

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

**Educational Management:
An Exploratory Study of Management Roles and
Possibilities of Management Development at College Level,
in
AJK, Pakistan.**

by

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Map of AJK

Title:

Educational Management : An Exploratory Study of Management Roles, and Possibilities of Management Development at College Level in the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), Pakistan.

Abstract

This study explores college management in the context of a Muslim, post-colonial, LDC (low developing country) situation. The thesis focuses on institutional heads, both male and female, to investigate their roles, practices and the possibilities of management development. It examines the interplay of the discourses of religion, education, management, leadership, and gender, as expressed through the participants experiences. Moreover, professional, socio-economic, political, and ideological forces are critically examined as contributive to shaping the discourses and subjectivities, and being shaped in the process.

The qualitative study is conducted from a poststructuralist theoretical perspective, but is underpinned by Islamic philosophical thought. This encourages an exploration of the related discourses, their fluid boundaries and an inherent power-play, and points to the movements from margins to centres and vice versa. It allows for a critical exploration of the ‘political technologies’ aiming at decentring or accessing the ‘centre’, with particular reference to education, gender and Islam.

The thesis begins by providing a background to the research and positions the researcher. Relevant international literature is reviewed as a backdrop for later discussions, to highlight differences and commonalties. The broad framework of the research is detailed next to explain theoretical and methodological choices, followed by a discussion of the research design and its emergent multifaceted nature.

Research findings, collected mainly through two diverse methods, postal surveys and in-depth interviewing, are presented and analysed separately in response to the theoretical inclines. The analysis unveils the practices involved in construction, validation and dissemination of ‘discourses’ and ‘regimes of truth’. The concluding discussion unmask the patriarchal power-play exploiting various modes of ordering practices and relationships on a specific educational site, and how these aim at depowering and/or empowerment through institutionalised boundaries. The study also highlights areas of management development for the college heads, and argues for context-specific programs for improved effectiveness.

To
my children,
for their love, support, and threats!

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Glossary

<i>Allah :</i>	God
<i>Ajmi :</i>	dumb
<i>Akramakum :</i>	honoured among you
<i>Atqakum :</i>	righteous among you
<i>Ayah :</i>	a verse from the Quran
<i>Bahir :</i>	outside
<i>Bahhn-dina :</i>	to give arm
<i>Baa-izzat :</i>	honoured one
<i>Baradari :</i>	clan/extended family/ kinship net-work
<i>Bazurgi :</i>	seniority in knowledge/age/status etc.
<i>Bechara/bechari :</i>	helpless
<i>Beth :</i>	sit
<i>Bethak :</i>	sitting-room or any place in the house to sit together
<i>Chadar :</i>	veil or a wide sheet of cloth often used to the upper part of body
<i>Chardiwari :</i>	four walls
<i>Chaat :</i>	a type of mixed salad with strong spices
<i>Dalaan :</i>	yard
<i>Eid :</i>	a religious festival
<i>Faraz :</i>	incumbent
<i>Fiqa :</i>	school of Islamic Law
<i>Fitna :</i>	cause of discord
<i>Gumrahi :</i>	straying from the right path
<i>Halal :</i>	permitted by Islam
<i>Haram :</i>	prohibited in Islam
<i>Harem/harim :</i>	women of the family, space reserved for women in the house
<i>Haveili :</i>	a large traditional house which originally accommodated extended families
<i>Hujra :</i>	a type of sitting room and a strictly male area
<i>Ijma :</i>	consensus
<i>Ijtihad :</i>	innovative judgement
<i>Ilm :</i>	knowledge
<i>Imaan :</i>	faith
<i>Insaan :</i>	human being
<i>Islamiat :</i>	Islamic Studies
<i>Isnad :</i>	a document, a proof of authenticity
<i>jaloos :</i>	public demonstration
<i>Jihad :</i>	struggle
<i>Khutba :</i>	sermon
<i>Madina-tul-ilm :</i>	‘City of Knowledge’, a title of the Prophet Mohammed
<i>Madrasa/Madrasah :</i>	places of learning/ school
<i>Mahr :</i>	marriage money
<i>Maktab :</i>	school
<i>Mardana :</i>	male space/ for men
<i>Masjid-e-Nabvi :</i>	the Prophet’s Mosque - refers to one mosque in Madina
<i>Mehrim :</i>	those members of the family with whom marriage cannot be contracted according to Shari’ah, and the present husband.

<i>molvies :</i>	mosque imams
<i>Moullam :</i>	teacher
<i>Nafs/nafas :</i>	self, soul
<i>Nafas-e-wahida :</i>	single soul
<i>Nisa :</i>	women
<i>Pakora :</i>	a hot spicy snack
<i>Parchi :</i>	piece of paper
<i>Purdah :</i>	veiling
<i>Qutb :</i>	saint
<i>Rahim :</i>	compassionate
<i>Rahm :</i>	womb
<i>Rajal :</i>	men
<i>Roub :</i>	awe
<i>Rupee :</i>	Pakistani currency
<i>sahib :</i>	a status marker with specific colonial associations
<i>salam :</i>	Islamic greetings
<i>salami :</i>	offering
<i>Sanaf-e-nazik :</i>	delicate sex
<i>Shaheed :</i>	martyr
<i>Shari'ah :</i>	Islamic Law
<i>Shura :</i>	consultation
<i>Sijda :</i>	prostrating in prayer
<i>Sunnah :</i>	the Prophet's way - the words and/or acts of the Prophet
<i>Sura :</i>	section in the Quran
<i>Suttee :</i>	a wife burning alive with the dead husband at his death rituals
<i>Taqwa :</i>	the right path
<i>Tehka :</i>	glamour and power
<i>Umm :</i>	mother
<i>Ummah :</i>	Muslim community
<i>Urdu :</i>	national language of Pakistan
<i>Ustad :</i>	teacher
<i>Zanana :</i>	for women

Coding Scheme for Respondents/Participants

Research Method	Number	Codes
Pilot Questionnaire		
Respondent College Head (male and female)	5	P1-5
Postal Questionnaire A		
Respondent College Head (male)	18	M1-18
Respondent College Head (female)	10	F1-10
Postal Questionnaire B		
Respondent Senior Manager (male and female)	6	SM1-6
Interviews		
Participant College head (male)	14	PM1-14
Participant College head (female)	10	PF 1-10
Participant Senior manager (male and female)	6+1	PSM 1-7

Chapter One: Background

Introduction

This study was designed to explore the management roles and the possibilities of management development at college level in the geographical region of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), Pakistan. As a member of the group of college heads my research focused upon, I hoped to enhance our understanding of the related issues, and expected this added insight to contribute towards our handling of the issues - a practitioner's approach. The initial research aims were:

- to understand and explain the management roles of college heads, men and women, in a Muslim, sex-segregated, LDC (low developing country), post-colonial context;
- to analyse management practices and the associated issues, and their mutual interaction in shaping each other in this particular case; and
- to explore the possibilities of management development as perceived by these heads in this specific context.

The primary questions were formulated at the interstices of my subjectivity as a Muslim, Pakistani, and woman in Educational Management, with reference to the roles and practices of college heads in Pakistan, and with a specific focus on AJK. They evolved and developed over time as the research progressed.

The immediate factor that motivated the research was my experience as a college head since August 1992; prior to that I had been a college teacher in AJK, Pakistan. My keen desire to research institutional management after three years' experience in the job could be described aptly in Greenfield's words as:

"a kind of philosophic withdrawal to look at the larger issues in fresh perspectives. Perhaps they will return and administer as they were doing it before, but with an added insight" (Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993: 257).

There was no prior research in the area, and as such this was a highly original research project. No research related in any way to college management had ever been carried out in the state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), and according to my knowledge, none in Pakistan as well. I felt a need to study this area with the intention to understand and explore the present situation, and the future possibilities. The initial research questions were therefore, grounded in a personal, and wider professional experience and concern.

I set on my research journey with the questions, in the Islamic tradition of traveling/learning, and developed a sense of direction and bearing as the journey progressed. On the way the questions unfolded themselves and the associated implications enhanced my understanding of the situation and brought new dimensions to the questions. The Islamic discourse of travel¹ implies a search for 'knowledge'. It is a recommended mode for 'learning' and 'knowing', with its roots in the *Quran* (the sacred book of Muslims), the *Hadith* (the sayings of the prophet Mohammed), and the lives of the saints and Muslim scholars. The Quran invites to 'travel', and 'see', and 'think' (6:50; 12:105; 12:3; 29.20), as a part of the development of the self. Its ideological origins are different from a 'Western discourse of tourism which has roots in the Grand Tour' (Haw: 1998), trade and imperialism.

In the Eastern legends, journey has a connotation with learning. The famous legend of Hatim Tai is constructed round seven journeys, each taken to unveil the mysteries of a question. Interestingly, the answers that Hatim Tai gathered were often an exposition and analysis of the situation rather than a solution in the traditional sense. They added to understanding of the phenomenon but always raised more questions inviting further explorations. They did not mark the end of the journey but just one step further on to it. In this tradition, I did not expect to find 'answers' to my research questions, as finding an ultimate answer implies end of the quest. I hoped for a

¹ More than seven hundred *ayahs* in the Quran invite the believers to travel, to see, and to think. One interesting example is the prophet Musa's request to travel with Khazar: 'May I follow you so that you teach me something' (the Quran:18:66), and how he 'learns' through travelling (Ibid:18: 66-83). 'Travelling' has been a dominating discourse in Muslim societies (Shah:1998), although its interpretations and applications vary across time and cultures. For information regarding certain interpretations of Islamic notion of travelling see also Eickelman and Piscatori:1990.

continuous process aiming at ‘becoming’, rather than stopping at ‘being’. The point where I seem to stop merely marks the presentation of a PhD thesis, but the quest continues.

The focus of the research was to explore roles and practices of institutional heads in a Muslim, single-sex, college context. At one level the thesis can be read as an in-depth study of how these roles and practices were shaped and exercised in a unique and un-researched context. At another level, it can be viewed as a policy study, analysing practices, and the possibilities to improve them with an awareness of the Quranic mandate and the constraints of a Muslim society. At yet another level it attempts an analysis of micro-politics of power with regard to women and men college heads who were in positions of authority (as principals), and had the traditional authority (as teachers within Islamic tradition), and were also part of a community with specific notions of relationships and power, and how this multiplicity of positioning affected college management. To explore these interacting levels, I needed a sensitive and flexible research framework which could accommodate the shifts of lens, and capture what was happening in all complexity. The moves between an Islamic perspective and a post-structural frame reflect these efforts.

Furthermore, who the researcher was had implications for the research besides where it was being done and how. I make all these concerns explicit as the journey proceeds. The next section signposts the journey while the remaining part of this chapter jointly with chapter two sets the scene with reference to the micro and macro contexts, to explain the situation in which theoretical choices were exercised in consideration of the hinted and other emergent issues.

Signposting the Journey

For the ease of reading, the thesis is divided into four parts which mark major stages of this research journey:

- Part one Situating the Research.
- Part two Theoretical Framework
- Part three Research Findings
- Part four Discussion

These divisions are more for the ease of reading. They are by no means fixed boundaries containing topic information. There are overlaps and interplay as the parts interact to shape the whole. Each reader could construct her/his 'whole' at the intersections of self and knowledge. The linking thread develops from the primary research questions. Each chapter engages with these questions from different positions. As the thesis develops the entangled strands and the intersections are traced jointly with the research participants.

Part one is divided into two chapters. Chapter one introduces the researcher and establishes the research context at a macro level, exploring various interactional forces and factors, temporally and spatially, and their contributions towards shaping the philosophy and system of education in Pakistan. It provides an overview of the historical, religious and political development of the education system in the present day Pakistan.

The purpose of this chapter was to familiarise the reader with the country and the context the questions would lead into. It is a journey from Islamic to British colonial to the post-colonial Pakistani education system which may not be very different in structure from its colonial heritage. At the more specific level, local and global economic changes, socio-political elements, gender dimensions in a sex-segregated society and the resulting implications for college management are explored. Specific circumstances for women in college management in Pakistan are also examined as this has a significance in the context of single-sex education. It is a phenomenon in keeping with the tradition of preference for sex-segregation in Muslim societies in general and related to the regional socio-cultural patterns in particular. It required a discussion of the notion of family and the public/private divide to debate the gender-related issues. At the intersection of these diverse elements, educational management becomes a complex and demanding activity, requiring informed management practices.

Chapter two provides a more general overview of the field drawing from international literature and concepts. It engages in the discussion of the nature of educational

organisations, management tasks, the notions of educational leadership in general and also with specific reference to the Islamic philosophy of education, and the gender issues related to educational management.

Different concepts of educational organisations are examined to explore the nature of colleges as organisations. The literature is availed to review and critique the tasks of the institutional heads. In so doing, I interrogate the theory of leadership in educational management arguing for a redefinition of leadership concepts and management styles. I also explore the Islamic philosophy of education in relation to educational leadership, and elaborate the position of women from an Islamic point of view. Additionally, I discuss the roles and issues particular to women in educational management from a more general, and international perspective.

The literature review is further utilised to analyse the needs for management development/training programmes for educational heads in view of their increasingly complex and demanding jobs. I discuss management of change in view of economic constraints and market orientation, and its influences upon college management and management development. This process might be at different stages in different countries, depending on the economic conditions and industrialisation orientations, but the snowball process is gaining speed and size, demanding strategic management of financial and physical resources.

The literature review further facilitated the development of a research methodology and a theoretical framework in relation to the context where the issues emerging from empirical study were to be analysed. **Part two** develops the framework introduced in chapter one. The use of a qualitative approach for my investigations, informed by a post-structural epistemology is examined. I argue for its appropriateness to investigate a previously unexplored context. This approach puts value to contextual knowledges and lived experiences, recognising diversity, plurality, and fragmentation.

The ontological and epistemological frameworks of the research are explained through a discussion of post-structuralism underpinned by Islamic philosophy, in chapter three. I discuss Foucauldian notions of power/knowledge and discourse, and

explore the formulations of power discourses and their implications for education in a Muslim society with references to the Quran and the Hadith. The use of Western constructs for investigating a non-Western Muslim context has implications and complications but a broadly post-structural approach was perceived as creating spaces for a variety of experiences in different contexts leading to the constitution of discourses in time and space.

The group of managers my research focuses upon is introduced in educational, geo-political and socio-historical contexts, possessing all the diversities of class, gender, age, caste, sect etc. My work experience as a college teacher, and later as a college head is stated to explain my motivation for seeking to conduct this inquiry. I position myself explicitly in terms of my professional background, gender, religion and nationality and examine the possibilities and constraints on data collection and interpretation imposed by my positioning.

Chapter four focuses on the research pragmatics and considers the practicalities and limitations in this particular case. There were very real and practical constraints of time, travel, postal delays, finances, family, job, and many more, which influenced the research design, and subsequently determined the method choices. Further, my senior post and socio-political background raises certain ethical questions which are dealt with carefully to mitigate threats to the validity and reliability of the data.

I analyse the problems of access and a careful use of influence with the gate-keepers and participants to ensure responses to the questionnaires and interview participation. The important questions of anonymity and confidentiality for the people working in sensitive and politically open-to- exploitation positions are discussed in detail as well. I explain the selection of the interviewees and the contextual constraints under which it was made. The central concern was to make the process explicit and to unveil personal, social and political dimensions of the research. These early chapters explored the relevance of a post-structuralist framework for this particular piece of research and provided a theoretical framework to explore and analyse the data.

Another important issue was the bilingual situation. I clarify reasons for using the two languages and examine constraints and advantages of bilingualism/translations for this study, particularly in a talking culture context.

Part three is concerned with the presentation of research findings, but as I explained at the beginning of the introduction, it is not solely research findings. In qualitative research, data collection and analysis are simultaneous, interacting, reciprocal processes, guiding, shaping and developing each other in their interplay. It is hard to distinguish the boundaries between the two. It is like diving deeper and deeper with enhanced vision and understanding. It also points to interesting differences and commonalities across data collected through varied methods, adding to the dimensions of triangulation.

Chapter five analyses the postal responses in a rather traditional way, focusing on identifying the themes and recognising the patterns. It presents a panoramic view of the research situation and provides a backdrop for more focused investigations. The ‘written words’ of the respondents jointly set the scene for further explorations detailed in the second part titled as field experiences which elaborates how methods and methodology evolve and adapt in diverse socio-political situations. Chapter six brings forth the voices of the research participants through the mediums of interviews and translations in a ‘talking culture’ context. This is, of course, influenced by my positioning in the research and my subjectivity as a member of the group of managers my research focuses upon.

A post-structuralist approach makes certain room for the participants to construct their realities. A Foucauldian analysis proves useful here as it unveils and highlights how power is exercised through discourses and how it is used for social control. It illuminates the construction of power at the intersections of discourses where reverse-discourses are produced and resistance becomes possible. This chapter provides answers to the research questions, scattered all through the responses and can be constructed and understood from different positions. These responses from the participants are further indicative of hidden agendas and implicit discourses that

shape management roles and practices of institutional heads in this context, conveying also their understandings of management development needs.

Part four consists of two chapters which jointly offer a deeper analysis in interplay with my personal background in Islam and Islamic philosophy, and my professional and political concerns over issues of gender, education and college management. Chapter seven investigates the power-play inherent in a situation where institutional heads are divested of positional powers but are invested with the responsibilities of management. Moreover, it highlights the patriarchal practices leading to oppression and depowering, with particular reference to gender and family in a Muslim society. The alternate empowerment strategies, implicit and explicit, adopted by the women and men college heads produce a reverse-discourse creating spaces for exercise of resistance.

Chapter eight weaves the ‘fractured data’ back together through revisiting the primary research questions and discussing the emerging answers. It explores different conceptualisations of male and female colleges and the demarcation of boundaries as the public/domestic. This has implications for management roles and practices with reference to the college heads and gender. Here, single-sex colleges emerge as ‘institutionalised boundaries’ (Mernissi:1985:137) and highlight the technologies of power wielded for exercise of ‘control’ and also point to the spaces where resistance becomes possible. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of this study for college management.

As the introduction indicates, the thesis gains unusual length in attending to all the areas mentioned above. However, care has been taken in including the material highly pertinent for understanding and analysis of research situation, for diverse readership.

The remaining chapter is divided into four sections. Section one introduces and situates the researcher. Section two details the research locale, touching upon concerning religious, historical, political, economic and educational aspects. The focus in section three narrows on the specific geographical region of AJK in Pakistan, where the research was carried. It brings out some major features of college

management, with a focus on sex-segregation. The last section explores the wider social structure as a frame of reference for organisational behaviour and management, and its implications for the shaping of roles and practices of the college heads, both female and male.

Here I contextualise the primary research questions set out earlier in the Introduction. The intention is to situate the research and indicate its directions. I begin with a belief that questions emerge in context and an understanding of the context is obligatory to any search for the answers. Truths and realities are situated, constructed through historical specifications, and existing notions and practices. The purpose is to examine the specifications and to explore relevant notions and practices. Here I briefly introduce the socio-political, historical, religious, economic and educational contexts, in which this work is vastly placed, both as a background to the study and as a context to interpret the findings.

1. Situating the Research

The study seeks to examine the management roles and practices of the college heads in a specific region. With reference to the research I was doubly positioned: a researcher and a member of the group of professionals I was researching with. I had worked with them in higher education for about two decades, first as a college teacher and later as a college head. This had implications for me - the researcher, as discussed later in chapter three, but it also had significance for the responses that I received and the data collected (Hall:1996). I will mention the limitations and advantages of this relationship at different relevant points in this thesis. But first I will make my own positioning clear as regards this study.

1.1. The Researcher

While I was working as a college teacher, I occasionally worked as acting principal for short periods, from a few days to a couple of months, and that was my earlier contact with institutional management. However, after being posted as a college head in 1992, I realised the full impact of multiple demands and responsibilities on an institutional manager. I felt as if I had stepped onto an alien planet about which I knew nothing. Informal tentative explorations into the experiences of friends and

colleagues brought an increased awareness of the problems and difficulties experienced by them in diverse ways. Personal investigations into the training and development provisions for the new-to-the-job principals were disappointing. The media and department reports regarding management conditions in the colleges were discouraging and disillusioning. I might have left the job if the action had not involved a loss of social and professional prestige. I put in all my efforts, time, relevant knowledge and socio-professional contacts to be recognised as a successful administrator, but all the time I was determined to make my contribution towards investigating the situation at the first possibility. That was the point when I decided to research college management. My lived experience as a college head gradually shaped the primary research questions, and by the time I could take myself off from the job, I had gained an insider's experience and knowledge to re-work and develop the questions.

In developing research focus and primary questions, I draw on my experience and knowledge and, indirectly, of the college heads I had worked with. As research progressed, informed by an in-depth literature review in the pertinent areas, other questions evolved. These questions related research focus with empirical data and theoretical concerns. They enfolded further queries and guided the research which this thesis reconstructs.

The secondary questions which the study sets to examine are:

- What are the perceived roles of the college heads and how these perceptions influence their practices?
- What are major forces contributive to role-constructions and management-practices?
- How these perceptions and constructions interact with college management?
- What are the major issues in college management and what are the corresponding strategies?
- How and what management development/training needs are shaped situationally?

These questions and the attempts to understand and answer them reflect my personal background in Islamic ideology, my professional concerns and my subjective political concerns over issues of gender and education in an Islamic context. Additionally they are considered in the context of a Muslim society, with particular attention to single-sex institutions. As a college head in AJK Pakistan, I formed part of a group who were:

- Muslim
- Pakistani
- Women
- Managers of single-sex colleges.

An issue which needed to be addressed at this early stage was why I explicitly set out to do research with both women and men college heads? What justification did I have for conducting research with men?, more so as I was from a Muslim, predominantly segregated society and with experience of working in women's colleges only. There are two sides to the question: theoretical and pragmatic. The pragmatics of researching with men are discussed in chapter four and five, but it is relevant here to address its theoretical implications.

The issue of the researcher's gender acquires significant dimensions in qualitative research, particularly in feminist research. Some of the arguments concern male/female power relations (Finch:1984; Lather:1991; Mies:1986; 1988; Oakley:1981; Stanley and Wise:1990) and patterns of interactions across the gender divide (Tannen:1987; 1992; 1993), and explore their implications for production of knowledges. However, there are other elements to it. For example, black feminists like bell hooks emphasise hierarchical power relations across black/white dichotomy (hooks:1984), and academics like Edward Said originating from one-time-colonies, admit of a colonial/imperial divide (Said:1978) as having historical, political and philosophical signification for research. To consider gender as the single determinant of power relations is to ignore myriad other variables such as economic class, 'knowledge' status, social status, 'family', age etc. which have a bearing in the social

context of this study. My decision to include men college heads as research participants proceeded from this caveat.

I agree that in male-dominated societies gender generally emerges as a significant element in research but it is by no means the only force or always the decisive force in determining power relations. I would rather argue that it is at the intersections of constructed subjectivities of the researcher and the participants that the power relations are determined. This caveat creates spaces for the depowered and marginalised to move beyond the fixed boundaries and engage in power constructions. It suggests we look for complex interplay operative in dialogue, relationships and practices.

Secondly, the ideological complementarity of gender roles in Islam encourages a 'seeing eye' rather than a 'blind eye'. If 'men's studies' tend to ignore women's experiences, that is no rationale for 'women's studies' to ignore men's experiences. Women's and men's experiences shape each other and are shaped by each other and can better illuminate power relations when explored in supplement (Delamont:1996). I chose to include women and men in my study with the belief that in the sex-segregated context of AJK Pakistan, an understanding of management roles and practices of women and men college heads required an exploration across gender as it interacted to produce concepts and practices in the segregated institutions.

Thirdly, this was the first study of its nature, and a ground-breaking effort. One of the research aims was to inform policy, and that required a broader view of the situation². Therefore, I decided to investigate college management from a regional focus which implied inclusion of all college level institutions. Accordingly, all the college heads in that region women and men, were included in the postal survey; although due to pragmatics and multiple constraints involved, only thirty-five percent of the total population, scattered in a hilly area of about eleven thousand square kilometres, were interviewed, as detailed later in chapter four. From my experiences within the system,

² Acker (1994); Delamont (1996); Hall (1996); Weiner (1994) and many others mention marginalisation occurring as a result of focusing on 'women studies'. I personally felt that by focusing only on women college managers, I will not be able, besides other things, to gain readership of policy-makers.

I understood that any suggestions for policy changes would claim more attention if the research attended to the whole sector.

There were socio-political implications involved in researching with men, different from those with women, and these have been dealt with and made explicit whenever applicable throughout the thesis, particularly in chapters five and six. At this early stage, however, another question that needs some consideration is that being a busy institutional head, why did I chose to do research rather than try to benefit from the research in the field.

1.2. Why Cross the Boundary?

I made it partially clear, earlier in this section, by explaining dearth of research in the area of focus. International literature on college management and institutional leadership, that I came across, suggested theories and opinions developed from knowledge constructed in very different situations, which is examined in chapter two. This pointed to the differences between the contexts and how it can influence policy and practices. Pakistan's post-independence history of borrowing from international research and consultation did not show any improvements in educational achievements or effectiveness at this level. The uniqueness of the educational context required an exploration of the micro and the macro contexts to develop understanding of the issues and to suggest any theories.

Further, there was the issue of research relevance. Practitioners' distrust of non-practitioners' research becomes increased when it is across social, political, economic, cultural and religious differences. Even within the same general context, a common belief among the practitioners is that academic research is often for the sake of academic research, and not for the benefit of those who are practically involved in the area. Its applicability value has been doubted, leading to a stress on 'involving' the practitioners in the research process:

"What appears to have happened in the study of educational administration in the United States and Canada is that the ideas, assumptions and convictions - the theories - academics use to describe organisations and administration now

exist in a world of their own. At least they stand in marked contrast to what many others in schools understand as their realities" (Greenfield and Ribbins : 1993: 44).

Such observations added emphasis to the practitioners' involvement in research, a domain predominantly reserved for academics and experts. The question is:

Whose domain is research?

The 'expert researcher' possessing an academic status and 'technically' equipped to do wonders with abstract concepts and theorisation ?

The 'involved practitioner', lacking the 'mystique' of the expert but claiming a range of 'lived experience' denied to the 'disadvantaged outsider' ?

In the typical spirit of dichotomies, dualities and binary oppositions surrounding many areas of research, this debate develops round a divide, each drawing definitional strength in oppositional stances. The two positions are assumed to be mutually exclusive, grudgingly allowing transitions but perhaps no transgressions, directing attention to issues of boundaries and in-betweenness. An interesting analysis by Maggie MacLure of the 'stories' told by the teachers turned academics "as restless movement in the unstable spaces in between boundaries" (1996:274), points towards this phenomenon when these teachers explicitly mention "the experience of feeling marginalised within the institution because you have stepped temporarily into a world outside" (Ibid:278). Before discussing further why I, a practitioner with a career in educational management as a permanent employee, chose to cross the boundaries I will revert to the British and international literature for exploring the views and tendencies.

I will consider two points here:

- Ontological /epistemological concerns
- Relevance to practice

Ontological /epistemological concerns

At the BEAS (British Educational Administration Society) Seminar held in March 1979, which reviewed research in Educational Administration in Britain, Professor Hughes the Seminar Chairman expressed regrets that the Seminar included "very few practitioners". His explanation of the phenomenon was that much research activity was seen by both decision makers and practising administrators as of little relevance to the policy and implementation issues which they were preoccupied with from day to day (BEAS Seminar: 1979: 277). This observation pointed to the theory/practice dichotomy, not just hinting at the doubts regarding the relevance of academic research to the contextual practicalities, but also raising ontological and epistemological issues at a much deeper level.

In the post Second World War era, multidimensional changes in the educational context shifted the focus towards the practitioners and emphasised their involvement in the research process with "the belief that those people most likely to be effected by, or involved in implementing these changes should as far as possible become involved in the research process itself" (Smith et al: 1994:74). It signifies a realisation of ontological issues, although it certainly has pragmatics in view. Explaining practitioner research in a sociological context, Fuller and Petch define it "simply as research undertaken by practitioners", without any "implication in principle that particular research approaches, strategies or methods will be used by practitioner researchers, or that a particular style of research characterises their efforts" (1995:5). Nonetheless, when working within a qualitative framework, practitioners are bound to focus from a particular positioning constituted by, and indicative of, their subjectivity.

A practitioner's "research agenda is rooted in knowledge of practice" (Fuller and Petch: 1995:10). S/he has a different focus constituted by that particular subjectivity, possessing a different kind of sensitivity. Observing a tornado with the intention of describing or conceptualising it is bound to be different from experiencing one and then analysing it, perhaps also requiring a distancing, spatial and temporal, to analyse and conceptualise it. Fuller and Petch emphasise that practitioners are pragmatically better placed in 'some' respects than an externally based researcher and can 'capitalise on advantages' such as insight and knowledge gained from day to day experience and

the clarity of thinking and analysis about problems and ways of tackling them; although they do acknowledge the potential pitfalls like familiarity and corresponding 'habit-blindness' (1995:9). Saran and Trafford also reflect a growing recognition that those "issues for research may be identified which are relevant to improving the performance of managers and administrators - - - - involved in the rough of the daily round of management, administration and policy, facing real and urgent problems" (1990:3). However, they maintain that 'researcher' and 'practitioner' are two distinct but complementary roles, and claim that a researcher, probably compared to a practitioner, can be 'objectively impartial' , and thus better positioned to do the research. Greenfield argues, and I agree, that we are all 'human, fallible, interested and biased', and that we cannot "escape these limitations to look at reality unfiltered by human perspective" (Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993: 97). Being disinterested 'onlookers' is a quality attributed God and angels, according to Francis Bacon; humans always participate from a 'position' whether it is acknowledged or not. Even an outsider researcher's 'objectivity' would be a subjectivity, a different positioning, given that for an outsider it might be negotiated with comparative freedom for the purposes of investigation.

Major theoretical objection to practitioner's research is the issue of familiarity or lack of distance, which can blunt the criticality besides leading to ethical dilemmas and issues of power-relationship. These are discussed later in chapter four and five while detailing research design and field work. Greenfield suggests a "withdrawal from the exercise of power so that the leaders can examine what they are doing" (Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993: 257), preferably after "tearing away from our existing social reality to appreciate what it is" (Ibid:239). This is the case with my study.

Relevance to Practice

One objection from practitioners against academic research is its distance from practice - the practitioner's reality, as mentioned above. Schon pointed to the phenomenon:

“In recent years there has been a growing perception that researchers, who are supposed to feed the professional schools with useful knowledge, have less and less to say that practitioners find useful” (1987:10).

In a philosophical context constructed mainly around dichotomies, it is not incongruous that the practitioners have kept themselves distanced from research and have been perhaps wary of the academics doing it, leading to a perception of research as "remote and divorced from their needs and situations" (Hitchcock and Hughes:1991:7). They perceive academic research as distanced from the realities of day-to-day practices, and probably a reflection of the 'distanced relationship' (Day:1991). Hinting towards this phenomenon, Greenfield (Greenfield and Ribbins : 1993:186) mentions pressures on a publisher from the school principals "to reduce the methodological content ... and to focus more on projects' findings and implications" (Thomas:1982:10). Lawrence Stenhouse (1975; 1984³) stressed incorporating practitioners' and researchers' knowledges to fill in the gaps caused by 'distancing' - by the exclusion of practitioners' voices from research knowledge or/and exclusion of researchers' voices from practical applications (Zeichner:1993;1995). A mutual disregard of each others values heightens the impasse. The situation is summarised by Zeichner in relation to a teaching context as:

“Currently we have a situation where many teachers feel that educational research conducted by those in the academy is largely irrelevant to their lives in the schools. Teachers for the most part do not look to educational research conducted by academics to inform and improve their practice On the other hand, many academics in colleges and universities dismiss teacher research as trivial, atheoretical, and as inconsequential to their work” (1995:153).

