Author(s): Lashari, Asadullah; Shah, Waqar Ali

Title: Religious monoglossia/heteroglossia and discourses of
women leadership in Pakistani
higher education

Year: 2024

Version: Accepted version (Final draft)

Please cite the original version:

Lashari, A., & Shah, W. A. (2024). Religious monoglossia/heteroglossia and discourses of women
leadership in Pakistani higher education. Educational Management Administration and
Leadership, Early online. https://doi.org/10.1177/17411432241293244

Religious *monoglossia/heteroglossia* and discourses of women leadership in Pakistani Higher Education

Abstract

A growing body of literature reveals how women in higher education are either excluded from leadership roles, or face challenges when they take such responsibilities. The role of religion in Muslim societies is vital to understand Muslim women's sense of 'self' and their academic leadership roles and engagement in social and political activities. This study uses Bakhtin's writings as well as a feminist perspective in Islam to unpack how religious discourses shape and construe Muslim women's leadership roles in a public university in Pakistan. Data in this study was drawn from two sources, a) semi-structured interviews with women academic leaders and academics, b) focus group discussions with postgraduate students. Findings suggest that discourse around women's leadership in higher education in Pakistan is influenced by a male-centric religious monoglossia characterized by discourses on the hijab, masculinist religious epistemologies, and male-centric divine imagery. In addition, the study points to heteroglossic de-centering of the religious monoglossia by suggesting heteroglossic fluidity in Pakistani religious ethic that favors women's roles as leaders in higher education. A heteroglossic fluidity is characterized by how Islam is viewed as a national project, interpreted along sectarian and gendered lines, and often misused to discourage women from assuming leadership roles.

Keywords: religious monoglossia, religious heteroglossia, feminist Islam, women leadership, higher education

Introduction

A proliferation of scholarly literature reveals under-representation of women in leadership roles (Evans, 2018; Leathwood, 2017) and barriers they encounter in their career paths (Davis & Maldonado, 2015). Zhao & Jones (2017) examined discursive identity construction of women leaders in higher education in China and suggest that women leaders often struggle to maintain multiple identities e.g., leader, mother and wife. This claim resonates with the study by Isaac et al. (2009), who examined the discourses of female deans in US universities. They report a constant shuffle between masculine and feminine discourses of women leaders, often shaped by the organizational culture. In higher education, several factors have been identified that influence women's leadership roles (see Table 1).

Table 1 Factors influencing women's leadership roles

Factor	Sub-factors	Source
Organizational culture	• Lack of support from higher authorities	Ozkanli & White (2009), White (2003)
	• Dominant masculine culture within universities	
	• Discriminatory recruitment practices	Alotaibi (2020)
	• Gender-based division of leadership roles e.g., women with internal leadership roles while men taking leadership position for external matters	Evans (2018)
	• Workplace harassment	Thakur & Kumar (2019)
	• Stereotyping of women e.g., women as weak leaders	Waheeda & Nishan (2018)
	• Lack of mentoring and networking opportunities	Jackson & Harris, (2007), McNae & Vali (2015)
	• Lack of gender equity policies	Morley & Crossouard (2016)
Societal and cultural factors	• Socio-cultural barriers	Almaki et al. (2016), Morely & Crossouard (2016), Shah (2019)
	• Balancing familial and workplace responsibilities e.g., lack of family support	Nguyen's (2013), Gandhi & Sen (2021)
	• Reluctance of women towards leadership roles	Morley & Crossouard (2016), Gandhi & Sen (2021)
	• Religion	Shah (2019) & Abalkhail (2017)
	• Social class	Khatwani (2016), Mumtaz et al. (2003)

However, women are not passive as many women globally tend to challenge dominant discourses that influence their sense of 'self', and how they want to see themselves in leadership positions. Mulaya & Sakhiyya (2021), for example, examined how women leaders countered neoliberal meritocratic discourses by contextualizing their subjective leadership identities within two broader cultural discourses: *religion* and *family*. Women leaders in their study view their roles as *amanah,* which means that their responsibilities as leaders are God-given, and they are responsible for cultivating trust and promoting society's well-being. Accordingly, many Muslim women leaders view universities as their families rather than corporate institutions, and their leadership roles as family roles. In context of Pakistan, there is a lack of statistical information regarding women's representation in leadership roles. There has been little research on women educational leaders. A few studies have explored the barriers and challenges women leaders face at both the organizational and societal levels (e.g., Ali & Rasheed, 2021; Faiz, Bano & Asif, 2016; Jahan, 2022). However, no comprehensive discussion

has been provided on the construction of leadership identities among these women, particularly regarding how religious discourses intersect with the gender dynamics, and how they influence the choices and decisions made by women leaders in higher education. In light of this, this article addresses the following research questions:

- How do the religious discourses contribute to the women's leadership roles and positions? Whether religion hinders or facilitates women leadership choices in higher education in Pakistan?

Drawing on Bakhtin's writings on monoglossia, heteroglossia, and polyglossia (see Bakhtin, 1981, 1984), and the feminist perspective in Islam/Muslim feminism (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Barazangi, 2016; Barlas, 2019), this study argues that religious language/utterance, on the one hand, acts as a monoglossia that controls women's ideological life, hence leadership positions; on the other hand, it is also heteroglossic as a result of varying interpretations, which view women identity and leadership discourse in a multitude of ways. In recent years, Southern feminism has been described as a way to address oppressions faced by women in the Global South by contextualizing their struggles against patriarchal, colonial, and neoliberal power structures (see e.g., Byrne and Imma, 2019; Dunne et al., 2020a; author, xx). This study contributes to this growing body of knowledge in southern feminism by understanding how religion shapes women leadership discourses in Pakistani higher education. We begin by reflecting on socio-cultural dynamics of gender and women leadership in Pakistan followed by a theoretical framework and methodology. We then present our findings and conclusion.

