 percent of boys and 56 percent of girls (age 5-16 years) in Pakistan did not have access to education. Some girls who managed to receive school education had early marriages that interrupted the continuity of their education. The few women who received a chance to pursue higher education have limited occupational choices due to social and cultural constraints. Furthermore, women who fortunately manage to pursue a career encounter multiple barriers

in their career progression, for example gender discrimination fewer opportunities to conduct research, and lack of institutional support (Shah et al., 2020). Women who struggle at each stage of their lives from participating in education or pursuing a career may not find it any easier to access resources when they achieve the success of academic employment. In every direction there appears to be a roadblock: for Maha and others that roadblock was access to support for doctoral study.

Women's struggle against such roadblocks to career progress and for recognition of their rights can be traced back into the Islamic history and political developments in post-independent Pakistan. In Islamic history, men disregarded women's rights in order to serve their [men's] own vested interests. As discussed in Chapter Two, men during Abbasid rule, controlled Muslim women's access to public life by confining elite women to *harem* and allowing working-class women to continue economic activities but in gender segregated workplaces. The education of girls was arranged at homes whereas boys were taught in religious schools. Similarly, the seclusion of Muslim women was emphasised during Mughal rule in India which positioned women as subservient to men and hindered women's right to access education. In the colonised Indian Subcontinent, male contemporaries, through their writings, propagated the idea that women's place was within the home and endorsed education that prepared women for domestic life.

Likewise, in Chapter One, I discussed how women's potential was used in the wider interest of the country rather than recognising women's rights to participate in public life. For example, even when Muslim women actively participated in public activities of Pakistan's pre-independence movement, they were confined to providing care and charity work once they served the purpose of gaining independence. Women were allowed to participate in jobs such as teaching, charity, and relief work, not as acknowledgement of their rights to choose a career but to support the development of a new country. Zia-ul-Haq, suggesting women's work outside the house as a Western and anti-Islamic concept and emphasising women's return to the home, contemplated women working in professional positions as a threat to patriarchal system (Jafar, 2005). Similarly, the reason behind Musharraf's government being credited with contributing to women's empowerment was to support Pakistan's standing in the international community rather than promoting women's

rights to access public sphere in Pakistan. This dilemma of the enactment of so-called women's rights continues as women's increased participation in the workforce might indicate women's empowerment. However, I argue that Pakistani women's employment, to a very significant extent is a financial contribution to the family's needs, rather than a matter of women's entitlement to full participation in public life.

I also illustrated how women academics experienced limitations on their performance as academics due to resource limitations. As discussed in Chapter Eight, Hira, sitting and working on a sofa in the staffroom, pointed out the problems of multipurpose uses of the small single room utilised as a workspace for more than fifteen faculty members. Providing detailed uses of that room she mentioned that faculty members had to do reading and lecture preparation and undertake supervision meetings with research students in this shared space. Hira identified the unavailability of basic physical facilities such as tables and chairs, and technological resources such as internet. The working environment within that workspace was noisy and distracting.

Sara's commentary on the scarcity of resources focused on the unavailability of university support to deliver quality lectures. She identified the lack of teaching and learning resources such as books and time for conducting research. Sara stressed the need for the provision of updated books and access to journals. She directly raised a question about the possibility of quality teaching with limited availability of resources.

Farah noted the limiting effects of the department's rule of confinement of women academics for specific hours in a restricted space, the staffroom. She recorded her argument for free movement as she raised a question about the professional productivity of women academics in a space with no technological resources. Restrictions on women academics' movement within the university show how power is exercised to discipline and control women academics. Foucault (1991a) refers to such a disciplinary technique as *enclosure* through which individuals are distributed and confined in spaces to exercise "disciplinary monotony" (p. 141).

The practice of such a disciplinary technique did not remain limited to the staff rooms but extended to the classrooms where women academics experienced themselves under

surveillance in the name of performance evaluation. Ahmad, a male head of department (Chapter Eight), drew attention towards the institutional practice of women academics' being under observation for their teaching within classrooms. He spoke about holding women academics accountable for their professional performance without facilitating them with the necessary resources. Meanwhile Ahmad echoed what Farah noticed about the institutional practices of professional accountability. Nida, a woman head of department joined with Hira and Sara as she acknowledged women academics' struggle for space and workplace resources. She also appreciated women academics' performance amid lack of space and workplace resources. Furthermore, my study documented Maryam and Huda demonstrating career-oriented and family-oriented strategies to support women academics' work-family life and career progression. For example, Maryam as head of department showed an understanding about women academics' work life. She offered support activities such as flexibility in timetable and providing assistants to facilitate women academics' professional commitments to prepare students' results. Acknowledging women academics' professional development, Maryam took actions such as approving women academics' duty leave to support their research activities. She also showed interest in conducting collaborative research with women academics and hence contribute to their career progression. Huda, a head of department, however, focused on providing support in the family domain. She suggests supporting mothers of infants by offering flexibility in work time. Huda recommending such time-specific support during infancy shows her understanding of how mothers' satisfaction with childcare may facilitate women academics fulfil their professional commitments.

The research literature on women in leadership positions in Pakistan documents women's experiences of obtaining and maintaining leadership positions within institutions. For example, Ali and Rasheed (2021) identified familial roles and male-dominated working environments as factors constraining leadership roles. Similarly, Bhatti and Ali (2020) found women leaders were confronted with gendered leadership discourses, harassment, and balancing family and their profession. According to Taj (2016), female managers encountered organisational structures, gendered restrictive discourses, and family commitment as challenges to their management roles.

My research study contributes to this literature by including head of departments' commentaries about work-family life of women academics. Inviting heads of departments to be the part of this study provided head of departments with the opportunity to express their viewpoint about challenges, and opportunities that women academics experienced within the institution and what institutional support is or might be made available. This research also opened up possibility to identify how head of departments play a significant role in supporting the women academics achieve career progress.

I argue that these accounts document the paradoxical situation which women academics face. There is limited availability of the basic physical facilities such as workspace, technological resources, and limited access to teaching and learning materials and research facilities, with confined physical movement; and at the same time, women academics are held accountable for their professional performance. Such a situation is a barrier blocking the future of women as academics. As career progression is determined by research productivity (HEC, 2022a), it should be asked how is it possible for women academics to engage in the neoliberal expectations of productivity (Davies & Bansel, 2005) with limited availability of infrastructure and resources necessary to conduct research, quality teaching and learning.

Moving on from the paradoxical situations of limited availability of resources and universities' expectations about professional productivity women academics encounter, I consider further the discursive limitations on women's careers as academics. It was Foucault (2000a) who pointed out the duality in subject formation as I have argued earlier: "subject to someone else by control or dependence" and "tied to their own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge" (p. 331). Women academics in my study were subject to institutional control as well as techniques of the self. Women constituted themselves as subject through practices of self. These practices, according to Foucault (1988b), are not invented by the individuals themselves but are imposed by culture, society and social group. The next step in my argument is to show how gendered techniques of the self produce limitations for women's careers as academics.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, my analysis documented how Hira compromised her own academic identity and career progress for her husband's career. She willingly paid for her husband's publication and international travel, in contrast to his limited availability for childcare. Her positioning as a wife and mother made these compromises seen voluntary. Through acting upon herself, Hira subjugated herself to dominant gender discourses as she accepted herself more as a wife and a mother than an academic, actively prioritising her husband's academic career over her own.

Another account that also pains me is how Sadiya handed what was her dream academic position to her husband. She complained in a feminist space, during the research interview, about such an injustice of stepping aside in the interest of her husband's career progression and thus limiting her own. She apparently voluntarily gave up the position to her husband, compelled by subjugation to her own self. She subjected herself to the patriarchal discourses of becoming an acceptable and supportive wife by sacrificing an academic position to her husband.