Another critique of academic research is the issue of access. The highly academic discourse in which research is usually presented aims at a specific audience and adds

³ Stenhouse' focus was on the teachers and in the context of action research, but his argument has relevance for management as well when he claims that "i an age of accountability, educational research will be held accountable for its relevance to practice and that relevance can only be validated by practitioners" (1984:74).

to the problems of access for the practitioners. hooks comments, although made in a different context, have relevance here:

“It is sadly ironic that the contemporary discourse which talks the most about heterogeneity, the decentred subject, declaring breakthroughs that allow recognition of Otherness, still directs its critical voice primarily to a specialised audience that shares a common language rooted in the master narratives it claims to challenge” (hooks:1991).

Academic research predominantly has remained an intellectual activity which practitioners often find hard to access. Further, practitioners work within “complex personal, cultural and situational settings, which shape and constrain how knowledge is interpreted and generated” (Hultman and Horberg:1995:3). This influences the utilisation of research knowledge by practitioners who are involved in a ‘situated activity’. Hoyle maintains that “the knowledge which informs professional practice is generated, or at least negotiated, in various contexts” and one of the contexts is the research process itself; but he also emphasises that “it would be naïve to assume that theory and research impinge directly on practice” (1986:24). This suggests a higher movement across the boundaries, particularly through practitioners becoming involved in the research. It could provide a channel to become “active philosopher, reflexive about practice and reflective about praxis” (Hodgkinson:1993:xv), informing and reforming the practice.

The term practitioner researcher has stronger associations with the teacher-researcher than the manager researcher. Practitioner researcher with reference to educational managers has drawn impetus from the work of Schon (1983), who put forward the concept of ‘thinking in action’. Schon differentiates between the thinking processes of a practitioner and an academic researcher, emphasising the dynamic and interactive relationship between thinking and action, theory and practice. Generally, practitioner research is underpinned by a desire to improve practices and/or to introduce and implement change/innovations. Everitt et al add a further dimension to it by associating the development of research awareness with ‘reclaiming professionalism’ (1992:3), and view it as enabling the practitioners to challenge political and

organisational constraints, and to increase their awareness of the wider socio-political and economic factors determining that phenomenon. In the case of practitioner, reflection on practice is woven into research which, “relies on ability to uncover one’s own personal theories and make them explicit” (Griffiths and Tann:1991).

Practitioner research is predominantly context sensitive and the subsequent theoretical conceptualisations have a relevance to the investigated phenomenon. There are pragmatics like practitioners' work-load and time demands, coupled with assumptions about their lack of 'skill for research' as well as 'lacking objectivity and distance from work' (Hitchcock and Hughes:1991:4), which serve as constraints for practitioner-led research. However, practitioner-researcher has advantages of insider’s knowledge, access to information and documents, and a socio-professional positioning, which can facilitate the research process and reconstruct power-relations. Further it can have increased relevance for professional development and policy directions because of its closeness to context and practice.

I am not implying that each practitioner should, or even can, take up research related to her practice. Neither am I associating any fixed values to any research. Each researcher has a constructed subjectivity and engages with research from a particular positioning which needs to be acknowledged and made explicit for its advantages/disadvantages. What I am suggesting is that, instead of being a linear activity - the academic researching the practitioner - research in educational management should be a mutual movement across the theory/practice boundaries to develop an enhanced understanding of the issues involved.

My personal decision to cross the boundary was for the sake of investigating practices. I had a knowledge of the research situation as a professional and social member, in general. I expected this to be useful in exploring a ‘closed’ and unresearched situation, particularly in matters of access and analysis which is explained later in chapters four, five, and eight. For this very reason, it was necessary to make explicit my own positioning and subjectivity, which is attempted at various points in this thesis, where and when necessary. The next section briefly explains the context in which this researcher and the research were located.

2. Research Context

To clarify the broader context in which the questions emerged and were later explored, an awareness of the philosophy of education in Islam, of the processes of educational development and change in the part of the world where Pakistan is situated, and of women's and men's positioning in educational management and the wider society in Pakistan is crucial. In the succeeding sections I elaborate these factors to explain where I stood socio-culturally while developing the research questions. The following is a brief mention of the Islamic philosophy of education as it has a bearing for women and men in education and educational management.

One significant clarification before proceeding any further concerns the use of word 'man' in such discussions. In Islamic religious texts this word is generally used not to imply gender but the human being (Ahmed:1992; Mernissi:1991). Where the Quran addresses gendered person/s, they are addressed often as *nisa* (women) and *rajaal* (men), otherwise it is often as 'believers' or 'people'⁴. Accordingly, in the discussion of religious texts in this thesis 'man' is used in the same context. It supports the permeating theme that Islamic teachings and philosophical notions are not gendered but concern mankind: women and men. This has a significance as it creates the space for women college heads to claim equality in difference in their efforts to position themselves. The concerned sections need to be read while bearing this point in mind.

2.1. Islam, Education, and Self

The stress on seeking and acquiring knowledge is one of the basic concepts of Islam, deemed as "compulsory on every Muslim male and female" (Karim:1938:351). Those higher in *taqwa* (the right path) are higher in status:

"O mankind, We have created you from male and female; and We have divided you into tribes and sub-tribes so that you could know each other.

⁴ Bouhadiba mentions that after the *sura Nisa* (the fourth sura of the Quran, and the title means woman), "revelation [the Quranic verses] referred to 'believers' in both genders" (Bouhadiba: 1985:19). She writes that in the early verses women were not addressed explicitly. Once a woman asked Mohammed why in the Quran God addressed to 'man' and never 'woman'. The response was *sura Nisa* addressed to women, and the practice mentioned above.

Verily the most honoured (*akramakum*) of you in the sight of God is the most righteous (*atqakum*) of you" (the Quran :49:13);

and *taqwa* is attained through knowledge and by application of that knowledge to every aspect of life. Islam does not accept any dichotomy between spirit and matter. The highest spiritual, intellectual and moral values are to be practised in this world of matter. Islam denounces priesthood and demands an exercise of mutual rights and duties from its followers as members of a community, society, and family. Religion is not a mere set of moral principals but a way of life, a code of laws, a complete system encompassing and integrating the political, social, and economic, as well as personal, moral, and spiritual aspects of life (Dabashi: 1993; Maududi:1980; Nasr:1985).

For Muslims learning and knowledge are not a matter of individual choice or priority, but in fact it is a command, a duty imposed by God and defined as the path to *taqwa* and God's favour (Al-Attas:1979; Ashraf:1995; Tibawi:1972). To gain knowledge is the highest priority for a Muslim. The prophet Mohammed called himself *Madina-tul-Ilm* (the city of knowledge), and strongly asserted that to seek knowledge is *jihad*, an effort in the way of God. Those who die during that struggle are to be granted the high status of *shaheed* (martyr) by God. Thus in Islam, learning attains the status of a religious duty, aiming at the development of man as a whole being so that he acts for the sake of God.

Because of this specific concept of knowledge in Islam and its role in the development of self, learning is *faraz* (incumbent) upon every Muslim, man and woman. Traditionally the mosque has been the first centre of learning where dissemination of knowledge took place for men and women in the beginning, by the Prophet himself. "From an educational point of view, this was the first breakthrough in mass education" (Abdullah:1982:25), and it was an expression of the basic principal of the Islamic philosophy of education for all. The focus was not only on the teachings of the Quran, the Hadith, and the *fiqa* (Islamic schools of thought), but works in other fields of knowledge were also encouraged. There had been great scholars and researchers among Muslims, not just in theology, but in medicine, chemistry, physics, astrology, mathematics, and philosophy (Talbani:1996:68).

In Islam, the aims of seeking knowledge are not subject to spatial or temporal limitations. Related to the belief of life after death, the effects of knowledge extend beyond the physical existence, including promises of rewards in this life and in the life hereafter:

“If any do deeds of righteousness, be they male or female, and have faith, they will enter paradise” (the Quran:4:124).

The here and the hereafter are linked with the development of the self through knowledge, with a clear emphasis on the indeterminacy of gender in this regard. Proceeding from this thesis, ‘self’ is the site where knowledge articulates. The Quranic view of self is dynamic with an infinite capacity for development:

“Verily We will raise you to higher and higher levels” (84:19);

And self is not a passive recipient of ‘higher levels’. In fact it is an active participant in actualising its potentialities, possessing an agency in creating and developing its subjectivity:

“The self (*nafs*) owns only that which it earns and it changes through what it assimilates, good or bad” (the Quran:74:38).

This becoming of the self is the purpose of knowledge which is a journey through space, time and the self itself, aiming at accessing the revealed knowledge through the acquired:

“We will show them (human beings) Our Signs in remote regions and in their selves, untill it becomes manifest to them that this is truth” (the Quran:41:53).

Diverse interpretations and considerations may control access to the Quranic concepts and meaning, but a space for engaging with knowledge is created for every one in Islam by making it incumbent upon every Muslim woman and man to learn and teach

the Quran. This inter-relationship between God, man and knowledge constitutes the specific status of knowledge and knowledge-givers in Islam as a basis of Islamic philosophy of education which operates beyond the gender divide. This point is dealt with in more detail chapter two.

Proceeding from this very basic mention of Islamic philosophy of education, I will briefly introduce the regional context and explain its ideological orientations concerning education. It is intended to orient the reader to contextual forces and historical specifications as formulative of philosophy and practices in educational management. AJK, the geographical focus of this research, is situated in the sub-continent and has been influenced by the religious, historical and political movements in the area which shaped the wider educational context. The following section glances at that wider context, entering the scene with the arrival of Islam in the sub-continent, through the pre-colonial and colonial periods, to the post-colonial Pakistan, before focusing on AJK - the immediate research locale, in the last section.

2.2. Education and Pre-colonial Muslim India

The Muslims entered South East Asia in AD 711. They brought with them the traditions of a highly developed system of education, "ranging from the elementary mosque school to institutions of higher learning (Miller:1968:43). It was education for all, based on the Islamic concepts of brotherhood, tolerance and justice. The Muslims introduced mass-education in the class-ridden Indian society, where education was the privilege of the *Brahmins*⁵, and only restricted learnings (three Rs) were permitted to *Kshatriyas* and *Vaisyas*, completely excluding the *Sudras* (Haq:1954; Miller:1968). In the Islamic tradition, the Muslim rulers encouraged learning for all, and patronised scholars and centres of learning by setting up large endowments for them to work independently. Because of the associations between knowledge and religion in Islam, religious scholars generally enjoyed a high status in Muslim societies and acquired a power over formations and interpretations of religious and educational discourses. They were greatly venerated by the masses for

⁵ Within the Indian caste system, Brahmins were the high caste Hindus accepted as the custodians of religion and knowledge. Kshatriyas were the fighters and soldiers and Vaisyas, the traders. Sudras were the lowest on the Hindu caste hierarchy, the 'untouchables' who had to do all those 'small' jobs shunned by other castes. For further information see Hutton:1963; Omvedt:c1993 and Searle-Chatterjee and Sharma:c1994.

their services to education and to religion in general and became vested with a power of interpretation which even the monarchs feared, and did not dare to challenge for the fear of arousing public reaction.

Whether the reasons of patronising scholars and education were ideological or had a political slant, one outcome was expansion and furtherance of education. Curle (1966) appreciates the performance of educational institutions in Muslim India, and Miller (1968) quotes Law (1916) as saying that "Indian Muslim Universities were thronged by thousands of students, and a professor often had hundreds of hearers" (Miller:1968). In spite of deterioration caused by political upheavals and economic problems, by the time the British acquired complete control of India in the second half of nineteenth century, "the Muslim system of education was still supreme to any other system of education then existing in India" (Hunter:1971 quoted in Miller:1968; also Haq:1954; Curle:1966). The colonisation of the sub-continent later in the mid-eighteenth century, changed the aims and the corresponding structure of education. Talbani points to this change :

"During the British Raj, the concept of education fundamentally changed as secular education became a necessary qualification for jobs" (1996:73).

Educational systems are often manipulated by those in power to serve their interests, and the structure of education in the sub-continent was shaped to serve the political purposes of the colonial rulers. The end of Muslim rule in India and its colonisation adversely affected education and its management. The aim was no longer education for all and the policies reflected that⁶. For example, during the rule of Feroz Tughlaq, in early 15th century, the state grant for education reached Rupees 3600,000 a year, while four centuries later East India company spent only Rupees 1000,000 on education⁷. The colonial rulers had different priorities and education was not high on their agenda. The next section briefly discusses education during the colonial period.

⁶ See Ahmed:1992:121-4 and Talbani:1996 for details.

⁷ Law:1916 in Haq: 1954:16.

2.3. Education in the Colonial Period

During the early period of their control over India, the British did not take any interest in education there. Rather, they concentrated on availing economic gains from rich local resources, and achieving political control. It was later when the East India Company was consolidating itself, that in the process of creating an administrative infrastructure, they felt a need for educated natives and turned their attention to this matter.

The East India Company structured a system of education geared to meet the major requirements of the colonial government "to secure properly trained servants for the public administration of the country, and to do the sovereign's duty to the Indian subjects" (Educational Despatch:19th July, 1854⁸). Changes were introduced at the higher education level rather than at the primary level because of the specific aims of the colonial regime, and the curriculum at college level reflected those aims. The universities set up in India followed the model of the London university, then only a co-ordinating and examining body. Curle comments on these changes as reflecting the British aim "to prepare a class of civil servants ignorant of their cultural heritage" (1966:65). The intentional destruction of the Muslim educational system for political reasons⁹, and their consequent deprivation of a rich heritage, which had long served as a source of intellectual and cultural development, was ultimately achieved by the appropriation of the rent free lands providing endowments to *madrasas* (Islamic schools), and withdrawal of all financial support by the British rulers. Talbani comments that:

"In the Indian sub-continent, the British adopted policies that made it difficult for indigenous institutions to grow, and undercut the power base of colonised people. Such measures included the confiscation of properties owned by religious organisations like 'madrasas' and the establishment of a parallel education system"(1996:72).

⁸ for further information see Jones: 1989; Metcalf:1982 and Nurullah:1951.

⁹ This argument can be followed in Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a Muslim scholar and historian, who is generally labelled as a loyal civil servant of the British Raj in India. See in particular *Asbab-i Baghawat-i Hind*:1858 and *Athar al-Sanadid*:1965. Barbara Metcalf also mentions incidents of the destruction of Islamic institutions of learning like the celebrated Madrassa Rahimiyyah by the British army in 1857 (1982: 76-9).

The imposed system was "alien to the society it proposed to serve" (Miller: 1968:44), and facilitated the process of depriving the Indian subjects of their self-respect, confidence, and voice. Freire (1972), analysing the Brazilian context, argued that ignorance and lethargy were the direct product of the whole situation of social, economic, and political domination, and of the paternalism, of which masses would become victims. His argument fits in with many colonial contexts. Colonialism was essentially motivated by economic expansion and commercial interests, which were achieved through keeping the colonies in the category of 'primary produce countries'. It was a part of planning not to provide an industrialised infrastructure to these colonies; to keep them under-developed, and dependent on developed colonial powers. This policy necessitated a suppression of political awareness and it was achieved through given discourses of education, and a specific educational system.

The Muslim of the sub-continent found themselves ousted from the new set up. Going into all the relevant factors is beyond the scope of this brief overview. I will mention only two dominant attitudes:

- the colonial government discriminated against, and discouraged the defeated enemy (Muslim rulers) from participation, seeing in them a threat to their newly acquired supremacy;
- for the Muslims, the hurt of defeat was vented into distancing themselves from anything associated with the conquerors.

The Muslims' very low entry in the educational institutions established or/and funded by the English, coupled with the politically motivated strangling of Muslim institutions, introduced a discontinuity in their educational traditions which had far-reaching effects on their later efforts to re-structure and manage education in the post-colonial era. Additionally, it had more serious implications for the education of Muslim women who were strictly kept out of 'non-Islamic' education. It contributed to their confinement in the houses, and towards increased discrimination in the education of women, introducing a shift away from the Islamic notions of education for all and education for the development of self.

hooks rightly argues that "education is not politically neutral" (1994:4). Discussing its long-lasting effects she argues that politically "we do not live in a post-colonial world, because the mind set of neo-colonialism shapes the underlying metaphysics of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (Ibid: 6), a perception similar to what is termed as a 'failure of decolonisation' by Spivak (1996:168). Even after the departure of the colonial rulers, the educational structure¹⁰ in Pakistan did not change much, and was considered a major source of educational problems by the succeeding national governments as briefly reviewed next.

2.4. Pakistan: Education and Development

Pakistan is a country created on the basis of a religious ideology. It is now struggling in a post-colonial era to establish a system of education in keeping with its national aims, religious traditions and teachings, and social orientations, faced with heavy economic constraints and dynamic global changes. It inherited a colonial educational structure on its creation, and in spite of the national objectives stated by successive governments, to make it respond to the national needs, the education system in Pakistan today cannot claim to be much different from the inherited model, either in structure or in practice. Socio-economic demands have been re-working a discourse of education more orientated to political and economic considerations rather than Islamic philosophy. At the end of the colonial rule, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan stood facing the tensions between the Islamic philosophy of education and economy on the one hand and non-Islamic concepts of education and economy on the other, in a context of increasing globalisation.

Many national and international studies and research reports emphasise the interdependibility between education and national development. Addressing the Pakistani context, Hayes claims that education is "relied upon heavily to promote an ambitious agenda of social and political change" (1987:1). Even in developed countries like USA an emphasis in many national reports on 'A Nation at Risk' is attributed to deteriorating education (Garman:1995: 25). For developing countries,

¹⁰ I understand educational structure as "a structure in the sociological sense to include organisational arrangements, roles, finance and governance, and formal policies that explicitly build in working conditions that, so to speak, support and press for improvement" (Fullan :1992:124).

this inter-relationship implies a stronger need to improve education for the purposes of multi-dimensional national development (Aftab:1994; Asberg:1973; Faraj:1988; Friere:1972; Iqbal:1981; Marginson:1995; Salter:1994). In Pakistan, policy documents and political statements of almost every leader, from *Quaid-a-Azam* (Mr Jinnah - the founder of Pakistan) up to the present day rulers stress the association and interdependibility between education and national development¹¹. The World Bank reports, which command the status of 'sacred documents' in the developing countries, further emphasise this correlation.

Brown and Lauder argue that "the increasing importance attached to education in the global economy is not misplaced in the sense that nations will increasingly have to define the wealth of nations in terms of the quality of human resources among the population", and to develop those resources through education (1996:23). The inter-relationship implies an intrinsic need to improve education for the purposes of multidimensional national development (Aftab:1994; Faraj:1988). The policy documents in Pakistan also emphasised individual improvement of the learners in a specific ideological and economic context. However, after forty-nine years of independence, and national policy making, there were still persistent complaints of a crisis in education, such as education not responding to national needs and not contributing to individual development (Hayes:1987; Iqbal:1981; Saigol:1993).

The 1960s and 70s saw a tremendous expansion of education in Pakistan and most of the other South Asian countries (Faraj:1988). It coincided with a period of general economic boom. The country started working towards industrialisation and the economy was developing because of industrialisation and cheap labour available. Huge amounts of money were coming in from overseas workers as well (Shaw:1988), in the form of foreign exchange. This incoming money proved to be a major factor in the economic development, and establishment of an industrial as well as educational infrastructure. Government allocated large funds and resources for education, believing that a large number of graduates would ensure economic progress¹².

¹¹ For recent trends in policy see National Education Policy 1992-2002: 1992.

¹² At independence Pakistan had three universities and 90+ colleges for a population of about seventy million, (First Five Year Plan:1956:5; Rahman:1952:49). There were two universities and 50+ colleges in the West Wing (now Pakistan) and one university and 40+ colleges in the East Wing (now Bangla Desh). The country had twenty-one universities and 277 degree colleges, six engineering colleges and

After a large quantitative expansion of education, Pakistan faced the dilemmas of lack of scientific-skilled labour, and unemployment of graduates/post-graduates (National Education Policy:1992; Secondary Education Reforms:1995). The increase in the number of the educational institutions and the paying capacity of the people resulted correspondingly in an increase in the number of students going for higher education. However, in the absence of a science/technical base and a lack of guidance and motivation, they went for Arts subjects. Moreover, a very small number of colleges, and very few schools, had science-staff or lab equipment. Another factor was that education was, and to a considerable extent still is, more of a status marker than means to an end. The dignity of labour was socially not very widely accepted, and non-skilled labour and even skilled labour was a negative status marker. It supports Hultin's argument that "the overall value system of the society with a lack of appreciation of the manual labour" influences the patterns of work and education (Hultin:1986:13). Besides, in Pakistan, confusion around purposes of education added to the problems in student management as well.

A majority of the early graduates/post-graduates were absorbed in education, but when expansion in education nearly stopped, there were not many options available. These educated young people were faced with the hard choice between labour and unemployment. Many of the graduates started doing taxi-driving or clerical jobs, and earned less than their uneducated counterparts. Even medical and engineering graduates could not find jobs, and in the 1980s there have been news items of medical graduates registering protest by doing shoe-polishing on the foot-paths and in busy markets. All this pointed to a lack of co-ordination between higher education output and economic needs, and also to the fact that economic development did not keep pace with the undirected, unplanned expansion of the higher education.

The stress on the higher education at the national leadership level, and the political power acquired by the youth of college-age-group over the years because of the part they played in the Pakistan movement, and later in different political changes in the

thirty-six polytechnics by the early 1980s (Faraj:1988) and later, according to a report in 1996, there were twenty-six Universities and 800+ colleges.

country, created a highly sensitive and difficult management situation. Socio-economic factors further affected the attitudes of the young learners. Education was approached with expectations to work miracles for economic and social uplift. Failing that, it led to disillusionment, unrest and resentment which found an expression in recurrent strikes and episodes of violence, particularly in the institutions of higher education for men¹³ (Saigol:1993). The college heads faced the task of maintaining law and order situation, besides channeling the energies of the learners, in keeping with the national aims and objectives, to build up their national/Muslim identity and character, and to prepare for their future responsibilities, as well as to respond to the global economic and educational changes. Moreover, they had to work within increasing financial constraints and growing demands, with practically no management development training/support. It was a sample of these college heads on whom my research focused. The next section looks into government policy and practices regarding professional development of college managers and the felt needs.

2.5. Educational Management and Management Development

College education in Pakistan spreads over post-school to degree education, and the colleges generally fall into three categories according to the level of educational courses provided, but these are not very rigid or even clearly defined. Generally, intermediate colleges cater for post-school pre-first-degree studies known as intermediate education, and the degree colleges offer both intermediate education and degree study courses in specific areas, but there are occasional overlaps and variations. University/professional colleges cater for degrees in professional education and sometimes Masters degrees.

By the mid-seventies, the government had begun to realise the economic realities and the after-effects of quantitative expansion of higher education mentioned above. Criticism from within the country, and from the foreign funding bodies resulted in a

¹³ The socio-religious culture expects the young students to prepare for shouldering their responsibilities as bread-winners for the family, or extended family, which is also mentioned later in this chapter (for detailed discussion see Shah:forthcoming). However, lack of white collar jobs for the educated, and the social problems in opting for hard labour after graduation, create financial and emotional crisis, which often the young students anticipate, but feel unable to cope with. The presence of political organisations of students and a history of students involvement in political movements provide a collective platform where this anger and frustration can be lent out, and this creates a law and order situation for the college heads.

shift in the government policy, emphasising the role of education in developing manpower for different levels of the economy and the role of institutional managers in achieving these objectives.

Although, the need for management development on educational sites has been recognised much earlier (Report of the National ... :1959), it received emphasis from the 1980s onwards. In 1980, a UNESCO meeting of the educational administrators and key personnel from eleven South East Asian was held at Seoul to discuss "Innovations in Education". The major emphasis was on the preparation of principals, heads of schools, administrators, and key-personnel, who could introduce and implement those innovations. This reflected an understanding of the fact that without developing the skills of the people immediately responsible for delivering education, improvements and desired aims could not be achieved. This meeting was in fact the first formal acceptance of the importance of institutional management and the need to develop it. In-depth discussions were undertaken to identify the issues and to prepare guidelines for the training of key-personnel (UNESCO Report:1981). The signals from the World Bank that "money is not and will not for a long time to come be available for everything" (Hultin:1986:12) increased the demand for effective management. Hultin mentions World Bank's education policy paper for 1980 which suggested along with other things that:

“education system should try to achieve maximum internal efficiency through the management, allocation, and use of resources available for increasing the quantity, and improving the quality of education” (1986:2).

Such observations directed focus on educational management which were further reinforced by the findings that inadequate management capabilities, lack of familiarity with the task and lack of trained management personnel (Hayes:1987:78-97) were among the causes of deteriorating academic standards¹⁴ and failure of educational reforms.

¹⁴ According to Richard Pring (1992) market orientation is viewed as affecting educational standards, but I would argue that institutional management is another important dimension of the interacting phenomenon.

Educational developments to a considerable extent, depend on the capabilities of the administrative heads to execute and support the developmental and implementation phases. Hence, the preparation and development of educational managers with this perspective was quite important. In spite of a large expansion of educational institutions, the situation in Pakistan was summed up as:

- _ an increase in unemployment, particularly among unemployed graduates;
- _ non-exploitation of national resources;
- _ a general decline in the quality of education;
- _ a large shortfall in the availability of scientific man-power; and
- _ absence of an integrated information system to co-ordinate higher education with national man power requirements (Faraj:1988).

Such findings unveiled the disparities between policy-making and implementation. In Pakistan, Policy making and planning worked in a linear process, from top to bottom, and those planning at the top were mostly not aware of the realities of the actual educational situation, or of the implications involved in implementation of educational changes (Iqbal:1981; Hayes:1987). They noted the symptoms but could not cure as they were not the specialists, and also because they were not the people with experience of work in education. Changes in the educational context, resulting from political and socio-economic forces active at micro and macro levels, gradually changed the concepts within management and shifted the focus towards the institutional managers. A major development initiating from this shift of focus was realisation of the need for management development and training of institutional heads as a pre-requisite to make their involvement active and effective.

The recent trend towards institutional autonomy in several countries found its way in Pakistan as well, but only at the experimental level. Following a World Bank Report (1989) for Pakistan, "to consider the current circumstances and future development of

education", which recommended that "some colleges should be accredited with full operational autonomy", four prestigious institutions, male and female, in the province of Punjab were declared to be 'autonomous institutions'. A study carried out by Zafar Iqbal and Lynn Davies in 1992-3, to evaluate the early impact of these changes, expressed concerns of the teaching staff about the whole process (Iqbal and Davies : 1994). They also wrote that senior management and staff perceived no evidence of money coming to the institution from any source, except government funding and feared financial difficulties as the major stumbling block to any progress towards real autonomy. Significantly, just a few years later, the Chief Minister of Punjab decided to abolish the scheme (the Jang:1997) for similar reasons.

The argument develops that if the senior management of these institutions had been trained and developed in view of the intending goals, this grant of autonomy might have worked better towards achieving improvement of the finances, and of the quality of education. The practice of imposing a situation, without working out all the details, and without preparing the key personnel responsible for managing it, meant that even the best plans could not attain the desired goals.

In addition to that, political changes, power-play, and corruption, coupled with socio-cultural pressures¹⁵ made management a hard task in itself. In the circumstances, it can be argued that professional competence and development of management skills might improve the ability and effectiveness of the college heads, adding to their strength and confidence to manipulate these interferences in an effective way to achieve the target goals. Moreover, the world wide economic recession imposed restraints on budgets. The country could hardly afford to put huge amounts of money into education¹⁶ as it did in the seventies, without some quality assurance and making education responsive to economic needs. This required management of resources and change.

¹⁵ Robert Kiltgard (1979) in a study carried out in Karachi, Pakistan, and Adele Jones (1991), in a research conducted in Peshawar, Pakistan, refer to this corruption and power-play permeating through the educational context, although not in direct reference to institutional management.

¹⁶ The educational expenditure in Pakistan is a little above 2% of the GNP (UNESCO Yearbook :1995: 1- 5), which is very low as compared to other developing countries.

In spite of these deliberations, the development of educational administrators remained a neglected area in Pakistan although it is an issue receiving great attention in many countries, which will be detailed in the next chapter. Presently, I will fill in some details on the immediate research locale - the AJK, which have relevance for the research background, field work and analysis.

3. Geographical region of Focus: The State Of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan

Pakistan¹⁷ territorially consists of four provinces, and federally-controlled tribal and federal areas. Besides that the federal government also controls, under special constitutional provisions, Gilgit, Baltistan, Northern Areas, and the state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). The last mentioned is the immediate geographical location of my research project. Relevant aspects of its history are provided below for contextual setting. This will also clarify why my study focuses on a specific geographical region, and accounts for some later decisions regarding the research design and data collection.

Kashmir as a state, has existed since ancient times and references to this effect are made in the earliest historical records of the continent. However, its geographical boundaries have been changing over times, at times being a small state, and at other times including parts of the countries today known as China, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. Under different rulers and dynasties, education flourished or deteriorated, depending on individual rulers and their interests. The first recorded mention of a university in Kashmir is to be found during the reign of a Buddhist ruler, Kanshik (120AD-162AD). It was known as Sharda university and students from China, Japan, Tibbit, Lanka, Thailand, and Vietnam thronged there in their search for knowledge. Al-Baroni in his *Kitab-ul-Hind*, refers to Kashmir as a great learning centre where students gathered to seek knowledge, and did not leave it, enamoured by its natural beauties.

¹⁷ The Islamic republic of Pakistan is situated in South East Asia, surrounded by Afghanistan, China, India, Iran, and the former USSR (Appendix A: Regional Map). It is uniquely positioned at the intersection of many ancient civilisations, which had bearings for its educational system and wider social structure.

3.1. Islam in Kashmir

Due to its geographical layout, Kashmir often proved resistant to invasions and military expeditions. Many parts of this hard terrain are still hard to access which had implications for my field work and are mentioned later in field experiences in chapter five. Its geography was also one of the main reasons for Islam reaching comparatively very late in this area¹⁸.

Islam spread in Kashmir from 14th century onwards. An interesting fact is that, unlike its general history of conquest, Islam did not enter Kashmir through a process of 'conquests'. Islam was introduced in the state by the religious scholars, who chose to live there. However, its spread gained momentum after the conversion of the then Buddhist ruler to Islam, as a result of the teachings of Syed Abdul-Rehman, known as Bulbal Shah. From then on, Islam remained a strong and active force in the socio-political context of the state.

In 1586, Yousaf Shah, the ruler of Kashmir was defeated by the Mogul armies, making Kashmir a part of the Mogul Empire. However, in spite of the Mogul's interest in Kashmir and its development, successive administrators for Kashmir from the Mogul court did not always have education high on their priority lists, and political disturbances further hindered educational development.

The decline of the Moguls led to the weakening of the central hold on different parts of the Empire, including Kashmir. In 1753, the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali, conquered Kashmir initiating Afghan rule in the state for the next sixty-seven years. Because of its geographical lay-out, and its distance from Afghanistan, the Afghan rulers constantly faced problems in managing their control of the state, and failed to introduce any major educational or economic developments.

In 1819, the Sikh ruler of Punjab, Ranjeet Singh, defeated the Afghans and established the Sikh rule in Kashmir, which is considered to be a period of repression and deterioration of education and local industries, in particular. The Sikh dynasty

¹⁸ Islam entered the Indian sub-continent in the very beginning of the 7th century, but it did not reach this region till the 13th century. Also see Schimmel (1980:43-47)

was brought to an end by the British forces in India. The British defeated the Sikh army in 1846 and, as a consequence of the peace negotiations, Kashmir came under the *Dogra* rule¹⁹ which continued until 1947.

In spite of the continuous changes and ideological diversity of ruling powers, Islam remained the religion of the masses. It influenced social patterns, behavioural norms and the educational structure. It was claimed to be on the basis of this shared faith that AJK - the geographical location of this study, became a part of Pakistan. The history of the political struggle outlined below indicates how religion can be wielded as a powerful and effective tool in winning mass legitimisation because of people's ideological and emotional commitments to a faith, and accordingly how it might influence other aspects of social existence.