Socio-cultural dynamics of gender and women leadership in Pakistan

In the Global Gender Gap Report (2022), Pakistan is ranked second last in terms of gender participation. Women are underrepresented in many fields within the country. In terms of global gender literacy rankings, the country ranks 133rd. According to Kazmi (2005), women's absence from the public sphere contributes to their secondary status and financial dependence on men. Pakistani culture, which is patriarchal and feudal, restricts women's participation in public life and keeps them unaware of their legal rights (Isran and Isran, 2012). In patriarchal societies like Pakistan, men are the head of the family regardless of their age and employment status and responsible for making all decisions about education, employment and marriage. In Pakistan, family systems play a crucial role in reinforcing patriarchy. There is an extended family system known as a *biradari*, which can be used to resolve disputes and other serious issues. In their capacity as head of the family, men are responsible for all financial matters. Islamic religious beliefs regard a girl's birth as a *rehmat* (blessing of God) for the parents, yet people in Pakistan pray for the birth of a boy. One of the main reasons for polygamy in Pakistan is the birth of a boy child, who inherits the family name. Parents, including both father and mother often provide special treatment to their sons as opposed to their daughters.

Besides, there is an explicit gendered division of jobs and activities in everyday discourse as well as in educational discourse (Syed & Agha, 2019; Author 2, forthcoming). Sociocultural norms and religion are often used to limit women to domestic chores and exclude them from public spaces. Consequently, women are often excluded from leadership positions due to stereotypical notions associated with them, such as being emotionally dependent and weak. Some people in Pakistan disregard the leadership of women for religious reasons, believing that women are not able to lead prayers and serve as *Imams* i.e., leaders (Zakar et al., 2013). Despite these challenges, many women still hold leadership positions in a variety of educational institutions, organizations and political institutions in Pakistan. However, their

authority and acceptance in leadership is often challenged. It is worth mentioning that women's leadership in Pakistan is negatively affected by the excessive presence of men. In educational contexts, women are underrepresented in leadership positions as a result of an increasing number of men assuming these positions in Pakistani universities. This underrepresentation of women in leadership roles in higher education can be attributed to a number of factors, such as gender inequalities at the macro structural level, unequal access to education, and gender-based disparities in broader socio-cultural and educational landscapes. According to the CEIC (2021) data, there are half as many women, teaching in Pakistani universities as there are men. Approximately 23.4% of the teaching staff holds a PhD, compared to 7.4% of women (Higher Education Commission, 2023).

Theoretical framework

Bakhtin refers to monoglossia as "a unified stable language" in *Dialogic Imagination* (Morris, 1994:248). Monoglossic utterances adhere to the narrative or ideology of the dominant group in society. In monoglossic utterances, one universal truth is constructed and disseminated systemically as common sense. However, according to Bakhtin (1986), all utterances employed in communication have an internal dialogic nature. In other words, every monologic utterance has a dialogic core; language may seem unified and static (monologic) on the surface, but it is actually a system of contradictions and resistance that makes it heteroglossic and dialogic. Unlike monoglossic discourse, heteroglossic discourse challenges authority. Moreover, polyglossia, which refers to multiple utterances (languages), is also an important concept in Bakhtin's dialogic framework. This suggests, it is possible to have multiple meanings at the same time with all the utterances. Some writers have identified polyglossia as an alternative name for Bakhtinian dialogism (see Clark and Holquist, 1984). Polyglossia increases the richness and complexity of language and discourse by allowing multiple interpretations of an utterance. In *Dialogic Imagination* (1981), Bakhtin argues, discourse can only be encountered with discourse. As a result, the worldview represented through language can only be questioned through language. It is therefore necessary to use a polyglossic approach to analysis of multiple discourses (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986). Bakhtin's notions of monoglossia, diglossia and heteroglossia help the present researchers to uncover multiple layers of meanings in religious discourses that shape women leadership identities in Pakistani society.

We further combine Bakhtin's writings with feminist perspective in Islam to illustrate our participants' conflictual/heteroglossic aspects in religion surrounding women leadership. Islam is often perceived as a monolithic epistemology. Nonetheless, there are significant theological and philosophical differences influenced by diverse ethnicities, races and sects within Muslim population globally. In addition, how women and men interpret Islam also reflect a divergent perspective. Muslim feminist work, for instance, offers a post-patriarchal lens to interpret and understand Islam in the Muslim world (see e.g., Abu-Lughod, 2013; Barlas 2019; Hassan 1991, 2001; Mahmood 2012). The Muslim feminist scholars while citing the scriptural references and other theological body of knowledge in Islam counter several myths that sustain patriarchy in the Muslim world. For example, Wadud (1999) dismantles the male-centric creation story that describes *Adam* as a primary creature while *Eve* as being created from Adam's rib – a creation story also shared by other religions such as Judaism and Christianity. She refers to the Quranic verse as *''O' humankind! be careful of your duty to your Lod who created you from a single nafs, and from it created its zawj, and from that pair spread abroad [over the earth] a multitude of men and women* (Quran 4:1). Wadud (1999: 19) explains, *nafs* is used in both a common and technical sense in the Quran to refer to any created 'self' (male or female) other than humankind. As defined in the Quran, nafs refers to the common origin of humankind.

Humanity is thus said to have originated from a single *nafs*, which is part of a contingent pair system - a nafs and a zawj (mate) (see Barlas, 2019 on non-duality of gender in Islam). Empirical reflections of such post-patriarchal orientation, hybridity and diversity can be seen in Dunne et al.'s (2020a) *'Pluralizing Islam'*. Muslims feminist scholars identify gender-based violence in discourse (e.g. patriarchal interpretations of religious texts, colonialism, and Islamophobia) and material conditions of Muslim societies (see author2 xx). Mahmood (2012) suggests that Muslim women embrace and submit to the will of God by practicing Islamic virtues such as patience and modesty. They exercise their agency through faith in a manner that differs from the liberal concept of agency as autonomy. An ethnographic study conducted by Shah and Khurshid (2018) provides insight into how participants chose Islam and humanism as their framework for claiming empowerment.These insights from Muslim feminist writings help situate our understanding of discourses around Muslim women leadership in Pakistan by unpacking male-centric religious monoglossia and show how Pakistani as a Muslim society comprises heteroglossic religious ethic that informs people's beliefs and practices in higher education institutions in Pakistan.