It is sobering to consider what possible differences there might have been for the academic careers of Hira and Sadiya if they had not lost these advancement opportunities – of funding and of a hoped-for academic position - in favour of their own husbands.

My analysis of Hira and Sadiya's accounts demonstrate how the discursive production of women as obedient wives and good mothers limits career opportunities. It also suggests how the dominant gender discourses of men as bread winners emphasise gender power relationships between husband and wife, and thus validate male entitlement in terms of career progression. Hira giving priority to her husband's career over her own and Sadiya giving up a better academic position for her husband might aim to earn respect and acceptance within the marital and family relationships. A wife having a better academic position and more publications than her husband might disturb assumed gender power relationships between spouses. The dominant gender discourses of men as breadwinners carry "the effects of power and knowledge" (Foucault, 1978b, p. 102). My analysis suggests that women prioritising men's careers serves the interests of patriarchy as it

maintains men in privileged positions while women submit for the benefit of their husbands.

Being an Academic from a Developing World

In this section, the argument I make is that women academics are not only disadvantaged by being positioned as maternal or spousal subjects through the socio-cultural practices of gender, presented as games of truth, or the limited availability of workspaces, physical and technological resources, or being positioned as subject to institutional control and techniques of self, but that they are also positioned as "other" by the assumed truths of dominant discourses in contemporary global academia.

For example, Sara in Chapter Eight, spoke about the need to make "updated books" and "good books" available to deliver quality lectures within universities. Sara documented her concern about the authenticity and usability of knowledge produced by "local authors". My analysis demonstrated how "knowledges produced within the Western world" are "disseminated as universal truths" and these truths carry power/knowledge effects (Geerlings & Lundberg, 2018, p. 234). I argue that the globalisation of higher education, connected to neoliberal economic processes, contributes to an ongoing subjugation of indigenous scholarship from developing countries and produces indigenous scholarship as "other" to the West (Rizvi, 2007). The "global curricula" takes a new form of colonialism that creates the "cultural domination through the imposition of imperial structures of power" (Rizvi, 2007, p. 256).

Extending the colonial effects of epistemic and cultural supremacy, I turn to Spivak (2003) who affirms how this power/knowledge relation influences the subaltern's perception of self and creates an "inferior other". During my writing of this research study, I personally experienced how this construction of an "inferior other" worked in my own academic life, as an indigenous woman academic, using the language of my education but not my mother tongue. Not only was I subaltern in a colonial sense, but I was also subject to the gendered history of research itself (see for example Oakley, 1998). Often, when I tried to bring my voice to my writing, to offer an analysis of the research data, positioned as the inferior other I struggled to write what I intended to write. At these moments, being an academic from a

postcolonial university of a developing country, I used to think of Spivak and ask myself "Can the subaltern write"? Hoskins (2000), a western woman academic, experienced herself trying to hide behind the participants in her study when she might have brought her personal perspectives to her research study: similarly, I was more familiar with research paradigms that required me to stay behind theorists or my research participants than those that might support me to bring my own analysis and argument to the fore. I suggest that the call for democracy to come does not remain limited to gender equality, but it becomes much more - postcolonial, political, and global.

The Small Possibilities for Democracy to Come

This next section continues to explore the contributions of my study by making visible the possibilities of questioning and undoing patriarchal gender practices. This questioning and undoing occur through speaking about or otherwise taking actions and thus producing alternative discursive practices that might open up small possibilities for what Derrida (2004) called "democracy to come" (p. 331).

My findings demonstrate the examples of the family members of some women academics taking small steps towards "thinking of the very possibility of" what, to use Derrida's (1989) expression, remained "unthinkable or unthought". My research study contributes by documenting some family members questioning some patriarchal gender practices, and in doing so they present alternative discursive practices. Alternative discursive practices arise through deconstructing and "troubling" (Davies, 2000b, p. 14) the terms of patriarchal gender discourses and associated practices. Sampson (1989) explains Derrida's concept of deconstruction as a process "to undo, not to destroy" what is "familiar and commonly known"(p. 7).

Helpfully, Davies (2000b) employs the term "troubling" rather than "deconstruction" as she holds the viewpoint that troubling "represent more closely what it is that the deconstructive work can do". Davies, explaining the reason behind employing "troubling", asserts that "too many readers of deconstructive texts" consider deconstruction as a process of dismantling the binaries "and deconstructive work often can do no more than draw attention to the binaries and to their constitutive force... But this does not undo the

continuing force of relations of power that operate to hold the binaries in place". Davies' (2000b) "troubling" calls on the metaphor of troubling of the seas and it means "to agitate or make rough" (p. 14). Troubling according to Davies (2000a) involves taking "on board contradictory thoughts and to hold them together at the same time" (p. 134). "Troubling" with reference to my research study denotes troubling patriarchal gender discourses and practices by questioning and undoing those discourses and practices and simultaneously working to produce the possibility of alternative discursive practices.

I suggest that small but significant steps of questioning, undoing and producing alternative discursive practices begins to pave the way that "gives or promises the thinking of the path" (Derrida, 1989, p. 132), for the small possibility of Democracy, which according to Derrida, "will always be to come" (Derrida & Caputo, 1997, p. 123). Democracy, in the context to my research study, refers to gender justice in family relationships and as a justice-to-come. This justice-to-come, I suggest, becomes possible through noticing, speaking, and taking actions to undo what has been taught or trained and that oppresses or unreasonably limits women at home or work, and thus creating new possibilities to respond and take responsibility to make change in women's work-family life.

My research study makes its contribution by highlighting how a man raised on the terms of traditional gender ideology troubled the patriarchal gender practices of positioning women as "serviceable others" and produced hope for justice to come in family relationships. Aisha's father, Hassan, being part of the dominant group-men who according to Sampson (2019), construct "serviceable others" to serve their own "needs, values, interests and points of view" (p. 4), questioned patriarchal gender practices that positioned women as "serviceable others" when he stepped into the caring role to serve the women and girls of his family. Hasssan took actions to trouble and undo patriarchal gendered practices. He produced possibilities for alternative discursive practices by demonstrating caring skills "to respond to situations" that have not been "programmed in advance" (Derrida & Caputo, 1997, p. 120), that is to engage in spontaneous deconstruction. For instance, he created opportunities for his wife to take rest because of her medical condition. He himself was also working, but he used to get meals ready for his wife. He did not just learn cooking himself but also took the responsibility of teaching his daughter how to cook. He extended his

capacity to care as he continued a democratic and loving relationship with his daughter after the death of his wife. He later contributed to Aisha, his daughter's, life by making himself available as a lab assistant to support his daughter during her PhD experiments, when she was pregnant. Hassan supporting his daughter to undertake her PhD research contributed to her professional development as an academic woman. He contributed to developing her professional identity and recognising her as a professional woman. Through his contributions in Aisha's family and work life, Hassan valued her both as a woman and an academic.

Further, Hassan took actions "to establish, maintain, or enhance caring relations" (Bergman, 2004, p. 143) with his granddaughter by paying attention to a child's needs for feeding and nappy changing. He was caring for his wife, daughter, and granddaughter as he recognised their needs and acknowledged that their needs should be met, and that he could do it. He took "responsibility for the identified needs and determined how to respond" (Jordan, 2020, p. 24). Aisha's father made the "impossible" "possible" by taking responsibility to care for the women of his family. To read Hassan and Aisha's story against the limitations which I have discussed earlier where women were not accorded such respect for their work or personal needs opens up an understanding of how change occurs in the space between the impossible and the possible. Derrida (1992) may have outlined such an experience as Aisha and Hassan's as an "impossible invention."