At the time of the partition of the sub-continent, there were more than five hundred large and small states in the area. It was agreed upon during talks among the major parties to the issue -- the Hindus, the Muslims, and the British -- that these states would either accede with India or Pakistan, in accordance with the wishes of their people on the basis of religious majority and in keeping with the geographical links²⁰. In continuation of these political decisions, the majority party in Kashmir passed a resolution, demanding accession to Pakistan, on the basis of more than 80% of its population being Muslims, and geographical links as well. Maharaja Hari Singh, the Hindu ruler of Kashmir, adopted delay-tactics, which initiated an armed struggle against Maharaja by the Kashmiri Muslims. They pushed the Maharaja's forces out of a large strip and established the state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir²¹, which was

¹⁹ Kashmir was sold by the British to the *Dogra* (Hindu) Raja of Jammu, Gullab Singh for Rupees 7.5 millions, to settle war debts. This unique example in the history of the world, of a nation being sold, is documented in the Amritsar Pact (17th March, 1846), and signed by Sir Henry Harding, the then British governor general of India, and Raja (later known as Maharaja) Gullab Singh. Maharaja's family continued to rule over Kashmir till 1947, when the British agreed in principle to the creation of India and Pakistan.

²⁰ For information see June Pact:1947; also Lord Mount Batten's address on July 25th,1947.

²¹ As a result of the cease fire in January 1949, 216246 sqkm of Kashmir stood divided into three parts -- 129313 sqkm held by the Indian army remained under Indian control; 763232 sqkm of Gilgit, Baltistan, and Norther Areas came under the direct control of the Federal Government of Pakistan; and 10609 sqkm liberated by the people after armed struggle, formed the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir declared independent on October 24th, 1947 (Map of the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir: Appendix I). For details see Abbasi:1987; Khan:1986; Niaz:1992 and Mirza: 1990.

provided with a distinct constitutional status within the constitution of Pakistan (1973).

According to the constitutional provisions, AJK has a different status as compared to other federal units of Pakistan. However, traditionally and practically, the federal policies are adopted by the AJK Government in all spheres, including education²². The aims and intentions of the education policy, and the structure of the education system, is outlined by the Federal Government of Pakistan, and adopted by the federal units and the AJK Government alike, though at times with slight regional variations. Any policy changes/shifts at the federal level are ultimately adopted in AJK, leading to a general uniformity of structure. A research study focusing upon AJK, is bound to have implications for other parts of Pakistan as well, although it cannot be an interpretation of their situations.

The remaining parts of this section outline the broad educational structure in AJK and discuss some specific features of the context, which are perceived as useful for the reading of my research findings and analyses.

3.2. The General Educational Structure in AJK and Single-sex Colleges

The AJK education department is headed by a secretary, working under the policy guidance of a minister of education, and funding is provided by the AJK government. The one and only university in AJK, set up in 1980, is headed by a Vice Chancellor. The President of AJK is the Chancellor by virtue of his office, and the funding is managed by the Universities Grants Commission (UGC), a federal agency. All the intermediate and degree colleges in AJK, are funded by the state government's education department. The degree colleges are affiliated with the AJK University, which is also the examining body for all graduate/post-graduate examinations. Furthermore, there are five professional University Colleges which, like other degree colleges, provide degree courses, but unlike those, form constituent parts of the AJK University, and are funded by the same. Management roles and practices, and related

²² See Bhatti (1995) and Ormston, Rashid and Davies (1995) for appointment/employment conditions of college heads and for organisational structure of the provincial education system in Pakistan.

development of the heads of these different colleges, offering post-school to degree education were the focus of my research.

In 1996, there were thirty-five Intermediate, twenty-eight Degree and five University Colleges in AJK (Dept of Ed.:1996). These colleges varied not just in the number, type, and level of courses offered, as explained earlier in this chapter in the broader context of Pakistan, but there was also considerable diversity in the number of students, staff, availability of funds and finances, physical resources, equipment, and also in local socio-economic contexts. They were further divided by gender as shown in the graph on the next page.

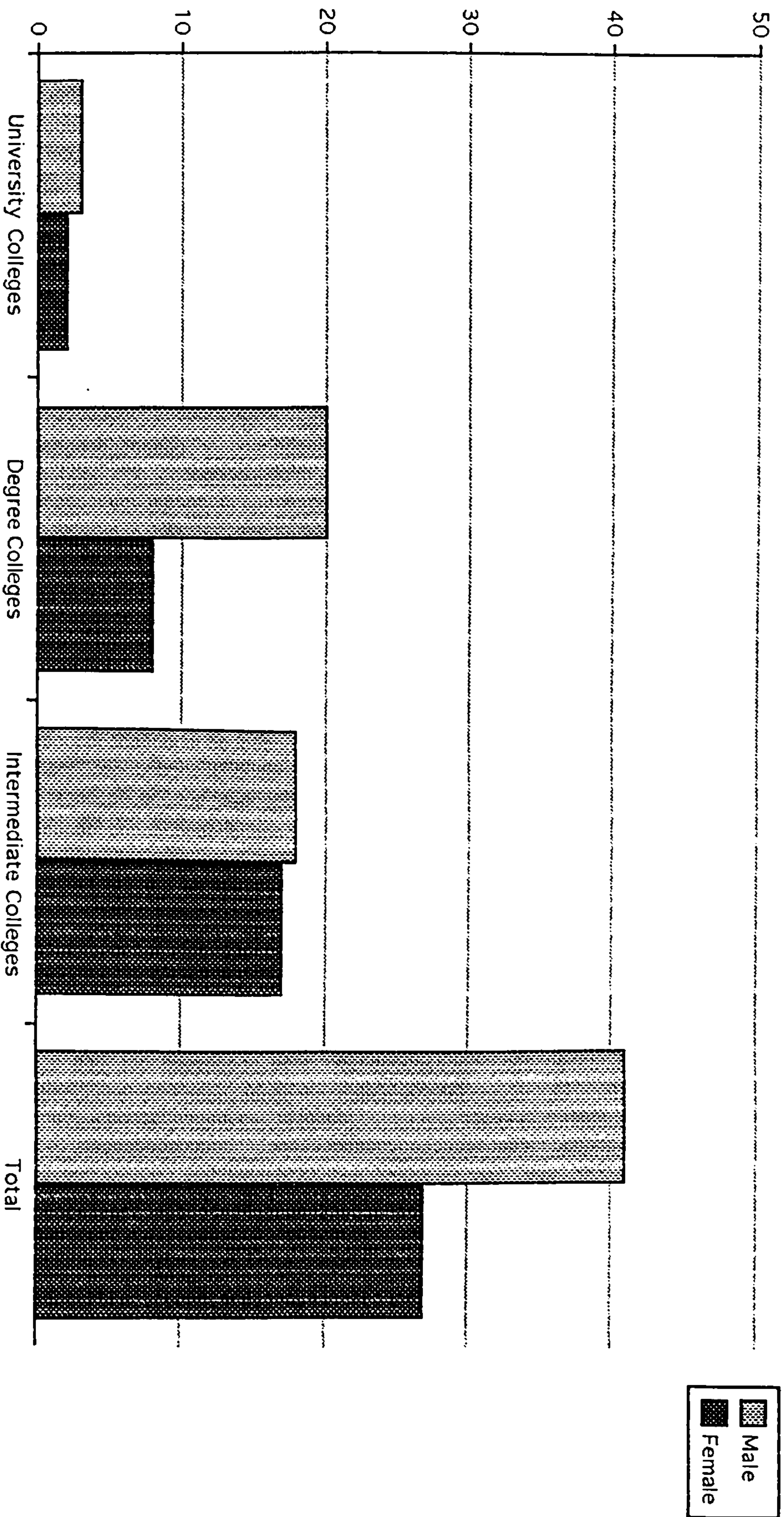
Single-sex colleges are a significant aspect of this education structure. There are generally separate institutions for males and females, although segregation has been observed more closely in the rural regions than in the urban areas. Moreover, the segregation is generally stricter at post-primary-to-pre-university level²³. One reason is the age group of the students at this level which is perceived as sensitive within socio-religious discourses. As my study focuses on the management of this specific phase of education, sex-segregation gains significance for an understanding of the situation.

It was during the period of General Zia (1977-88) that the segregation was imposed more strongly on educational sites in Pakistan in the name of Islamisation (Saigol:1993; Wiess:1986). Prior to that, female students gained admissions in the majority of the co-education/male colleges²⁴ but they became subject to constraints during the Zia period. The conditions relaxed at the end of that period, but the practices did not change much. In 1990s, the female students could seek admissions to some male colleges to meet their subject-choice needs, and a limited co-education was provided in some male professional colleges such as medical, engineering, agriculture, business-administration colleges etc., but deeper inhibitions prevailed.

²³ The number of colleges in Pakistan, according to a 1995 survey, was 263 for females and 539 for males, but all the twenty-six universities provide co-education.

²⁴ In the Pakistani context, co-education college means a college where girls and boys study together. However the staff, teaching and non-teaching, is all male with very rare exceptions as in the case of medical colleges. It is also different from the universities where staff includes women, even if in a very small percentage.

Colleges In AJK



Single-sex institutions were projected as a feature of a Muslim society and the governments promulgated that as a policy matter. It led to the development of two almost separate sectors of college education - male colleges and female colleges. Principals of these single-sex colleges are the focus of the study.

In AJK this segregation initiated earlier in 1972, by an order of the then state government. The co-education colleges were forbidden to enrol female students, and those already on-roll were directed to seek admissions in the nearby female colleges. The separate female/male colleges established in the state were claimed to be in keeping with the tradition of sex-segregation in the Muslim societies. However, due to pragmatics involved, this dichotomy was never as complete as for example, in Saudi Arabia (Al-Harriri:1987; Al-Rawaf:1991; Al-Shallan:1990), where male/female communication is completely forbidden. In female colleges in AJK, office support staff, some lab-assistants/helpers, and many other workers were males. Occasionally, there was a male member on the teaching staff as well, in cases where a female subject-teacher was unavailable. However, no male student was admitted in a female college, and no female was on the teaching staff of a male college.

The head of a female college had to be in principle, a woman, although there were occasional examples of males officiating as heads of female colleges. Such arrangements were claimed to be on a non-permanent basis and often resulting from non-availability of a female head for that particular college. Senior college teachers declined to go as college heads in less-developed, hard-to-approach areas because of, to put it briefly, the inconvenience involved, disruption of social/family life, effects on child education, government's comparatively relaxed policy in transferring/displacing women, and maybe also because of low financial gains accompanying the headship - a token allowance, often less than 5% of the take-home salary. Nevertheless, this sex-segregated structure created a separate place for women in college management. Jacobson's observation concerning women in India claims that:

"it is really a mistake to see women as competing with and restricted by men; rather, male and female roles are clearly distinguished and the sexes are seen as complementary to each other" (Jacobson and Wadley:1977).

To a certain extent it applied to women college heads in this research context as well, but not above and beyond it, at least not in education, as I believe from personal experience. Women and men college heads in the Muslim society of AJK, performed in their separate spheres, and were not explicitly involved in any between-the-sexes competition at the college level. But there were other levels of discourses where complementarity became contentious. Division of labour in a predominantly feudal society and patriarchal patterns of traditional social structure resisted the Islamic notion of male/female complementarity²⁵. The Islamic concept of 'equality in difference' was socially reconstructed as 'difference in equality', reversing the discourse of segregation 'to keep the intruders out' (Helms:1995) into 'confinement of women' through given interpretations of the Quranic notion of 'family'.

An awareness of the essential framework of the concerned social structure and its ideological basis would help to understand how sex-segregation affected the management roles and practices of institutional heads across the gender divide in this specific society. In view of the essential nature of sex-segregation on the professional and the social sites, it becomes relevant here to explore how the discourses of labour-division, gender, education and religion interacted to produce relationships of power which influenced the management of colleges for women and men.

4. A Muslim Society: Another Frame of Reference

To understand how power-relations operate within a Muslim society, it helps to understand the principals and values underlying an Islamic social structure. Furthermore, it requires an awareness of the pivotal role of family in determining the structure, the relationships and behaviour in other organisations. Family is the basic unit of social existence in Islam and the central 'organisation' which serves as a reference for rights and duties within a relationship. *Ummah* is the overarching

²⁵ Some Muslim feminists (Hussain:1984; Al-Saddawi:1980) emphasise complementary roles for women as a means to establish their identity.

concept used for wider Muslim community²⁶ which is the ultimate network of Muslim families and communities, operative beyond geo-political bounds. The root word of *Ummah* is 'umm' which means 'mother' in Arabic (Al-Ahsan:1992; Ahmed:1992), and it reinforces the significance of family as the basic unit of *Ummah* (Holm:1994; Shah:1998).

Mutual obligations within the *Ummah* (community) gain further validation as other variables strengthen the bonds. In the case of Pakistani society, certain aspects of these pivotal teachings of Islam received particular emphasis in interplay with different regional sub-cultures. Islamic teachings and injunctions regarding the immediate and extended family, the neighbours and other Muslims, were reinforced by the local patterns of behaviour concerning family and *baradari*/clan which had implications for institutional management. Over-riding 'family obligations' (Shaw : 1988:165) were not only in accordance with the teachings of Islam but were also dominant social traditions in the local cultures, in general. Thus it became a doubly emphasised phenomenon, deeply embedded in ideology and culture, creating a network of relationships that was complex but extended, fluid, and encompassing. This tended to dissolve the boundaries between personal/professional and private/public, producing discourses where power was discursively produced and exercised. In this power-play family, as a sub-unit of *Ummah*, emerged as a site for struggle: for domination and emancipation, for control and resistance.

During my early life, being a Muslim woman from a specific background, I experienced 'family' as a privilege and a source of strength. I often encountered advantages in being a woman as compared to my male kin. Ideologically, I would draw on the Quran for basic values and principals, and luxuriated in the Quranic pledge of innate 'human equality', open for women and men to strive for, achieve, and practice, irrespective of any variables. I considered the plight of the oppressed, deprived and suffering as an outcome of their weaknesses, in play with the distortions of the conceited; both not following the Quranic path in its true sense. It took almost

²⁶ In the first chapter of 'Ummah or Nation', Dr. Al-Ahsan (1992) discusses the Quranic concept of Ummah, referring to the 64 occurrences of the term in the Quran. Commonly this term is used among Muslims to convey the fact that all Muslims the world over constitute one *ummah* or community; see also Geaves:1996 (chapters II and III); Iqbal:1996:39.

two decades of post-student life to work out the calculated power-play inherent in the situation.

When I returned to post-student life after the completion of my Master's studies (and it was a re-turn as I had studied away from family-home since the age of nine), I became aware of myself being enmeshed in a social structure where the Quranic values and principals were secondary to cultural considerations, and the former were often 'interpreted' to justify the later²⁷. It initiated an ongoing conflict between the 'duty of a privileged daughter of the house' and the 'rights of an informed Muslim woman', and the struggle to work out a compromise between the two. Significantly, my move from teaching into college management intensified the conflict as it changed the context of my work and activities. This highlighted the power-play enacted through 'family', a multi-layered, multi-level concept, that was a contradiction to the Quranic values and principals, as I understood. It pointed out how the public/private divide was utilised for oppressive practices. I attributed it to my specific positioning. Later in my research, I was surprised by the written and oral responses of my research participants, who represented diverse subjectivities and positionings, but voiced this given exploitation of public/private and its 'legitimisation in the name of religion' (Smart:1984:3).

Accordingly, to explain organisational behaviour and management roles and practices of institutional heads in this research context would require an understanding of the notion of 'family' as a concept and a social organisation, as it is generally conceived in the feudal patriarchal societies and as it is specifically constructed in the Muslim society of Pakistan. For the purposes of presentation, this section is divided into three sub-sections. The first one briefly considers the concept of 'family' in feudal/capitalist societies. The discussion has a relevance as it elaborates power structures, and highlights some relevant discursive practices intended to perpetuate the structures. Its patriarchal formulations are analysed next before finally explaining the related Islamic perspective in the last section. The first two sections serve as a general frame of reference for the more focused discussions in the final. The focus is

²⁷ Spivak terms this dimension of religions, particularly with reference to the Eastern context, as 'religion as a cultural instrument' (1992:192).

to investigate the public/private divide as a tool, a specific political technology, and the emphasis it receives on the family-site in a specific Muslim society, as a backdrop for the implications it has for college management.

4.1. Feudal/Capitalist Societies and ‘Family’

Family as an institution generally reflects the relationships among people in a specific society. Feudal societies affected an interpretation of the concept of family which suited their intents. Pakistan is mainly a feudal society and as such reflects broad features of feudal societies. Besides other historical specifications, its colonial history further reinforced the feudal structure and traditions.

In the history of feudalism, economic, political and legal powers had been concentrated in the feudal lords. Feudalism, as a socio-eco-political structure, presented that unique ‘relationship between the direct producer and his landlord’ which Martin explains as ‘extra-economic coercion on the part of the exploiting class’ (1986:4). The peasants “could not buy or sell land; they were unable to move or marry freely and they were tried in manorial rather than royal courts the landowners exercising political power and jurisdiction” (Murray:1995:40). The quote points to the extent of multi-dimensional powers enjoyed by the feudal lords and to that particular “ideology which specifies that land is primarily a male form of property” (Sharma:1980:59), thus excluding women from positions of control and power. ‘[P]roperty relations through marriage’ (Murray:1995:66-7) further contributed to male control in the feudal societies, concentrating the powers in the ‘head of the house’.

Within the family space, feudalism achieved a political and practical depowering of the members. They were all reduced to a position of dependency in relation to the ‘lord’. It was a phenomenon shared by all the dependents, but had more poignancy for those situated in more disadvantaged positions. Exploring the ‘constructed economic dependency and social vulnerability of women’ in a family structure, Smart explores the legal position of women in marriage (1984: 28-32) by detailing “Power of the typical Victorian patriarch who could beat his wife, take her property and virtually keep her a prisoner in *his* home” (Ibid:xii). She discusses how, even in law, family

becomes 'private' giving power to man, and the law is effectively stopped outside the 'gates to private'. Maria Mies also refers to the effectiveness of the dividing line between public and private observing that even "the state monopoly over direct violence obviously stops at the door of the private family" (Mies:1986:27). Discussing the 18th century British law, Murray (1995) analyses the feudal structure which empowered male heads of the family to control the activities, movements and legal property of their dependents, particularly women. The 'household' belonged to the head of the house and even a personal offence like adultery was not treated as a crime against the concerned woman but her 'owner' who should be compensated (Ibid:104). This reflects the extent of the surrender of 'person' and personal rights of the members of a household, to the head of the house/family.

In feudal societies, irrespective of cultural variations, a specific concept of family, structured round the head of the house as the locus, possessing complete authority and all the decision making powers on the behalf of the 'family', has functioned (Murray:1995; Sharma:1980; Smart:1984). This formulation suited the landowners to exploit the peasantry on the one hand, and secondly to centralise their own powers as male heads of the family. It gave them control over the peasants' families, their lives and labour, through acquiring control over the head of the family. Any contract with a peasant involved the family, extending the jurisdiction of the 'lord' over to non-signatories. Within their own families, being the head of the house entitled the landowners to operate and negotiate on behalf of all the family members, particularly the women. Conceding differences in the nature of control and the power relations in different relationships and kinship situations, the authority of the 'head of the house' encompassed male and female members of the family, albeit more particularly women. Exclusion of women from ownership positions, or active ownership, suited the rulers/monarchy because of 'military obligations of feudal lords' (Murray:1995:61). It suited the feudal lords as it socially validated the male control over their female kin where 'contracts are often signed with male family heads' (Kandiyoti:1985:57). It facilitated control over the peasantry, its production and reproduction activities, through dealing with a unit rather than individuals.

For the peasants, being 'head of the house' meant a control over female labour within the family, and a hold over the total income generated by the individual members of the family, females and other dependents as well. Kandiyoti mentions how for the bulk of women's labour force participating in agriculture in Africa and Asia "Man serves as 'middle man for her production'" (1985:52²⁸). She mentions studies that claim how women cannot move into the market unaccompanied by males, maintaining that "... women's relations with the monetary sphere are almost always mediated by men" (Kandiyoti:1985:81,82). She refers to many studies of social evolution which suggest that "as we move from societies categorised as hunting and gathering, through horticultural to agrarian societies, the equality between the sexes is further and further compromised until it hits an all time low in agrarian societies"(1985:13). She relates it to some extent to "differential access to and rights over the resources of society" (Ibid:14). With the establishment of feudal societies, ownership of land, control over resources and decision making became centralised in the males of the family excluding women from positions of control through the institution of family.

Interpretations of the notion of family in diverse cultures and societies, from feudalism to capitalism and even in Marxist societies, are constructed to suit the exploiting class/es. Patriarchy and feudalism are 'mutually dependent' like patriarchy and capitalism (Eisenstein:1979:22). Discussing the capitalist context, Fine argues that family has been used as "an ideological and economic site of oppression which is protected from scrutiny by the very privacy that 'family life' celebrates" (Fine:1992:10²⁹). Waston (1987) discusses how expansion of production for the export market and commercialisation of handicrafts exploited women artisans and workers, and controlled their attempts to sell by themselves or organise women in India. They were 'threatened by agents and blacklisted by exporters', faced problems in 'access to raw material', and had to deal with 'several layers of intermediaries' obstructing their efforts to operate in the public arena of business (Ibid:179). She pointed to the division of 'crucial' and 'ancillary' jobs between men and women, intended to deprive women of positions of power and decision making (Ibid:182).

²⁸ See also Agarwal:1991 and Sharma:1980.

²⁹ See also Delphy:1992; Hartmann:1981; Rogers:1980; and Giddens:1986.

Fine discusses unpaid domestic labour and the exploitation of women in capitalist and pre-capitalist labour markets, pointing to 'occupational segregation' of women (1992:70-86) often consigning women to low-paid, less prestigious and less powerful positions. It contributed to limiting their 'access to the means of production' (Ibid:99) and enhanced male control on the family.

From these arguments the family is constructed as a space of control, subjecting its members to 'surveillance' and 'discipline'. Hartmann defines family as a 'locus of struggle' (1981:368), emphasising its implications for women. Admitting the 'emotional ties' and 'ideological norms', she proceeds to argue that "family remains a primary arena where men exercise their patriarchal power' (Ibid:377). Mies explicitly states that women emerge as "a sociological minority; discriminated against everywhere - in politics, employment, and education, in the family and by the institution of the family" (1986:21). This feudal construction of family empowered the 'head of the house' through patriarchal practices, and relegated the other members to dependency and submission. The next section would examine the term in relation with patriarchy to further investigate the inherent power-play associated with the metaphor and the traditional power-patterns.

4.2. Patriarchy and 'Family'

Words like patriarchy become favourite gambits because of their extensive potential to be exploited, and thus become harder to be discussed as a concept. Murray (1995: chapter 1) and Smart (1984: part I) discuss the term in detail citing various references, but one common aspect emphasised is its oppressive aspects. An unresolved debate is whether this concept encompasses agendered oppressive practices or not. Smart also considers the associated problems in its use as a referent (1984:6-11). Feminists generally link the term with gender³⁰ but there are other variants such as religion, ideology, social class, economic class, race, sect, age, and many others, which act as determinants for oppressional practices (Ahmed:1992; hooks:1990;1992; Rattansi and Donald:1992; Said: 1978;1991). I would rather understand it with Witz, as "the ways in which 'male' power is institutionalised within different sites of social relations in

³⁰ According to Whitford "Patriarchy is defined by Irigaray as 'an exclusive respect for the genealogy of sons and father, and the competition between brothers' (1991:23).

society” (1992:11), but not limit it to the ‘structuring of gender relations’. For me, it refers to repressive practices across the divides of gender, class, race and many others. Feudal societies are an example in this case where oppressive practices operate across multiple divides. ‘Family’ has served as a convenient space for exercising control, and gender has been an added determining factor in developing and perpetuating patriarchal oppression, but it does not imply exclusion of other factors.

Broadly speaking, patriarchy entails all the practices aimed at seeking ‘control’. Murray (1995) explores material origins of patriarchy and labels those as men’s control over women’s labour power, and social structure. In her view, ‘corporate control of productive means through patricorporation’ (1995:101), aimed at reinforcing male authority over females (1995:104) leading to female subjugation and systematic exclusion. It is what Mies discusses as colonisation of women: the relations between colonies and imperial powers reflected in the woman/man relationships (1986). This colonisation is perceived to become more effective on the family space. Exploitation of family in different societies expresses patriarchal desire for control, and distinctions like work/home and public/private facilitated and enhanced the effects of control.

Witz discusses three modes of patriarchal control: inclusionary, exclusionary, and segregationary (1992:28-30). These modes of patriarchal control can be equally effective in the public and private spheres. An example of ‘inclusionary’ mode can be male control over females [included] in the family, and over their decision making and their possessions. This inclusion serves to ‘exclude’ them from all those activities associated with ‘the public’ as they become segregated and confined to the ‘private’. This has specific implications regarding management roles of women college heads in this research, as discussed later in this chapter.

Freedom of decision making and rights over property are symbolic of a right to occupy and operate in the public space. Munzer argues that “People would probably not make the necessary sacrifices unless they could be confident of substantial control over the use and disposition of these things - which would require property rights” (1990:15-16), and links productivity to ownership. Exclusion of women from

ownership position, or active ownership, through a socially constructed discourse of family would imply their exclusion from the sites of production. Exploitation of these discourses to nullify women's rights over property and to obstruct them from operating these rights publicly could be interpreted as a patriarchal depowering strategy to reinforce the public/private divide. It practically dispossesses women of a legal possession, whereby "deprivation of property becomes a moral as well as a financial wrong done to women" (Dickenson:1996:62), causing a 'lack of control over resources' (Kandiyoti:1985:82) and limiting them to the 'private'. Thus they become effectively excluded from the public and are made subject to the 'law of the private' where even the state would not dare go 'beyond the gates' (Smart:1984; Mies:1986). Kandiyoti mentions how equal rights of women over property in the Turkish Civil Code were seen as a betrayal of natal family and women did not claim property for the fear of offending brothers³¹. She explained how "all decision-making and control powers were effectively transferred to husbands since women could not conduct any of the activities needed to make the land productive : leasing out, hiring labour, obtaining credit and agricultural inputs, etc." (Kandiyoti:1985:102). Activities associated with the public space are 'technologies' of control appropriated by the 'powerful', and women are excluded through gender stereotyping because:

"We have not yet succeeded in either creating a public space which women can enter, or of overcoming the dilemma of the public/private distinction which such a public space implies" (Seller:1996:120).

Occupation of public space is a political issue (Arendt:1959) dominated by economic considerations and politics of representation. And in the case of women, economic imperatives are complicated by gender:

"Women's position is structured by a double set of determinants arising from the relations of gender and derived from the economic organisation of the society" (Afshar:1991:1),

³¹ For similar information, see Ahmed:1992; Ashraf:1987; Patail:1996:52; and Sharma :1980:39, 57.

Public space is theoretically open to struggle, challenge and contestations. By shifting a public space to the 'private' arena, it becomes subject to the 'law of the private' and thus closed to the public law. This interpretation of family as confined to private, facilitated the exploitation of dependents, women in particular, and centralised power in the 'head of the house' who traditionally often happened to be a man. It invested him with social and moral authority and a legal immunity which could be referred to for acquiring control and power. Smart critiques the way in which law "sustains and perpetuates women's economic dependence within marriage and the family" (1984:xi). She claims that in England, even during the 19th century women were denied the franchise, access to well-paid professions, married women's entitlement to their own property, custody over their own children and many other rights (1984:3). Although, Islam does not legitimise or create such an unequal power structure, religious texts have been availed for these purposes.

The concluding section presents an Islamic perspective on 'family'. This research is located within a sex-segregated Islamic educational context, and therefore it is perceived as useful to introduce the reader to the Islamic concept of family as a social organisation, and the positions of women and men within it. It is an effort to explain briefly the ideological role-relationships to serve as a context for analysing research findings, later in this thesis.

4.3. Family and Islam

The earlier deliberations briefly considered the emerging notions of 'family' within evolving societies. It was intended as a context to present an Islamic concept of family where women and men are ideally situated as equals in difference. The Quranic caveat is a dismissal of un-equality and stereotyping. It propounds different role priorities in different relationships, pointing to the multiple subjectivities of 'mankind' and 'open' possibilities.

The Quranic teachings expound a network of rights and duties within the family and *Ummah*. Commands and injunctions related to 'family' are detailed particularly in the fourth *Sura* (section) titled *Al-Nisa* (women). For the purposes of this discussion, I

will focus only on the roles of women and men in this family context in as far as these have pertinence for women and men in education and management.

Grounded in the principal of justice and equality for all mankind, Islam recognises a complete equality between women and men regarding their spiritual, intellectual, and physical potentials:

"O people ! be careful of your duty to your lord, Who created you from a single soul and created its mate of the same and spread from these two a multitude of men and women" (4:1).

However, within the context of relationships, certain positionings have claims to higher respect and authority, the highest being commanded by the parents. Besides many authentic *hadith*, the Quran very explicitly ordained to obey, respect, love and serve one's parents; not even to address them in a loud voice or harsh words. The notion of parental authority was reinforced by promises of high rewards in the 'life after death' to those who obeyed and cherished their parents. Significantly, a mother's claims to love and obedience have been prioritised in the Quran and the Hadith. Liela Badawi explains that "For Muslims motherhood is understood as a metaphor for the loving guidance and authority of compassion in Islam. Indeed, the word for 'compassion', '*rahim*', one of the attributes of God, is derived from the same root in Arabic as the word for womb '*rahm*'" (1994: 88³²). The Quran commands to 'revere' God and 'the womb that createth you', in the same *ayah* (4:1), and lays strong emphasis on obeying parents. A large number of authentic *hadith* command to love, cherish and obey the parents with particular emphasis on a mother's status declaring "the heaven to be under the mother's feet". One widely quoted *hadith* is that when a man asked the Prophet thrice whom to respect most, each time the Prophet responded 'your mother, your mother, your mother' (Badawi:1994:107).

In Islam, a family unit gets established with a man and woman joining in a 'marriage contract' in accordance with the Quranic injunctions. Women and men have equal rights to set the conditions, including the woman's role in and outside the family

³² Also see Abdalti:1994; and Haneef:1979.

space, and her right to end the 'contract' (Ahmed:1992:77; Badawi:1994:90). This contract is made in the public arena, with witnesses, and it is supposed to guide the practices in the family. There is no barring of men from domestic work or of women from non-domestic work as such.

The Quran suggests certain role priorities for those joining in marriage. Women have a nurturing responsibility towards the 'family', and men are the 'maintainers'³³. Prioritising of women's domestic role in Islam is often emphasised in Muslim societies to the extent of making them 'invisible' through given interpretations of the notions of *harim*, segregation and veiling. It is often ignored that if there were no professional roles for women, the Quran would not be explicit about women being masters of their own possessions and earnings, husbands having no legal right over their money and property, as opposed to the wives right over husbands' income. In the complementary division of duties towards the family it is binding for men to keep providing for the family budget whether women earn or not, and women are responsible for the management of the house (themselves or through others) whether they work or not. Women are the partners of their husbands and guardians of the homes but they keep their names, and retain entitlement to *mahr* and maintenance (Badawi::1994:102³⁴) besides their right to property, inheritance and any other earnings as made explicit in the following verses from the Quran:

'Unto the men (of a family) belongeth a share of that which parents and near kindred leave, and unto the women a share of that which parents and near kindred leave, whether it be little or much --- a legal share' (4:7); and,

'Unto men a fortune from that which they have earned, and unto women a fortune from that which they have earned' (4:32).

This emphasis on 'inheritance' and 'earnings' signals women's position within the family and the society. There is no stereotyping of male and female with connotations

³³ Smith (1987) discusses the term 'maintainer' and explains it as a reason for difference between male and female share in inheritance.

³⁴ Also see Afshar and Maynard:1994; and Ahmed:1992.

of higher or lower status in Islam, but just complementary roles in the best interests of the family. However, within the family, if not detailed otherwise in the marriage contract, the male assumes the leadership position in accordance with the general Islamic principals and values. He is to 'provide' for the family, including the wife, although not in return for any domestic services:

"According to strict Islamic injunctions, it is not obligatory for a woman to cook the food for her husband or children, or to wash their clothes or even to suckle the infants" (Siddiqi:1982:57).