The present study

Methodology, research site and the data

This study employed a qualitative approach. According to Bryman & Bell (2007), qualitative research provides a holistic perspective on social phenomena. For the purpose of this study, a public university in Sindh province of Pakistan was selected as the site for the research. Participants in the present study were women academic leaders, academics, and postgraduate students (see table 2 for participants). Women academic leaders were defined as vice chancellors, deans, directors, chairs, and heads of committees in educational settings responsible for decision-making at different levels (Bikmoradi et al., 2010). Among the academics were university teachers, e.g., lecturers, assistants, and associate professors. Among the students were postgraduate students in their first and second years of study in social sciences and humanities disciplines. Taking into account the study's objectives and goals, a purposive sampling was used to recruit participants for the study. By means of purposive sampling, "knowledgeable people" were identified who had extensive knowledge of a particular issue by virtue of their professional role, power, access to networks, expertise, and experience (Cohen et al., 2007: 115).

Table 2 Participants' demographic information

Pseudonym	Participant group	Experience/year of the study	Gender
Sana	Academic leader	3 years	Woman
Areesha	Academic leader	3 years	Woman
Aalia	Academic leader	10 years	Woman
Farheen	Academic leader	8 years	Woman
Shazia	Academic leader	6 years	Woman
Farzana	Academic	15 years	Woman
Hameeda	Academic	8 years	Woman
Samreen	Academic	10 years	Woman
Shamim	Academic	12 years	Woman
Irfan	Academic	4 years	Man
Parvez	Academic	10 years	Man
Hashim	Academic	8 years	Man

Saleem	Academic	22 years	Man
Marvi	Postgraduate research student	2nd year	Woman
Amina	Postgraduate research student	2nd year	Woman
Tasneem	Postgraduate research student	2nd year	Woman
Sara	Postgraduate research student	2nd year	Woman
Ali	Postgraduate research student	1st year	Man
Sajid	Postgraduate research student	1st year	Man
Ahmed	Postgraduate research student	1st year	Man
Waseem	Postgraduate research student	1st year	Man

Data were collected using semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Bernard (1988) suggests, semi-structured interviews are particularly helpful in gaining individual opinions and experiences. The first author conducted semi-structured interviews with five women academics in leadership positions. Women academic leaders were interviewed about how gendered notions of leadership impacted their participation in leadership positions as part of a larger study. To learn more about gendered leadership identity and gendered leadership roles, eight academics -- four men, and four women were interviewed face-to-face. Among the interview questions were those pertaining to *family discourse, career pathways, leadership aspirations, leadership challenges, perceptions, and articulations of leadership, and how socio-cultural dynamics and religion affect their choices and decisions*. In addition, two focus groups were conducted separately with male and female postgraduate students. In focus group interviews, participants interact more with each other than they do with the interviewer as noted by Cohen et al. (2007). As a result, data is generated through interaction. In focus groups, rather than discussing how women lead, we explored broader *familial, social, cultural, and religious discourses on women's leadership*. For ethical reasons, written consent was obtained from all participants prior to interviews and focus groups. Audio recordings were made of the data. The participants were informed that participation in this study was entirely voluntary, and they could withdraw from study at any stage. During the interview, we anticipated sensitive discussions about gender-based experiences, workplace relationships, and discrimination and harassment. Consequently, participants were assured of the confidentiality and anonymity of their sensitive information. Taking into account Creswell's (2009) emphasis on respecting research sites, written permission was obtained from university authorities before conducting interviews and focus group discussions on the premises of the university. Additionally, the locations and times of the interviews were determined according to the comfort of the participants.

Data Analysis

Participants in present study were given the freedom to speak in their own languages (e.g., Sindhi or Urdu) where necessary. Interviews and focus group discussions were thus translated as well as transcribed. To check their accuracy, we ensured member checking by sending the interview and focus group transcripts to the participants to see what the interviewees said and to ensure that they were satisfied with all the information provided and their responses were accurately recorded. Afterwards, the data were analyzed using an inductive coding approach. Inductive coding uses a ground-up approach to coding the data, where coding is generated based on the data itself without any assumptions being made (Bryman, 2012). Some of the inductive codes developed at the initial stage include the following: *middle class, socio-economic class and women leadership, legislation and gender parity in leadership roles, societal boundaries, single sex-schooling, co-education in higher studies, household chores,*

cultural notions/familial responsibilities hindering women in leadership, religion and women leadership/ moderate religion/ interpretation of religion, under-representation of women in leadership roles, marriage, fears related to leadership roles. Although these codes could be grouped into a wide range of themes and categories, this study examines religion as an overarching broader category informed by various codes, including *moderate religion, diverse interpretations of religion, religion* and *women leadership* to show how religious discourses in Pakistan influence the leadership roles of women in higher education. By analyzing these codes concerning moderate as well as diverse interpretations of religion in relation to discourses of women leadership, we were able to identify the conflicting subject positions assumed by participants in our data, thereby helping us to understand how the participants both adhered to the religious monoglossia and also engaged in the heteroglossic nature and potential of religious discourse simultaneously. Based on these codes and themes, we then developed two sections in our findings as discussed in the following section focused on religious monoglossia and religious heteroglossia in relation to women leadership discourses. The religious discourses were further interpreted using Bakhtin's writings on monoglossia, heteroglossia, and polyglossia (see e.g., Bakhtin, 1984; 1986) along with feminist perspective in Islam (see e.g., Abu-Lughod, 2013; Barlas, 2019; Barazangi, 2016).

Findings and discussion

Religious monoglossia: discursive constraining of women leaders through masculinized Islam

Religion in Pakistan is considered an important institution, offering a comprehensive code of conduct for life. The religious monoglossia in Pakistan is often argued to restrict the participation of women in academic, social, and political affairs (Shah, 2019). It can mask heteroglossic tensions and contradictions in a wider context. The monoglossic interpretation of religion by religious clerics, mainly men, excludes women from participating in the meaning-making processes underlying religious texts (see Abu-Lughod, 2013; Barazangi, 2016; Wadud, 1999). As shown in the following excerpts, two male academics describe how religious monoglossia in Pakistan influences the discourse surrounding women leadership in higher education,

> **Excerpt 1**
>
> Religion doesn't allow women to be leaders. Like a female cannot be an *Imam* of a mosque… there are places where you cannot take a lady (*male academic*)

> **Excerpt 2**
>
> There is no more important leadership role than as a mother. As we commonly believe that paradise lies under the feet of a mother. Women are leaders at home; therefore, they do not aspire to other leadership roles elsewhere [e.g., academic institutions] (*male academic*).