> The condition of this thing called responsibility is a certain experience and experiment of the possibility of the impossible: the testing of the aporia from which one may invent the only possible invention, the impossible invention. (p. 41)

Aisha's father experienced what might be usually considered "impossible" (Cornell et al., 1992, p. 16) for a man embedded in a patriarchal society. His troubling of gendered care practices through his actions opened up space for new ways of doing responsibility. Aisha's father "affirmed an identity that differs from itself" and "invented new gestures" (Derrida & Caputo, 1997, p. 120) as a husband, father, and grandfather. As a father he demonstrated "an openness both to the other and to the future" (Wang, 2005, p. 46) by showing respect

and care to women of his family, thus also creating possibilities that other men may also take actions towards a “democracy to come.”

If justice-to-come arises from noticing, speaking, and taking actions to undo particular practices, as I have suggested above, I draw attention to the troubling of marital gender power relationships that produced small possibilities for gender justice to come in the relationships of some of my participants. My findings, (Chapter Seven), documented Sara’s mother, Amber, who through her voice and action questioned patriarchal gender practices. Amber troubled her own marital gender power relationships when she raised her voice and took a stand for her daughter’s higher education by going against her husband and his family’s decision to get her daughter married. For a woman to oppose her husband’s decisions is very unusual in Pakistani society. Amber produced the possibility of alternative discursive practices when she chose her daughter’s educational and career future over her husband’s decision that her daughter should marry. She took a bold step to save her daughter from becoming the “serviceable other”, that is the daughter who would be married to meet a father’s expectations. Amber experienced what Derrida and Caputo (1997) call the “impossible” (p. 134) as she “pushed against paralysing limits” of patriarchal gender practices when “the way” of her daughter’s higher education was “blocked” by the patriarchal, cultural requirement of marriage (see Derrida & Caputo, 1997). The action taken by Amber is an example of a “call for justice” (p. 16) as Cornell et al. (1992) stated, and a small possibility for “Democracy to come” in that it demonstrates the possibility of opportunities for women’s higher education and women’s right to make decisions about their lives.

For some women academics, support came from their husbands’ parents. Parents-in-law’s contributions in their daughters-in-law’s work-family life is significant as it shows a shift in traditional relationships between parents-in-law and daughters-in-law where daughters-in-law are expected to serve their husbands’ families, the dominant groups in patriarchal family settings. As discussed in Chapter Seven, Kubra’s father-in-law supported her by taking the responsibility of grocery shopping and Kubra’s and Zahra’s mothers-in-law were engaged in providing childcare to their grandchildren. Sara’s mother-in-law took the responsibility of household tasks to support her daughter-in-law to develop professionally.

I argue that the parents-in-law through these kinds of actions and contributions were undoing the patriarchal gender practices of treating daughters-in-law as “serviceable others” (Sampson, 2019, p. 4). Parents-in-law produced alternative discursive practices of recognising daughters-in-law as academic women by sharing family responsibilities and supporting them develop professionally. I suggest that these significant actions taken by the women academics’ parents-in-law opened up small possibilities for intergenerational “democracy to come” in Pakistani families.

My research study makes a further contribution by including local Pakistani men in research interviews about women academics’ work-family life. Previous qualitative research studies (Fakhr, 2018; Fazal et al., 2019; Naseem et al., 2020; Naz et al., 2017; Saleem & Ajmal, 2018) exploring women academics’ work-family life in Pakistan recorded women’s claims about their husbands’ support. However, my research contributes to the existing literature through successful inclusion of three men in a study of women’s experiences. As a woman culturally raised in Pakistan, interviewing men could have been a challenge for me. Traditionally positioned as a “serviceable other” I carried the gender expectations of showing conformity and subservience to patriarchal expectations. But by purposefully positioning myself as a researcher I could begin to undo patriarchal gender power relationships and enter an unfamiliar and contested space to question men about women’s work-family life. The professional expectations of being a researcher empowered me to take this responsibility. I experienced the competing discourses of cultural expectations of conformity to the dominant discourses of male superiority alongside professional expectations of taking responsibility as a researcher. My responsibilities towards my home university who provided me the opportunity to become an academic, other women academics, women participants in my research, and the University of Waikato who had granted me scholarship to undertake my PhD research, together enabled me to respond to the calls of professionalism which otherwise seemed impossible.

I also experienced that some male participants, husbands of women academics, were reluctant to be interviewed by a woman and about women’s work-family life. I anticipate that the reason behind men’s hesitation at being interviewed by a woman might be the possible troubling of traditional gender power relationships. A woman taking a power

position within a researcher-researched relationship might suggest position for men as less powerful. I was restricted by traditional gender power positions associated with particular gender identities, but women academics, wives of male participants, supported me in encouraging their husbands to participate in my research study. For example, Sara took the initiative of suggesting that I interview her husband when I shared the idea of including husbands of women academics in my study. She supported me in making arrangements for the interview with her husband so that the research conversations about work-family life did not remain limited to women only. She invited her husband to stand alongside her so that he could also be asked questions about work-family life. Sara expected her husband to also take up responsibility, both in relationship with her and by participating in my research study. Hence my research study contributes by creating the possibility to interview men and thus in some way hold them accountable to the playing out of women's work-family life. This aspect of my study also provides a new insight into how heterosexual marriage relationships shape work-family life of women academics in Pakistan. One of the implications of my study is that if we look at women's lives in Islamic countries, with predominantly heterosexual relationships, we need to interview family members, not just women, because interviewing family members begins to trouble the familiar waters of gender power relations, and thus to open possible ways into how men can contribute to women's work-family life and career progression.

Interviewing men contributed to my research study because some of them had noticed and so spoke about the injustices women face and hence opened up small possibilities for gender justice to come. For example, as discussed in Chapter Six, my findings documented a husband participant, Ali, who commented on how woman is constructed as *other* in Pakistani family and society. Ali questioned the socio-cultural "games of truth" (Foucault, 1988b, p. 1) which positioned woman as the "unequal other" (Kruks, 1992, p. 101) and deprived her of her basic rights as a human being. Ali questioning the gender inequality in marital relationship resonates with de Beauvoir (1989) critique that the relationship between men and women worked in "hierarchical and nonreversible ways." Although both "are necessary to each other ... this necessity has never brought about a condition of

reciprocity between them" (Beauvoir, 1989, p. 415). Ali referred to such a non-reciprocal relationship as an unjust relationship when he said:

> She comes equal to man when she earns money, but it is quite an injustice when he says that doing home chores is only a woman's responsibility. If they both [husband and wife] are earning money, then why are they not equal in sharing the domestic labour, as man has lost his advantage over woman of being the sole runner of family.

Such speaking anticipated the possibility of a democracy to come. Ahmad, a male head of department troubled patriarchal gender practices when he noticed and commented on the gender injustice for women academics in his university. As discussed in Chapter Six, he acknowledged the women academics as responsible mothers and dedicated professionals. He spoke about how men enjoy freedom from household tasks and childcare responsibilities when they get home from work while women cook meals and care for children alongside their professional responsibilities. Ahmad called for respect and honour for women for their struggles within work-family life.

Both Ali and Ahmad constructed small practices of questioning gender inequality, but as far as my data showed they did not take any action to undo those gender practices. I argue that they troubled patriarchal gender practices by at least raising their voice and asking for reciprocity and equality in relationships between men and women. However, I suggest that taking action along with speaking against gender inequality is needed to create possibilities for democratic gender relations and futures within family and more widely.

In recording these possibilities of justice-to-come, I take strength in the Quranic verses that speak of gender equality. These verses I take to stand alongside my research study and the moves it makes towards democracy to come within family and marital relationships, and in the working lives of academic women. The Holy Qur'an maintains a gender egalitarian approach by emphasising the Islamic values such as *Ma'ruf* [kindness] (4:19), *Taradi wa Tashawur* [mutual consent and consultation] (2:233, 42:38), *Ad'l* [justice], and *Awliya* [mutual supporters/protectors] (9:71). I take heart from Islamic feminists who argue that it is not the Holy Qur'an that delineates male superiority, entitlement, and privilege, but

rather it is how the Quranic terms and texts are interpreted to establish and re-inscribe patriarchal discourses and practices.