The Quran states its categorically that:

"The duty of feeding and clothing nursing mothers in a seemly manner is upon the father of the child. [However,] no one should be charged beyond his capacity" (2:233).

But, if expenditure is to be shared, as is often the case in Pakistan in the present economic context, domestic duties also need to be shared. If women have to partake in men's duty/responsibility, it should be reciprocal - an interpretation closer to the literal meaning of the verses and the overall spirit of justice and equality, highlighted by the Quran. Moreover, it is with reference to the family context and shouldering of economic responsibility that the male comes forth as 'a step higher'. Referring to *ayah* thirty-four of the fourth *Sura* in the Quran, Leila Badawi mentions discussions among Muslim jurists and scholars regarding its interpretation in the context of the Islamic principals of justice and equality. They believed that, in keeping with the spirit of the Quranic teachings, the said *ayah* should not be generalised. It was recommended to be treated in its immediate context where it implies that 'men excel women in their economic duty' (1994:104-5; also Helms:1995:65). Such generalisations of context-specific Quranic injunctions had been used for marginalising women and confining them to peripheries, so that male occupation of the centres could remain unchallenged. Moves by women towards the centres, to participate in the public, have often been countered by these strategies. Family has

been used as a metaphorical site for this contestation in Muslim societies, because of the specific values attached to it.

Family, as a concept and a social structure, lends itself to practices and interpretations often oppressive for women. It disciplines what Afshar (1987) terms as 'disruptive potentials of independent women'. If on the one hand, their access to career development and high-powered jobs is controlled in the given 'family interests', on the other hand they are expected and even made to work harder for the same family interests, but in positions where they and their earnings are controlled and disciplined so that they don't become a challenge to male authority. In the Muslim society of Pakistan, where religion ideologically makes men responsible for family expenditure, women often carry the greater burden of contributing to these expenditures not just through paid work or unpaid domestic work but through 'non-waged employment' as well, and according to Shah:

“More than half (53 per cent) of the total female labour force in Pakistan is engaged in non-wage employment” (1986:266).

Discussing occupational roles of women in Pakistan, Shah writes that “about four-fifth of the rural women participate in farm activities such as binding of wheat sheaves, threshing or cleaning of grains” (1986: 9³⁵) without being paid for that, and it is all in the name of family. Thus within the family discourse even non-domestic labour becomes domestic/non-wage and subject to male control.

My argument is that the dichotomies between domestic and professional roles and their subsequent interpretations are not provided or authenticated by religion in this context, but controlled by male-dominated socio-economic-political patterns. However, they acquire social validation through given interpretations of religious texts, and affect women's career aspirations and performance in the public domain, and this has a pertinence for the study.

³⁵ See also Sharma:1980: chapter five.

College management, even in a single-sex situation, is a participation in the public. How segregation can be or is, maintained in the public, and how it effects college management, needs to be explored to understand management roles and practices of women and men college heads. Islam, gender, sex-segregation, family, domestic/public, patriarchy, feudalism, all these themes permeate the thesis and are linked with the analyses at different levels, particularly in chapters seven and eight.

This chapter outlined the background as a broad scene-setting for the study: the micro alongside the macro. An international perspective concerning educational organisations, management and institutional leadership is detailed in the next chapter. There are constant references to the specific to highlight the differences and commonalities, and these indicate that each situation is unique in its expression but myriad influences going into its construction can have similarities with other contexts. This is one of the justifications for a wide-ranging international literature review offered in chapter two.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Education is an international concept in its scope and bearings yet it is context-dependent and context-determined in its applications, as indicated earlier in chapter one. The understanding of education develops in the wider social situation which shapes and structures it (Ball:1986; 1990b). The need to recognise the significance of cultural representations for understanding influences and responses to education is often emphasised (Skeggs:1991). The perceptions about education and the construction of a discourse of education within a particular population is a situated phenomenon. Accordingly, the nature and management of education are often determined in articulation with political, ideological and economic factors (Hodgkinson: 1991). Chapter one briefly presented an overview of a specific context to locate the research. This chapter extends the scene by addressing appropriate international literature. Further, the absence of research in the field and the associated dearth of relevant literature in Pakistan obligated a critical engagement with the international, predominantly Western, and more so British literature to explain and develop the concepts.

1. Educational Management

I realise that management is a generic term, in the sense that it is subject to different interpretations across disciplines, contexts, cultures, countries and times. It eludes definitiveness even when specified as educational management. In the peculiar tradition of Western philosophy, management is often constructed across the dichotomy of scientific skill/moral art. There is a further debate surrounding management/ administration and the 'systemic distinction' between the two (Hodgkinson: 1991:50). As we move from modern to post-modern times, definitions and descriptions of management become more situated, particularly with regards to educational management. Hughes describes management as the process of securing decisions about what activities the organisation (unit of organisation) will undertake, and mobilising the human and material resources to undertake them (Hughes et al: 1985). Stephen Ball interprets management as "a 'moral technology' or a technology of power", a professional, professionalising discourse which "produces the object

about which it speaks - organisation” (1990a:156-7). This interplay between the discourses of management and organisation, influences the roles and practices of the managers.

One significant point is that management is often defined in ways that preclude women (Evetts:1994b; Hall:1994;1996;1997; Weiner:1994; Wilson:1995); and this has implications for how management generally is explained and understood. In a sex-segregated situation, as is the case in my study, this aspect acquires greater importance as explored later in chapters seven and eight. This chapter focuses on a general overview as a backdrop for the particular.

In this study, I take management as an integrating activity, explaining organisation/people relationships and associated concerns, with a view that management roles and practices take shape in articulation with educational needs and contextual features. The need for good management is “a point of massive agreement among educational practitioners of all leaning and persuasions” (Ball:1990a:153) but what is ‘good management’ cannot be defined in isolation. Broad definitions of management like “effective utilisation of human resources” (Mullins:1995:399) raise questions about the manner and nature of ‘utilisation’ specific to the situation, and require an understanding of the concepts and their situational constructions.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section one examines terms like ‘organisations’, ‘management tasks’ and ‘institutional leadership’ in relation to educational site, with the help of relevant international literature. Women in educational management and a feminist perspective of leadership are main concerns of section two. Section three considers institutional leadership with reference to the Pakistani context and from an Islamic perspective with a focus on gender, education and Islam. The concluding section is concerned with the issue of management development with reference to the local and international situations.

1.1. Organisation

Applied in a general sense the word organisation may just mean a group of people working for some purpose/s. However the concept, as it has evolved and become the

centre of debate concerning the structure, nature, and aim of organisation, has acquired a complexity and plurality of meanings. Adopting different approaches and frameworks, sometimes quite opposing and mutually exclusive stances have been taken by their proponents.

One view imported from the world of business and industry, and influenced by the scientific management theory, assumed the universality of organisational forms and effects. It held that the organisations are structures subject to universal laws and not much different from one another (Morgan:1976). A fault in the organisation can be remedied, or improvement achieved by introducing appropriate changes in the structure. According to this view, as Greenfield dryly comments, "people occupy the organisations in somewhat the same way as they inhabit the houses. The tenants may change but.....the basic structure remains and in some way shapes the behaviour of the people within it" (Greenfield and Ribbins:1993:2).

A general theory of organisations provided a basic framework to work out how educational administrators might be trained to improve the organisations as well as the practices within them. It conceded that there were some differences between the educational institutions and other organisations, but also pointed out the similarities and recommended adoption of managerial principals of business organisations for improving management practices in education (handy and Aitken:1986; Morgan : 1976; Squire: 1987). DES circular 3/83 suggested a management training network for head teachers using an industrial model, and invited strong criticism from the teachers for not taking account of the differences (Lund:1990).

This theory of organisations ignored the fact that "each organisation has its own culture or ethos", because it is "people dealing with people" (Gray:1980:14). An organisation is not an isolated phenomenon. It exists, broadly speaking, in a socio-economic, ideological and political context, with many other factors determining its nature (O'Neil: 1994), and hence the ethos and culture of an organisation develops within its contextual aims and activities. An alternate view "sees organisations not as structures subject to universal law, but as cultural artefacts dependent upon the specific meaning and intentions of people within them" (Greenfield and

Ribbins:1993:4). This concept of organisations sees them as dependent upon the 'meanings and aims' of people, rejecting the assumption that organisations function in predictable ways, following some common laws.

Educational institutions are complex organisations. Most of the studies carried out in 1980s acknowledged the fact that educational institutions were different in their nature and functions from other organisations (Bush et al: 1980; Williets: 1982; Hughes et al: 1985; Rust: 1985; Bennett et al: 1994); the unique aspect being the teaching/learning activity and its implications, including teacher/learner relationship and esteem in which the members of the organisation hold each other. Another difference pointed out by Gray was that "nothing very much happens if the targets are not met There is no product to sell in the fickle market" (1982:1). It reflected a resistance to surrendering education to market forces.

However, recent market-orientation tendencies in education almost all over the world, initiated by global economic and political forces, influence the local context (Giddens:1990). 'Globalisation and interdependence' (Jones:1995) is not limited to the 'political economy'. Its influences extend to the social, particularly educational domain. More recently, Frank Reeves noticed a shift of the model of education from one emphasising teaching and the teacher, to one emphasising learning and the learner, with the "prioritised function of improving the skill level of the work force" (1995:3). It is perceived as leading towards the shift where colleges have increasingly acquired the appearance of business organisations (Ibid: Introduction). New market forces and business orientation in education are again affecting the nature and functions of educational organisations (Green: 1994; Bennett et al: 1994). Reeves (1995) sees them as 'dominated by a self perpetuating oligarchy of business people', and fears that the market centred economy demanding user-centred services from education might render the colleges disembedded from community. How far educational organisations will retain their special ethos and culture depends on the people whose 'wills, intentions, and aims' are expressed through them.

Educational organisations are a reflection of the culture they exist within ...[and] at the same time they shape that culture (Greenfield and Ribbins:1993), and these cannot

be understood or analysed out of that context. Richard Bates adds to the argument claiming that to say organisations have no ontological reality but are an invented social reality, ignores the reciprocal effects of agency and structure, which are "defined and redefined in terms of each other; that is dialectically "(1989:139). According to him it not only shows "how the 'invented social reality' of social practice is constituted and reconstituted by individuals but also how such social practice simultaneously plays a part in the constitution and reconstitution of individuals" (Ibid: 141).

In a Muslim society, religion is another force influencing the notion of organisations. As examined in chapter one, the ultimate expression of organisation in Islam is *Ummah*, and the Quran elaborates the principles and values concerning its nature and structure. Any other organisational unit within a Muslim context ideally draws from this basic frame of reference. Thus an organisation, in this case an educational organisation, is embedded in the context where it evolves and reflects the interplay of discourses therein. In spite of the commonalities infused by 'globalisation and interdependence', specific ideological sources create identities with distinguishing features which shape concepts and notions contextually.

1.2. Management Tasks

Management tasks and activities of the institutional heads are rooted in the immediate background and perspectives, and need to be studied as such. As long as education remained an academic exercise, removed from the atmosphere of competition introduced by the business orientated approach, management structures of the educational institutions remained quite uncomplicated, and the heads tasks comparatively simple and limited. Educational institutions retained an almost autonomous position, and the head being a leading professional with outstanding records as a teacher/educationist, claimed respect and exuded charisma. Her/his academic superiority and experience were generally accepted as sufficient credentials for future performance as a head.

Management awareness and learning management skills imposed by the industrialisation process of the 19th century, were perceived as business related

requirements. The perception of education as an intellectuals' concern made the academics wary or maybe scornful of concepts originally associated with the sphere of business/industry. The concepts of managerial tasks evolved with the establishment of large industrial units, in response to the need for increased efficiency, productivity and profit. Foyal (1916) defined basic elements of management as being to forecast and plan, to organise, to command, to co-ordinate and to control, and the emphasis was on planning, organising, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting and budgeting (Hughes et al: 1985). However, the managerial role and tasks derived solely from non-educational contexts.

The expansion in the field of education started with the beginning of the 20th century and gathered momentum after the 2nd World War when newly independent states, appearing on the map of the World, looked towards education as an answer to all their problems and as the road to ultimate development as discussed in chapter one. In the developed countries, market orientation and economic competition introduced new implications and directions in education. In a rapidly changing political, social and economic context, new challenges and opportunities emerged in the management of education, creating a complexity and multiplicity of tasks for the management heads demanding greater understanding and skill. From the position of an exclusive intellectual activity, education was re-positioned closer towards the centre of a dynamic world of political, social and economic changes and challenges with an emphasis on "efficiency and value for money" (Green:1994: Preface).

There was a change and an increase in social expectations concerning education service. Its rapid growth particularly in the FE sector produced problems of organisation and administration, adding new dimension to the management tasks. As Hughes (1990) observes, the managing role appears to be superseding the leading professional role making the heads' tasks more diverse, demanding and complex. Different studies carried out to understand and analyse the tasks and the nature of the activities of educational administrators, in schools and colleges, adopted different approaches and therefore used different methods for data collection like questionnaires, surveys, diaries, interviews and observational studies (Glatter:1971; Lyons:1976; Williets:1985; Squire:1987; Preedy:1989; Davies:1992; Ozga:1993;

Coombe lodge Report:1994). But some common themes that emerge from these diverse studies include:

- complex, fluid and fragmentary nature of the head's tasks;
- management of time in view of the high rate of interruptions and multiplicity of tasks;
- interpersonal relations;
- management of finances, resources and change; and
- communication/consultation.

One of the earlier studies that worked out a list of heads' tasks was by Lyons (1976), relying for data mainly on diary entries. He listed the tasks as pupils' welfare and guidance, curriculum, examinations, time tabling, budget, communication, staff development, office work, consultation and contacts. However, he later observes (1982:100-101) that the actual activities are more complex than the neat classification that he offered in his nine point executive skills code, adopted from Mintzberg (1993) model. In Gray's opinion understanding and resolving the organisational crisis are major tasks of a head requiring skills in "decision making, problem-solving and interpersonal relations" (1980). Williets arranges 'most time-consuming tasks' in four categories: general administration, staff matters, communication and liaison and creative thinking (1982:191), and then offers a list of tasks under each category.

It is hard to catalogue the management tasks of institutional heads because of the dynamic nature of educational organisations and their involvement with social, economic, political and ideological concerns. In the educational context, heads are expected to "expand, develop and improve the quality of educational service provided" (Rust: 1985: 4), and accordingly the list of tasks that Rust draws up includes "analysing, planning, organising, directing, controlling, co-ordinating, evaluating" (Ibid:11), maximising the communication (Ibid: 22), and staff development (Ibid: 34). The eight areas of managerial responsibility identified by Wallace (1991) are management of people, finances, resources and time, team-building and motivation, curriculum development, setting goals and targets and

administration. All these lists are by no means exclusive or exhaustive, and they just point to the infinity of management tasks with reference to institutional management.

However, two points arising from a consideration of these studies are: first, the tasks identified have a stronger association with patriarchal model; and, secondly these also tend to ignore that "schools and colleges are historically, geographically and administratively placed within society" (Watson:1982;15). If educational organisations are 'invented social reality' (Greenfield and Ribbins:1993:9), expressing the will and intentions of its people (Ibid:243, 4) and their ideologies, then the tasks of the heads also need to be studied and identified in that context. Later studies, using qualitative framework, concentrated more upon contextual requirements and implications, and acknowledged that to understand management activities, they need to be studied in perspective (Burgess :1984; Preedy:1989; Davies:1992; Ozga;1993). Tasks cannot be identified completely out of socio-cultural context, as a pack of general or universal activities. Greenfield recommends "responsibility, right judgement, and reflection"³⁶ as legitimately and inevitably part of administrative action" (Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993:156), rather than a list of tasks. Hodgkinson describes tasks as "reconciliation of organisation to society and organisation members towards organisational goals, reconciliation of individual and increasingly large collective interests....." (1983:23).

Another debate influencing the nature of tasks for institutional heads revolves round efficiency/value concern. The 1980's drive for efficiency in Britain, expressed through circulars like DES 3/83, recommended an industrial management model for educational managers. The DES circular (1985b) further emphasised that to enable the institution at least to survive and to seize the opportunities available to it in the future, the educational managers will need to adopt a clear role as the executive leader as well. These approaches highlighted the role of academics as accountable managers to achieve efficiency and effectiveness. Re-definition of "quality as meeting the needs of the customer" (Green: 1994) and introduction of the concept of cost-effectiveness

³⁶ Reflection is a widely used term with varying interpretations across disciplines and terms. I found Elana Michelson's interpretation useful who defines it as 'an inquiry into social and historical particularity', and to consider 'how the forms and contents of our thought shape and are shaped by the historical situations in which we find ourselves' (Michelson:1996:450).

value for money, laid "emphasis on the role of the leader in achieving efficiency and effectiveness" (Hughes:1990). It emphasised that the executive head of each educational institution of whatever type is responsible more than anyone else for standards of efficiency and effectiveness (DES:1985a; 1985b). Others are suspicious of the concept of efficiency because of its associations with business and marketing. Hodgkinson argues that "practitioners can no longer be considered as managers factotums or functionaries, dedicated to some gospel of efficiency or effectiveness.--- They must become active philosophers, reflexive about practice and reflective about praxis" (1993:XV). He stresses that administrators' tasks involve "a major concern for value" which changes the order of priority from efficiency to value concern requiring understanding and insight in learning and performing the tasks.

Educational institutions are different from other organisations in their aims and intentions. The distinctive nature of educational management retains "the moral, logical and instrumental relationship it has with what is managed, the learning young people" (Burnham et al:1995:6). The differences of perception in the framing of issues are subjective and an understanding of strategies/tasks to resolve the issues and to manage the situations have to be worked out accordingly, making it essential to study management tasks "in the social and cultural context" (Davies:1985). Greenfield argues that "cultural circumstances alter the views that scholars take about a given issue" (Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993: 46), and the same is the case with the practitioners.

Management tasks of institutional heads in a Muslim society become inclusive because the Islamic philosophy of education aims at the holistic development of 'man', as stated earlier in chapter one. This concept of education extends the duties of knowledge-givers beyond the material into the moral, intellectual and spiritual realms. Thus management tasks of the college heads in a Muslim society involve development of the learners as Muslims. This point is further elaborated later in section three of this chapter while examining the concept of educational leadership from an Islamic perspective

1.3. Institutional leadership: Theories and Practices

The term leadership is used in a variety of contexts and disciplines and its meaning and implications differ accordingly. Even within similar disciplines meanings vary across the nations and cultures because behavioural styles are effected by cultural norms (Smith et al:1994). As pointed out by Middlehurst, several recent cross-cultural studies "support the assumption that cultural and psychological factors affect the nature of leadership" (1993:117). Different cultures or sub-cultures reflect different values and norms (Marsh:1994). Fullan also maintains that the culture and ethos of leadership "differ in fundamental ways across nations" (1992:viii). For example, the Japanese language has no word for 'leadership', the leader being thought of as inseparable from the group (Handy:1993:117). Greenfield rightly argues that "the leadership is more than an individual phenomenon; it is a cultural thing embedded in whole lives within cultures" (Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993:254), and "cultural circumstances alter the views that scholars take about a given issue"(Ibid : 461) . Historically, the notion of leadership evolved from a social context of group, community, or tribal existence, but it is now applied in conceptually and practically diverse and even conflicting contexts, drawing upon different sources and elements for effectiveness. However one element that it retains in almost every interpretation is group activity, as claimed by Hunt that "a common thread among many leadership definitions is interpersonal influence" (1991:57).

Here, I look at different interpretations of leadership and explore various concepts with the intention of identifying those classifications or categorisations which bear some potential, practical relevance to the educational context. I mainly focus on 'institutional leadership', a term used by many writers to refer to the role and functions of the head or manager of an educational institution (Middlehurst:1993;1995a; Hughes:1990). I also look into the gender specific attributes of leadership and argue for a redefinition of the existing patriarchal concepts. Finally I discuss the Islamic view of leadership in educational context with its religious and political implications, as I wish to apply these leadership concepts and theories to the Pakistani context relevant to this research.

Concept of Leadership

Different interpretations of leadership reflect the ways of looking at it and the theoretical assumption behind them. Hughes argues that "classifications, theories and descriptions depend not only upon the way the world is but also upon what it is we want to show or display. It is not reasonable to suppose that there could be one classification or descriptive scheme which could serve for all purposes" (1990:158). Any interpretation of leadership reflects the writer's view of reality, whether "leadership is in the eyes of the beholder or in the actions of the leader?" (Middlehurst: 1993: 46); culture-specific or out there; born or made? (Mullins: 1995 : 235). Many writers on leadership admit the complexity and ambiguity of the concept and subsequent difficulties in interpretation/s. Middlehurst considers it an intangible and elusive notion and points to a "lack of consensus about the essence of leadership or the means by which it can be identified, achieved or measured" (1993: 7). She also points to doubts regarding its appropriateness for non-profit professional organisations such as universities (Ibid: I). Variations in interpretation arise also because leadership derives power and influence from different formal or informal sources of position, person, knowledge, and wisdom etc. (Mullins:1995:229). In more general terms, it involves learning how to work with and through people. Richard Gorringer defines educational leadership as taking responsibility for not only setting out the vision, strategy, and action required, but for leading in the process of implementation (Coombe Lodge:1994).

A further element that adds to the 'complexity and ambiguity' of the notion is the debate about its effectiveness in education. Hunt refers to this controversy when he mentions "the popular thinking emphasising the importance of leadership in establishing excellent organisations", and also points to "many academic publications which assert that leadership is inconsequential" (1991:1). Fullan (1992) also argues that the general image of head as a key figure for leading and supporting change is a misinterpretation of existing research and maintains that "there are serious limitations to the current conception of the head as lead-interpreter of official policies and programs". He refers to a study carried out by the Toronto Board of Education which reported "72% decrease in the trust in the leadership of the head" (Ibid:6).

In spite of the doubts about the relevance of leadership notion in education or decreasing trust in it, and the debatable nature of the head's role in decision-making and programme implementation, there is another dimension to the issue. The institutional heads have the responsibility imposed upon them for the processes of implementation and innovation which indirectly force the leadership role upon them. As Fullan himself quotes from an interview in Duke (1988:309) that: "The principalship is the kind of job where you are expected to be all things to all people" (1993:147). These expectations make demands to take charge and lead - whether in a democratic or authoritarian manner, depends on the individual head and other relevant factors.

The relationship between management and leadership is another important debate. Sometimes the two are seen as synonymous, but there are writers who argue against it and hold management and leadership as two "distinctive but complementary functions" (Kotter:1988). Mullins makes the distinction that "management is more usually viewed as getting things done through other people in order to achieve stated organisational goals", while "many people operate as leaders without their roles ever clearly established or defined" (1995: 230). Middlehurst calls them 'twin organisational pillars', and defines leadership as "establishing vision and direction, building commitment through communication and negotiation about collective goals, and providing support and inspiration to address and overcome the barriers to change"; whereas management, in her opinion, "includes the familiar elements of planning and budgeting, organising and staffing, controlling and problem solving, which produce a necessary degree of predictability, consistency, and order, required both by internal constituencies and external stake holder" (1993: 83). In Mintzberg's powerful study of managers, leadership is viewed as one of the many roles of a manager (Mintzberg:1973), whereas in certain contexts management is seen as one function of leadership. Leigh (1994) views "the manager more like a gardener tending a plant, watching and helping it grow in its own natural direction", while he sees the leaders "who make things happen....[and] revitalise entire organisations". Schon differentiates between managers who are technicians - possessing a body of techniques, and craftsmen for whom management is an art, a matter of skill and wisdom, the reflective leaders (1983). This agrees with the popular image that

managers are the people who do things right and leaders are people who do the right things" (Handy:1993:115).

This discussion leads to another interpretation of leadership in education as a 'moral art' (Hodgkinson:1991). Hodgkinson's added dimension of values for educational heads is based on a hierarchy of will, reason, and emotion, and the leadership involves ultimately through a process of value choices, the expression of will (Evers and Lakomski: 1991: 100-130). Discussing educational leadership he claims that:

"Leadership is not and cannot be a science; it is a humane and practical art"
(Hodgkinson:1991:12).

Greenfield (Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993: 162-8) discusses Hodgkinson's notion of leadership in educational management which implies "the shaping of people and organisations, the search for better values, the making of choices, and the unending quest for, and questioning of the administrators power and choices". He extends the bounds beyond the science/art dichotomy and argues that educational leadership is a science, an art and a philosophy. John Codd discusses practice of educational leadership "as a form of philosophy in action" (1989:157) arguing against the dichotomy which perceives educational leadership as "a practical activity ----- [and] philosophy [sic] as a form of intellectual contemplation somewhat removed from the every day world of decision-making and action" (Ibid:157). Offering a critique of dichotomy between common-sense as muddled thinking and philosophy as organised thinking Codd discusses "Gramsci's reconstruction of the relationship between philosophy and common sense", and analyses it along with Friere's notion of 'intellectual leadership' perceiving education to be a form of cultural action that also has the potential "to be either oppressive or liberating" (Ibid: 173,174).

Implications for Education

Whether leadership is viewed as one of the many roles of a manager or as a comprehensive notion, it has its implications for the educational context. The management processes, and how these are conducted, may vary from one situation to the other, but the institutional head continues as the motivational force. S/he has to

carry the responsibility for the processes and consequences regardless of the nature of the procedures of decision-making and implementation. It is increasingly becoming so, in the present context of recent market forces and global economic changes, where education is expected to feed in national economies rather than encourage isolated scholarly pursuits. This is another debate pertaining to the aims of education and not directly relevant here, but the point that I wish to make is that the aims also determine the approaches towards their attainment.

The development of various leadership theories has been motivated by a desire to discover the most effective style of behaviour for a manager/leader to adopt for the purposes of organisational development. I intend to cover these by focusing on institutional leadership. Poster and Day observe that in many studies institutional leader is "recognised as crucial to the realisation of meaningful and lasting improvement" (1988:94). Angus also points to much emphasised essential link between "school effectiveness and educational leadership" (1989:66) and the role of principals in 'securing reforms' (Ibid:85). Hattersley (1992) makes a sweeping statement that "the quality of the head teacher's leadership is the most important single determinant of the success of the school". Almost all the major writings on institutional leadership admit the importance of the head's leadership role in the organisational effectiveness, although there are variations in opinions about the degree and ways of effectiveness. To explain and/or achieve this effectiveness various theories of leadership evolved internationally over the past fifty years in particular, based on different epistemological assumptions. Bryman (1992) offers a general overview of these approaches from the 1940s to date³⁷, putting them in broad categories of trait approach, style/behaviour approach, contingency approach, and the new synthesis, for which he coins the term 'the new leadership' approach.

The Trait Approach

The trait approach assumes that the leaders are born with certain physical assets, personality features, and ability characteristics, which intrinsically make them into leaders. Handy (1993) terms it as an impossible ideal which tends to ignore other

³⁷ Leadership theories are discussed also in Adair:1988; Watkins:1989; Handy:1993; Middlehurst:1993; Wilson:1995.

situational factors. Although leaders do seem to possess certain qualities in common but the traits on their own do not necessarily make leaders in the absence of favourable relevant situational factors. Further more, there is no single trait or set of qualities that can be used to discriminate between leaders and non-leaders, over the times (Middlehurst:1993:11; Handy:1993:99; Mullins:1995a:235). This approach faded out in 1950s, but more recently it is making a "come-back in a more sophisticated form associated particularly with studies of leader's mental predisposition or preferences" (Middlehurst:1993:14), which Handy discusses as the 'differentiated trait approach' (1993:118-19).

The waning of the trait theory in 1950s is associated with an increasing shift towards democratic culture and, to some extent, to the second world war phenomenon, when it was found that "people from all sorts of religions and educational backgrounds could be effective leaders" (Handy:1993:97). Growing knowledge in the field of educational leadership also contributed to it with the subsequent understanding that "the personal charisma of leaders of all institutions and services had been overrated, in contrast to knowledge and information which have been underrated" (Saran and Trafford:1990). Another critique of the trait approach is that it does not take into account the important elements of the leadership context such as group, task and environment. This dissatisfaction with the trait theory contributed to the development of behavioural approach.

The Behavioural/Style Approach

The behavioural approach links leadership with organisational behaviour, stressing the interplay of group relationships, and subsequently draws attention to possibilities of development. It opened up an endless quest for theories to gain a better understanding of the overall problem and to find a better explanation of individual situations, raising the question of leadership styles which rang anywhere from democratic to authoritarian, informal to formal, and participative to autocratic. Likert's famous model of four systems of management (1967) - exploitative-authoritative, benevolent-authoritative, consultative, and participative - is also based on the assumptions that accept group relationships as an important dimension of leadership. He proposes the participative system where 'subordinates' (co-workers!)

can share the decision-making in an atmosphere of mutual trust, confidence, and multi-directional communication. This interactional aspect is stressed in Wilson's interpretation of leadership:

"Leadership is not about possessing a combination of traits; it is about developing a working relationship among members of a group in which the leader acquires status through active participation and demonstration of his or her capacity for carrying co-operative tasks through to completion" (1995:155).

Nias, in her models of leadership style (1980), termed those leaders as 'Positive' who set high standards and were dynamic, consultative and participative. At the two opposite ends of the spectrum she places 'Passive' - the ineffective, uninvolved, and the 'Bourbon' - the administratively inefficient and authoritarian. There are different grids of leadership style, explaining behaviour in the context of group activity, such as Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1973)'s continuum of behaviour ranging from 'boss-centred' to 'subordinate-centred' leadership, presenting a range of actions related to the authority used by the manager, and the degree of 'freedom and involvement' available to the subordinates. Adair in his famous three circle model of team, task and individual (1988:26), describes leadership as both 'instrumental and expressive' of organisational effectiveness, and acknowledges the importance of context and situation (Ibid:15).

The Contingency Approach

In the 1960s, there was an increasing recognition of contextual forces which shifted the focus of emphasis from behaviour to situation. It was proposed that besides the personality of the manager, the forces in the subordinates and the organisational culture, with their complex, varied demands and constraints, may determine how a manager acts. As Handy makes the observation that "overall effectiveness however, is clearly dependent on more than style alone. Hence what are called contingency theories" (1993:102).

The contingency theories recognise the importance of situation arguing that there is no single style of leadership appropriate to all situations (Mullins:1995:235). They postulate that leadership styles/behaviour cannot be wholly understood or explained precluding the situation in which a leader performs. There is an emphasis on a close articulation between the patterns of leadership behaviour and situation, emphasising the situation as the dominant feature in explaining the nature of effective leadership. Fielder (1967) developed one of the first leader-situation models which stresses the interdependence between leadership style and situation. Handy's 'best fit' approach recognises four sets of influencing factors: the leaders, the task, the subordinates, the environment (1993:107-18). He concludes that "a head ---- like any leader, has to shape the environment as well as being shaped by it. Leadership is not exercised in a vacuum" (Ibid:15). Hunt's 'extended multi-organisational level leadership model', which Middlehurst analyses as a 'comprehensive' model (1993:41), involves individual elements, group factors, and organisational culture, claiming that "external environment and societal culture----play a potentially important role in the creation of organisational culture" (1991: 232), thus further expanding the area of focus.

The New Leadership

The term 'new leadership' coined by Bryman (1992), discusses more elusive notions of this concept such as sources of power and their use, the effects of organisational culture, the articulation between leadership and change, and vision and charisma as related to leadership. He looks into the concepts of transformational and transactional leadership which Middlehurst considers two 'dimensions of leadership' (1993:33). Transforming leadership, as used by Burns who coined the term, or transformational leadership, as termed in later studies (Bass and Avolio: 1994), "entails both leaders and followers raising each other's motivation and sense of higher purpose" (Bryman: 1992: 95), while "the key motivater in transactional leadership is self-interest, as pay or status is exchanged for work effort" (Middlehurst:1993:33). There is considerable debate in the area as to the relevance of the two approaches to the academic context. Middlehurst proposes a combination of the two for universities (1993:85-156), holding that "transactional leaders may be required for the maintenance of a steady state situation", but a transformational style can be more suitable for a crisis (Ibid:33).