These two excerpts discuss how religious monoglossic discourse constrains women's leadership. In excerpt 1, the word *'imam'* is referred to as a specific title reserved for men who are responsible for leading mosque prayers. In excerpt 2, an analogy is drawn between motherhood and leadership, which is both eulogizing and reductionist. Academic males in above excerpts conceptualize women's leadership roles as located within the confines of the home and further add to the signification process by attaching a religious value, e.g., paradise as being under mother's feet. This results in the construction of a binary - religious (e.g., paradise) versus mundane (e.g., work) – in which the latter is restricted spatially for women.

7

In Pakistan and other similar Muslim contexts, women's gendered roles are often reduced through cultural and religious praise, the result of a binarized understanding of gender which position males as the Subject, while females as the denigrated Other (de Beauvoir, 2011; Francis, 2012). Consequently, these two excerpts constrain the women's leadership roles in higher education as a result of religious monoglossia. Similar to these views as expressed by male academics, two students, one male and the other female, also referred to monoglossic religious discourse to suggest how religion restricts the leadership of women in academia and public spaces, as exemplified by the following excerpts.

Excerpt 3

The question here arises why all prophets and saints and important religious figures are always men. Why are all holy books revealed on men? When Benazir Bhutto was running for Prime Minister, religious parties argued that religion does not permit a woman to become head of the state *(male student).*

Excerpt 4

Religion [Islam] does not allow talking to *na-mahram* [men who are not immediate family members]. It keeps restrictions in terms of covering the head. All religions have their religious pundits, priests, and *molvis* [religious clerics] as men. This clearly shows that women cannot be leaders *(female student).*

In Pakistani society, religion intersects with patriarchy to shape masculinist religious epistemologies. Feminist Muslim scholars, however, disrupt such epistemologies by arguing that these epistemologies run counter to what the Quran and Islam advocate – the nonduality of gender and the co-creation of men and women from an unsexed soul (Barlas, 2019; Hassan, 1991). They argue that patriarchal structures and patriarchal interpretations of religion shape gender-based differences in Muslim societies. The participants in the above excerpts 3 and 4 find religion a noteworthy factor limiting women's leadership roles in Pakistani higher education institutions in contemporary socio-historic epoch due to factors, such as prohibition for talking to *na-mahrams* and because all prophets, saints and religious clerics have predominately been males. Literature shows that women are often argued to prioritize domestic responsibilities over academic leadership in religious contexts (Abalkhail, 2017; Shah, 2010). The role of religion in shaping such thinking can be explained in the words of Bakhtin (1981: 70) who aptly puts how monoglossic discourses ''serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world''. In the context of Pakistan, it can be argued that Islam as an official religion of the country as well as a biopolitical weapon (Jan 2019) governs the conduct of masses and penetrates various institutions, including academia and its practices (Author 2, 2023). As one participant remarked,

Excerpt 5

Men are religiously responsible for the financial issues of the family and its needs. Women are not the breadwinners but can be only a helping hand in the process. Allah made men the breadwinner of the family. There is no obligation for women to do jobs *(a male academic).*

In excerpt 5, religion appears to construct the notion of financial leadership for males, thereby establishing male supremacy. As a consequence, religion is used as a centripetal (e.g., monoglossic) force to control heteroglossia – dissent, ideological tensions, contradictions within Pakistani society by centralizing verbal-ideological thought through a common language of religion – *prophets and saints as men, religious scriptures revealed onto men,*

women to wear hijabs, men as breadwinners, religious clerics and imams as men, as revealed in data. The religious language has become the stable linguistic nucleus that influences the way ordinary people think, act and behave in Pakistan. One male participant (student) even referred to God in terms of male imagery. In these discourses, every religious authority appears to be conceptualized within a gender-specific, particularly male-centric monoglossia (see Francis, 2010; 2012). There is, however, a critique of this male-centric monoglossia within Muslim feminist writings due to a perceived overemphasis on male-centricity in Islam, which shapes both official and unofficial religious discourses - including those in Pakistan (see author 2, 2024). Barlas (2019: 31) notes, Abrahamic monotheistic histories, including Islam's, discuss God as 'He'. The patriarchal sensibilities influencing monotheistic religions, however, predate all monotheistic prophets, where God was conceptualized as a male and taken up by male theologians in Abrahamic religious literature. Further, feminist Islamic discourse contests all prophets being 'males'. As Hassan (2001) explains, 'Adam', often referred to as the first human, is a Hebrew word that refers to humanity as a whole. According to her, Adam is used in the Quran in three ways: as a vice regent, a prophet, and a generic noun for humanity. According to Muslim feminist writers, the gendered nature of Arabic language influenced by an androcentric culture on the Arabian Peninsula during the time of its revelation led to interpretation of Adam as a male in the Quran (see Ayubi, 2019). Despite these intricacies, the religious monoglossia of the contemporary socio-historical period presents religion as highly pro-men, limiting women in their homes, obligating hijab and seclusion, which affects women leadership in Pakistani higher education. This monoglossic articulation of religion was also evident in the interview of a female academic, as shown in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 6

Interviewer	What do you think how far religion facilitates or hinders women's choices and decisions to become leaders?
Interviewee	To me, religion is both empowering and restrictive in some cases. Females are not prohibited to study, do a job or engage in social and political matters. But they should avoid being leaders. Because we have to observe hijab which reflects our *sharam* and *haya*. Leadership roles, you know, demand a lot of interaction with males. You have to attend meetings for example with deans, vice chancellor, and they are often the males. I cannot prefer to have a meeting in isolation with any males.