I note that I have already discussed in Chapter Six how the Quranic term *Qawwamuna* [translated men as maintainers and protectors] is (mis)interpreted to support male privilege for being a breadwinner. I refer now to the term *Awliya* [mutual supporters/protectors] (9:71) to acknowledge how this concept affirms gender equality between men and women and how traditional and contemporary Islamic scholars interpret the verse. Allah describes in the Holy Qur'an that "The believing men and the believing women are *Awliya* [mutual supporters/protectors] to each other..." (9: 71).

In an effort to develop my own understanding of the specific verse and to use it to contextualise it in my study, I noticed that the traditional commentary on the verse remained limited to the historical context and thus has not considered the magnificence of the gender equality approach represented within the verse. For example, Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi, a traditional Islamic scholar highlights the nature of mutual relationship among believers as strong and deeply rooted in their hearts in comparison to those who carry relationships based on self-interest (Shafi, n.d.). The limited and historical interpretation of the verse overlooking the essence of the very concept of gender equality as mutual supporters/protectors, I suggest, implies Foucault's (1980c) conceptualisation of power at work. Foucault's concept of power involves the way individuals are ascribed positions within discourse. I argue that the limited and historic interpretation of term Awliya [mutual supporters/protectors] (9:71) suggests that men's control over the terms within discourse positions women as serviceable others to serve a patriarchal agenda that reproduces male superiority and authority. My findings demonstrated the examples of women being positioned as serviceable others within work-family domains, subject to what Shafi identifies as relationships based on self-interest, that is male self-interest.

I experienced something of an aporia when I discovered the limited interpretation of such a term rich in meanings, as *Awliya* [mutual supporters/protectors] (9:71). My exploration of Islamic feminists' commentary about the specific term *Awliya* infused a hope within me. These commentaries focused on the intratextual meaning of the term and approached the

concept of *Wilaya* as mutual and equal. For example, Asma Lamrabet, a biologist from Morocco and a member of the International Academic Committee of the *Musawah* [Equality] Network, points out that *Wilaya* [mutual support/protection] establishes equality between men and women. Lamrabet (2015) suggests *Wilaya* [mutual support/protection] is to be viewed and function as a "shared responsibility" of men and women (pp. 128-129). While Lamrabet refers to the concept of *wilaya* as a joint participation between believing men and women towards achieving equal citizenship, Zainab Alwani, a Muslim American scholar, argues that this concept outlines an equal partnership between men and women in "establishing a healthy family and just society" (Alwani, 2011, p. 56). These interpretations and commentaries are clear calls in Islamic literature for justice within family and societal relationships that support my research study's hope for democracy to come.

There are many starting points amongst the small steps of mutual support through practices of care demonstrated by some family members of the participants of my study; a father engaged in ethics of care, a mother taking a bold step of resistance against patriarchal gender practices for her daughter's future, and parents-in-law offering childcare services and help in household tasks to support their daughters-in-law. But I claim that the concept of *Wilaya* calls for wider implications within marital and family relationships, as well as at workplaces. Being mutual supporters and protectors within marital and family relationships, men have the responsibility to offer quality childcare to their children and contribute to their education at home. There is also the matter of mothers' equal guardianship rights to decide about their daughters' futures. The discourse of mutual protection calls for equal opportunities for women to develop professionally. It implies men will mutually respect and care for women's professional identity and not expect women to sacrifice their academic position or compromise their career progress for men.

The question arises about the implications for reciprocity within the workplace. I have shown how women academics are positioned as serviceable others not within home and family but also within institutions. They keep carrying work responsibilities without provision of sufficient resources. Women academics can get access to maternity leave but struggle to get their study leave approved by the university management. Limited availability of space and place leave women owning no more than a sofa to sit on and work

and having to wait for promotion to own a desk of their own. The modesty of a sofa at her workplace is echoed in the verse that notes she has to wait for a grave to own a space for herself:

دو گز سہی مگر یہ میری ملکیت تو ہے،

...اے موت تونے مجھ کو زمیندار کردیا

Although it is only two yards that I possess… but O’ death, you made me the landlord.

My study calls for mutuality and reciprocity within the academic workplace and for recognising women as academics. It calls for reciprocity in collegial relationships, for example, a head of department creating possibilities to provide a suitable working environment and work facilities. It calls for opportunities for professional development such as funding for research and publication, and approval of study leave. It also calls for university management to ensure the provision of resources for quality teaching and research to support women academics’ professional identity.

This mutuality and reciprocity – a form of democracy to come - is what I stand for, promote, and dream about my career identity as an academic. This is how globalisation provided me the opportunity to apply for the University of Waikato Doctoral Scholarship to pursue my PhD study. I travelled to Aotearoa with my family all the way from Pakistan. Living in Aotearoa produced the possibilities for my children to question and trouble the status quo that I had taken for granted. My son observed his mother wearing a head scarf and riding a bike with him. My daughter experienced making different shaped rotis. Being a PhD student, I owned an office in my university for the duration of my studies. I owned a space other than my grave. I owned a computer, table, chair, and a bookshelf. For my research study, I read diverse literature about Islamic and post-colonial feminists. I came across theories and theorists unfamiliar to me. I developed qualitative interviewing skills that produced the possibility of generating the rich data that I presented in my findings chapters. Interviewing men about women’s work-family life troubled familiar traditional gender power relationships. While analysing the data, I developed thinking and writing skills. I learnt how to bring together theory, data, and my own voice. I came to own and use a voice alongside space.

My research shaped my identity as a researcher as well as a Muslim woman. I had a number of questions about my own position as a Muslim woman, but I had previously not thought to enquire about Islamic teachings regarding women's position in Islam. There was an ascribing to a real religion, and practices, but a non-questioning ascribing to it. Islamic feminists' interpretations of women's empowered positioning and men's positioning as responsible to, not in charge of, women, transformed my orientation with my religion and my relationship with Allah. This practice of deconstruction and troubling provided me with a strong position to stand on as a researcher and a Muslim woman. Now there is an informed questioning and unpacking of how a Muslim woman's life can be. My doctoral research provided me more space, more responsibility, but also a different level of sustainability as a person within the religion, and a different place to demand respect as a woman, because now I can say, "That is not what Allah says." Hence, my transformed orientation towards Islam strengthened a hope for democracy to come.

Now holding a stronger position, I claim the identity of a researcher. I am prepared to teach qualitative research methods and supervise research projects. I am looking for solidarity and invite women academics and heads of department to have collaborative research adventures.

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Appendix A1: Letter to Chairman HEC - Application to Conduct Study in Public Universities Pakistan

Date:

The Chairman,
Higher Education Commission
Head office, Sector H-9, East Service Road
Islamabad, Pakistan.

Subject: Application to seek consent to conduct PhD study

Dear Dr. Tariq Banuri,

My name is Romana Imran, and I am enrolled in PhD (Education) at the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. I am writing this letter to seek your consent to conduct my research project entitled "Work-Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan" in two public universities in Pakistan.

The aim of this research study is to explore experiences of women academics (university employees) in managing work-family responsibilities and the support systems (institutional and family) they have in order to develop academically by fulfilling family and professional commitments. The study will also provide a platform to the Heads of departments to share their views on institutional support systems available for women academics in higher education institutions in Pakistan.

Fieldwork

I intend to do the fieldwork of my research study in Punjab, Pakistan. Data will be collected from women academics with childcare responsibilities and Heads of Departments from two public universities. I am undertaking qualitative research and will conduct semi-structured interviews.

Ethics

I will ensure the anonymity of participants and institutions. The results of my research study will be published as part of my PhD thesis, may be utilised for publication in journals and/or presented in conferences and professional discussions, but the identity of the participants and institutions will be protected. I have obtained ethics approval from the University for this Research.