Association of leadership with sources of influence and power has differed over times and cultures. Handy discusses power and influence in relation to leadership in detail defining power as 'force', and influence as 'process', drawing from various sources such as position, expertise, authority, charisma etc. (1993:125-51³⁸). In the academic context, leadership derives power from professional competence, legitimate authority, and personal factors, and its maintenance rests on the leader's "continuing ability to fulfil followers' expectations", or reshape them (Middlehurst:1993:32). Stalhammar sees the head's authority deriving from credibility based on competence of a goal-oriented leader, who creates a vision and works with subordinates to achieve it (1994:14-25). This collegial paradigm is traditionally more associated with educational institutions and Hargreave (1993) considers it a form of transformational leadership.

Macro environmental factors, dynamic global changes, growing centralist pressures within education, and increased accountability are leading towards leadership interpretations which are complex and value laden. "Increasingly leadership is extolled which exhibits vision, emphasises others, inspires, challenges the status quo, and adopts a proactive stance" (Bryman:1992:113). It entails authority and inspiration interacting to achieve the organisational goals and to manage change, placing emphasis "on vision and a clear sense of direction, a building of corporate culture around common purposes, on political acumen, charisma, and risk-taking" (Middlehurst:1993:82). Presumably, it is this aspect of charisma to articulate with continuous change and innovation which is contributing to the development of 'the new leadership approach' (Bryman:1992), the differentiated trait theory, 'a new synthesis' (Handy:1993), or a more 'sophisticated' approach towards integrating traits/charisma with situational and cultural factors (Middlehurst:1993), requiring vision and value choices (Hodgkinson:1991), and stressing need for 'reflection and reflexivity' (Greenfield and Ribbins:1993). Gray is suspicious of exclusive reliance upon charisma and considers it problematic:

³⁸ See also Adair:1988; and Bryman:1992.

"One of the problems with charismatic leaders is that they do not allow the sharing to take place and so depower their colleagues to the extent of incapacitation" (1982:41).

Many feminist writers would agree with this because the traditional model of charismatic leadership is constructed round a male prototype and male concepts of management "which exclude [women's] experiences and their understanding" (Ozga:1993:3). Blackmore argues that "the particular notion of leadership dominant in educational administration has been socially and historically constructed in a way that connects so-called 'masculine' characteristics to leadership" (1995:98). She describes the current discourse of leadership "itself [as] a form of 'power over others', of masking conflict, of being deployed to reinforce consensus, of constraining action and prescribing behaviours" (Ibid:96).

As long as care and authority are seen as contradictions, female and male leadership models will be constructed in opposition. An interplay of care and authority, evolving from a re-construction of both the concepts, could contribute to a leadership model which might function across the gender divides. Blackmore suggests the need to "reconceptualize a different type of leadership in a caring community" like educational sites (1995:122). The existing leadership models not only serve as barriers by discouraging women to aspire for leadership positions, but also cause stress when they are actually in such positions. The following section focuses on women in educational leadership positions. The discussion has relevance as the study concerns both male and female college heads.

2. Women and Educational Management

The obvious fact of female under-representation in educational management, across the cultures and nations is mentioned in every relevant study. Interestingly this phenomenon transcends the dichotomies like developed/under-developed, Eastern/Western, Muslim/non-Muslim, first/third-world countries, and the variations are more often due to situational differences like single-sex institutions as in the case of Pakistan. For example, the percentage of female representation in higher education management for America, Britain and China as given by Lyn Davies is respectively

24, 13, and 26% (1992: 6³⁹), between 20-30% in Zimbabwe, and 30-40% in Pakistan (Ibid: 4). Did it imply that the Pakistani system was less discriminatory, or more developed, or that there were more highly-educated women in Pakistan? These generalisations could be misleading and removed from reality. The reason for this comparatively higher percentage of women managers in Pakistan is the existence of women only institutions. In the contexts where management jobs were open to men and women, women were in extremely low numbers. This observation required a general review of related international literature, which is the purpose of the next section. The first part considers issues pertinent to women in educational management followed by a discussion examining feminist perspectives on leadership in the second part.

2.1. An Overview: over time and across cultures

The sex-roles and career-mapping of women are perceived as strong barriers to female entry into management positions (Davies:1987; Evetts:1994; Ozga:1994; Kelley and Elliot:1982; Shakeshaft:1991;1993). Role-socialisation of women (Shakeshaft:1991; Hall:1993), reinforced by male cultural domination and the tendency of putting more value on male tasks (Shakeshaft:1991: 94), subjects women to a pre-determined devaluation of their contributions to work. Al-Khalifa mentions theories of overt and covert discrimination (1992:101⁴⁰) as barriers to management positions. She notes that the "association of masculinity, male authority and school leadership is pervasive in the life of the school" (1989:85) and argues that educational management is seen as demanding male skills. What Hall calls the 'traditionally gendered organisational roles' (1994: 3), and Evetts defines as 'the gendering of careers' (1994b: 7), is a phenomenon acknowledged by any study of leadership which includes gender. Al-Khalifa discerns an association between theories of organisational leadership and masculinity which deter women from identifying with the role of manager. She emphasises that alternative models of career need to be accompanied by a reconceptualisation of management to include women's experiences and interpretation (1989:92; also Hall:1993 :30,35). Shakeshaft considers the theories of organisational constraints leading to a lack of role models and networks for women,

³⁹ Also see Coleman:1996.

⁴⁰ Also Adler et al 1993:25; and Ozga:1993:38.

stereotyping, and male dominated selection committees (1991:67). Marianne Coleman adds to the debate through theories of inequality, referring also to male domination of research methods and management theory as another explanation of female under-representation in educational management (1994:187-8).

Gathered from an in-depth review of international literature, there emerge three major sets of assumptions leading to female under-representation in educational management and leadership positions:

- Sex-roles: including careering mapping, attitude to promotion, female sex-roles, role discrimination etc.
- Organisational constraints: sexual division of labour inside the institutions, discrimination in promotion, concepts of leadership etc.
- Power relations within society: networking, role models etc.

In a Western context, women's career mapping appears to be affected by motherhood issue and responsibilities of looking after a family. Men in management have helpful partners to look after the family, while women by entering into management posts add to their responsibilities and work-load. Many women take themselves off work during child-rearing or because of other family responsibilities (Al-Khalifa: 1992; Ozga:1994; Shakeshaft; 1991;1993), and a later re-entry into job may decrease motivation and opportunity to progress. Marshall comments on stress to manage their multiple roles and hints meaningfully that "the real problems started after maternity leave" (1984:188). However, women in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and maybe in many other Third World countries, which have joint family systems or different social structures, and where severe climatic conditions restrict work-hours, women do not have to take themselves off work for child rearing. There is certainly greater increase in work-load for the women who are, for certain reasons, unable to get help from inside the family, or cannot hire domestic help for financial reasons, leading to complaints about accommodating/combining home duties and job responsibilities (Raj: 1982). But child rearing and family duties do not emerge as a

very strong barrier in the Third World context as compared to its significance in the developed societies.

Davies (1992) explains the over-representation of men in management as resulting from the male assumption of administrative/management tasks and their more 'confident' and 'over-competitive' attitude. She finds that females need to be persuaded to take management responsibilities and constantly keep searching themselves as to their ability to leadership. Women are considered as competent as men in many research studies (Shakeshaft:1991; Davies:1992), and their opting to stay out of management jobs to some extent is explained by maintaining that they wrongly presume 'the universality of male experience' (Shakeshaft: 1991:160).

In a situation like Pakistan where there is a separate area of female management at the college level, women still avoid going for higher jobs. Brydon and Chant (1989) further the argument that "the cultural norms are so strong that women effectively opt out of visibility by going into stricter *purdah*". This *purdah* is not necessarily a veil, but a symbolic attitude going for invisibility and avoiding gaze. Such behavioural norms can be one explanation of what Nayyar (1985) refers to as 'disabilities of their sex roles'. Although Davies (1992:19) refuses to accept sex role as disabling but the analysis by her seems to accept sex roles as a restricting imposition.

Davies finds that women "underplay" themselves which is supported by other studies. Different managers in Shakeshaft (1991) describe women as tentative, more listening, avoiding questions, less assertive, conveying signals of courtesy, and more inclusive rather than exclusive. They are generally regarded as less ambitious, lacking in confidence, over emotional, too family-centred or under-achieving (Davies:1987), which again points to the cultural norms against which women are judged and are also expected to perform. Further, men find it hard to accept women in positions of authority even in a professional context which suggests home-to-job transferring of role-relationships. Al-Khalifa quotes a male teacher saying : "It grates me to have a woman in position of authority over me" arguing that "rejection of women's leadership [is] ... a stand point shared by many men" (1992: 101). Aspiring women

do not have to fight only against structural barriers but also social patterns and cultural norms. This point is discussed again in chapters seven and eight.

In a sex-segregated education context like Pakistan, women managers were accepted as necessity, but the feeling of rejection persists on occasions. The practices were accommodated by shifting and patterning organisations within the discourse of 'family' with the head as male who dominated the private and managed the public while the women managed and controlled in the private. It suits patriarchal traditions. Unless the role relationships in the family change or the role relationships in the organisations are conceived as different from those within the family, the rejection of women's leadership by men would continue, particularly in religious societies, as structured on patriarchal/feudal patterns.

In diverse societies and cultures like America (Ozga:1992), India (Nayyer:1985), New Zealand (Strachen:1993), Britain (Wilson:1995), and the Third World (Davies:1992), different social, organisational, structural, economic and political factors act at different levels as barriers to female participation in management. But common to all societies seems to be an implicit belief that male/female difference compulsively implies female inferiority. It is the socio-historical development of the sex-roles and image of women, and its dissemination through different channels throughout human history that lies behind today's less motivated, less ambitious, low aspirant woman (Balkin:1987; Delamont:1980).

Referring to the Pakistani context, Islam does not consider woman responsible for the fall of Adam "but Satan made them both slip from the Garden and so deprived them of their previous felicity" (The Quran: 2:36-37; also see Badawi:1994). Nonetheless, the first woman in theology is presented as a weak counterpart, who succumbed to Satan's persuasions and caused Adam's expulsion from Eden. It is ignored that Adam's rushing into a faulty and hasty judgement reflects rather negatively on male decision making - a vital function in management. In the Greek city states, the first upholders of democracy and human rights, women had no right to vote, which was a negation of their existence as individuals and citizens. Romans with all their ground set of laws, treated women as merely decorative, bestowing all power to the male

head of the family (Massey:1988). Aristotle claimed that 'women are physically, mentally and socially inferior to men'. Certain Arab tribes of the early 7th century (pre-Islam) buried their daughters alive at birth. In today's India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, in families of particular socio-economic backgrounds, sympathies are offered at the birth of a female child to the 'unhappy family'. The miserable mother is blamed for bringing the unwanted child into the world and if the number of female offsprings increases with no male child to brighten the house, the unlucky mother can get divorced. If economic constraints force a choice, the female child will be the one chosen to stay out of education (Shah:1986).

This socio-historical specification of sex-roles has been further emphasised through folk-lore, literature, curriculum and media. Women in Greek literature are there to please, to obey, and to serve. Women in Homer's *Odysseus* are exchanged, given as prizes, stolen, sold as slaves (Peradotto and Sullivan:1984). In the later literature, European or Oriental, the favourite female type is the gentle, caring, undemanding woman, quick to serve, willing to obey, and ready to sacrifice. Ibsen's woman becomes controversial by trying to manage the situation herself. She invites criticism and opposition, becomes an out-cast, and 'the doll's house' crumbles. Many women suppress their job ambitions to save their 'dolls houses' and it applies to diverse societies. Strategies need to be developed to evolve women out of this socio-psychological suppression. Women and men are different but this difference does not imply a superior/inferior relationship. Within and across the sexes, individuals can outperform in certain areas if they are rightly motivated and developed. The widespread undervaluation of women's work on the part of governments, planners, academic and others (Brydon and Chant:1989), their invisibility from planning and decision making levels (Davies:1992), a general scarcity of role models, mentors, and networking are major obstacles to changing women's attitude towards opting for management responsibilities.

The odds against which a woman performs and the courage, strength and tolerance that she brings to her work needs to be recognised and appreciated, which emphasises the importance of networking. Davies considers networking as an important factor towards promotions and considers it one of the reasons of males over representation

in educational management. Similarly, role-models/mentors serve as positive incentives. She recommends women-only training courses which "provide space for women to articulate, to experiment, to feel unthreatened and not to have to play power games (1992:109; also Al-Khalifa:1992). Nevertheless, she does not exclude mixed sex courses, as these represent the reality of work situation.

Davies (1992) maintains that many factors considered as barriers in the developed societies are not the barriers in the third world which indicates variety of contexts, and I agree. She claims that men 'assume managerial tasks' because they are 'confident', but does not go into those cultural norms and socio-psychological suppressions of women which socialise men to be 'confident'. When and where these cultural norms do not function very strongly, and socio-psychological suppression is countered by strong and encouraging role models/mentors and networking, women compete with confidence for highly responsible management positions; and in Islam we have many examples of such women from its very early history as detailed later in this chapter.

2.2. Feminist Perspectives on Leadership

Gender is often not confronted in different leadership theories on the assumption that "leadership styles and administrative contexts are gender neutral" (Blackmore: 1995:103). Hodgkinson (1991) dismisses the use of feminine pronouns explaining it in the preface as being 'in the interests of clarity, emphasis, or literary merit'. Besides such linguistic interests, it is often either a blind eye as if women are not there or tokenism when women are assumed to be there for political reasons. Gill Blackmore rightly refers to public/private, nature/culture, emotional/rational dualism which rendered women invisible in political and social theory and later in education (1995:107-9).

Many women writers have critiqued exclusion of gender issues from the discussion of educational management (Hall:1993; Shakeshaft:1991; 93; Wilson:1995). This omission is particularly noticeable at the higher education level. Most of the research published since 1980 focusing on women in management, relates to schools "with only a few references to women in Further and Higher education" (Hall:1993:24),

which is male-dominated and believed to be a male domain. Powney and Weiner (1991) examine the issue of female exclusion as comprising of:

- invisibility - as if they are not there;
- visibility - which is stereotyped or/and token.

This invisibility of women is not specific or restricted to educational management but reflects a wider and complex interplay of discourses over time and across societies, aimed at the marginalisation of women. Association of educational management and leadership with gendered stereotypes not only excludes women from these sites but aims at perpetuating the exclusions. Women are stereotyped negatively as leaders and managers, and are often pre-judged as failures. Spencer points to this unfairness, though not with specific reference to education, that:

"[M]en are assumed to possess any necessary competence, until such time as they demonstrate otherwise, but women need most positively to establish the fact of their competence before this will be recognised" (1987:134).

Blackmore points to the "tendency for many women who have the qualifications, expertise and aptitude, often not to apply for positions of leadership" (1995:95; also Davies :1992) which is frequently attributed to "women's lack of confidence in their management role, which seems to be due to the lack of a common perception of how a woman in a management role should behave" (Ousten: 1993:9). Shakeshaft (1991) questions research and theory that does not include women's perspectives and also that which measures women against male paradigms of leadership and effectiveness. Gill Blackmore argues for a de-construction of this masculine notion of leadership and invites 'to question what is not included in the discourse as much as what is' (1995:96) raising questions regarding leadership charisma, its dimensions and its association with gender.

"Are women as likely as men to be perceived as possessing charisma?"

Fiona Wilson (1995:154) voices the question which echoes in the overwhelming silence maintained in the mainstream leadership literature about women in educational leadership. Earlier on, Intrilligator demolished the classical leadership theory "as being proposed for, researched on, and normed upon, male leaders in male-oriented situations". She attacked it as:

"Leadership theory that assumes a male perspective, or theory in which male values are so deeply embedded as to be invisible, ensures that only male or women adopting male views, will be selected as leaders, will continue to lead and thereby set courses, define vision and create new world" (1993:5-17).

Fiona Wilson's non-diplomatic query and Intrilligator's harsh critique raise two major questions: one,

- what are the norms for leadership? and two,
- can women be good leaders?

A look at the management literature supports Wilson's statement that "leadership literature historically focused only on male leaders" (1995:152). Women are at times represented but are not present in the studies. The resultant concentration on the patriarchal model for leadership analysis contributed towards stereotypical definitions of leadership with 'male as norm', against which women's performance is measured. Furthermore, it initiated a continuing debate between 'hard' and 'soft' styles which has become more gender-specific rather than effectiveness-oriented.

Identification of predominantly male traits and behaviour is viewed as stemming from the socialisation processes in different cultures and contexts, where positions of power and authority are viewed as gender-specific; and sometimes is also attributed to women being fewer in leadership positions (Acher:1994; Adler et al:1993; Davies:1992; Hall:1994; 1996; Ouston:1993; Ozga:1993; Shakeshaft:1991; Strachen:1993; Wilson:1995). Davies (1992) raises the question that "if there was preponderance of women in leadership positions would the traits identified be different?" In the present context I would argue that to achieve this 'preponderance'

where women and men compete for leadership position, the concept of leadership itself needs to be redefined, including perspectives and practices of women in leadership roles.

The practice of presenting studies concentrating only on men in leadership roles, as leadership studies, assuming that these represent female perspectives as well, is rather presumptuous and contrary to the spirit of true research. Middlehurst's explanation with reference to her book that "what is said about leadership applies both to men and women" because "many studies (which emanated largely from USA) concluded that there is no greater difference between men and women in relation to leadership, than between women as a population" (1993:3), is a weak argument offered by many other leadership writers as well. A common Persian saying is that offering justification for a sin is worse than the sin itself, and in this case the sin is 'silence' and 'devoicing'. Occasionally, some leadership studies include one discrete chapter relating to women in management as an after thought, as if for a deviant 'other' group outside the real world - the male managers and administrators. Shakeshaft (1991) points to this methodological weakness in educational research where the issue of gender is ignored. Any norms that preclude the practices and perspectives of a particular population cannot claim to be a valid measure of that group's performance.

Statistics and studies claim that the number of women in leadership positions is decreasing (Davies:1990:67), and women are increasingly hesitant to take up such positions in spite of their congregations in lower teaching positions (Shakeshaft:1991; Davies:1992). Associating it with women's lack of ambition or fear of achievement are some more theoretical assumptions deployed to force roles upon women through gender-specific socialisation and organisational structures that favour men and disadvantage women. Women do not apply, not because they lack experience, confidence, or expertise, but because they know too much about the work environment in the higher education and the dangers it presents to women. It is not merely the stress to maintain a precarious balance between the private and the professional worlds, but also the unfavouring system within which they have to compete and survive. Relating women's lesser visibility in leadership positions to sex-role orientation is ignoring this aspect of the reality that male power role is "supported

by our language, laws, and institutions which privilege the male" (Wilson: 1994:168). It will be more reasonable to explore and change the factors precluding women from leadership positions, rather than to postulate and theorise precluding women from the research studies.

Can women be good leaders or not is tied up with how leadership is viewed. Organisational roles are "traditionally gendered, reflecting the patterns of wider society" (Hall:1994:3). The feudal concept of leader as an armed knight waving the sword and yelling 'follow me', no longer applies in democratic societies, particularly not in an educational context, but unfortunately it keeps interfering. There are some laws of equality but practising equality and faith in equality are lacking, which has resulted in stereotypical roles and patterns. Furthermore, in non-democratic, non-educational contexts leadership has closer connotations with authority rather than consensus, leading to its definitions in terms of male attributes.

I have already pointed out that more recent research is moving closer to viewing educational leadership as a consultative, communicative and participative process, stressing collegiality and consensus (Burnham et al: 1995; Bush: 1995; Coombe Lodge: 1994; Fullan:1991,1993; Middlehurst:1993; Wilson:1995). Collegial models assume that organisations determine policy and make decisions on the basis of discussion leading to consensus, and practising equality (Bush:1995), and women are generally perceived as participative, interactive and seeking co-operation. Rothschild claims that "women tend more than men to negotiate conflict in ways that protect ongoing working relationships" and concludes that women's socialisation prepares them better to lead complex settings of change, as quoted in Fullan (1993:74). Fullan also points to evidence suggesting that women are more likely to demonstrate behaviour associated with effective leadership, although he questions any conclusive evidence (1991:163,4).

Fiona Wilson believes that a "more positive view of women as leaders seems to have emerged" (1995:170), which might have evolved from an interplay of changes in the social, political, and economic contexts. The quote from Ann Limb "when the best leader's work is done, people say we did it ourselves" (Coombe Lodge: 1994:228) is

more representative of a collegial, consensus approach, which is viewed as closer to women's interactive, participative style. Women prefer to share the credit with the co-workers rather than decorate the shoulders with stars. Women are "more oriented than men towards a domestic or participative leadership style" (Wilson:1995:174) and if the future leadership style is going to be shaped on these lines, and as many studies agree to it, then we can hope to see more women in leadership roles. Their ability to juggle the balls has more relevance to the present day educational context with all the varied and complex functions associated with it, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Another debate centres round the question 'can differences in the leadership style produce differences in effectiveness?'. Experts on leader-effectiveness maintain that it cannot be concluded that one style is any greater advantage or disadvantage (Adair:1988; Bryman:1992; Fielder:1967; Handy:1993). However, a democratic organisational atmosphere is deemed to be more conducive to co-operation and collaboration, and is seen as enhancing leader effectiveness. Bolam et al related effective school leadership to "leadership styles that are democratic, collegial, open, consultative and team-oriented" (Bolam et al:1993), which Hall finds more evident in women's management styles (1993:41). Blackmore also mentions recent studies which look to feminist qualities to produce 'a more balanced conceptualisation of leadership' (1995:101). On the other hand, there are suggestions that in a crisis a more goal-oriented approach might be more effective. Like the notion of leadership itself, all these related issues are widely debated.

The discussion suggests that a leader's effectiveness can be better understood and interpreted in articulation with complex and diverse situational factors related to that particular context. In the next section, I will discuss the notion of educational leadership with reference to Pakistan.

3. The Pakistani Context

Pakistan is an Islamic state, created specifically in the name of religion, and more than 90% of its population is Muslims. It is explicitly stated in the constitution (1973) that all the laws and policies will be formulated in conformity with the teachings of the Quran and the '*Sunnah*' (the Prophet's way). Islam claims to offer an integrated,

comprehensive 'way of life', and different concepts within it are interdependent and interrelated. These notions derive from the Quran and the *Sunnah* as the ultimate conceptual sources, in the same order of priority, although there is "the door left open for concepts which come from different fields of knowledge provided that they fit the Quranic perspective" (Abdullah: 1982:43). In an Islamic educational context, various related notions and issues "cannot be truly appreciated without some accurate understanding of the Islamic faith and civilisation" (Tabawi:1972:19), relevant to the discussion. Therefore, this section considers educational leadership from an Islamic perspective, and the concluding section explores it further with reference to women's positioning, in the guidance of the Quran and the Hadith.

3.1. Islam, Education and Leadership

Man is regarded by Islam as the 'vicegerent' of God on earth, and the entire creation is subservient to man (the Quran:2:70):

"God has bestowed on him, and him alone among all the created things, ability to recognise, understand, and emulate the attributes of God, and realise them in practice in this life" (Hussain and Ashraf: 1979:10).

Who, how, what, and why related to what God has 'bestowed on him', formulate the basis of the Islamic theory of knowledge. God the creator and the ultimate knower, taught to man the knowledge of things (the Quran:96). All knowledge rests with God, who gave some of it to Adam, the first human being : "And He taught Adam the nature of things" (the Quran: 2:31). To this Adam who had been made vicegerent through partaking in God's knowledge, the angels were asked to perform *sijda*⁴¹. The ensuing argument between God and the Archangel in the Quran as to the cause of Adam's superiority over the angels who 'worship God day and night' is proof of the high status of knowledge in Islam, as compared to mere rituals and worship. The question is forcefully and clearly raised in the Quran :

⁴¹ '*Sijda*' in the Islamic context is the ultimate mark of respect and obedience, and except this one reference in the Quran, due only to God.

"Are those who possess knowledge and those who do not on equal footing?"⁴²
(the Quran: 39:9)

The relevant points that emerge from this brief discussion are that in Islam ultimate knowledge lies with God and all human knowledge is limited and fragmentary; secondly, knowledge and giving knowledge are Godly attributes; and thirdly, knowledge is the source and justification of status and leadership in an Islamic society. God is *Alim*, the knower, the most bountiful --- "He who taught by the pen. Taught man that which he knew not" (the Quran:96:4-5). So the first teacher is God, and recognising this raises teaching/giving-knowledge to the level of the highest-status activity. The prophets, otherwise ordinary human beings, have elevated status among mankind because of knowledge⁴³, as the Quran repeatedly emphasises that none can grasp the meaning of revelations except men of understanding and those firmly grounded in knowledge (the Quran: 3:7-8; 6:105; 22:55; 24:6), later followed by the promise that "God will raise in ranks those of you who believe as well as those who are given knowledge" (the Quran: 58:11). Mohammed who himself did not formally learn to read or write, possessed the revealed knowledge and taught men and women from all tribes, races, and classes in the mosque. From this convergence of the religious, social, and military leader and the teacher into one, evolved a concept of educational leadership in Islam which still retains some distinctive features in spite of the general similarities in a present day context.

The notion of educational leadership is usually linked up with the aims and theory of education. As mentioned earlier in chapter one, the aim of Islamic education is the "creation of good and righteous man" (Al-Attas: 1979:V). Islam agrees with the broad Western aims of creating 'good individuals' and 'good citizens' but it attaches great importance to faith, piety, and moral values as fundamental aims of education. "Knowledge divorced from faith is not only partial knowledge, it can even be described as a new kind of ignorance" (Hussain and Ashraf: 1979:38). The Islamic theory of education is fundamentally based upon the Quranic concepts (Abdullah:

⁴² The interrogative expression is often used in the Quran for stress purposes.

⁴³ Some prophets named in the Quran as having been given knowledge are Noah, David, Solomon, Moses (28:24), Joseph (12:22), and Jacob (12:68).

1982:43). A complete submission of man's will to God's commandments, nature of knowledge (revealed and acquired) and its contribution towards man's development as a 'whole being', and recognition of the concepts of life, death, and life after death are some such elements that shape the Islamic theory of education and subsequently determine the role of knowledge and the knowledge-givers.

In Islam, education focuses on individual development in a material context, intending to improve the quality of life in this world, but it essentially involves the aspects of spiritual betterment. It is inclusive of the 'other life', or life after death⁴⁴, and this widens the dimensions of the teacher's task, creating "a close relationship between the teacher and the taught, spiritual as well as professional" (Al-Attas:1979:111). Men of knowledge and learning guide the learners nearer to God and are attributed the highest status as the 'heirs of prophets' (Hadith:Al-Bukhari). There is a deeply embedded concept of respect for the teacher⁴⁵ in the Islamic ideology. Guiding towards knowledge is an act of giving which cannot be repaid in the Islamic context, and it explains why in the first few centuries of its advent there was no concept of a paid teacher in the Muslim world⁴⁶. The teachers/scholars taught in mosques or homes to all those who came seeking knowledge, without following any particular teaching schedules (Al-Attas: 1979:97). The ancient seats of learning in Islam grew up around certain personalities who attracted people alike for their learning and their piety" (Hussain and Ashraf: 1979:104). From this close articulation between religion and education emerged the Islamic notion of educational leadership, where knowledge and the conduct of the teacher both matter in guiding the learner's progress towards spiritual, intellectual, and material development. It is an important issue related to achieving an understanding of the leadership concept in the present research context.

In the early centuries of Islam, in the absence of a 'salaried teacher' concept or a separate place for teaching/learning purposes, teachers remained leading scholars, not necessarily involved in any complex management activities. However, the situation

⁴⁴ A belief in life after death is a part of '*Imaan*' (faith) in Islam.

⁴⁵ For details see Hussain and Ashraf:1997: 'The Teacher and the Taught'; and Iqbal:1996:61-111.

⁴⁶ Later, socio-economic developments introduced the position a state-paid teacher, and this was first practised in Baghdad in *Al-Madrasah Al-Nizamiyyah* (Tibawi:1972:30).

underwent changes and modifications as Islam spread into further areas, and interacted with different religions, cultures, and socio-economic backgrounds. Al-Azhar was the first formal seat of learning established in Egypt in the fourth century (*Hijra*), and was followed by Al-Nizamiyyah in Baghdad, where state-paid teachers were appointed. These developments in education added new dimensions to the role of 'the leading scholar', involving management of a more formal structure.

These were the concepts and traditions in education that the Muslims brought with them when they entered the Indian sub-continent. They established mosques, *Maktabas*, and *Madrasahs* wherever they went (Iqbal:1981:21), encouraging local knowledges as well. Teachers were respected for their knowledge and conduct. The Muslim rulers respected and admired eminent scholars, and at times sought their approval to win the public support. Bernstein in his interesting discussion of knowledge and control, states: "The way a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits, and evaluates educational knowledge reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control" (1987: 47). The changes introduced by the Muslims and later by the British in the indigenous system reflect in their differences, this exercise of power and control. These shifts influenced reshaping of the notion of educational leadership, as the whole educational context underwent a change of aims and intentions, as detailed in chapter one.

In the post-colonial Pakistani context, an educational head is required to possess certain religious knowledge to fulfil the leadership role as a guide to knowledge and conduct, in keeping with the national goals and the Quranic teachings. However, local and global economic, social, and political changes are leading towards a redefinition of leadership role in the educational context, where the leader "either provides solutions to the problems of people, or brings the hope that solutions are possible" (Iqbal:1981:182). Furthermore, Islam proclaims equality and fraternity, and strongly favours consensus as the desirable source of decision-making (Ahmed:1992; Nasr:1985). Therefore, an interpretation of leadership in Islam cannot be much removed from participative/consultative style if it is to follow the spirit and essence of Islam.

Another issue that needs to be addressed here is the role of women in educational leadership in an Islamic context. Single-sex institutions create a space for women managers, but whether it is merely a situational necessity or ideological positioning, is briefly considered in the following section.

3.2. Islam, Women, and Educational Leadership

The patriarchal assumption that women cannot be leaders at the highest level in Islam - particularly where the followers include men - is implicit in the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, which requires the head of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to be a male (a similar clause is mentioned in the post-revolution Iranian constitution). The controversy in the religious circles, following the election of a woman - Benazir Bhutto - as head of the government in 1988, and the efforts on the part of her party to appease the critical *Ulema*⁴⁷ by stressing the difference between the 'head of the state' and the 'head of the government', is an example of the oppressive force of entrenched traditions and vested interests in forming opinions and setting trends⁴⁸. The important question is whether Islam as revealed through the words of God is patriarchal or not, though "there is no doubt that Islamic tradition and culture is patriarchal" (Al-Hibri: 1982: viii). The stance often adopted by the women Muslim scholars (Al-Hibri:1982; Hussain:1984; Al-Saadawi:1982; 1991; Ahmed:1992), and as often supported by non-Muslim women writers (Schimmel:1978,1982; Waddy:1980; Stowasser:1994), is that Islam and the Quran do not establish any inherent spiritual, intellectual, or physical inferiority of women, and I agree with them informed by my knowledge of Islam.

Many socio-political and economic factors contributed to the formation of patriarchal image of women in Islam. Al-Hibri argues this point quite clearly:

⁴⁷ '*Ulema*' refers to religious scholars in Islam who have traditionally commanded respect and status. But there has been an increasing dissatisfaction with their claims to the status, which are often perceived as not being supported by their knowledge status. Significantly, the Quran refers to the ulema who do not practice God's teachings as 'donkeys who are carrying loads on their backs' (62:5).

⁴⁸ Weiss mentions 'The Ansari Commission' assembled in 1982, during the Zia regime in Pakistan, which recommended 'disqualifying women from ever being head of the state; requiring a women to be at least fifty years of age (a man need be only twenty-five) and to secure her husband's permission before becoming a member of the Majlis-e-Shura; prohibiting women from leaving the country without a male escort; and refusing to allow an unmarried, unaccompanied woman to serve abroad in the foreign service' (1986:103). Although these did not exactly become law but these recommendations have often served as guidelines in practices.