In excerpt 6, *'hijab'* is described as limiting Muslim women's choices about taking up leadership roles in higher education. A female academic in the above excerpt views leadership as a highly interactive responsibility that can compromise religious values, particularly hijab in a broader sense of "sharam and haya'' (women's dignity and modesty). The religious expression of *hijab* appears to be monoglossic and hegemonic. Consequently, the hijab appears to be a vital element of Muslim women academics' lives and controls their ideological life in Pakistan. The language however, as Bakhtin suggests, always embodies polyglossia–multiple utterances (languages), resulting in different meanings associated with one particular utterance (Clark & Holquist, 1984; Lodge, 1990). A polyglossia perspective can be used to understand how Muslim feminist language defines 'hijab' as a contested utterance. A genealogy of hijab is provided by Shirazi (2001:3), which suggests the veil dates back to Middle-Assyrian laws (750-612 BCE), more than 1200 years before Islam. The hijab and seclusion were status symbols and markers of prestige in the Assyrian, Greco-Roman, and Byzantine empires. Further, in contemporary socio-historic epoch, it is considered by Muslim societies a culture of modesty in their native countries (Barlas, 2019) as well as a symbol of resistance to Islamophobia in

western societies (Haq, 2022). Although the hijab has a polyglottic character, a monoglossic hegemony prevails in the wider socio-cultural context of the country, affecting the way Muslim women academics view religion and its practices as limiting their choice of leadership in higher education institutions (see Zakar et al., 2013). As a result, male-centric religious monoglossic regimes take control of the ideological life of Pakistani women in higher education. According to Dunne et al., (2020b), these assumptions within identity narratives in Muslim societies generate masculinist and patriarchal national imaginaries which generate heteronormativity and gender polarization.

Religious heteroglossia: biased texts, feminist language, and women leaders

This section sheds light on (religious) language that is inherently dialogic in the Bakhtinian sense as opposed to the religious monoglossia that emphasizes the way religious authoritative meaning penetrates discourses on gender influencing women leadership as demonstrated in the preceding section. In this sense, language/utterances allow for multiple meanings, readings, and subversions. As such, while different forms of language may seek to be monoglossic in particular socio-historic moments, such a process is profoundly fluid and superficial. By definition, language is heteroglossic and dialogic, referring to multiple 'others' (e.g., other subjects, listeners, readers, other texts/opinions, other language systems, etc.) (Francis, 2012: 4). Data in the present study also reveal several contradictions, ideological tensions, and conflicts that indicate that religious language is heteroglossic, with the potential to shape women leadership discourses in Pakistani higher education by using other texts/opinions and competing subject positions. The following excerpts point to how postgraduate students engaging in a focus group discussion tend to demystify monoglossic discourses surrounding women gender identity and leadership. Names of the participants in the following excerpts are pseudonyms.

Excerpt 7 (focus group discussion)

Marvi	The problem lies with the interpretation of religion. When we follow the interpretation of others [religious clerics and scholars], we are misguided, and if we see ourselves [i.e., make our own interpretation of religious texts], we will see ample examples from Islamic history where women are encouraged and supported.
Tasneem	Yes, I agree with Marvi. If you see religion, the first wife of the Holy Prophet was a leader, she was a businesswoman. Her father was a big businessman, and he transferred his responsibilities to his daughter, and she led huge caravans for business purposes to different cities throughout Arabia. This is how she met the Prophet.
Amina	But I have a different opinion here. I don't agree with the statement about Bibi Khadija (wife of Prophet Muhammad) that she was the leader because of Islam, she was a leader before Islam.

In excerpt 7, participants co-construct religious meanings around women's identity, their freedom, and leadership discourses. In terms of assigning leadership roles, Marvi and Tasneem view religion as empowering women. Amina on the other hand argues that a position like that mentioned in the case of the prophet's wife was attached to her before she married the prophet. Language is used in different ways by subjects to assert and subvert meanings, according to Bakhtin (1981). In addition, language is a *heroglot* at any given moment in its

history: it symbolizes a coexistence of socio-ideological contradictions between past and present, between different periods of history, and between different social-ideological groups in the present times (Bakhtin, 1981). Accordingly, the conflicting discursive positionalities as expressed in excerpt 7 demonstrate the heteroglossic nature of religious language. Throughout Islamic history, monoglossic and heteroglossic discourses have interacted in a complex manner where scholars belonging to different sects/theological schools of thought have expressed differing viewpoints regarding various ethical issues, religious beliefs, gender, etc. The ideological tensions in Muslim societies were further exacerbated by political developments and colonial influences. For example, Ayubi (2019) traces the genealogy of ethics in relation to gender in Muslim societies and argues that early Muslim ethicists and theologians did not discriminate based on gender because they used neutral language and discourse. Because of the simultaneous presence of androcentric cultures in Muslim societies historically and colonialism, religious knowledge and language became exclusively male-centered. The heteroglossic nature of religious discourse is, therefore, also reflected in the current study. The following example by a woman academic leader illustrates heteroglossic articulations as opposed to male-centric gender monoglossia in religion,

Excerpt 8

If Islam was reluctant towards women's leadership, it might have stopped her too. And there are many women Prime Ministers in different Islamic countries. We had Benazir Bhutto as PM in Pakistan despite the challenges from male clerics. Haseena Wajid is the PM in Bangladesh. If Islam opposes female leadership, all these women could not attain leadership roles. Islam does not oppose but sets some limits. So, if you do not cross those limits. You can work in any position. The religion that is followed in our society, which is not an actual religion but created by religious clerics, is very discouraging for women to become leaders. The religion told by the Quran and Hadith [sayings of the prophet] does not oppose women becoming a leader. Religion does not tell a woman to not go outside the home or not become a Vice-Chancellor *(woman academic leader)*.

Excerpt 8 illustrates heteroglossic character, i.e. contradiction and resistance in relation to macro-level stability of religious monoglossia that disfavors women and restricts them within the confines of the home. The excerpt shows how the women academic constructs a heteroglossic position in religion to argue that the Quran and Hadith support women to assume leadership positions, be they academic or political. Muslim feminist scholarship argues that religion offers an alternative ethic in different socio-cultural and socio-historical contexts, where Islamic epistemologies are deployed to reclaim empowerment, agency, and counter patriarchal structures and religious monoglossia (Hussein, 2018; Mahmood, 2012), advocating for the pluralization of Islam by pointing out religious hybridity across diverse national contexts (Dunne et al., 2020a). Accordingly, as the excerpt 8 shows, the participant (i.e., a woman academic) notes that the religion practiced and preached by clerics (men) was different from her own understanding. She made her own sense of religious teachings through scriptures and historical events, refusing to follow religious clerics. As illustrated in the following excerpts, male academics in the data also pointed to polyglossia in religious discourse as a heteroglossic counterpoint to monoglossic authoritative voices.

Excerpt 9

Interviewer: So, how far does religion play a part?