The process of data generation for my research study is scheduled to be started in June 2019 and to be completed in October 2019.

I look forward to receiving a response from you soon. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,
Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan	Contact information in New Zealand
XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX

University Supervisors
1. Associate Professor Kathie Crocket
School of Human Development and Counselling
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Appendix A2: Letter to Chairman PHEC - Application to conduct study in Public Universities Pakistan

Date:

The Chairman,
Punjab Higher Education Commission
10th Floor, Arfa Software Technology Park
346-B, Ferozepur Road, Lahore, Pakistan.

Subject: <u>Application to seek consent to conduct PhD study</u>

Dear Prof. Mohammad Nizamuddin,

My name is Romana Imran, and I am enrolled in PhD (Education) at the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. I am writing this letter to seek your consent to conduct my research project entitled "Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan" in two public universities in Pakistan.

The aim of this research study is to explore experiences of women academics (university employees) in managing work-family responsibilities and the support systems (institutional and family) they have in order to develop academically by fulfilling family and professional commitments. The study will also provide a platform to the Heads of departments to share their views on institutional support systems available for women academics in higher education institutions in Pakistan.

Fieldwork

I intend to do the fieldwork of my research study in Punjab, Pakistan. Data will be collected from women academics with childcare responsibilities and Heads of Departments from two public universities. I am undertaking qualitative research and will conduct semi-structured interviews.

Ethics

I will ensure the anonymity of participants and institutions. The results of my research study will be published as part of my PhD thesis, may be utilized for publication in journals and/or presented in conferences and professional discussions, but the identity of the participants and institutions will be protected. I have obtained ethics approval from the University for this Research.

The process of data generation for my research study is scheduled to be started in June 2019 and to be completed in October 2019.

I look forward to receive a response from you soon. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan   Contact information in New Zealand
XXXXXXXXXX   XXXXXXXXXX

University Supervisors
1. Associate Professor Kathie Crocket
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Appendix B1: Letter to Vice Chancellor University 1- Application to Conduct PhD Study

Date:

The Vice Chancellor,
University 1

Subject: Application to seek consent to conduct PhD study

Dear Professor,

My name is Romana Imran, and I am enrolled in PhD (Education) at the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. I am writing this letter to seek your consent to conduct my research project entitled “Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan” in your university. Prior to contacting you, I have sent emails to Chairmen HEC and PHEC to seek their permissions.

The aim of this research study is to explore experiences of women academics in managing work-family responsibilities and the support systems (institutional and family) they have in order to develop academically by fulfilling family and professional commitments. The study will also provide a platform to the Heads of departments to share their views on institutional support systems available for women academics in higher education institutions in Pakistan.

Participants and Method of Inquiry

I intend to collect data from 4-6 women academics (university employees) with family responsibilities and 1-2 Heads of Departments with at least three years’ experience of working as HoD in your university. I am undertaking qualitative research and will conduct semi-structured interviews.

Ethics

I will ensure the anonymity of institution and participants. The results of my research study will be published as part of my PhD thesis, may be utilized for publication in journals and/or presented in conferences and professional discussions, but the identity of the institution and participants will be protected. I have obtained ethics approval from the University for this Research.

The process of data generation for my research study is scheduled to be started in June 2019 and to be completed in October 2019.

I look forward to receive a response from you soon. Thank you

Yours sincerely,
Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan Contact information in New Zealand
XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX

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Appendix B2: Letter to Vice Chancellor University 2- Application to Conduct PhD Study

Date:

The Vice Chancellor,
University 2

Subject: Application to seek consent to conduct PhD study

Dear Professor,

My name is Romana Imran, and I am enrolled in PhD (Education) at the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. I am writing this letter to seek your consent to conduct my research project entitled "Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan" in your university. Prior to contacting you, I have sent emails to Chairmen HEC and PHEC to seek their permissions.

The aim of this research study is to explore experiences of women academics in managing work-family responsibilities and the support systems (institutional and family) they have in order to develop academically by fulfilling family and professional commitments. The study will also provide a platform to the Heads of departments to share their views on institutional support systems available for women academics in higher education institutions in Pakistan.

Participants and Method of Inquiry

I intend to collect data from 4-6 women academics (university employees) with family responsibilities and 1-2 Heads of Departments with at least three years' experience of working as HoD in your university. I am undertaking qualitative research and will conduct semi-structured interviews.

Ethics

I will ensure the anonymity of institution and participants. The results of my research study will be published as part of my PhD thesis, may be utilized for publication in journals and/or presented in conferences and professional discussions, but the identity of the institution and participants will be protected. I have obtained ethics approval from the University for this Research.

The process of data generation for my research study is scheduled to be started in June 2019 and to be completed in October 2019.

I look forward to receive a response from you soon. Thank you

Yours sincerely,
Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan	Contact information in New Zealand
XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX

University Supervisors

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Appendix C1: Letter to Registrar/Deputy Registrar (Academics) University 1

Date:

The Registrar/Deputy Registrar (Academics),
University 1.

Subject: <u>Request to support in recruiting participants</u>

Dear Mr./Mrs.,

I am Romana Imran, Doctoral candidate at the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. I am planning to conduct my research project entitled Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan" in your university, having permission from the Vice Chancellor. For this purpose, I intend to conduct semi-structured interviews from women academics (university employees) with family responsibilities and Heads of Departments with at least three years' experience of working as HoD in your university.

I request your support in recruiting participants for my research study. I ask that you help me in the most suitable way. The first option is to send (by email) the Invitation Letter for Participation (Appendix D1 & D2) and Information Sheet for Participants (Appendix E1 & E2) to all female faculty members (university employees) and heads of departments. The second option is to provide me the list of faculty members and heads of departments, with contact details so that I can contact them personally by email and send them the Invitation Letters for participation and Information Sheets. If it is not possible to adopt any of the mentioned alternatives, then I request you to give me time to meet you and discuss the procedure of recruiting participants for my research study.

I have attached the Invitation Letter for Participation (Appendix D1 & D2) and Information Sheet for Participants (Appendix E1 & E2).

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,
Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan
XXXXXXXXXX

Contact information in New Zealand
XXXXXXXXXX

Appendix C2: Letter to Registrar/Deputy Registrar (Academics) University 2

Date:

The Registrar/Deputy Registrar (Academics),
University 2.

Subject: Request to support in recruiting participants

Dear Mr./Mrs.,

I am Romana Imran, Doctoral candidate at the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. I am planning to conduct my research project entitled Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan" in your university, having permission from the Vice Chancellor. For this purpose, I intend to conduct semi-structured interviews from women academics (university employees) with family responsibilities and Heads of Departments with at least three years' experience of working as HoD in your university.

I request your support in recruiting participants for my research study. I ask that you help me in the most suitable way. The first option is to send (by email) the Invitation Letter for Participation (Appendix D1 & D2) and Information Sheet for Participants (Appendix E1 & E2) to all female faculty members (university employees) and heads of departments. The second option is to provide me the list of faculty members and heads of departments, with contact details so that I can contact them personally by email and send them the Invitation Letters for Participation and Information Sheets. If it is not possible to adopt any of the mentioned alternatives, then I request you to give me time to meet you and discuss the procedure of recruiting participants for my research study.

I have attached the Invitation Letter for Participation (Appendix D1 & D2) and Information Sheet for Participants (Appendix E1 & E2).

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,
Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan XXXXXXXXXX

Contact information in New Zealand XXXXXXXXXX

Appendix D1: Invitation Letter to Participate in Research Study (Women Academics)

Date:

Subject: Invitation to participate in PhD study entitled "Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan"

Dear Faculty Members,

I am inviting you to participate in a research study to explore experiences of women academics in managing work-family responsibilities and the support systems (institutional and family) they have in order to develop academically by fulfilling family and professional commitments. The study will also investigate the expectations women academics have about these support systems. I shall investigate the institutional support systems available for women academics in higher education institutions in Pakistan, by including Heads of Department in the data generation phase.