"Patriarchy co-opted Islam after the death of the prophet - many passages in the Quran were interpreted by patriarchy loosely and out of context, in support of a vicious patriarchal ideology. These interpretations were then handed down to women as God's revealed words. Also, the Arabic language is a very rich language, and thus it is not uncommon to run into sentences that can be interpreted in a variety of ways" (1992:viii).

Another point I would add here is that the Quran often provides brief answers or dictums, leaving the information ambiguous, which needs to be interpreted in view of the Islamic spirit and philosophy, rather than as a word-play by certain groups to put forward "commentaries and interpretations which interpret Islam in ways they want to see it" (Zein Ed-Din: 1982:223). The wisdom behind brief and ambiguous information was creating spaces for contextual adaptations and interpretations spatially and temporally in consonance with the essence of Islamic philosophy, but those who occupied these spaces generally manipulated interpretations from particular points of views, which have often not been in accord with the Islamic spirit of justice, equality, and emancipation, a point discussed in detail in the next chapter.

In the teachings of the Quran "women are equal and different" (Waddy:1980:6). It is an approach entertaining some commonalities with feminism where it argues for 'no advantage/disadvantage dichotomy but men and women variously positioned' (Jones: 1993). In Islam, women share in all the rights, duties, and activities of religious, social, economic, and political life, and "If any do deeds of righteousness, be they men or women, and have faith, they will enter paradise" (The Quran:4:124). There is nothing in Islam to bar women from any activity in keeping with the spirit of the religion. Many Muslim women excelled in spiritual, intellectual, and physical achievements, even in the oppressive patriarchal societies. Besides the high status of Fatima as *Qutb* (Fernea and Bezirgan: 1977:38); intellects of high reasoning and knowledge like Khadija, Aisha and Um-Salma (the prophet's wives), and mystics like Rabia Al-Basriyya (Schimmel:1978; 1982), there were also women like Nessiba bint Ka'ab and Khawlah bint Al-Azwar (Al-Hibri: 1982:211; Saddawi:1982:197), who

surpassed men in the battlefields in their valour and skill⁴⁹. Muslim women actively partook in the 'male domain of warfare' in Uhad (Ahmed: 1992:53), and participated in mosques, religious feasts and in the Prophet's discourses, demanding and being granted additional time for teaching/learning (Ibid:72). Later, women played a significant role in the Hadith compilation and female testimony was accepted 'on a par with men's' (Ibid:73). The Quran clearly states:

"O mankind, we have created you male and female, and have made you races and tribes, that you may know one another (emphasis added)" (49:13).

It is the patriarchal 'cataract' that has hindered this 'knowing', otherwise Islam does not perceive one sex superior to the other any more than one person or one race or one tribe from the other, except for their *taqwa*. The lesser visibility or effective 'veiling' of women can also be attributed to male historians who overplayed male roles and supported the patriarchal traditions (Mernissi:1993 ; Schleifer:1994; see also Singh:1994:155, for similar practices in Sikhism). A study of Islamic history, as well as of the twentieth century nationalist movements in different Islamic countries proves that women showed relentless courage, strength and leadership ability, particularly in the moments of crisis (Ahmed:1992; Ali:1975; Mernissi:1993). Leadership is favoured by Islam for the practical purposes of efficiency and effectiveness. Except for God and his Prophet, all other leadership is contingent, bound to the aims and demands of the situation with in an Islamic context, without any sexual or racial discriminations. The Prophet often advised that if two of you go on a journey choose one as leader; and this reflects the wider implications of leadership in Islam, in relation to who, how, why, when, where, what for.

To conclude therefore, academic leadership is one more area of performance and the barriers to women are not the Islamic philosophy of education or the Quranic teachings, but the stereotypical notions that have evolved in articulation with localised and global socio-economic, political and cultural factors in different Muslim

⁴⁹ According to Fatima Mernissi, participation in wars was a criterion for inheritance in the immediate pre-Islamic and early Islamic societies: "The male child and the women were excluded from succession. They were regarded as second class citizens because they did not take part in war" (1991:122). For further details see Ibid: chap 7.

societies, besides the fact of how leadership is 'defined'. Generally, the definitions of leadership are based on gendered presumptions and consequently, in practice, leadership becomes 'an alienating social myth' (Gemmell and Oakley: 1992). One rectifying element can be to acknowledge women as equally potential candidates for leadership positions, and to include their perspectives and experiences towards such definitions.

In Pakistan, views about women and particularly women in leadership positions have further been effected by the intermingling, on their arrival in the subcontinent, with diverse local cultures, especially the Hindu religion and culture which at that time accorded very low status to women and at times even negated their right to education (King:1987). A gradual but very slow change is occurring (Ali:1975) in Pakistan, initiated in the pre-partition India in the second half of the 19th century by Sir Syed who emphasised that "for the development of the national culture and civilisation the education of women is essential"; and later in the 20th century, Iqbal (the national poet and leader of Pakistan) stressed that the place accorded to women in the Muslim society today was derogatory both to human dignity and to Islam itself (Waddy:1981).

To address the issues and problems faced by women in leadership positions or in senior management, in an Islamic or a non-Islamic context, it is essential to change the opinions and attitudes which negate intrinsic human equality and socialise women and men into certain roles. This contradicts the "Quranic themes of female spiritual freedom and moral responsibility" (Stowasser: 1994:21), and relegates them to 'otherness', instead of 'different and equals'. Ashburner rightly maintains that "what are termed 'male' and 'female' values are not necessarily attributable to men and women individually but form the basis of stereotyping. Whereas in an ideal world any set of polarities would be seen as complementary, in the world of management male stereotypes have predominated and have influenced the structures, processes and policies within organisations" (1994:192). This blinkered approach has 'veiled' a field of knowledge genuinely significant for the study of management, in a world of men and women. Individual potentials and limitations within and across gender

divide need to be acknowledged, not as group-representative but as subject-specific, for a better understanding of management situations.

Educational leadership, associated with institutional heads in a college context, has a responsibility for management effectiveness. What is implied by 'management effectiveness' varies across the situations. Nevertheless, the demand for increased effectiveness is emphasised widely and has drawn focus towards management development, even in countries like Pakistan where such facilities are almost non-existent. The next section provides an overview of this field with reference to international literature, to provide a wider context to think and analyse a specific situation as it unfolds in the succeeding chapters.

4. Management Development

The earlier sections in this chapter argued that educational management, management tasks and concepts of institutional leadership can not be explained and understood in isolation from the context. This section re-asserts the position by claiming that management development is another related issue which needs to be conceived situationally.

This research focused on the management practices of the college heads in the belief that the role of an institutional head is critically important to the processes of educational change and development at the micro and macro levels. The aim of the study was to explore the issues with some understanding of the social and educational context and to seek opinions of those concerned, regarding possibilities and venues of development. In a study of managers from ten Universities and University colleges in Britain, Cuthbert et al reported confusion and lack of preparation for management mentioned by their respondents (1987: 24). They perceived management development as "an attempt to improve management effectiveness through a planned and deliberate learning process ---- to improve educational practice by improving manager's performance" (Ibid:10). In broad terms, management development implies improvement of management potential and effectiveness. Chambers et al define management potential as "the capacity to make intended and accepted things happen

through the use of given resources" (1990:12) and explain 'development' as implying "improvement, becoming more accomplished, bettering oneself" (Ibid:14).

Management development is not necessarily linked with knowledge gained through formal education, or skills learned through specific training, although these can be contributory factors besides many others. It is often used as a blanket term inclusive of relevant experience, education and training. Middlehurst provides an interpretation of the three terms - management education, training, and development - given by Constable and McCormick (1987), who describe management education as formal qualifications, management training as formal learning activities, and management development as "... broader still, job experience and learning from others" (Middlehurst:1995b:98,99). The meanings often vary in actual applications. Cuthbert et al observe that among senior management staff, training is "narrowly conceived as skills and task based; as being appropriate to career formations rather than senior positions. Development, on the other hand, carries associations with experience and continuous learning" (:1987:239). This attitude has implications for development of institutional heads who are perceived as occupying senior positions.

Ideally management development should aim at improving performance and effectiveness: individual effectiveness and organisational improvement (Mullins: 1995:682); and also 'pupil performance' (Ballinger:1986:10). An increasing emphasis on inter-relationship between management development and the institution's development and output (Brew:1995), and claims that the task of education will be compromised without effective management (Burnham:1994:25) indicate the direction of the argument. Middlehurst takes a very explicit stand:

"poor management at the top directly effects the capacity and the motivation of individuals and groups to teach, research and to learn to their fullest potential" (1995b:106).

But how performance and effectiveness are perceived and constructed in a context is increasingly linked with economic, political, ideological, religious, socio-cultural and other factors. Thus, a definition of management development becomes embedded in

the situation that determines its intentions and dimensions. In an educational context important determining features are the educational aims in that particular society, and the assumptions about how those aims can be effectively achieved within the given situational constraints. The aims of education observed in a *maktab/madrasah* in the Muslim world, or in a church school in the Christian world, or a state school in a capitalist economy or a communist state, would have different priorities and parameters. Stress over one or the other aspect of management is mainly linked with the proclaimed aims because expected outcomes of development are envisaged and experienced in a specific context which constitutes the meaning and nature of development. A lack of clarity about the intended aims and/or desired outcomes can lend incoherence and superficiality to the whole process of planning and implementation. Thus a management development programme for Pakistan will have to take into account the educational aims and situational specifications.

4.1. Approaches to Management Development

Management development is a contested area of theorising, and draws from relevant management concepts and organisational theory. Political and ideological approaches towards these issues greatly influence the nature of development policies and strategies. Accordingly, the development activities can consist of very structured and specific programmes concentrating on learning a particular process or skills, or these may be intended to enhance resourcefulness and preparedness through increased understanding and insight helping an individual to realise full potential for managing in a way that allows for the individuality of the person and which enhances effectiveness within a particular context.

Like the concepts of management, the notion of development also evolved from an industrial context where it was perceived as contributive to increased output. Gradually education became recognised as a large sector of human and financial resources. The stress on economic orientation and accountability in education emphasised the need for management development (Fullan:1993; Green:1994; Middlehurst:1995a; 1995b; Reeves:1995; Slater:1994). The perception of educational institutions as organisations with specific aims, and "management development as an integral part of the process of organisational development" (Mullins: 1995:682) lent

great stress to management development. It linked organisational development with management effectiveness and out-put, requiring development of management potential to achieve the intended aims.

The flux of literature concerning management development and training from 1970s onwards was a response to the increasing complexity and diversity of educational institutions, and the economic, social and political elements leading to these developments. In Britain, "government sponsored research and policy initiatives provided a major impetus to educational management studies and training" (Preedy:1989:3). Development of BEMAS around the same time also points to the increasing demands and interest in the area. An early grant provided by the DES to the University of Birmingham in 1979, concerned the extent and nature of courses and other forms of professional development provided in England and Wales for senior staff in schools and colleges, and conclusively identified the need for such courses and strongly supported them (Hughes:1982). DES 3/83 and DES 1987 explicitly conveyed government policy regarding management development in educational institutions and linked it with economic development.

Interestingly, the Pakistani education system which was a British legacy, seems to have frozen at the post-colonial point. From 1950s onwards, the two systems seem to move through two different time capsules: one making efforts to move with the times and the other caught up in a flurry of indecision. The differences are astounding. The Academy for Educational Planning and Management (EPMA) was the only institute in Pakistan, provisionally providing management development facilities to college heads, and my research participants admitted to its limited usefulness during my field work in 1996, which is detailed in chapter six. In 1997, it was abolished, following an economy drive by the government. Earlier it was argued in chapter one how the grant of autonomy to selected institutions in Pakistan, and its abolition in 1997 hinted at problems in finance management. In addition to that, the abolition of the EPMA gains significance in contrast with the general international approach where management development is applied to improve finance and resource management.

Academic excellence cannot suffice to cope with the changing economic situations. It requires development of relevant expertise. Besides, the process of change is pervasive and dynamic, which is discussed in the following section to explore management development with reference to change.

4.2. The Management of Change

The need to manage 'change and improvement with shrinking resources in turbulent times' (Busher and Smith:1993:1) is emerging as a compelling theme in educational management. The immense literature on management of change bears evidence to the phenomenon. This snowball process of change has been increasingly gaining speed and size, demanding strategic management of financial and physical resources (Fullan:1991; Green:1994; Leigh:1994; Reeves:1995; Weil:1994). Bush and West-Burnham admit that due to the rapid pace of change "college managers have to absorb and interpret externally imposed change while facilitating internal innovations" and to this purpose they need a 'fire fighting' approach accompanied by a 'vision' (1994:3). The Coombe Lodge Report (1994) conveys an awareness of rapid change with increasing demands on management, which not only requires a re-consideration of management theories and leadership styles but also necessitates development of those responsible for management.

The manager is the new focus and the shift of focus from teacher to manager is indicative of the change where education is increasingly exposed to market forces and global effects. The emphasis on the institutional heads as the agents of change has been increasing (Fullan: 1991:152). Discussing different initiatives towards this end in USA and Canada, Fullan emphasised that the need for professional development of leaders was more important than staff development because of its 'strategic importance' (Ibid:336-9). He perceives the "principals as gatekeepers or facilitators of change" (1993:11) who need to be prepared to manage it to the fullest of their abilities, in the best interest of organisational goals. The change can be initiated or "imposed and unprecedented" (Newton and Tarrant: 1992:1), and in both cases requires sensitive management. It can be stressful (Ibid:205) if there is disparity

between job and ability⁵⁰, leading to failure of implementing change, as it did in the case of privatisation of selected institutions in Pakistan already mentioned in chapter 1. I agree with Burnham that:

"the reason why educational changes are often perceived as so problematic is not the nature of change itself but the nature of the knowledge, skills and attitudes of those involved and the way that these are exposed in action" (1994:93).

Management development is a coping strategy. Management development of those occupying key leadership positions gains importance in view of the changes in the educational sector, and for the purposes of conducting change and development (Lyons:1993:119). Increasingly, the further education sector is "being forced by external pressure from a service to a business orientation which is having an impact upon management strategies and styles" (Elliott and Crossley: 1997:88; Elliot and Hall :1994:5). The inability of the educational managers to manage in the new context cannot change the requirements but it may lead to exploration of other options for satisfying the need. Back in 1988, Lewis C., Principal Swansea College, wondered prophetically "whether by 1995 the principal will have become a managing director"; and now there are advertisements for principal/vice-principal asking for a "generic management qualification such as the MBA" (Elliot and Hall: 1994:6). There is an ongoing debate in the area, maintaining that if principals do not have a background in education, the quality of education and the special ethos of the educational institutions may suffer; and second, the practice may prove a barrier to teachers' promotions and effect teachers' motivation. For me it supports the argument to develop the management potential of the people from an educational background, who often lack in formal management education (Middlehurst:1995b), to meet the ever increasing challenges of the time, and to maintain and improve the quality of education.

⁵⁰ A definition of stress offered by Cox (1989) is that it is a "phenomenon arising from a comparison between the demand made on a person and ability to cope". The disparity is perceived as stressful.

The requirements of change have emphasised interdependence between education and economic development and demand that "education must be accountable and managed for economic good" (Slatter:1994). In Pakistan, a changed orientation of educational aims is being constructed under global pressures asking for a new approach in management. The efforts to lead colleges towards financial autonomy marked the impact of change, and the doubts in managing financial autonomy pointed to the need for expertise in finance management as examined in chapter one. The predicament of concerned managers was equal to that of novice swimmers thrown against strong currents and flailing desperately for survival. In this case they had to be rescued by the government through retraction of the process (The Jang: 1997). It shows that management of colleges has become a complex activity, which "cannot be left to chance, or to ambitious and enthusiastic individuals taking the initiative on their own behalf" (Bullock et al : 1995).

Another dimension of the issue is that change is not always welcome or necessarily developmental (Fullan:1991; Nisbet:1980; Schon:1971). Fullan argues that it can be stressful and problematic, involving anxiety, loss, and resistance from people, individuals and organisations, as it seemed in the case of Pakistan (Iqbal and Davies: 1994). Professional unpreparedness in such situations can be damaging for the managers, the managed and the organisations. Greenfield rightly questions the tendency to ignore management development:

"why do we merely throw people at these jobs, expecting them to do well with almost no experience of them, offering them no analysis of their experience" (Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993: 258).

The need for management development of institutional heads is emphasised in the management literature and in research. It is increasingly viewed as a waste to leave "the resources and students in the hands of a person unprepared or untrained to handle" (Coulson:1990). Speaking from a developing country perspective, although from a school context, Legotlo and Westhuizen write:

“Gone are the days of trial-and-error and swim-or-sink induction strategies. Without specific attention to the effective management development programs for school principals, such as the well-planned comprehensive induction programs for new principals, most of the attempts at improving the quality of education in developing countries will remain a pipedream” (1996:410).

In the higher education context, Middlehurst (1995b) stresses a necessary supporting framework for management and leadership development through courses, seminars and workshops. She maintains that although the new heads are not exactly without management experience of some sort, but for many individuals the entry to senior posts involves a transition from operational to strategic management levels (Middlehurst:1995b:106). Therefore an assessment and provision of relevant 'competence' becomes essential to ensure optimum performance and effectiveness from this transition. This requires a brief discussion of the phasing and processes of development.

4.3. Development and Training

There is a high consensus on need for training and development of institutional heads at induction stage as a process of "orientation to new roles" (Middlehurst 1993:176). Many studies recommend development opportunities for managers to enhance their confidence in their ability to take on a new job (Lund:1990; Middlehurst:1995b; O'Neil:1995). However, a management development model suggested by Bolam (1987) demonstrates that there are distinct development needs not only at induction but in relation to the whole career and also in terms of stages within a particular post:

- the preparation stage (when they wish to apply for new post)
- the appointment stage (when they are selected or rejected)
- the induction stage (e.g. first two years in-post)
- the in-service stage (e.g. 3-5, 6-10, 11+ years in post)
- the transitional stage (i.e. promotion, re-deployment, retirement)

The emphasis is not just on preparing for the new job, but on continuous development and support programmes for effectiveness. Any perception of training and

development "as a means of rectifying deficiencies" (Middlehurst: 1995b:109), or a help "to jump the hurdles" (Legotlo and Westhuizen: 1996:409) ignores the complex management contexts of educational institutions which require a "sustained development rather than short-term patching up operations" (Brew: 1995:5). Middlehurst makes a very succinct statement:

"given the breadth of these tasks, it is obvious that narrowly conceived and short-term training will not be sufficient to prepare individuals for senior roles or to support them when in post, it is also clear that some preparation and continuing development will be required" (1995b:103).

Stressing continuing training and development for 'institutional managers, Middlehurst strongly argues against the 'dangerous' assumption that those who reach the pinnacle of their organisations - i.e. institutional heads, principals - no longer require further training or development. She proposes "an approach which embraces continuing and active participation in learning at all levels of organisation, including the top" (1995:98). Lack of formal management education among universities staff has strong 'implications for the design of management training and development opportunities' (Middlehurst: 1995: 99). Middlehurst favours a 'holistic view of management learning', with an emphasis on 'renewal':

"to remain intellectually stimulated and challenged, to maintain a breadth of vision and perspective, to achieve personal and professional refreshment (to stave off physical and psychological stress⁵¹), to sustain outside contacts or to overcome isolation and institutional introversion" (1990:114,5).

To achieve this ongoing development, Middlehurst considers three types of learning processes for institutional heads (1993:174):

- informal managerial (in job experience);
- integrated managerial (through feed back on performance); and
- formal managerial (formal management development).

⁵¹ There is a flux of recent literature on job stress; see Farber:1991; Grady:1989; Ostell:1995; Quick:1990; Rogers:1996. This issue is considered again in chapter seven.

Learning through experience is in line with the famous Chinese proverb: I do and I understand. It has particular relevance for contexts like Pakistan with specific traditions and philosophy of education, and an absence of relevant management development programmes, as mentioned in chapter one. In such situations, experience is often the only available mode of learning. Generally, learning through experience is perceived as a natural process but it has limitations, and as Bush maintains:

"Disastrous errors of judgement can occur while experience is being gained. Mistakes are both costly in material and human terms"; and he further quotes Jennings (1977:vii) that "wise men do not have to learn of the existence of every brick wall by banging their nose into it" (Bush:1994:34).

Burgoyne argues that natural management process take place in all organisations, can work in the start, but cannot work for all sorts of organisations and cannot be clung on to beyond its time (1988). It relies on experience, and on how experience is perceived and used. Dewey's theory of experiential learning presents a cyclical process where experience and practice feed into each other. Discussing his theory Osterman and Kottkamp (1990) argue that experience is a basis for learning but it requires reflection to serve as a learning process⁵². Boud et al also maintain that "while experience may be the foundation of learning, it does not necessarily lead to it: there needs to be active engagement with it" (1993:9). Learning from experience is not a linear process; it is learning and un-learning, and re-working: "Experience has to be arrested, examined, analysed, considered and negated in order to shift it to knowledge" (Criticos: 1993:161). Criticos stresses the significance of reflection and reflexivity by explaining the value of the intellectual growth that follows the process of reflecting on experience, emphasising that "effective learning does not follow from a positive experience but from effective reflection" (1993:162).

⁵² Elana Michelson highlights the distinction between 'experience' and 'reflection' in adult learning theory, which explains experience as the raw material for learning and reflection as a highly cognitive processing stage in which the learning actually takes place, although her major concern was the gendered epistemology concerning the terms (1996).

Schon defines reflective practice as “a dialogue of thinking and doing through which I become more skilful” (1987:34). This dialogue is simultaneous where:

"The reflective practitioner assumes a dual stance, being on the one hand, the actor in a drama, and on the other hand, the critic who sits in the audience watching and analysing the entire performance" (Osterman and Kottkamp: 1993:19).

Management development programmes are generally linked with management theories (Bush:1994), and shape the training approaches. The notion of development is constructed by the ideological, political, social and economic factors on one level, and on another level, management concept, organisational ethos and learning approaches shape it in articulation with the specific contextual needs.

In view of the diversity and plurality of management situations, the emphasis on training needs of institutional heads⁵³ appears linked with a consideration of the specific ethos of educational institutions and the uniqueness of each management context (Gray: 1980;1982; Greenfield and Ribbins:1993; Hodgkinson:1991). Training people to replicate, or apply borrowed ‘management techniques’ (Gray: 1980:14) cannot be effective in education where each management situation is unique. Lund sees it as “a shift from a purely skill based approach to an emphasis on the personal development of the manager” (1990: 41). Gray stresses and I agree that:

"if we are to train people to manage, we must train them not to learn and remember what others have thought but to think and decide for themselves" (1982:8).

For the purposes of development, management skills can be defined as “both specific to organisations, applicable only on site, yet general enough to admit of technical training and preparation ... ” (Hodgkinson: 1991:53). The areas emphasised might differ in different contexts or may have diverse priority levels, and the learning

⁵³ See Cardno and Piggot-Irvine:1996; Coombe Lodge:1994; Crawford et al:1997; Cuthbert et al:1987; Day:1991; 1993; Hughes:1982; Lund:1990; McNay:1988; Middlehurst: 1993;1995a;1995b; O’Neil:1995; Thackwray:1994 and Watson:1988 for emphasis on training needs of institutional heads.

approaches deemed effective may vary but there is a high consensus in literature on the need for management development. Certainly there are barriers of time and resources for development⁵⁴ (Cuthbert et al: 1987:239; Burnham: 1994:93), considering the size of education sector, but the stress on the need is unanimous. Even in this research context, conspicuous for dearth of literature on management development, and also for lack of development facilities for college heads in particular, there was a strong emphasis on its need expressed by the government reports and occasional educationalists (Iqbal:1981; UNESCO:1981; UNESCO:1984). However, there was a recognition that in a proclaimed Muslim state, any development-policy/programme had to be within the parameters set by the Quran. The managers were required to manage in a specific Muslim context, and a development programme which ignored what this implied could not prove effective (Iqbal:1996). This ideological dimension had a value for the formulation of roles and practices.

Located in this context, in view of the macro and micro factors examined in this and the earlier chapter, the study required extreme care in developing a methodological framework and an effective research design. The next part, comprising of chapters three and four, deals with these issues, and elaborates the research methodology and design developed for this particular study.

⁵⁴ One example of economic pressures is Pakistan itself where the only institution contributing to management development of institutional heads was liquidated in a stringency move, as mentioned earlier in this section.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Choices

Introduction

This chapter further elaborates the theoretical location of this research within post-structuralism which was indicated earlier in chapter one, and explains it as underpinned by Islamic philosophy. I examine my choice of methodology, arguing for the relevance of a qualitative approach and discuss associated research strategies in section one. Section two details post-structuralism as positioned within this research followed by a discussion of the Foucauldian notion of discourse and its relationships with power/knowledge, and also examines construction of discourses in a Muslim society with specific reference to the research locale. Related to the ontological and epistemological positioning, a theoretical frame for analysis is sketched in the concluding section which guides the analysis in chapters six, seven and eight.

Earlier, my work experience as a college teacher, and later as a college head was stated in chapter one to explain my motivation for seeking to conduct this inquiry. I positioned myself and my research participants explicitly in terms of our professional background, gender, nationality and religion, and recognised the subsequent possibilities and constraints on data collection and interpretation (Burgess: 1984; 1986). The emphasis has been on the researcher's subjectivity and the significance of 'voice' in the construction and development of human knowledges. This broadly post-structuralist approach is further underpinned by the Islamic philosophy of knowledge briefly set out earlier in chapter one, and supported by the Quranic emphasis on 'equality and diversity'. The claim made in the Quran is:

“Of His Signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the diversity of your colours and tongues; in that surely are Signs for those who possess knowledge⁵⁵” (30:22).

⁵⁵ Kepel mentions a meeting between two rival gangs responsible for Los Angeles riots of May 1992, who signed a peace treaty in a local mosque, and who remarked during a radio interview recording: “The Muslims come and talk to you as a person. They respect you as you are. They don't look down on you, whether you wear red or blue, whether you are a Crip or a Blood. They don't insult you, they don't call you a killer, they respect you as a man. And that is what we want, respect. To be treated like the others” (1996:9). This, in a way, illuminates Islamic concept of equality and diversity.

The Quran does not treat diversity as oppositional to equality. Appreciation of diversity is a permeating theme as an avowed 'Sign of God', and contributive to human understanding. The Quran treats mankind as a single family which is divided into groups, clans and tribes (49:13), and the aim of this diversity is to enhance human knowledge. Those are 'doomed to hell' who "have hearts wherewith they understand not, have eyes wherewith they see not, and have ears wherewith they hear not, they are like cattle, nay but they are worse. They are neglectful" (7:179).

The attribute of God most often acclaimed in the Quran (27:6; 40:2; 22:59; 24:18,21 and many other *ahyas*) is *Aleem* (All-knowing), with a re-currant reminder that human knowledges and interpretations are limited and situated (24:19). In Islam, the absolute knowledge belongs to God, which he partially revealed at times through his messengers/prophets (the Quran). This revealed knowledge is distinct from acquired knowledge which is "an evolutionary process embracing interactive intelligence and experience gained in all sub-systems of the universe" (Choudhury: 1993:6). Discussing the concept of knowledge from an Islamic perspective, Choudhury refutes the 'perfection' of human knowledge arguing that:

"At best what can be configured is a well-defined movement of the individuals, societies and institutions from lower to higher levels of certainty, and that too, by realistically accepting the chances of mistakes, errors, conflicts and short-comings of a human type" (Ibid:8).

Read beside the discussion of 'Islam, Education and Self' earlier in chapter one, this concept of knowledge indicates the situatedness of 'self', limitations of 'human' knowledge, and their interplay as contributive to the creation of knowledges, and movements of the 'self'. Underpinned by this perspective, the theoretical framework extends to acknowledge plurality and diversity of interpretations and values associated with multiply-positioned subjects. Hodgkinson maintains that "values are special kind of facts, but never true or false", and there is no rational way of deciding among the plurality of conflicting possible value commitments --- only non-rational

choices (quoted in Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993:181). The argument is a move from meta narratives to situated multiple truths.

1. Methodology

Methodology represents a broad framework of how research is performed, and how it should proceed. According to Sandra Harding, 'A *methodology* is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed' (1987:3). It serves to guide the process and progress of the research, and facilitates an understanding of the process itself. Methodology refers to "the frames of reference, models, concepts, and ideas which shape the selections of a particular set of data gathering techniques" (Hitchcock and Hughes:1991:14). Therefore, a number of assumptions and choices have to be made by the researcher in considering the appropriateness of a framework for a specific piece of research in a particular context, and these also need to be made explicit, as is the aim of this section.

1.1. Research Approaches and Theoretical Considerations

A major methodological debate revolves round quantitative/qualitative divide. Historically, quantitative/positivist methods have existed and "been a recurrent theme in the history of Western thought from the ancient Greeks to the present day" (Cohen and Manion: 1994: 9). The positivist approach is dominated by objective observation, quantifiable data and verifiable truths, rejecting any qualitative difference between the natural and the social world, in its adherence to the principals of 'deductive reasoning' (Durkheim:1952), 'falsifiability' (Popper:1959), and generalisation. It tends to ignore the rich complexity and diversity of the social world, and multiplicity of causes behind a social phenomenon, and can be less effective in determining causation. Its primary focus is "on generating a hypothesis, testing it, and generalising the findings to the larger population" (Maykut and Morehouse:1994).

In-depth study or the qualitative approach was devised in anthropology to study the socio-cultural context of human behaviour (Mead:1928). It was also employed by Piaget (1926) in his study of children, and by Freud in his study of neurotic women. It has perceived value and appropriateness, especially "where the aim is to explore people's perspectives" (Hammersley:1992:195). The underlying belief is that "subject

is produced in historically specific forms through cultural practices" (Beechy and Donald :1985: xv).

Qualitative/interpretive research gains validity from the depth of understanding and insight that it makes available. It is a complex and multi-linear process like the phenomenon it seeks to explore. "The images of the social world require understanding and interpretation, which can and should involve the perceptions of the actors themselves" (Greenfield and Ribbins:1993:182). The actors include the research participants and the researcher whose perceptions are interpreted as they interact and understand:

"Methodologically, interpretivism is most consonant with natural settings, with the human inquirer as the primary gatherer and interpreter of meaning, with emergent and expansionist inquiry designs, and with hermeneutic understanding" (Greene:1994:536).

My research investigates the perceptions and the lived experiences of the college heads as institutional managers, in all their situatedness, in a specific geo-political region. Greenfield argues that "in stressing regularities, statistics leave out irregularities even though they may explain a great deal about how the world actually functions. What is vivid, individual, living, gets left out" (Greenfield and Ribbins : 1993: 249). By employing a qualitative framework, this study aimed to explore 'statistical irregularities' as well as the 'regularities' to facilitate the participants' and the readers' constructions of their realities.

An alternate approach, characterised by in-depth examination of people's words and actions, sees the individual and his/her world as co-constituted (Polanyi:1967). It is a move away from the traditional world view. It sees the world as complex, interconnected, and multidirectional (Lincoln and Guba:1985), with a view of reality as multiple and constructed. Greenfield claims that "physical reality exists within a subjective reality" (Greenfield and Ribbins : 1993: 242) and "the realities we see are dependent upon what we think those realities are and this includes our interpretation of the physical world" (ibid:243). However, to minimise bias, the researcher's

subjectivity needs to be made explicit. Further, no sweeping generalisations can be offered but only contextual findings. The researcher becomes a part of the investigation -- 'human-as-instrument', "the only instrument which is flexible enough to capture the complexity, subtlety, and constantly changing situation that is the human experience" (Lincoln and Guba: 1985:193); but at the same time conditioned by her/his own situatedness. This situatedness needs to be established for the validity and truth value of the investigations because in qualitative/interpretive research, the researcher is a part of the process itself.