Male academic: It plays a significant role. Basically, religion is misinterpreted…. practice of religions, and religion itself. I think Islam has freed woman and has taken into account the

representation of woman that we don't find it anywhere else. Unfortunately, the problem lies in our practice… or our interpretation of it…. Because when you talk about Islam, you talk about Pakistan… within Islam there are different schools of thought: Shia, Sunni, Hanafi… within these schools there are different opinions about women… the problem is whether our practice is well-informed or not. Well-informed means if I really understand the jurisprudence… 'women is to stay at home' – does religion really mean it in literal sense? Or when religion states 'observe purdah' – does it mean that she should cover her body or what… interpretation matters. Interpretation here in Pakistan is very vague. It is influenced by culture and Sufism. I believe that misinterpretation of religion is cause of hindrance… not religion itself but its interpretation is hindrance to women's being leaders (male academic).

Excerpt 9 reflects conflicting voices on religion in Pakistani society. Bakhtin's (1984) dialogism opposes the universality of truth – *monologism*, while allowing competing voices to emerge. Competing voices add to heteroglossic de-centering of worldviews. Therefore, every meaning in a text has at least one opposing meaning, and this text derives its social meaning from the degree of opposition to those alternative meanings (Naseri, 2015). Taking this view, a range of meanings can be derived from the above excerpt 9: a) *Islam and Pakistan*, b) *religious sects and their differing opinions regarding women*, and c) *the problem of interpreting and understanding laws i.e., jurisprudence*. Islam in Pakistan has its own official monoglossic version influenced by patriarchal discourses (see author 2, forthcoming) and largely characterized by Sunni school of thought. In contrast to Islam's apparent monoglossic narrative, its sects include diverse viewpoints with different philosophical, theological, and legal interpretations. They differ also in how women are viewed in terms of social inclusion, hijab, and leadership. Dunne et al., (2020a) discuss how the entanglement of religion with nation contributes to different understandings of Islam within Pakistan and other Muslim contexts. Even within the sect, interpretations are not linear; heteroglossic fluidity is highly evident in how religious clerics and people interpret religious practices within particular sects. In excerpt 9, the male academic points to the fluid heteroglossic nature of Islam in Pakistan and argues that women's leadership positions are limited by misinterpretation of religion (see e.g., Hassan, 2001; Wadud, 1999). A similar unmasking of religious monoglossia is shown in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 10

If religion had any problem with a working woman, the Holy Prophet would stop Bibi Khadija from doing business after the marriage. I think, initially cultural norms are used to stop a woman from progressing and climbing the leadership ladder. But once she crosses the expectations of society and progresses, then religion is used to break her. When a woman crosses the limits set by a man, they face *fatwa* (religious decree) *(woman academic leader)*.

Excerpt 11

There are some brave women who without denying religion, prove their point by keeping religious limits in mind. People use religion to limit women, but religion does not limit or hinder women to work or attain leadership roles (a female academic).

Excerpts 10 and 11 suggest how religion controls women, especially through fatwas (religious decrees by clerics) and cultural norms. The participants seem to suggest that religion supports Muslim women's participation in leadership positions and academic life, but misuse of religion in a wider context constricts their ideological lives. The meaning, as Bakhtin (1981) argues, emerges from social interaction and conflicting voices co-occur in all social contexts. Women use conflicting voices to reinforce their position i.e., shape their leadership identities and

discourses. Male students also discussed how religious discourse is inherently polyglot, with both discriminatory and liberating aspects. The following excerpts illustrate this point:

Excerpt 12 (focus group discussion)

Sajid: There are some clear gender discriminatory texts in religious literature, to argue it is not just interpretation that is used against women.

Ahmed: Religion is same for everyone, be it men or women and it preaches equality. It all depends how an individual, a family, or a community practices it – in an orthodox or a progressive way.

Ali: Religion has only given examples of men leaders and therefore, seem to support men leaders only. The exclusion of women from leadership roles in religious texts established the fact that leadership is not a women's pursuit. Religion was misinterpreted to discourage women from working.

Excerpt 12 illustrates heteroglossic disturbance in which two participants consider religion itself as discriminatory. In their view, religious texts primarily feature male characters. Women are excluded from religious texts by discursive foregrounding of men. Muslim feminist literature argues that Islamic texts embody patriarchy because of male theologians, clerics, and preachers (Ayubi, 2019; Barazangi, 2016), and consider discursive framing of male-centric religious monoglossia as rooted in local structures influenced by patriarchal culture, colonial imperatives, and material circumstances. However, as Ahmed in above excerpt suggests, religious heteroglossia in Pakistani society becomes largely evident in how a particular family, community, and individual conceptualize and practice religion. The discourses on women's leadership are shaped accordingly. In Bakhtin's words (1986: 89), our utterances are 'filled with others' words. An utterance is merely one link in the chain of other utterances, whether building upon or resisting discourses. In this view, the following excerpt reflects resistance against male-centric religious monoglossia,

Excerpt 13

It was the men clerics who had interpreted the scriptures in a way that women were kept back *(women academic leader).*

This suggests that the notion of religion is misinterpreted in order to further facilitate the prevalent patriarchal norms in society. Due to the misinterpretation of religious texts and the hegemony of men as religious authorities, men had the power to normalize roles and responsibilities. It is consistent with Shah's (2010, 2019) findings that misinterpretations of religious texts and legitimization of cultural and patriarchal discourses in Muslim societies contribute to gender inequality and subordination. Muslim women, however, in many religious contexts tend to adopt a feminist interpretation of Islam to argue how religion favors their leadership position, agency, empowerment and equality in all spheres of life (Koburtay et al, 2023).

Concluding remarks: towards gender-just leadership in academia

In this article, we explored how religion tends to shape and influence discourses surrounding women's leadership in higher education in Pakistan. Using Bakhtin's writings and a feminist perspective in Islam, we illustrate how religious monoglossia and heteroglossia manifest themselves in such discourses. Religion plays a significant role in the facilitation or hinderance of women's leadership in religious societies. Our findings suggest that religion in Pakistani

society is a complex phenomenon. On the one hand, it serves as a (centripetal) monoglossic force influenced by the dominant discourses of hijab, male-centric religious monoglossia, and male-centric imagery of religious personalities, including prophets, saints, clerics, imams etc. On the other hand, religion exhibits heteroglossic fluidity in which several competing voices are expressed as a result of different interpretations, sectarian ideological differences, gender-based religious (masculinist/feminist) epistemologies, and how religion intersects with a particular geo-cultural context, as in Pakistan, where religion is interwoven into national discourses. Thus, the findings demonstrate how monoglossic and heteroglossic characterizations within religion affect women's leadership discourse in higher education, with contrasting views that (dis)favor women's leadership roles. However, as the participants demonstrated, several women in Pakistani society use feminist interpretations of Islam in order to retain an equal footing in academic institutions.