I am conducting this research as a doctoral candidate of the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. Associate Professor Kathie Crocket and Dr Elmarie Kotze from School of Human Development and Counselling are supervising this study. I am seeking participants who:

- are women academics (with family responsibilities) and university employees; and
- do not have prior personal or professional relationship with me.

This invitation letter comes with an information sheet that provides an overview of my research study, procedures for collecting data, and the role of participant. If you are interested to take part in my study, please reply by sending me (Romana Imran), the researcher, an email at XXXXXXXXXXX within three weeks after receiving these invitation letter and information sheet. I ask that you send me the following information in your email:

- Name of the institution you belong
- Contact details including your phone number

Once I receive your email, showing interest to participate in my study, I will contact you to have meeting to discuss any question you have related to my research project. If you decide to participate, I will ask you to sign a consent form. I appreciate you taking time to consider this. Please ignore this letter, if you do not want to take part in this study.

Thanking you in anticipation

Romana Imran

Appendix D2: Invitation Letter to Participate in Research Study (Heads of Departments)

Date:

Subject: Invitation to participate in PhD study entitled "Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan"

Dear Heads of Departments,

I am inviting you to participate in a research study to explore experiences of women academics in managing work-family responsibilities and the support systems (institutional and family) they have in order to develop academically by fulfilling family and professional commitments. The study will also investigate the expectations women academics have about these support systems. I shall investigate the institutional support systems available for women academics in higher education institutions in Pakistan, by including Heads of Department in the data generation phase.

I am conducting this research as a doctoral candidate of the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. Associate Professor Kathie Crocket and Dr Elmarie Kotze from School of Human Development and Counselling are supervising this study. I am seeking participants who:

- are Heads of Departments with at least three years' experience of working as HoD in university; and
- do not have prior personal or professional relationship with me.

This invitation letter comes with an information sheet that provides an overview of my research study, procedures for collecting data, and the role of participant. If you are interested to take part in my study, please reply by sending me (Romana Imran), the researcher, an email at XXXXXXXXXX within three weeks after receiving these invitation letter and information sheet. I ask that you send me the following information in your email:

- Name of the institution you belong
- Contact details including your phone number

Once I receive your email, showing interest to participate in my study, I will contact you to have meeting to discuss any question you have related to my research project. If you decide to participate, I will ask you to sign a consent form. I appreciate you taking time to consider this. Please ignore this letter if you do not want to take part in this study.

Thanking you in anticipation

Romana Imran

Appendix E1: Information Sheet for Participants (Women Academics)

Project Title

"Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan"

Researcher

Romana Imran

Purpose of the research study

My doctoral study will explore how institutional and family support works in shaping women with work-family responsibilities as academics. My research questions are as follows:

a) How do women academics in Pakistan manage work-family responsibilities?
b) What kind of institutional support is provided to manage work and family responsibilities?
c) What kinds of family support do women have to manage work and family responsibilities?
d) How does the institutional support help women to develop their academic career?
e) How does family support contribute to the construction of 'women as academics'?
f) What expectations- institutional and societal- do women academics have for the facilitation of their career development?

Research participation

Your participation in this research project may not have any direct benefit for you. However, the study's purpose is to contribute to the wider research field of women's academic lives.

Your involvement in this research study is voluntary and you have the right to decline to participate in this study. You may withdraw your contribution up to two weeks after approving the final transcripts of the second interview, without giving me any reason for withdrawal.

When we meet, I will discuss with you your preferred mode to receive and return the transcripts. For example, by hand delivery, email, or post. I will invite you to read, review or amend transcripts of your interview and you are free to remove any material in the transcript before returning it to me.

Individual interview (place, duration and language used for interview)

I ask you to participate in two interview sessions at an interval of one to two weeks. The first interview session will take about 60-75 minutes while the second session may last from 30-45 minutes. The interview is semi-structured. I will audio record and transcribe the interviews.

I will send a copy of the interview questions to you through email one week prior to our interview. The interview questions will be in English language. However, you as a

participant have choice to speak in the language of your comfort and ease. You can share your experiences in Urdu, English or both languages.

We will together decide the venue for the individual interview. Privacy and quietness will be important.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Your identity as a participant of this research study and anonymity of your institution will be protected by using pseudonyms. Although all efforts will be made to ensure non-identifiability, yet it cannot be guaranteed in all circumstances. The results of my research study will be published as part of my PhD thesis, may be utilised for publication in journals, and/or presented in conferences and professional discussions, but the identity of the institution and participants will be protected. I will be responsible for keeping the research documents safe and secure to allow for academic examination and peer review. Once the documents have served their purpose, they will be safely destroyed.

Personal experience

Sharing personal experiences related to professional life or family life may not always be comfortable or easy. I will take this into account in how I conduct the interview with you.

I plan to start interviewing in June 2019 after the month of Ramadan.

Waiting for your response.

Yours sincerely,
Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan
XXXXXXXXXX

Contact information in New Zealand
XXXXXXXXXX

University Supervisors

1. Associate Professor Kathie Crocket
School of Human Development and Counselling
Faculty of Education, University of Waikato
Email: kcrocket@waikato.ac.nz

2. Dr. Elmarie Kotze
School of Human Development and Counselling
Faculty of Education, University of Waikato
Email: elmariek@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix E2: Information Sheet for Participants (Heads of Departments)

Project Title

"Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan"

Researcher

Romana Imran

Purpose of the research study

My doctoral study will explore how institutional and family support works in shaping women with work-family responsibilities as academics. My research questions are as follows:

a) How do women academics in Pakistan manage work-family responsibilities?
b) What kind of institutional support is provided to manage work and family responsibilities?
c) What kinds of family support do women have to manage work and family responsibilities?
d) How does the institutional support help women to develop their academic career?
e) How does family support contribute to the construction of 'women as academics'?
f) What expectations- institutional and societal- do women academics have for the facilitation of their career development?

Research participation

Your participation in this research project may not have any direct benefit for you. However, the study's purpose is to contribute to the wider research field of women's academic lives.

Your involvement in this research study is voluntary and you have the right to decline to participate in this study. You may withdraw your contribution up to two weeks after approving the final transcripts of the second interview, without giving me any reason for withdrawal.

When we meet, I will discuss with you your preferred mode to receive and return the transcripts. For example, by hand delivery, email, or post. I will invite you to read, review or amend transcripts of your interview and you are free to remove any material in the transcript before returning it to me.

Individual interview (place, duration and language used for interview)

I ask you to participate in an interview session that will take about 45-60 minutes. The interview is semi-structured. I will audio record and transcribe the interviews.

I will send a copy of the interview questions to you through email one week prior to our interview. The interview questions will be in English language. However, you as a participant have choice to speak in the language of your comfort and ease. You can share your experiences in Urdu, English or both languages.

We will together decide the venue for the individual interview. Privacy and quietness will be important.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Your identity as a participant of this research study and anonymity of your institution will be protected by using pseudonyms. Although all efforts will be made to ensure non-identifiability, yet it cannot be guaranteed in all circumstances. The results of my research study will be published as part of my PhD thesis, may be utilised for publication in journals, and/or presented in conferences and professional discussions, but the identity of the institution and participants will be protected. I will be responsible for keeping the research documents safe and secure to allow for academic examination and peer review. Once the documents have served their purpose, they will be safely destroyed.

Personal experience

Sharing personal experiences related to professional life or family life may not always be comfortable or easy. I will take this into account in how I conduct the interview with you.

I plan to start interviewing in June 2019 after the month of Ramadan.

Waiting for your response.