Qualitative inquiry aims to present the findings, explain the process, and position the researcher with explicitness. The researcher is perceived as a part of the research process, researching 'with' people, which changes the whole perspective. Negotiating the gap between the dissecting subject (the researcher) and the dissected subject (the researched), this approach emphasises inter-relationship and sharing. It aims at empowering the participants to construct and express their own reality, and value is associated with this construction with a view that:

"World and men do not exist apart from each other. They exist in constant interaction" (Friere:1972).

Different institutions, and socio-cultural elements interact in diverse ways to create different patterns of behaviour even in apparently similar contexts. To understand a world of multiple causes and effects - historical, cultural, economic, and political - all those related specifications need to be considered which negotiate to create a complex and non-linear context. All interpretations are in time, and the temporal situation is a part of the interpretation itself. The aim is to search for the regimes of truth as historically and culturally situated, recognising that discourses are constituted in time and space (Best and Kellner:1991; Foucault: 1982; 1991; Usher and Edwards:1994). There can be no similar explanation for identical facts in different cultures, for example barriers to women managers in a Muslim/Eastern and non-Muslim/Western context, and no one/same factors leading to similar statistics. Often, causes are diverse, contradictory, and complex, depending upon the actual phenomenon. A multiplicity and diversity of contexts requires in-depth study, particularly in the

absence of any prior research, and/or if statistical data is unreliable or unavailable. Significantly, “unavailability and low quality of statistical data” (Hayes: 1987: 4) was another aspect to be taken into account in this case.

My primary concern was to explore the management roles of institutional heads, and the possibilities of management development at college level, in AJK, Pakistan. Complexity of the area of research, and a complete absence of any related research demanded an in-depth study. The internal diversity of the institutions, in spite of an overarching structural similarity, required a flexibility of approach with possibilities for exploration and interpretation. The research focus was intended to be on college heads, with a belief in plurality and hybridity, making spaces for variety of experience in different contexts and situations. It aimed at understanding the participants' experiences, and their articulation with educational and socio-economic environment and issues.

The focus of my study was to work towards knowing and understanding with an aim to improve. For this purpose, qualitative approach appeared to me to provide an effective and appropriate framework. Bogdan and Biklen argue that “Usefulness of the qualitative perspective to practitioners is related to seeing all people as having the potential to change themselves and their immediate environment, as well as becoming change agents in organisations in which they work” (1992:216). It was with these expectations that I took myself off from work to do this study.

In chapter one I made explicit those aspects of my positioning which I considered of relevance to this study. My experience as a college teacher, and later as a college head provided a 'lived experience' (Glazer and Strauss:1967), explained as 'indwelling' by Polanyi (Polanyi:1967; also Shotter:1993), and viewed as a source of gaining and developing 'tacit knowledge'. Polanyi argues that we understand problems, the actions of people, and the institutions by 'indwelling'. The tacit knowledge gained through indwelling provides and/or leads on to the clues which "somehow allow us to anticipate what we have not yet plainly understood" (Maykut and Morehouse : 1994:33). I felt a need to study this area with the intention to understand and explore

the present situation and the future possibilities on educational site, in a Muslim society.

My limited exposure to the British FE sector and an in-depth review of international literature led to the realisation that even when there were some apparent commonalities, the factors leading to these were often different. The complexity of causes behind certain phenomenon like over-representation of men in college management, dominance of a particular management style, and socio-cultural restraints shaping the system (Skakeshaft:1989; Davies:1992; Ozga:1993; Wilson:1995) was amazing. The questions that needed to be asked in such investigations were 'how' and 'why', which Yin asserts, "deal with operational links [and] need to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence" (1984:18). The authentic answers could come from those involved with the context. A post-structuralist framework provided spaces for the 'involved' to speak. The nature of the research situation and questions, interacted with my political and philosophical stances to influence the theoretical choices, because:

“ selection of one paradigm is, researcher's world view, training, psychological attributes, nature of problem, audience” (Creswell: 1994:8).

My religious orientation also favoured a qualitative approach. Islam's one criticism against the Western type of democracy is that it counts the numbers but does not consider the worth or value of 'voters', as argued by an outstanding Muslim philosopher Sir Mohammed Iqbal. Mere numbers do not carry weight in the Islamic philosophy, unless the values attached are explored and explained. The research procedures used in early Islam for the purposes of the Hadith compilation were also qualitative in nature where the authenticity of a *hadith* was established through its narrator's subjectivity, and contextual and historical situatedness which is discussed further in the next chapter.

A qualitative approach "that is exploratory and descriptive, and that stresses the importance of context, setting and subject's frame of reference" (Marshall and

Rossman:1989:46) had specific pertinence for my study. Marshall (1985) recommends qualitative approach for a research:

- that cannot be done experimentally for practical or ethical reasons;
- that delves in depth into complexities and processes;
- for which relevant variable have yet to be identified; and
- focuses on real as opposed to stated organisational goals.

Qualitative research starts with the observation of the real world. It "values participants' perspectives on their worlds, and seeks to discover those perspectives, that views inquiry as an interactive process between the researcher and the participant, and that is primarily descriptive and relies on people's word as the primary data" (Marshall and Rossman: 1989:11). Thus it becomes a shared enterprise by the researcher and the participants "to discover, or uncover, what is to be known about the phenomenon of interest" (Maykut and Morehouse: 1994:45). This approach tends to put the researcher and the participants on an equal footing, which is quite important for my study as I will be focusing upon the same management group I form a part of. Although it is the researcher who is "asking the questions, [and] had the knowledge of all the responses" (Brine:1993), sharing a similar position besides other commonalities, may contribute towards mitigating power issues in research.

Among the participants themselves, there were complex and multiple variations due to personal, social, economic, religious, sectarian, class, region, gender, age, and many other factors, resulting in diversity of experience, identity, and subjectivity. The qualitative approach, to me, seemed to offer a framework to look for patterns of behaviour and commonalities, not ignoring interaction and articulation of all these variations, rather taking an account of all this diversity and complexity. An enlightening quote from a 'Muslim, student [born and brought up in Britain], whose family originated from Pakistan, to her white, non-Muslim teacher': "Miss, I cannot explain to you, I don't know words to be able to tell you. Miss if I told you, you wouldn't understand" (Haw: 1996: 319), points towards interesting and complex issues surrounding research across cultures. It reminds the researcher to pay attention to contextualisation and explicitness. I agree with Schein that "we simply cannot

understand organisational phenomena without considering culture both as a 'cause' and a 'way' of explaining such phenomenon" (1985:311).

Terminologies and constructs associated with qualitative research are often defined and used loosely and interchangeably. Bogdan and Biklen define qualitative research as "an umbrella term to refer to several research strategies that share certain characteristics" (1992:2). One of those often linked with this paradigm is case study which is generally viewed as a relevant framework for qualitative research (Maykut and Morehouse: 1994; Yin:1995), particularly as a reporting mode (Lincoln and Guba: 1985). Another approach associated with qualitative research is inductive study and grounded theory. This study entertains certain features of both and each is considered briefly as this has a relevance for theoretical and methodological decisions concerning the design and direction of this study.

1.2. Case Study

Case study is a research strategy frequently used across disciplines. It is mostly concerned to understand complex social phenomenon, focusing on the dynamics of a single society. According to Yin, it "allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events - such as individual life cycles, organisational and managerial processes ..." (1994:3). It is generally considered an exploratory strategy but as Yin argues, case studies have been both descriptive and explanatory. Many writers refer to its increasing use 'as a research tool' (Yin: 1994:2; also Stake:1995), and believe it to be "...a major methodological tool in social inquiry ... a distinctive means of providing social knowledge" (Orum et al: 1991:19; Hammersley: 1992). Maykut and Morehouse recommend a case study approach for 'effective reporting of qualitative research outcomes (1994:47).

This approach is commonly taken as related to the study of a 'single case' implying one person, one event, or one institution/organisation. It "is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (Stake: 1995: xi). The implicit acceptance of 'single case' for case study research can be traced back to the Freudian case histories of psycho-analysis with the one-person/one-case association. As the strategy moved into the

social sciences area it gradually expanded to one event, one institution/organisation, one phenomenon, one issue:

"... cases can range from micro to macro all the way from an individual person to an event, social situation, organisation or institution to a national society to an international social system..." (Hammersley: 1992:184).

Sometimes, to explore one phenomenon, issue, event, or institution/organisation, the need was felt to investigate many sub-units/by-units. A case study that focuses on more than one unit is defined as multiple-site case study. The discussion shows not just how at times it was stretched, but also points to the intrinsic flexibility of the term that defies any fixed dimensions or precise definitions. Some case-study writers may believe in an ideal type but perhaps that can never be conformed with in practice.

In the social sciences, early case studies were mostly in anthropology and got to be used interchangeably with ethnography and participant observation. Broadly speaking, ethnography includes descriptions of the cultural features, activities, knowledges, patterns of social interaction, and insiders' accounts and their points of view, along with the development of theory - 'a realisation of the field work experiences and accounts' along with the researcher's positioning (Hitchcock and Hughes: 1991:52,3). An important feature of case studies using qualitative framework is also greater concentration on contextual requirements, "its embeddedness and interaction with its context" (Stake: 1995:16). Yin holds a case study to be "an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident " (1994: 6). This concentration on context brings it close to ethnography in a certain way. Such overlaps blur the boundaries, which may be annoying for those interested in categorisations, but it is a real-life-phenomenon and, at times, facilitative for research purposes as it creates spaces for knowledge production. To put the items neatly in 'boxes' may be feasible for storage purposes, but is not practicable for every-day use, and research is intrinsically an ongoing dynamic activity. Research strategies and techniques are constantly refining and re-defining themselves as these are put to

practice in real life situations, constantly in need of airing and repairing to counter any wear/tear.

Case study is charged of lacking rigour and conversely, lending itself to bias. A critique of case study includes its inadequacy of reliability, validity, and generalisability. Case study writers, arguing for the case study, reinterpret the meanings of various relevant terms and suggest measures to enhance its research value as a tool. Yin recommends an informed and well thought research design which should be more than a 'work plan' (Yin: 1994:20), and emphasises 'construct validity' and 'methodological validity'. Other suggested measures, contributive towards rigour, are internal and external validity, respondents' validity, and triangulation. A rigorous database including notes, documents, materials, narratives, and maintenance of a 'chain of evidence' are viewed as contributive to increased reliability (Yin: 1994: 94,98). Nevertheless, reliability, like validity acquires different implications in qualitative research where it "can be best regarded as something which is to be worked towards rather than fully achieved" (Deem and Brehony: 1992:19).

Generalisation is another controversial area regarding case study research. Hammersley emphasises the need for justifying any claim to 'general relevance', "an account that is of value to those who have no intrinsic interest in that case" (Hammersley: 1992b: 86). Stoecker criticises generalisations as obscuring specific situational factors (1991:96), and claims that "The case study provides evidence to show how both the rule, and its exceptions, operate" (1991:94). These divergent posits reflect how generalisation is being interpreted by its exponent. Many writers on case study have a different view of generalisation, as compared to its orthodox meaning (Stake:1995; Yin:1994). In Yin's opinion an investigator's goal should be 'analytic generalisation' and not 'statistical generalisation', aiming "to cover contextual conditions - believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study" (1994:13). Research tools and measures, when applied within different paradigms, acquire varied meanings and interpretations. This plurality of meanings is itself an indication of context-dependence in research, and rather adds to the research value of these tools.

Case study research is viewed as 'economic' (Orum et al: 1991:2), which is another broad generalisation. It can be more expensive in time and resources depending on the nature of the research. Multi-site case studies, involving traveling over vast distances, as in this case, can be highly expensive, making enormous demands on time and resources.

This study does not fall neatly into the case study category, or perhaps any other for that purpose. Categories themselves are fluid, shifting and context-dependent. This research may share some elements of case study but certainly with no claims to 'ideal' type. In this case, Stoecker's posit has more relevance that "the case study is more a 'design feature' a frame determining the boundaries of information gathering. Within this frame we may survey, interview, observe, participate, read, visit archives, dig through garbage, or even count" (1991:98).

This research is a study of the management roles and practices of college heads in AJK. The participants reflected diversities of age, gender, class, and many others. The institutions were also different in many ways: intermediate, degree, and university colleges, offering male, female, and occasionally co-education, situated anywhere from big cities to remote hilly areas, and with all the contextual variations. The boundary and the unifying thread was a geographical locale. The shared feature among all these college heads was that they all managed colleges in this specific region. The rationale behind this focus on a particular region was its territorial unity and identity, which contributed to its unity as a case study.

1.3. Inductive Approach and Grounded Theory

The research approach is inductive. This study aimed at exploring the experiences of the institutional heads in a multi-dimensional social situation. I did not have any hypothesis to start with. It was just an understanding that management at college level in AJK, Pakistan, needed to be investigated and improved with a particular focus upon college heads, a realisation emerging from personal experience and 'indwelling'. The approach was emergent in nature and theories and concepts evolved and developed along with the research process. It was question-led and exploratory, requiring an understanding of the contextual performance, and assigning value to the

experiences of the participants as appropriate and an effective means of gaining insight into the situation:

"If people define a situation as real it is real in the consequences"
(Jorgenson:1989).

I believe in the validity of experience, and consider it ethically and politically wrong to undervalue or underestimate any person's experience. In spite of the fact that I was one of the management group my research focused upon, I did not intend to pre-define roles/positions vs views/perspectives in relations to management issues, or make any decisions about their relationship, as that would have been contrary to my theoretical stance. An absence of related statistical data and any type of research in the area further excluded such possibilities. The knowledge building, therefore, had to be participative and on site in recognition of the "inevitable situatedness of human thought within culture" (Nicholson:1990).

Chapter one aimed to make explicit the subjectivities of the researcher and the participants, positioned as college heads in a specific Muslim context and presented a background which generated the research questions. These questions determined the research directions in terms of postal surveys and in-depth interviewing, supported by personal knowledge. The use of multiple data collecting methods and data sources aimed to diminish bias and to enhance the validity of the information. The experiences of the participating college heads and the senior educational managers, and my personal experience as a college head provided a triangulation of sources (Denzin:1994). It was perceived useful in the identification of professional, economic and socio-political processes concerning formulations of management roles and practices of institutional heads in AJK.

In the absence of a meta-theory encompassing the diversity and complexity of management situations and issues, the need to explain differences and commonalities acquired vital importance in order to increase understanding and guide action in a given situation. I hoped to develop a piece of research which could interrogate,

explore, and explain the situation, using an approach which allowed the researcher to modify/change focus, and pursue leads revealed by the data.

A constant interplay among personal knowledge, literature review and 'diverse slices of data' (Glaser and Strauss: 1967:66) contributed towards re-working and re-shaping of an emergent research design which is detailed in the next chapter. This inductive approach was adopted for more rigour in this case, by not foreclosing the possibilities for improvement. Chapter four details how informed choices and decisions at different stages enhanced relevance of the design for the research purposes. A constant re-working and re-shaping of the research process is a part of the inductive approach, associated more closely with Grounded Theory. This interplay between data and theory is the basis of a grounded theory approach:

"the notion of grounded theory is one of careful and exhaustive dialogue between category and data, inspected as carefully for misfits as for fit" (Bliss et al 1983:198).

Glaser and Strauss propose in their development of the grounded theory that the research progresses in stages, each stage determining the procedures, processes and other details for the next stage in constant interplay with the data (Glaser and Strauss: 1967). An inductive research uses collected data and on-going analysis "for the next wave of data collection" (Miles and Huberman: 1994: 9), believing that "research design , data collection and analysis are simultaneous and continuous processes..." (Bryman and Burgess : 1994:217).

In this study, I started with the primary research questions and moved on to data collection after an initial in-depth literature review. Other micro focus questions evolved as the research progressed, and data collection led to further queries. Such question-led research goes beyond existent theories and preconceived conceptual framework in searching for new understanding of social processes in natural settings (Stern:1982). It does not start with a hypothesis or theory. Concepts emerge alongside and after data collection, and not prior to it, viewing reality as to be socially constructed with the research participants and always "emerging and relevant to other

facts of social life" (Ibid:124). This inductive direction where researcher is the 'human as instrument' positioned in a specific context, interacting with the participants to build knowledge, to develop theory from data, to some extent reflects the philosophy of the grounded theory as introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967)⁵⁶. It grows out of the research questions and the researcher's interpretation of the participants' perspectives.

A grounded theory approach is a form of social criticism and it offers judgements about identified patterns of social interaction, evolving out of data. It is particularly useful "when the study is exploratory" (Nachmias and Nachmias: 1992: 323), and if little is known about a topic and few adequate theories exist to explain or predict a group's behaviour. This was the case in my study to a certain extent, as examined in chapter one.

Exploring college management across the East/West or any such dichotomy, looking for opposite concepts, is ignoring the rich complexity of social existence resulting from socio-historical processes. Situations are formulated by, and located in, historical, economic and material realities, as perceived and experienced by the subjects. These perceptions and experiences are situated in time and space, specific in their differences but without any denial of commonalities as such. Qualitative research provides a broad framework to study multiple intersecting strands, and to make some sense of the phenomenon, although no theorising can claim to be absolute, specifically when it concerns social existence.

In this study, the Grounded Theory had a relevance for analysis as well because the process of developing a coding scheme begins at an early stage in this approach. Bryman and Burgess point out that "grounded theory has informed, in general terms, aspects of the qualitative analysis of data, including coding and the use of different types of codes and their role in concept creation" (1994:219). Codes are built from the data as the themes and patterns emerge, to remain more 'open-minded' and 'context sensitive' (Bryman and Burgess:1994; Miles and Huberman:1994; Bogden and Bilken:1992). These categories develop, change, and grow or 'decay' in constant

⁵⁶ See also Corbin and Strauss: 1990; and Strauss:1987.

interplay with the data at different levels of analysis, in relation to the research focus. However, a researcher's subjectivity can not be denied in working with the data, who engages with it from a specific positioning:

"Giving a code to data is the final step in a lengthy, critical process of creating paradigms that can be instantiated in the data, a process governed not by rules but by the analyst's ideas, judgements and perceptions" (Bliss et al 1983:165).

This process of analysis was suited to my research where, in the absence of any research in the area, it was not possible to make guesses or predictions with any confidence. My focus of interest developed from my knowledge of the research context and my particular positioning in it. I was interested in exploring:

- What are the perceived roles of the college heads and how these perceptions influence their practices?
- What are major forces contributive to role-constructions and management-practices?
- How these perceptions and constructions interact with college management?
- What are the major issues in college management and what are the corresponding strategies?
- How and what management development/training needs are shaped situationally?

Initial insight into the participants' perspectives was provided by the pilot questionnaire which served as the preliminary to the postal questionnaire, later sent to all the college heads in AJK. In the postal responses, the themes identified by the researcher 'me' were at times surprising for the participant 'me' who claimed a background of about two decades of close involvement in the research context. It emphasised the need "to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may

be influencing what one is trying to understand" (Maykut and Morehouse: 1994:123), and stressed the importance of grounding all concepts and themes close on data.

Further data was collected through in-depth interviewing. It is a method often applied in grounded theory which has roots in symbolic interactionism (Morse: 1994:39; Stern: 1994:215) believing that:

“human reality is not simply ‘out there’ awaiting scientific study. Instead it is always socially and symbolically constructed, always emerging and relative to other facts of social life” (Hutchinson: 1988:124).

Data collected through diverse sources provided different perspectives for understanding social phenomenon and helped to develop the themes. The emerging themes were indicative of the contextual interplay of social, economic, religious and political forces in a post-colonial historical perspective, and the associated crisis of identity. Connection and relationships were to be explained by integrating information, while taking into account all the contextual forces and influences in developing themes and patterns. The similarities defined the basic properties of a category and differences established the coding boundaries, gradually clarifying the relationships among categories. Data helped "to expand or 'tease out' the emerging category by searching for its structure, temporarily, cause, context, dimensions, consequences and its relationship to other categories" (Hutchinson: 1988:135). It is a constant comparative method which was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and later expanded by Linclon and Guba (1985). It combines using explicit coding and analytic procedures with theory development (Glaser and Strauss:1967: 101-115). Glaser and Strauss describe it proceeding in four overlapping interactive stages:

- “(1) comparing incidents applicable to each category;
- (2) integrating categories and their properties ;
- (3) delimiting the theory; and
- (4) writing the theory" (1967:105:113).

This method helps to develop categories and their related properties by establishing their coding boundaries and clarifying relationships. Besides, as Hutchinson claims, “an in-depth examination of these properties is likely to yield a dense theory that also accounts for behavioural variations” (1988:135).

The proposed theory is 'molecular' in structure rather than linear, always open to modification. Glaser and Strauss argue (1967:103) that this analytic method only 'suggests' theory and does not facilitate theory 'testing'. However, sufficient information needs to be provided to establish the "credibility of the categories, relationships and concepts" (Walker: 1985:189) through inter-relating and interpreting data. The application of constant comparative method as an analytic tool, within an inductive and grounded theory approach handles the diversity and complexity of forces working in the context. The apparent similarities or differences might lead to layers of explanations, involving wider historical, geographical, religious and political 'causality networks' which need to be explored, interrelated with, and verified from the data. Glaser and Straus proposed grounding the theory in data, thus allowing for theory to develop as knowledge is gradually built up. Hutchinson argues that “Glaser and Straus believed grand theories were generated from idle speculation rather than from data and those who generated grand theories were not interested enough in research to test them out. Of more use would be middle range or substantive theories that explained a specific area of empirical inquiry ...” (1988:124).

As acknowledged earlier in this chapter, this study admits certain properties of both the approaches, case study and grounded theory, in spite of ontological and epistemological differences particularly between the grounded theory and post-structuralism. In a sense, it extends beyond their frameworks in its explorations of discourses active around the research focus, and the sites and practices involved in these constructions. This was in response to the originality of this piece of research located in a specific unresearched situation, and not a ‘muddling of methods’ (Stern: 1994:214).

A post-structuralist framework appealed to me as it offered possibilities often denied by the traditional Western philosophical thought constructed around dualities and dichotomies, imposing “homogeneity and identity upon the heterogeneity of material” (BenHabib: 1992:208). In a world of multiple causes and effects, looking for black and white is turning a blind eye to infinite shades and colours created at diverse intersections. Any particular phenomenon is shaped by historical and cultural specifications interacting in a complex way. Putting these into neat categories across sharp divisions hampers the possibilities of knowledges that can be formulated at limitless points and interstices. At this level, a post-structural epistemology had a relevance.

2. The Ontological and Epistemological framework

The section examines how a post-structuralist stance with Islamic philosophical underpinnings interacted to influence methodology in this research. First, it offers a brief discussion of post-structuralism as I understand it, and as I use it for this research purposes, which is followed by a brief discussion of Foucauldian concept of discourse as it “designates the conjunction of power and knowledge” (Ball:1990b:17). The final section relates this concept to the practices in a Muslim society to examine the interplay between knowledge and power and its effects on interpretations and practices in educational management.

2.1. Poststructuralism

This research is theoretically located in post-structuralism albeit with a difference: the methodological framework is used from within an Islamic perspective. At one level, distances between the dominant Islamic philosophy of knowledge and truth and corresponding poststructuralist notions seem tremendous. But if we move from the ‘revealed’⁵⁷ to the ‘acquired’ and ‘constructed’ knowledge, recognising epistemological difference between the two, and understand post-structuralism as problematising (not rejecting as such) universals and truths (Weiner: 1994:99) some theoretical contradictions can be resolved. This section explicates my understanding of post-structuralism and its points of relevance for a study underpinned by Islamic

⁵⁷ Here I am referring to that content of revealed knowledge where compliance and demanded and which pertains mostly to faith.

philosophy. As a reference point, certain aspects of personal autobiography were detailed in chapter one and later in the earlier sections of this chapter, which were perceived as pertinent for this research. The sifting and selection was a subjective process but the details had a significance in explaining methodological decisions and ontological and epistemological positioning. The following discussion develops the framework further to make explicit the theoretical location of this study.

Poststructural is generally defined as a variant of postmodernism or as “a subset of a broader range of theoretical, cultural, and social tendencies which constitute postmodern discourse” (Best and Kellner: 1991:25; see also Griffiths:1995). This requires a brief discussion of postmodernism along with poststructural. The two terms are often used loosely and interchangeably (Sarup: 1988:118). This adds to the confusion and ambiguity surrounding the terms but it also signifies their essence. Whether they are used interchangeably or one is understood as a variant of the other, they can be seen as developing in response to traditional philosophical thought which was structured round the rational knowing self (Griffiths: 1995:226). Both are often associated with different areas/disciplines - postmodernism with art, architecture and culture, and poststructuralism with literary theory, philosophy and history - but the shared standpoint is a rejection of metanarratives linked with specific notions of self, subject and knowledge. I will briefly discuss postmodernism and poststructuralism as I understand it, together with the aspects where poststructural has a relevance and a usefulness for this research.

In any discussion of postmodernism, the argument inevitably focuses on modernism. Understanding and reading of any ‘post-’ concept or situation requires an investigation of the pre-post phenomenon. The post- of the modern equally has been problematic. According to Habermas the term modern expresses a ‘transition from the old to the new’ (1985:3). By pre-fixing it with post- it becomes a self contradiction (Bordo:1992). This problematises post-modernism with relation to modernism⁵⁸.

Postmodernism is explained and theorised in multiple ways which has a conceptual relevance to its rejection of absolutes and a critique of the “tendency of definitions to

⁵⁸ For an interesting discussion of this debate see Stronach and MacLure: 1997 : chapter one.

conceal as much as they reveal and to maim and obfuscate while pretending to clarify and straighten up” (Bauman: 1997:165). It is explained as: ‘incredulity toward metanarratives’ (Lyotard: 1984: xxiv); the fall of modern myths of progress and mastery (Owens:1985); a falling apart of ‘unified world-views of religion and metaphysics’ (Habermas: 1985:9); a break with modern politics (Said:1978) and nation-states (Ahmed:1992); a celebration of diversity and contingency (Bauman: 1997); a cultural paradigm, entailing ‘spatio-temporal configuration’ (Lash: 1990:4); a change of aesthetic tastes, ‘new styles in art and architecture’ (Moore:1988:175); a continuation/extension of modernism (Habermas:1985; Lyotard:1984; Baudlard: 1985); a crisis within modernism (Giddens:1990; Harvey:1990); ‘a mode of moving inside and outside modernism’ (Rattansi: 1994:19) a ‘schizophrenic’ mode of space and time (Jameson:1991); non-historical and located in an eternal now (Eagleton:1991); irrational, relativist, nihilistic (Gellner:1992); ‘a theoretical virus which paralyses progressive thought, politics and practice’ (Cole et al: 1997:187), and many more.

The differences are within and across postmodernisms and the critiques, and they emphasise ambiguity, fragmentation and hybridity, emphasising that the term is “itself a *site* of continuing controversy and reflection” (Slater: 1994:87). Foster approaches the problem by differentiating between postmodernism of resistance “which seeks to deconstruct modernism and resist the status quo”, a ‘critical deconstruction of tradition’, ‘a critique of origins’, ‘to explore rather than conceal social and political affiliations’; and a postmodernism of reaction ‘which repudiates the former to celebrate the latter’ (1985: xii). Following the argument, Lather (1991) differentiates between postmodernism of reaction as nihilistic and postmodernism of resistance as dialogic. The half-hearted efforts to categorise post-modernism probably reflect the discomfort of operating outside categories.

Another critique of postmodernism is directed at the notion of ‘other’. From a postmodern perspective, ‘other’ implies recognition of plurality and fragmentation, perceived as ‘political saturation’ by Rosie Braidotti (1992). She argues that the postmodern subject is “a subject in process, organised by a will to know and a desire to speak” (1992:183). This is an acknowledgement of the authenticity of other voices,

but is seen by critics as depriving them from "access to more universal sources of power by ghettoising them within an opaque otherness" (Harvey: 1990:117), leading to 'loss of voice'. Consequently, its emancipatory role becomes suspected, which is discussed further below.

Seeing post-modernism as merely relativistic is again fixing it in a frame which would be contrary to a post-modern perspective. I prefer to see it with Ali Rattansi as decentering, de-essentialising and shifting, offering possibilities for restructuring and redefining the frame itself to suit the research aims; a post-modern frame which attempts to highlight and destabilise the overlapping and cross-cutting binaries "always potentially unstable and held in place by networks of power and knowledge, discursive structures and strategies" (1994: 47). The post-modern point is to highlight that definitions and analyses are always partial (Lather: 1991:59), and meaning needs to be constructed situationally. Bauman sees "a genuine emancipatory chance in postmodernity, the chance of laying down arms, suspending border skirmishes waged to keep the stranger away, taking apart the daily erected mini-Berlin Walls meant to maintain distance and to separate" (1997:33).

A post-modern perspective is an ontological and epistemological shift from the rational 'I' to a constructed and situated 'I'. There occurs a "noticeable shift in sensibility, practices, and discourse formations which distinguishes a post-modern set of assumptions, experiences, and propositions from that of a preceding period" (Huyssen: 1988:181). The epistemological break was marked with the death of 'the subject', posing challenges to 'the classical episteme of representation' (BenHabib: 1992:205). It critiqued the tradition of thought that imposed homogeneity and identity upon the heterogeneity of matter, and challenged 'transcendental guarantees of truth':

"It is precisely at the legislative frontier between what can be presented and what cannot that the postmodernism operation is being staged - not in order to transcend representation, but in order to expose that system of power that authorises certain representations while blocking, prohibiting or invalidating others" (Owens:1985.).

A significant premise of postmodernism is this challenge to the notion of knowing subject and the issue of voicing. It un-fixes the knowing self and recognises it as shifting and constructed, interwoven in a play of power/knowledge:

“A self does not amount to much but no self is an island; each exists in a fabric of relations that is now more complex and mobile than ever before. Young or old, man or woman, rich or poor, a person is always located at ‘nodal points’ of specific communication circuits, however tiny these may be. Or better: one is always located at a post through which various kinds of messages pass. No one, not even the least privileged among us, is ever entirely powerless over the messages that traverse and position him at the post of sender, addressee, or referent” (Lyotard:1984: 15).

This stance announces the end of meta-narratives. Discussing postmodern distrust of meta-narratives, Sarup sees it as signalling “a crisis in a narrative’s legitimising function, its ability to compel consensus’ (1988:132). Grand narratives are critiqued for association with a political programme and for being oppressive in intentions. A postmodern condition is perceived as “comprising fragmentation, ambiguity, redescription and the denial of any ‘master narratives’ or unifying theory” (Griffiths: 1995:224), as Braidotti clearly makes the point:

“The only way to find a larger vision is to be somewhere in particular’ (1991:272).

The situatedness of narratives and an emphasis on culture as a social force has significance for analysing education and its social dimensions. A postmodern perspective gives ‘importance to cultural analysis in social theory’ (Blake: 1996:62) and “forces us to recognise the significance of cultural representations for understanding influences and responses to education” (Skeggs: 1991:261). The smaller localised ‘visions’ acknowledge plurality and hybridity, and deconstruct ‘larger vision/s’. Lyotard argues that postmodern knowledge “refines our sensitivity to differences and re-inforces our ability to tolerate the incommensurable. Its principal is not the expert’s homology, but the inventor’s paralogy” (Lyotard: 1984: xxv).

Postmodern notions of knowledge and self are linked with power as an interactive force, as observed by Lyotard:

“Knowledge in the form of an informational commodity indispensable to productive power is already, and will continue to be, a major - perhaps *the* major - stake in the world wide competition for power” (1984: 5).

This recognition of power as a factor in the construction of knowledge and subjectivity was developed by Foucault who perceived power/knowledge as a network of strategic relations opening up possibilities. This is discussed later in the next section. The present argument focuses on the relevance of theoretical framework.

A presumed ‘epistemological ambivalence’ of postmodernism (Boyne and Rattansi: 1990:36) at times makes some thinkers - feminists, educationists and others - cautious of its relevance for a cause or programme (Braidotti:1991; Lovibond:1990; Skeggs:1991). The same makes it a target for relativism: a relativism which “entails moral [and] cognitive nihilism” (Gellner: 1992:71). Gellner sees it as an erroneous methodology because:

“The relativism to which it aspires does not have, and cannot have, any kind of program, either in politics or even in inquiry” (Ibid:70).