As a result of the overall findings, however, it appears that religion, as often interpreted by male clerics, tends to control the discursive and ideological life of women in Pakistan, which has an impact on their educational choices, including leadership positions. Religion is, however, just one factor discussed in this study in addition to several other factors, such as patriarchal culture, socio-economic interventions, organizational culture to name a few that also need attention. Considering the findings of the study and the socio-educational milieu in the country, we recommend that women's leadership roles in higher education could be enhanced through policy initiatives that ensure women's participation in academic leadership ladder, as well as by subverting patriarchal cultures, which are often interwoven into religion and used to constrain women's identities and positionalities. As an example, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) and universities can invest in female (teaching) staff and students to obtain higher qualifications, e.g., Masters and PhDs both locally and overseas to bridge the wider gap between male and female PhD holders in which only 7.4 % are females compared to 23% staff holding PhDs (see Higher Education Commission, 2023). They can also be encouraged to participate in local and global leadership training programs. In addition, women academics can be taken on board in various regulating bodies of the universities that govern the curriculum, pedagogy and policy matters related to academic and administrative matters of all stakeholders in the universities. We also believe that *Educational Leadership Courses* that promote gender inclusiveness and equity can also be introduced at the university level to prepare future leaders – both males and females – while engaging with contemporary leadership models that value diversity, respectability and equality for all genders. These initiatives can increase the opportunities for women academics and (female) students to compete for leadership positions in universities. To this end, improving the recruitment practices is vital to such transformation to overcome religious, cultural and/or ideological biases that affect the possibility for gender-just academia in terms of leadership roles in Pakistan.

Moreover, it is also imperative to critically deconstruct religious masculinist epistemologies in Pakistani educational dynamics that emphasize women's roles primarily as housewives, caregivers, and mothers. Having such roles limits the participation of women in broader socio-educational and political contexts. Rethinking official discourses on gender and religion that tend toward male-centric monoglossia can be one method of achieving inclusion for women's roles as leaders in academia. For this purpose, the university spaces can serve as intellectual sites for dialogue and further research to counter the monoglossic voice characterized by a male-centric religious stance that disempowers and excludes women from leadership positions and stereotypes them as lacking capabilities. To create spaces for women leaders, university professors can engage critically with gender-related discourses and identities in classes and

other university spaces to confront religious monoglossic biases and cultural discourses of patriarchy. Additionally, they can arrange gender leadership workshops, symposiums and conferences at the universities besides raising issues of gender inequality, challenges faced by women academic leaders and possibilities for an equitable academia in terms of leadership roles at various national platforms. As such, both top-down and bottom-up measures are needed for discursive reconfiguration of women to help them achieve equitable leadership roles in Pakistani higher education.

References

Abalkhail JM (2017) Women and leadership: challenges and opportunities in Saudi higher education. *Career Development International* 22(2): 166-183.

Abu-Lughod L (2013). *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ali R, Rasheed A (2021) Women leaders in Pakistani academia: Challenges and opportunities. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 27(2): 208-231.

Almaki SH, Silong AD, Idris K & Wahat NWA (2016) Challenges Faced Muslim Women Leaders in Higher Education. *Journal of Educational and Social Research* 6(3): 75-86.

Alotaibi FT (2020) Saudi women and leadership: Empowering women as leaders in higher education institutions. *Open Journal of Leadership* 9(3): 156-177.

Alwahaibi ANH (2017) *Women educational leaders in tertiary education in Oman: Enablers, challenges and coping strategies*. PhD Thesis, University of Leicester.

Ayubi Z (2019) *Gendered Morality: Classical Islamic Ethics of the Self, Family, and Society.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Bakhtin MM (1981) *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays.* University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin MM (1984) *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*. University of Minnesota Press

Bakhtin MM (1986) *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (V. W. McGee, Trans.). University of Texas Press.

Barazangi NH (2016) Why Muslim Women are Re-interpreting the Quran and Hadith: A Transformative Scholarship-Activism. In: Fellinger M, Schiltz E and Stabile J. (eds) *Feminism, Law, and Religion*, Routledge. 257–280.

Barlas A (2019) *Believing Women in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Qur'an. Austin*: University of Texas Press.

Beauvoir SD (2011) *The Second Sex.* (C. Borde and S. Malovany-Chevallier, Trans.). Vintage Books. (Original work published 1949).

Bernard HR (1988) *Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Sage.

Bikmoradi A, Brommels M, Shoghli, A, Khorasani-Zavareh D & Masiello I (2010) Identifying challenges for academic leadership in medical universities in Iran. *Medical Education*, *44*(5), 459-467.

Bryman A & Bell E (2007) *Business Research Methods* (2nd Ed). Oxford University Press.

Bryman A (2012) *Social Research Methods* (4th Edition). Oxford University Press.

Byrne D, & Étoile ZI (2019) Why 'Southern Feminisms'? *Agenda (Durban, South Africa)* 33 (3): 2–7.

CEIC (2021) Pakistan Education Statistics: Number of Teachers. Available at www.ceicdata.com/en/pakistan/education-statistics-number-of-teachers (accessed on 5 March 2024)

Cohen L, Manion L & Morrison K (2007) *Research Methods in Education* (6th Ed). Routledge.

Clark K & Holquist M (1984) The influence of Kant in the early work of M.M. Bakhtin. In: Strelka JP (eds) *Literary Theory and Criticism*. Peter Lang. pp. 299–313.

Creswell JW (2009) *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications, Inc.

Davis DR & Maldonado C (2015) Shattering the Glass Ceiling: The Leadership Development of African American Women in Higher Education. *Advancing Women in Leadership, 35:* 50-66.

Dunne M, Durrani N, Kathleen F & Crossouard B (2020) Pluralising Islam: Doing Muslim Identities Differently. *Social Identities* 26 (3): 345–360.