Yours sincerely,
Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan
XXXXXXXXXX

Contact information in New Zealand
XXXXXXXXXX

University Supervisors

1. Associate Professor Kathie Crocket
School of Human Development and Counselling
Faculty of Education, University of Waikato
Email: kcrocket@waikato.ac.nz

2. Dr. Elmarie Kotze
School of Human Development and Counselling
Faculty of Education, University of Waikato
Email: elmariek@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix E3: Information Sheet for Participants (Husbands of Women Academics)

Project Title

"Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan"

Researcher

Romana Imran

Purpose of the research study

My doctoral study will explore how institutional and family support works in shaping women with work-family responsibilities as academics. My research questions are as follows:

a) How do women academics in Pakistan manage work-family responsibilities?
b) What kind of institutional support is provided to manage work and family responsibilities?
c) What kinds of family support do women have to manage work and family responsibilities?
d) How does the institutional support help women to develop their academic career?
e) How does family support contribute to the construction of 'women as academics'?
f) What expectations- institutional and societal- do women academics have for the facilitation of their career development?

Research participation

Your participation in this research project may not have any direct benefit for you. However, the study's purpose is to contribute to the wider research field of women's academic lives.

Your involvement in this research study is voluntary and you have the right to decline to participate in this study. You may withdraw your contribution up to two weeks after approving the final transcripts of the second interview, without giving me any reason for withdrawal.

When we meet, I will discuss with you your preferred mode to receive and return the transcripts. For example, by hand delivery, email, or post. I will invite you to read, review or amend transcripts of your interview and you are free to remove any material in the transcript before returning it to me.

Individual interview (place, duration and language used for interview)

I ask you to participate in an interview session that will take about 30-40 minutes. The interview is semi-structured. I will audio record and transcribe the interviews.

I will send a copy of the interview questions to you through email one week prior to our interview. The interview questions will be in English language. However, you as a participant have choice to speak in the language of your comfort and ease. You can share your experiences in Urdu, English or both languages.

We will together decide the venue for the individual interview. Privacy and quietness will be important.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Your identity as a participant of this research study and anonymity of your institution will be protected by using pseudonyms. Although all efforts will be made to ensure non-identifiability, yet it cannot be guaranteed in all circumstances. The results of my research study will be published as part of my PhD thesis, may be utilised for publication in journals, and/or presented in conferences and professional discussions, but the identity of the institution and participants will be protected. I will be responsible for keeping the research documents safe and secure to allow for academic examination and peer review. Once the documents have served their purpose, they will be safely destroyed.

Personal experience

Sharing personal experiences related to professional life or family life may not always be comfortable or easy. I will take this into account in how I conduct the interview with you.

I plan to start interviewing in June 2019 after the month of Ramadan.

Waiting for your response.

Yours sincerely,
Romana Imran

Contact information in Lahore, Pakistan XXXXXXXXXX

Contact information in New Zealand XXXXXXXXXX

University Supervisors

1. Associate Professor Kathie Crocket
School of Human Development and Counselling
Faculty of Education, University of Waikato
Email: kcrocket@waikato.ac.nz

2. Dr. Elmarie Kotze
School of Human Development and Counselling
Faculty of Education, University of Waikato
Email: elmariek@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix F1: Thanking Letter for Replying and Contact to Meet

Dear Respondent,

Thank you for your interest in participating in my research project entitled "Work-Family Responsibilities and Support Systems for Women Academics in Pakistan" as …………I appreciate your willingness to participate in my research study and devote your precious time and energy for interview. I will contact you within…weeks to arrange a meeting to discuss the procedure for informing you further about the study and responding to any questions. I will ask you to sign a consent form if you are willing to participate.

Yours sincerely,

Romana Imran

Appendix F2: Thanking Letter for Replying and Keeping on Waiting List

Dear Respondent,

Thank you for your interest in participating in my research project entitled “Work-Family Responsibilities and Support Systems for Women Academics in Pakistan” as ………..I appreciate your willingness to participate in my research study and devote your precious time and energy for interview. I will contact you within…weeks to arrange a meeting to discuss the procedure for informing you further about the study and responding to any questions. I will ask you to sign a consent form if you are willing to participate.

Yours sincerely,

Romana Imran

Appendix G1: Consent Form for Individual Interview (Women Academics)

Doctoral Research Project:	"Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan"
Name of Researcher:	Romana Imran
Contact Details:	XXXXXXXXXXX
Supervisors:	Associate Professor Kathie Crocket and Dr. Elmarie Kotze School of Human Development and Counselling The University of Waikato

I have received the information sheet about the research project. I have read and discussed this consent form with the researcher, Romana Imran. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about this research project which Romana has answered to my satisfaction. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and I have a right to withdraw completely, or withdraw part of my contribution, up to two weeks after receiving the final transcript of the second interview without giving any reason. If I have any concern, I am aware that I can discuss it with Romana or discuss it with the University Supervisors.

I confirm my participation as below:

- ☐ I agree to participate in the individual interviews for this Doctoral Research Project.
- ☐ I agree for the interviews to be audio-recorded and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I have choice to use Urdu, English or both languages during interview.
- ☐ I understand that that all information identifying me, and my institution will be anonymised. Although all measures will be taken to protect my and my institution's identity, anonymity cannot be guaranteed in all circumstances.
- ☐ I am aware that I am free to review, make changes and remove any material in my transcripts.
- ☐ I would like to receive notification from the researcher to provide me the link to access the thesis in electronic form, once the thesis is completed, and it is my responsibility to update the researcher about my up-to-date email address.

Background Information Questionnaire for Women Academics

Please fill in the information in the blanks provided or mark tick.

Workplace Information

1. Your Name ________________________________
2. Department ________________________________
3. Highest Academic Qualification _______________________
4. Designation ____________________________
5. For how many years have you been working in this university? __________
6. How many hours of paid work you have to do in a week? ___________
7. Do you supervise research students? Yes_________No __________
8. If yes, which level of students do you supervise? BS___ MS___PhD___
9. How many research students do you supervise in a year? ______________
10. How many publications do you have? (published in HEC Recognized Journals) _____
11. Have you ever travelled abroad for conferences/workshops/trainings?
    Yes_______ No_______
12. What kind of duties you have to do other than teaching and research as part of your job?

____

____

____

______

Family Information

1. How long have you been married? ______________________________
2. With whom do you live?
   - ☐ Husband and children
   - ☐ Domestic helper
   - ☐ Extended family member (e.g., parents, parents-in-law, etc.)
   - ☐ Other (specify please) ___________
3. How many children do you have for each age group below?
   - ☐ 0-5 years; number of children________
   - ☐ 13-17 years; number of children _______
   - ☐ 6-12 years; number of children _________
   - ☐ <18 years; number of children __________
4. What is your husband's qualification ___________________________________
5. What does your husband do? __________________________________

6. How many hours (on average) do you spend on home chores/week (e.g., cooking, laundry, house cleaning, shopping, supervising schoolwork of child etc.)?
   ______________ hours
7. Do you have the responsibility of taking care of any elder person in the family?
   Yes________ No_________
8. If yes, how many of the elder persons? ____________
9. Do you have a domestic helper? Yes________ No_________
10. If yes, how many domestic helpers do you have? ___________
11. Do you support your family financially with your income? Yes_____No_______
12. If yes, what proportion do you contribute?
    - ☐ Very small
    - ☐ More than a half
    - ☐ Less than a half All
    - ☐ About a half
    - ☐ All

Signature: ___________________________________

Name: ____________________________________

Date: ____________________________________

Appendix G2: Consent Form for Individual Interview (Heads of Departments)

Doctoral research project:	"Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan"
Name of Researcher:	Romana Imran
Contact Details:	XXXXXXXXXX
Supervisors:	Associate Professor Kathie Crocket and Dr. Elmarie Kotze School of Human Development and Counselling The University of Waikato

I have received the information sheet about the research project. I have read and discussed this consent form with the researcher, Romana Imran. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about this research project which Romana has answered to my satisfaction. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and I have a right to withdraw completely, or withdraw part of my contribution, up to two weeks after receiving the final transcript of the interview without giving any reason. If I have any concern, I am aware that I can discuss it with Romana or discuss it with the University Supervisors.