Evans L (2018) *Professors as academic leaders: Expectations, enacted professionalism and evolving roles.* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Faiz R, Bano S & Asif A (2017) Walls all around: developments in the gender and leadership in Pakistan. *Gomal University Journal of Research,* 32(1): 116-125.

Francis B (2010) Gender, toys and learning. *Oxford Review of Education*, 36(3): 325–344.

Francis B (2012) Gender monoglossia, gender heteroglossia: the potential of Bakhtin's work for re-conceptualizing gender. *Journal of Gender Studies,* 21(1): 1-15.

Gandhi M & Sen K (2021) Missing women in Indian university leadership: Barriers and facilitators. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership* 49(2): 352–369.

Global Gender Gap Report (2022) World Economic Forum. Available at: http://reports.weforum.org/globalgender-gap-report-2022 (accessed on 10 March 2024).

Haq M (2022) The War on Muslim Women's Bodies: A Critique of Western Feminism. Available at: https://www.law.georgetown.edu/immigration-law-journal/blog/the-war-on-muslim-womens-bodies-acritique-of-western-feminism/ (accessed on 4 March 2024)

Hassan R (1991) Muslim Women and Post-Patriarchal Islam. In: Cooey R, William R, & McDaniel JB (eds) *After Patriarchy: Feminist Transformations of the World Religions.* Orbis Books, 39–69.

Hassan R (2001) Challenging the Stereotypes of Fundamentalism: An Islamic Feminist Perspective. *The Muslim World* 91 (1-2): 55–70.

Higher Education Commission [HEC] (2023). Higher Education Statistical Information for Year 2017-18. Available at: https://www.hec.gov.pk/english/services/students/PCD/Pages/HES-Information.aspx (accessed on 2 February 2024).

Hussein N (2018) *Rethinking New Womanhood: Practices of Gender, Class, Culture and Religion in South Asia*. Springer.

Isaac CA, Behar-Hornestein LS & Koro-Ljungberg M (2009) Women deans: leadership becoming, *International Journal of Leadership in Education* 12(2): 135-153.

Isran S & Isran MA (2012) Patriarchy and Women in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business* 4(6): 835-859.

Jackson S & Harris S (2007) African American female college and university Presidents: Experiences and Perceptions of Barriers to the Presidency. *Journal of Women in Educational Leadership,* 5(2): 118-137.

Jahan S (2022) Challenges to female college principals and vice principals: Patriarchal gender beliefs in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership* 52(4): 798-814.

Kazmi SW (2005) Role of Education in Globalization: A Case for Pakistan. *SAARC Journal of Human Resource Development 1*(1): 90-107.

Khatwani MK (2016) *Professional Women's Perceptions & Experiences of Respectability, Social Status, and Autonomy: A Case Study of Women Employed at the University of Sindh Jamshoro, Sindh Pakistan:* PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, UK.

Koburtay T, Abuhussein T & Sidani YM (2023) Women Leadership, Culture, and Islam: Female Voices from Jordan. *Journal of Business Ethics* 183(2), 347-363.

Leathwood L (2017) Women Academic Researchers: Still Interlopers in the UK Academy? In: H. Eggins (eds) *The changing role of women in higher education*. Springer, pp. 227–242.

Lodge D (1990) Conrad's Victory and The Tempest: An Amplification. *The Modern Language Review, 59:* 195-199.

McNae R & Vali K (2015) Diverse experiences of women leading in higher education: locating networks and agency for leadership within a university context in Papua New Guinea. *Gender and Education, 27*(3): 288-303.

Mahmood S (2012). *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. 2nd ed). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Morley L & Crossouard B (2016) Gender in the neoliberalised global academy: The affective economy of women and leadership in South Asia. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 37: 149–68.

Morris P (1994) *The Bakhtin Reader*. Arnold.

Mulaya TW & Sakhiyya Z (2021) Leadership is a sacred matter': women leaders contesting and contextualising neoliberal meritocracy in the Indonesian academia. *Gender and Education* 33(7): 930-945.

Mumtaz Z, Salway S, Waseem M & Umer N (2003) Gender-based barriers to primary health care provision in Pakistan: the experience of female providers. *Health policy and planning*, 18(3): 261-269.

Nesari JA (2015) Dialogism versus Monologism: A Bakhtinian Approach to Teaching. *Procedia- Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 205, 642–647.

Nguyen TLH (2013) Barriers to and facilitators of female Deans' career advancement in higher education: an exploratory study in Vietnam. *Higher Education,* 66(1): 123–138.

Özkanlı O & White K (2009) Gender and leadership in Turkish and Australian Universities. *Equal Opportunities International* 28(4): 324–335.

Shah S (2010) Re-thinking educational leadership: exploring the impact of cultural and belief systems, *International Journal of Leadership in Education: Theory and Practice 13*(1): 27-44.

Shah P, & Khurshid A (2018) Muslim Womanhood, Education, and Empowerment: Ethnographic Reflections from Pakistan and India. *Gender and Education* 31 (4): 458–474.

Shah S (2019) Gender Equality and Situated Constructions: Perspectives of Women Educational Leaders in a Muslim Society. *Educational Studies, 56*(1): 37-53.

Shirazi F (2001) *The Veil Unveiled: The Hijab in Modern Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Syed GK & Agha N (2019) Representation of gender in the secondary school Sindhi textbooks of Pakistan: An analysis of patriarchal and citizenship perspectives. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 47(4-5): 566-580.

Thakur S & Kumar S (2019) Sexual harassment in academic spaces: a comparative analysis of legal processes in India and Pakistan. *Jindal Global Law Review*, 10: 173-196.

Wadud A (1999) *Quran and Women*. New York: Oxford University Press

Waheeda A & Nishan F (2018) Challenges of Women Leaders in Higher Education Institutions in The Republic of Maldives. *International Journal of Education, Psychology and Counselling* 3(12), 8-22.

Wadud A (1999) *Quran and Women*. New York: Oxford University Press.

White K (2003) Women and leadership in higher education in Australia. *Tertiary Education 1 and Management:* 9(1): 45–60.

Zakar R, Zakar MZ & Kraemer A (2013) Men's beliefs and attitudes toward intimate partner violence against women in Pakistan. *Violence against women* 19(2): 246-268.

Zhao J & Jones K (2017) Women and Leadership in Higher Education in China: Discourse and the Discursive Construction of Identity. *Administrative Sciences,* 7(3): 21