I confirm my participation as below:

- ☐ I confirm that I have more than three years of experience as head of department.
- ☐ I agree to participate in the individual interviews for this Doctoral Research Project.
- ☐ I agree for the interview to be audio-recorded and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I have choice to use Urdu, English or both languages during interview.
- ☐ I understand that that all information identifying me and my institution will be anonymised. Although all measures will be taken to protect my and my institution's identity, anonymity cannot be guaranteed in all circumstances.
- ☐ I am aware that I am free to review, make changes and remove any material in my transcript.
- ☐ I would like to receive notification from the researcher to provide me the link to access the thesis in electronic form, once the thesis is completed, and it is my responsibility to update the researcher about my up-to-date email address.

Signature: ______________________________

Name: ______________________________

Date: ______________________________

Appendix G3: Consent Form for Individual Interview (Husbands of Women Academics)

Doctoral Research Project:	"Work- Family Responsibilities and Support for Women Academics in Pakistan"
Name of Researcher:	Romana Imran
Contact Details:	XXXXXXXXXX
Supervisors:	Associate Professor Kathie Crocket and Dr. Elmarie Kotze School of Human Development and Counselling The University of Waikato

I have received the information sheet about the research project. I have read and discussed this consent form with the researcher, Romana Imran. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about this research project which Romana has answered to my satisfaction. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and I have a right to withdraw completely, or withdraw part of my contribution, up to two weeks after receiving the final transcript of the interview without giving any reason. If I have any concern, I am aware that I can discuss it with Romana or discuss it with the University Supervisors.

I confirm my participation as below:

- ☐ I confirm that I have more than three years of experience as head of department.
- ☐ I agree to participate in the individual interviews for this Doctoral Research Project.
- ☐ I agree for the interview to be audio-recorded and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I have choice to use Urdu, English or both languages during interview.
- ☐ I understand that that all information identifying me, and my institution will be anonymised. Although all measures will be taken to protect my and my institution's identity, anonymity cannot be guaranteed in all circumstances.
- ☐ I am aware that I am free to review, make changes and remove any material in my transcript.
- ☐ I would like to receive notification from the researcher to provide me the link to access the thesis in electronic form, once the thesis is completed, and it is my responsibility to update the researcher about my up-to-date email address.

I agree for my wife, ______________, to be present during the interview.

Signature: ____________________________________

Name: ____________________________________

Date: ____________________________________

Appendix H1: Guiding Interview Questions for Women Academics

Following are the guiding questions for conducting interviews with participants:

a) Contextual Questions

In the demographic information, you have mentioned that you have achieved …level of qualification; can you please share with me the experiences of your journey towards this level of qualification?

1. Why had you continued your education until achieving this level of qualification?
2. What motivated you to become a university teacher?
3. What do you like/dislike the most about your job as an academic?
4. How do you view academic as a career for women?

b) Managing Work-Family Responsibilities

5. What are your work responsibilities as an academic?
6. What are your family responsibilities as a mother and wife?
7. How are household responsibilities shared within your family?
8. What have you planned to manage work-family responsibilities when you chose an academic as a career or decided to have children?
9. What do you do to manage your different work and family demands? (Can you please describe in detail).
10. How do work responsibilities affect your family life, including your relationship with your spouse and children?
11. How do your family responsibilities affect your professional performance?
12. How do work-family responsibilities affect you as a person?
13. What are the challenges you face in managing your work-family responsibilities?

c) Institutional Support

i. For managing work-family responsibilities

14. Do you think you need institutional support as an academic woman with family responsibilities? Yes/No. Why do you say that?
15. How does the institutional culture help you with work-family responsibilities?
16. What kind of family-friendly policies are available in your institution?
17. How are these policies practised?
18. What childcare facilities does the university provide?
19. Can you please share your experiences of flexibility in your institution?
20. How do your colleagues help you in managing your professional and family life?

21. Can you please describe peoples' attitudes in the university towards women who encounter difficulties in managing work-family responsibilities?

ii. For academic development

22. Do you think that the working conditions in your department help you develop as an academic?
23. What kind of flexibility (time, workload, location of work) is practised in your institution?
24. What kind of professional assistance is provided to women academics to improve their teaching?
25. What kind of resources are available for conducting research?
26. How does institution support you in developing professionally (participation in conferences, trainings, workshops)?
27. How do colleagues support each other to develop academically?
28. Some women take a position as feminist to advocate and support women, would you like to describe your position as feminist in academia.

d) Family Support

i. For managing work-family responsibilities

29. Do you think you need family support as an academic woman with family responsibilities? Yes/No. Why do you say that?
30. Who helps you when things get tough at home?
31. In what ways does this person help you?
32. Why do you believe that person can help you in managing work and family demands?
33. Do you feel comfortable/uncomfortable seeking support from the family/specific person? Why do you feel so?
34. Do you think that family members value your role at home? How do you know that?
35. What do you think about sharing responsibilities in the home?
36. How do family or people around you look at you as a working woman?

ii. For academic development

37. Who supported you to join academic career?
38. How do people around you in the society look at you as an academic?
39. Which family members support you in your career?
40. How does he/she support you?
41. How do you feel about receiving support from that family member?

e) Expectations of Women Academics

42. What support do you expect the institution to provide so that you can manage work-family responsibilities?
43. What support do you expect the institution to provide so that you can develop academically?
44. Do you think that women's role in managing family responsibilities should be valued? Why do you think that?
45. What kind of support do you expect from your family members about sharing family responsibilities?
46. How do you expect the family to support your career?
47. Would you recommend female students in your institution or in your family to choose academia as a career? Why do you think so?

Appendix H2: Guiding Interview Questions for Heads of Departments

Following are the guiding questions for conducting interviews with participants:

Institutional Support for Work-family Responsibilities

1. How often do you find women academics in this university having difficulties in managing work and family responsibilities?
2. Do you think that women employees in your university feel free to bring their family related matters to the workplace?
3. Do you think that managing work-family responsibilities is a serious concern for women academics working in your university? Yes/No. Why do you think so?
4. What kind of family supportive policies are available at your university?
5. What childcare facilities does the university provide?
6. What are the working conditions in this university that facilitate the academic mother?
7. Are these family-friendly facilities enough to support women academics with family responsibilities?
8. What would you suggest women academics do to fulfil work-family demands?

Institutional Support for Academic Development

9. How do you view women employees with family responsibilities as academics?
10. How does the institutional culture help women academics develop in this university?
11. What kind of flexibility (time, workload, location of work) is practised in your institution?
12. What kind of professional assistance is provided to women academics to improve their teaching?
13. What kind of resources are available for conducting research?
14. How does institution support women academics in developing professionally (participation in conferences, trainings, workshops)?
15. How do colleagues support each other to develop academically?
16. Which working conditions in the university facilitate/hinder women develop academically?
17. Suggestion
18. Would you like to add/suggest anything regarding provision/improvement of institutional support for academic mothers in higher education?

Appendix H3: Guiding Interview Questions for Husbands of Women Academics

1. What leads you to support your wife in family responsibilities? Does this support have a particular history for you and your wife?
2. When you share responsibilities with your wife, what is the effect of that for you?
3. When you share responsibilities with your wife, what are the effects for your relationships with your children, other family members and your wife?
4. What do you think about this change in men's thinking about and approach towards sharing responsibilities with women?
5. What are your views on women academics in Pakistani society?
6. What do you think, how should husbands support wives who are academics, in their career development?