Nonetheless, theoreticians like Ali Rattansi, rather than feeling hindered by its ‘decentring, de-essentialising’, see possibilities in it through redescribing the framework (1992;1994). According to him, the strength of postmodernism is that boundaries cannot be drawn, as the argument informing this frame is “exposing the relative arbitrariness of boundary formation in social and intellectual configurations, and an interrogation of the policing of these borders by disciplinary apparatus of power/knowledge” (1994: 22). It draws into focus new forms of division, hybridisation, fusion, fracturing and recomposition, and a redrawing of boundaries.

From a post-modern perspective, the subject and the social are constantly under construction and transformation, with invariably shifting boundaries. Does this decentring and de-essentialising frame fit an Islamic perspective? Or is postmodernism a Western/non-Islamic project? Considering a similar question regarding modernism - "Is it a Western project?", Anthony Giddens' answer was a cryptical 'Yes' (Giddens: 1990:175); and this brings the debate back to historically prescribed East/West dichotomy.

Modernism had different implications across this eco-politically charged divide and involved myriad factors, which are beyond the scope of the present discussion. A relevant aspect here is that in the East, particularly among Muslims, modernism was regarded with a wariness. It was welcome because politico-historically it coincided with the end of colonialism, and establishment of Muslim states⁵⁹. Economically, it offered possibilities of progress and development. But, ideologically its secularism implied a move away from religion and challenged the socio-cultural fabric, and that was perceived as a threat by Muslims. There have been influential modernist figure among Muslims like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (Malik:1980), Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani (Keddie:1972) and Mohd Abduh (Badawi:1978; Kedourie:1966), but, in general, it was a love-hate relationship: identifying with some aspects of modernity and disavowing others (Ahmed: 1992: 29-31).

With postmodernism again the 'predicament' is:

"How can the Muslims retain their central Islamic features in the face of the contrary philosophy of the post-modern age" and "How does a religious civilisation like Islam, which relies on a defined code of behaviour, and traditions based on a holy book, cope in an age which self-consciously puts aside the past and exults in diversity" (Ahmed: 1992:5).

Discussing the question, Ahmed makes the argument that in-spite of postmodern spirit of pluralism and a heightened scepticism of traditional orthodoxy, religious revivalism can be understood as "both cause and effect of postmodernism"

⁵⁹ For further details see Esposito and Voll.:1996; Ruthven:1991; Schimmel:1992; Voll:1982.

(1992:13⁶⁰). Modernism was understood in the Muslim world as distancing and alienating people from religion. Islamic revival in 1970s which challenged the modern nation-states, historically coincided with postmodernism. In spite of philosophical differences, there exist points of convergence.

Accommodating the notion of revealed knowledge and a coherent system of values in Islam with post-modern rejection of metanarratives is problematic. But “postmodernism also promises hope, understanding and toleration - and this is where it connects with Islam” (Ahmed: 1992: x). The spirit of inquiry, drive for self-knowledge, celebration of diversity, and emphasis on tolerance and understanding, are essential caveats of Islam, as discussed in chapter one and earlier in this chapter. This tolerance and understanding extends even to religions:

“There shall be no compulsion in religion” (the Quran: 2:256); and
“Your religion for you and mine for me” (the Quran: 109:6).

Islam encourages *ijtihad*⁶¹ (innovative judgement) *shura* (consultation), and *ijma* (consensus), and thus acknowledges the value of opinions and perspectives. Ahmed quotes a dialogue between the Prophets and Muadh ibn Jabal, a judge on his way to Yemen. The designated judge was advised to decide a problem according to the Quran, but if guidance was not there then according to the *Sunnah*, and if not there either, then to use his own judgement (Ahmed: 1992:120). This acknowledgement of a plurality of perspectives provides a space within an Islamic context where a poststructural frame can be used for analysis. The following is a brief discussion of poststructuralism which is later linked with my theoretical positioning.

Post-structuralism derives from the philosophical tradition of structuralism, but with suggestions of ‘continuity’ as well as ‘contradictions’ between the two (Sarup:1988:4). Both offer a critique of human subject and progressive history, doubt the possibility of general laws, emphasise impossibility of being objective, and

⁶⁰ See also Bauman:1996.

⁶¹ Maududi (1980:72-92) explains the notion of *ijtihad* in Islam. Although he considers it from the perspective of Islamic law and constitution with reference to Pakistan, but the discussion is also useful for an understanding of this concept in general.

critique the structure of binary oppositions (Sarup: 1988:43). Human reality is defined as “a construction, as a product of signifying activities which are both culturally specific and generally unconscious” (Ibid:2). But there are differences.

While “sharing with structuralism a dismissal of the concept of the autonomous subject, poststructuralism stressed the dimensions of history, politics, and everyday life in the contemporary world and attacked the scientific pretensions of structuralism which attempted to create a scientific basis for the study of culture” (Best and Kellner: 1991:20). The argument furthered is that “meaning is produced not in a stable, referential relation between subject and object, but within the infinite, intertextual interplay of signifiers” a production of signification that resists structural constraints (Best and Kellner: 1991:21; Sarup: 1988:3). It is here that poststructuralism moves away from structuralism, and overlaps with postmodernism can be identified. One fundamental premise shared by poststructural/post-modern analyses is that “subjects are constituted in and through discourses, which provide ‘speaking’ positions, subject-positions, identities and identifications; and that discourses clearly have institutional locations” (Rattansi: 1994:37).

This notion of constructing/re-constructing subjectivities offers promises of un-fixing boundaries and shifting positions, affecting the margins and the centres (hooks:1991). It encourages us to “take the risk of reconstructing subjectivities’ to transform cultures and cultural practices (Bordo: 1992 : 164). Bordo argues that:

“postructuralism has encouraged recognition of the fact that prevailing configurations of power, no matter how dominant, are never seamless but are always spawning new forms of subjectivity, new contexts for resistance to, and transformation of existing relations. [and] to recognise ‘body’ as “not only materially acculturated (e.g., as it conforms to social norms and habitual practices of “femininity” and “masculinity”), but it is also mediated by language: by metaphors, and semantical grids (e.g., binary oppositions such as male/female, inner/outer) that organise and animate our perception and experience” (Ibid:167).

Poststructuralism provides a methodological tool not only to locate the subject in the discourse but to analyse the discourse formative practices as well. A post-structural framework emphasises discourses and texts, that produce and are produced by social institutions. Language gains an importance as constitutive of reality and subjectivity even while the meaning shifts and reformulates in a situated interplay of discourses and subjectivities. Foucault developed discourse as an analytical tool to illuminate how struggle over meaning is saturated with power and knowledge, which is discussed in the following section. He re-conceptualised power as a network of strategic relationships, and knowledge became a metaphorical domain:

“once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power” (Foucault:1977).

Meaning shifts with the ‘form’ and ‘effects’ of power as diverse social, cultural, political, institutional and other factors interact. This interplay problematises the notions of ‘self’ and ‘truth’. This view of meaning rejects universal totality, whole truths and complete answers. The emphasis is on the particular and the situated, with an acknowledgement of complexity, diversity, plurality and fragmentation. For me, with my cultural, religious and ideological background, poststructuralism had an appeal because it argued against the fixed oppositions which restrict understanding of a complex, multifaceted world with diverse cultures and historical specifications⁶². It seemed relevant as a methodological tool, with sufficient sensitivity and flexibility, to analyse the complexities and inter-relationships of the situation and its power dimensions.

Social structuring of this research context had a unique complexity woven by religious, political, economic and cultural forces. The issues of sex-segregation, single-sex colleges, veiling, and gender, drawing from competing religious and cultural discourses, heightened the power/knowledge interplay. Power emerged not

⁶² This section needs to be read along with section 2.1 in chapter one and sections 3.1. and 3.2 in chapter two which discuss Islamic concepts of knowledge, ‘self’, and teaching/learning.

only as unequally distributed and therefore oppressive, but unstable as well which highlighted discontinuity and fragmentation. To capture the practices aimed at marginalisation, and the counter-practices towards resistance, fitted within a poststructural frame with its promise of flexibility and sensitivity.

An analysis guided by poststructuralism implies recognition of diversity and plurality, producing spaces for inter-discursivity. I see post-structuralism as a stance against oppression and authoritarianism. Poststructuralism acknowledges a need for critical exploration of similarities and differences, providing spaces for multiplicity of voices which can enhance perception and understanding, and subsequently enrich theorising. However, there were multiple issues of a very practical nature, interfering with this opening up of spaces for silenced voices. The questions are, as Said sees them:

“Who writes? For whom is the writing being done? In what circumstances? These, it seems to me, are the questions whose answers provide us with the ingredients making for a politics of interpretation” (1985:135).

And there is also the demand that:

“You have to pass through certain rules of accreditation, you must learn the rules, you must speak the language, you must master the idiom and you must accept the authorities of the field to which you want to contribute” (Said:1985:141).

How far was it possible to achieve this end of allowing their ‘voices’ to be heard, was a complex issue when reporting and analysis comprised interpreting and translating not just across languages but across cultures, religions, and perceived ideological dichotomies of East/West and Muslim/non-Muslim, with all the associated constructions, connotations, and biases, and additionally, placed within the structural constraints of a British university, working towards a PhD thesis. Further, there was the issue of research focus, and multiple pragmatics exercising restraints, which had to be acknowledged and dealt with during all phases of research process, including data collection, which are explored later in this chapter and in the next.

2.2. Discourse

Discourse, in a broad sense, is referred to as a system of statements. An interplay of subjectivities is perceived by Foucault as constituting a discourse which is seen as a system of possibilities allowing us to produce statements which are either 'true or false'. Stephen Ball terms it "the key concept in Foucault's theory of the relationship and inter-relationship between power and knowledge" (1990b:17). Dreyfus and Rainbow see it as "a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (1982:101). Foucault himself defines it as an interactive relationship, each influencing the other:

"No body of knowledge can be formed without a system of communications, records, accumulation and displacement which is linked, in its existence and functioning, to the other forms of power. Conversely no power can be exercised without the extraction, appropriation, distribution or retention of knowledge" (1971:66).

Power, knowledge and subject are the intertwined themes of inquiry in Foucault's work. He re-conceptualises power where it is perceived as positive and productive (Henriques et al: 1984:26-7) producing realities, domains of objects and rituals of truth (Foucault:1977). His interpretation of power as a non-linear, shifting and dynamic relationship between individuals, and power/knowledge relationship as formulating discourses, offered possibilities for analysis.

Part of Foucault's argument is that "the subject is constituted through practices of subjection, or, in a more autonomous way, through practices of liberation,---- on the basis, of course, of a number of rules, styles, inventions to be found in the cultural environment" (1988:50). It is a multi-directional interplay which is shifting and changing like the self. But to "claim that the subject is itself produced in and as a matrix of relations is not to do away with the subject, but only to ask after the conditions of its emergence and operation" (Butler: 1993:7). Formations of subject and identity are intertwined with power and knowledge. Subjects are constituted by the operation of power, which effects their ways of perceiving things or conceiving

the world, as well as form of their knowledge and its content (Foucault: 1978:67). Thus they are constituted and partake in the constitution.

Foucault favours a more non-rational approach of analysing power. He argues against juridical conceptions of state, and claims that there are myriad networks of power which are outside the state authority believing that "power is exercised only over free individuals and only in so far as they are free" (Foucault: 1982: 220). Unlike the Marxist approach which interprets the process of this interaction as linear, Foucault underestimates the significance of class struggle and class domination. He posits that power is not localised in state apparatuses and nothing will change in the society if the mechanisms of power that function outside, below and alongside the state apparatuses on a much more and minute level are not also changed (Sarup:1988:86). Foucault forwards the argument that state is not an independent source of power but rather can only operate on the basis of other, that is, power relations (1980:122). Foucault argues that: "In reality, power....passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his [sic] disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power" (1980:72).

According to Foucault, patterns of discourses are produced culturally and socially, and power is exercised through discourse. By negating an all-powerful subject he suggests 'discoursing subjects' who form part of the discursive field (1991: 58). He explains the relationship between discourse formation and power maintaining that:

“We must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant and dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (1981:100).

Explaining the concept, Stephen Ball writes:

“Discourses are, therefore, about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where, and with what authority. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations” (1990b:17).

Placed in a web of power relations, we require a relevant analytical tool with sufficient flexibility to concede multifaceted plurality of our social existence. Discourse is Foucault’s primary unit of analysis, targeting not the ‘institutions’, ‘theories’, or ‘ideologies’ but ‘practices’. His analysis is not intended to offer a definitive interpretation of the elusive meaning/s of a text. His approach is sceptical, suggesting a way of analysis as a discursive formation. His method aims to ask what rules permit certain statements to be made and to identify those as true or false (because we have ways to reason about them), besides recognising certain individuals as authors (Skinner: 1985: 69). A Foucauldian analysis aims to rediscover the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary (1991:76). In this sense he is suggesting pluralisation of causes governing practices, which have both prescriptive effects regarding what is to be done and what is acceptable at a given moment, and codifying effects regarding what is to be known. Practices can be understood as places where what is said and what is done meet and interconnect (Ibid:75). They are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies or guided by pragmatic circumstances through the production of truth(s).

Analysing 'practices' is to study the interplay between a 'code' which rules ways of doing things, and a production of discourses which serve to explore, and to analyse and/or provide reasons and principals for these ways of doing things (Foucault:1980; 1991). Practices are seen as a discursive formation which unites thought and practice in a seamless and circular web: a practice sets the conditions for discourse and discourse feeds back statements that facilitate practice (Wolin: 1988: 184). Smart explains ‘the systems of rules and relations’, extending them to the prediscursive level:

“Where between objects, types of statements, concepts, and thematic choices there exists an order, correlations, ‘positions in common space, a reciprocal functioning’ (The order of Things: 1973:37) and linked transformations then a regularity, a system of dispersion has been located and a **discursive formation** identified. The system of rules and relations that governs the formation of a discourse and its elements (‘objects, statements, concepts and theoretical options’) are not of the order of constraints emanating from the consciousness or thoughts of a sovereign subject nor are they determinations arising from institutions, or social or economic relations. The systems of formation conceptualised by Foucault are literally located at the ‘prediscursive’ level, they constitute the conditions in and under which it is possible for a discourse to exist” (1988: 39).

Foucault’s concern is not with the statements that are held true in a given field of knowledge as such, but to reveal sets of discursive rules which allow the formation of groups of statements which are seen as true or false (Skinner: 1985:69). His interest is not where discourses come from or what interests they represent but what practices makes them possible and what effects of power and knowledge they ensure. He attempts to reveal the sets of discursive practices which allow the formations of statements. The rules of discourse are not canons which individuals consciously follow but they provide the necessary preconditions for the formation of statements. Even the place, function, and character of the authors and audiences of a discourse are also a function of these discursive practices (Skinner: 1985: 69). In fact, a discursive formation opens up space for manoeuvre, ‘a field of possible options’ (Foucault: 1972:66). Individuals can be diversely and multiply placed in relation to different discourses. Foucault claims that:

“discursive practices are not purely and simply ways of producing discourse. They are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behaviour, in forms for transfusion and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which, at once, impose and maintain them (Foucault:1980).

In addition, Foucault explains his concept of the formation of subject. He offers histories of the different modes by which human beings are constituted as subjects, laying specific emphasis on the operation of power. Originally referring to political practices and medical discourse, Foucault presents the constitution of psyche, subjectivity, personality and consciousness as the result of “methods of punishment, supervision, and constraint” (1977). He emphasises the role of ‘surveillance’ in disciplining and instituting control. At the same time, he sees that power changes men’s consciousness, their way of perceiving things or conceiving of the world, and form and content of their knowledge, thus creating counter discourses:

“Resistance to power may come from new discourses producing new truths. These may be ‘counter discourses’ which oppose dominant truths, or a ‘reverse discourse’” (Ramazanoglu: 1993: 20).

These counter discourses are the sites where new knowledges are constructed. Words and concepts change their meanings and their effects as they are deployed within different discourses as, for example, happens with religious texts. The processes of inclusion and exclusion and the modes of ordering produce multiple competing discourses which Ball explains as Foucault’s ‘principal of discontinuity’ with “other possibilities of meaning, other claims, rights and position” (1990b: 18). Sawicki argues that “the motivation for a politics of difference is the desire to avoid dogmatic adherence to categories and assumptions as well as the elision of differences to which such dogmatism can lead” (Sawicki:1991:29), and claims that Foucault’s understanding of “discourses as ambiguous and polyvalent” suggests “new possibilities for disruption and resistance as means of challenging [accepted discourses]” (1991: 88).

Social institutions like educational organisations and the practices therein are made up of diverse and often contradictory discourses (Kenvey et al:1994). Each formation can be seen as consisting of a set of shifting and dynamic discourses, where multiply-positioned subjects discursively constitute meanings and truths:

"Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by the virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is the type 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 according value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts true" (Foucault:1980:131);

and discourse as an analytical tool has pertinence for such analysis.

Foucault is not concerned with the true or false of discourse but rather with 'what links discourse'. He attempts to reveal sets of discursive rules which allow the formation of statement: "who is speaking----- and from whom in return, does he receive, if not the assurance, at least the presumption that what he says is true? What is the status of the individuals who, alone, have the right, sanctioned by law or tradition, juridically defined or spontaneously accepted to proffer such a discourse?" (1972: 50). He insists that events and situations are to be understood in the interplay of discourse and subjectivity, in interaction with situational factors and power relations, as the "things which seem most evident to us are always formed in the confluence of encounters and chances" (1988: 37). According to him patterns of discourses are produced culturally and socially, and power is exercised through discourse. To study college heads, placed in a web of power relations, required a relevant analytical tool with sufficient flexibility to concede multifaceted plurality of their social existence. Discourse, as a unit of analysis, indicated possibilities to explore the dynamics of power and gender surrounding educational management in this specific socio-religious context. Each college head, within and across the gender divide, operated discursively at the intersections of multiple discourses. Their struggles for 'meaning' and the engagement with the struggle itself, both needed to be examined and that is where I found this analytical tool useful. Furthermore, it required me to examine my engagement with these discourses and thus extended the 'possibilities of meanings'.

2.3. Power Discourses and Education in a Muslim Society

Having provided background information on Muslim societies and education in chapter one, and partly in chapter two, here the focus is narrowed to consideration of power discourses in that context. In a proclaimed Islamic state like Pakistan, religion determines those power structures and social controls that regulate and legitimise knowledge and meaning in that society. I do not imply that the Islamic world is homogeneous or monolithic but the patriarchal practices are alike in their oppressional aspect and these have penetrated into Muslim societies. Pakistan is a Muslim society with ninety per cent of its population being Muslims, and where power structures can lay claims to legitimacy mainly through religion. Different Muslim societies may develop diverse structures and discourses but they would all need to gain validation from religion. Religion exists as a determining force in the Muslim societies and thus religious interpretations become the sites of discourse formation and contested power.

Education plays a crucial role in developing a culture and promoting its ideological aims, and therefore it is wielded as a tool by those dwelling in the 'power sites'. Educational sites are centrally involved in the propagation, selective dissemination, and 'social appropriation' of discourses (Ball:1990b:3). Discourses are shaped, and attain power and control in societies, through institutions and an elite, "who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Foucault:1980:131). In Islamic countries, these discourses are influenced and manipulated by religious groups through a self-acquired, self-appropriated power of interpretation.

The discursive practices leading to the development of these knowledge discourses reflect a complex web of power play. The rulers, particularly those following the reign of the first four Caliphs in Islam, were faced with a legitimation crisis⁶³ (Habermas:1976). Legitimacy⁶⁴ "most simply put is the implicit or explicit consent of the people to be governed" and this need has been stronger in politically and

⁶³ Habermas maintained that "crisis in social systems are not produced through accidental changes in the environment, but through structurally inherent system-imperatives that are incompatible, and cannot be hierarchically integrated" (1976:2); and this has relevance in this instance. See chapter six (Ibid) for discussion of theories of 'legitimation crisis'.

⁶⁴ Habermas defines legitimacy as a "system to provide a requisite quality of generalised motivations" (1976:49).

economically unstable conditions (Hughes:1994:195). The rulers needed ideological legitimacy to justify their rights to sovereignty. Due to stress on knowledge in Islam and its association and equation with status mentioned earlier in this thesis, religious scholars have held a power in Islamic societies, commanding obedience and respect. Those rulers who could not lay claims to this scholarship tried to use religious scholars for their legitimation purposes. They did favours to *Ulema* who supported them in this process and tortured those who did not⁶⁵. Gradually, freedom of thought, recommended and encouraged by the Quran, came to be considered as a threat to rulers. In the succeeding centuries, various practices were used to control and contain scholars and through them, the masses, as political conditions deteriorated. These practices created a knowledge discourse subservient to political needs and gains. The Quranic verses emphasising research, inquiry and contemplation about the nature of the world were interpreted in such a way that the scientific aspects of these matters were ignored and theological implications were emphasised (Al-Affendi and Baloch:1980:16). This political socialisation constructed a knowledge discourse which stabilised and authenticated the existing social and political order, rendering it "increasingly irrelevant to changing socio-economic realities, and to new expectations and aspirations among Muslims" (Talbani:1996:60).

Any emerging knowledges that posed a threat to those in power were labelled as a threat to Islam. Faith and search for knowledge were presented as oppositional, introducing a dichotomy in contradiction with the Islamic concept of unity. This led to the construction of a fixed discourse of religion, particularly by some traditionalists⁶⁶, which subjected the very strengths of Islam to doubts and misconceptions. If it claimed to be a progressive way of life, it should also be able to resist threats and assimilate changes, and:

⁶⁵ It started with the Martyrdom of Hussain, the grand-son of the prophet Mohammed, and continued as a persistent phenomenon in the political history of Islam.

⁶⁶ Traditionalists is a term hard to define. At their best they are perceived as believing in the universal message of God and in inter-faith dialogue, attempting to live by Islamic principals. However, there is another side to it where they are seen as "isolated from, and in their work inaccessible to the ordinary Muslim At best these scholars were seen by critics as an irrelevance and cut off from reality, at worst as sanctimonious hypocrites and as humourless patriarchs" involved in sectarian polemics (Ahmed:1992; also see Goddard:1995:154-159; Hoodbhoy:1991).

"Those who wish to introduce the concept that you can only practice your faith as it was practised hundreds of years ago, to me they are introducing a time dimension which is not a part of our faith" (Agha Khan quoted in Ahmed:1991).

The essence of the Quran is a spirit of questioning and intellectual activity. This point is more strongly argued by Fazlur Rahman:

"I can say without fear of contradiction that, for the Quran, knowledge- that is, the creation of ideas - is an activity of the highest value. Otherwise why did it (the Quran) ask the Prophet to continue to pray for the 'increase in knowledge' [20:114]? Why did it untiringly emphasise delving into the universe, into history, and into man's own inner life? Is the banning or discouragement of pure thought compatible with this kind of demand? What does Islam have to fear from thought and why? These are questions that must be answered by those 'friends of religion' who want to keep their religion in a hot house, secluded from the open air" (1984:158-9).

The Quran does not set limits to knowledge or seeking knowledge as that would contradict its claims to universality and eternity. It does not mark the limits, but provides a framework to see the world and meditate. Assuming that any knowledge is static and denouncing knowledges outside Islam at a given time in history as *gumrahi* (straying from the truth), conflicts with the Islamic spirit of search and inquiry, but it suits the 'political regimes of truth' and enhances their associated 'power'. According to Foucault, each society has its "general politics of truth, that is, the type of discourse it accepts and makes function as true" (Foucault:1980:131). Within an interplay of power/knowledge forces these concepts and discourses are created and legitimised. The construction involves socio-political struggle aiming at creating particular regimes of truth, and developing procedures and techniques to establish and disseminate values considered to be true. Hence, in these conditions, a discourse tends to become 'an instrument of power' as well as 'an effect of power'.

In the Islamic societies religion, state, and education have been interlinked in a unique power structure. Historically, education has been used to produce and strengthen specific discourses of power and truth. Discourses super-imposed by the colonial regime in the Indian sub-continent, from mid-17th to mid-18th century, led to further implications and complications as mentioned earlier. In the post-colonial Pakistan, Islam was proclaimed as the religion of the state and a knowledge of the Quran and *Islamiat* (Islamic studies) was declared as essential for the Muslims. The First Educational Conference (1947) proposed that the educational system should be inspired by the Islamic ideology. "The *Ulema*, who had opposed the very idea of Pakistan, manipulated that Islamic clause to change the nation into a theocracy ... ", in spite of Jinnah persistently denying it in his speeches that "Pakistan is not a theocracy, or like it" (Talbani:1996:74). A special discourse was created and disseminated by the religious political groups which had further implications for the political, social, economic, and educational practices in the new state. Politically, it favoured the politicians, the *Ulema*, the elite, and resisted the formation of new power groups; socially, it strengthened patriarchal traditions and led to the oppression of vulnerable groups such as women; economically, it widened the gulf between the rich and the poor, hence destabilising the economy of a country rich in natural resources; and educationally, it drifted away from the Islamic philosophy of knowledge, intensifying "cultural and religious differences, resulting in communal conflicts, and resentment of other cultures and other areas of knowledge" (Talbani: 1996:82).

These discourses were constructed and disseminated in such a way that masses were left unable to differentiate between Islamic principals and teachings, and the actual social practices in the societies. Discussing in a different context Basit attributes this inability of the masses to judge interpretations to their lack of knowledge:

"The fact that they were religious, but uneducated meant that they misinterpreted [the] Quran and the Hadith⁶⁷" (1995:51).

⁶⁷ In the present day Muslim societies, it is the Arabic version of the Quran which is often recited, even outside the Arabic-speaking world. However, few realise what they are reading, or what it means in relation to man's life as an individual and as a social being.

It can be a lack of knowledge or specific knowledge discourses that perpetuate given interpretation of religion. In the feudal patriarchal society of Pakistan, a particular view of Islam has been constructed which discouraged freedom of thought and negated the Islamic spirit of equality and social justice. Compulsory teachings of Islamic studies and "the use of religious knowledge for selecting teachers at all levels of education" (Hoodbhoy and Nayyar: 1985:164), instead of familiarising the masses with Islamic philosophy and teachings, in fact led to the construction of a narrow view of Islam. These moves have been politically motivated to perpetuate certain regimes of truth in the best interest of those who occupied the 'power sites', as truth:

"is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatus" (Foucault: 1980: 132).

If organisations are concerned with power which is constituted through the production and dissemination of particular forms of discourses, then the emergence of 'subjugated knowledges' can pose a challenge to the exercise of power. To maintain social control, discourses are constituted through given interpretations and also by foreclosing the spaces for interpretation to other groups (Mernissi:1991).

In Islam, Quran is believed to be the core of knowledge, and hence the major power or force to produce, legitimise, and operationalize truth in a Muslim society (Nasr: 1981:49). It is the 'divine source' of knowledge, trusted, venerated, and obeyed by the Muslims. Any discourse authenticated by the Quran commands compliance and discourages any challenge, more so if the person himself/herself lacks religious knowledge and a direct understanding of the Quran, and is therefore, unable to appreciate its unauthenticity/authenticity. Power lies in this control over religious interpretations, and with those who occupy the spaces for interpretations. Any critical engagement is discouraged, branded as unIslamic, compelling the 'unknowing masses' into blind obedience. They are led to believe that they are living their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam, even when that may be in direct conflict with the Islamic principals. This has serious implications for all aspects of education as well. It determines patterns of behaviour and levels of activities, as well as approaches towards issues and practices.

It was in view of these interferences from vested knowledge discourses, not grounded in religion, that Islam introduced the concepts of *Ijtihad* (innovative judgement), *Shura* (consultation), and *Ijma* (consensus), to be exercised within certain requirements, to encourage man's rationality and judgement in decision-making, and to provide a framework for adaptations and innovations. Akber Ahmed stresses the need for *ijtihad* in today's Muslim societies, particularly in matters "where women, education, and politics are involved" (1992:20). Interpretation and control are contested and interlinked with power. We spin power situations to exercise power and to resist power. Religion is made to serve as a technology of power for the purposes of socio-political control in this research situation and therefore has a relevance for understanding college management in Pakistan, and for data analysis as well.

3. Data Analysis

Data analysis is a hard and messy process. "To have any dealings with qualitative data is inevitably to confront large and long-standing problems concerning its nature, sources, interpretation, analysis and legitimacy (Bliss et al: 1983:182). Handling qualitative data is often perceived as the "most difficult and least developed aspect" of research (Yin:1994:102). It is searching for pattern/s through entangled strands, which at times are so knotted up that their relationships are blurred, creating uncertainties, doubts, and hesitations. With particular reference to this study, a multiplicity of discourses - social, political, economic, and religious - articulating with each other and cutting across discourses of Islam, education, gender, and sub-cultures, further saturated with notions of power, complicated the research context, and accordingly the data analysis became a challenge in itself.

3.1. Making Sense of Data

Data collected by different techniques, using different ontological and epistemological assumptions, differs in kinds, and requires different analysis approaches. Miles and Huberman emphasise that "there is a profound influence of our theories -- implicit and explicit -- on what we notice and how we explain it" (1994:145). In interpretive research, analysis is an attempt to find explanations to fit the emerging themes, and to "make sense of data" (Denzin: 1994:503). It is a process

of meaning construction "accompanied by a critical examination of the analytic process" (Altrichter et al:1993:122). Searching for meaning is human nature, and different religions essentially reflect a desire to understand and make sense of the world. Looking far back in human history, "a very old example of the human need for meaning is mythology" (Ibid:119). Explaining various natural elements, and even disasters and geographical phenomenon through religions and myths in a way denotes this human quest for making meaning of the world, through available knowledges and tools.

In Qualitative research design, data collection, and analysis are usually contingent upon what has preceded, therefore it becomes valuable to know which avenues were followed and which were rejected and also, why. The researcher's role of 'human as instrument' at data collection, and of 'interpreter' at analysis levels, with all the subjectivities and biases needs to be made explicit for the reader's analysis. My critical engagement with the data is to be reviewed in interplay with my subjectivity, constructed by my positioning in the context as a researcher who is socially and professionally also one of the research participants, as stated in chapter one. It feels like a 'traveller'⁶⁸ in ones own country, possessing some knowledge of the roads, transport facilities, problems, customs, and socio-economic conditions, as well as a reasonable ability to communicate in the national language. But the subsequent feeling of being a virtual stranger to the more specific local customs, norms of behaviour, and socio-economic and geographical conditions, accompanied by an inability at times to communicate effectively in the same language, in spite of a shared history, culture, language, religion, and country, is surprising and overwhelming. A mere shift of space on the scene changes the angle, making the whole perspective look different or maybe unfamiliar, raising questions such as to 'what is reality?' and 'where does it reside?' I agree with Bogdan and Bilken that "it all depends on where you are sitting and how things look to you" (1992:39), and recognise that all those who form a part of the scene will understand and describe it with a difference. My only advantage was that I did not need a 'visa' to enter the

⁶⁸ I use the word traveller in a meaning different from tourist, and more in keeping with the Quranic use where the traveller has a background in knowledge and belief, and takes up the travelling with a purpose. For more information regarding notion of travelling in Muslim societies see Eickelman and Piscatori (1990).

context. I had professional, socio-political and linguistic access, which I could avail to explore and understand the focused population's perspectives in building knowledges from this constant interplay of information and perspectives.

Qualitative data is different from quantitative data in this aspect that it includes anything relevant or related that contributes to the process of building knowledge and making meaning. "Data collection begins as soon as the researcher has identified a researchable problem and goes into the field" (Sherman and Webb: 1988:130), and retrospectively, the process contributive to the identification of the 'researchable problem', also serves as a source for data. My social being, as well as my work as a college teacher, and experience as a college head were sources of data yielded from different perspectives. Personal beliefs, views, preconceptions, which Miles and Huberman advise to 'suspend' during data collection in order to understand the "perspectives of local actors from inside" (1994:6), interact with the data at the analysis level to interpret and explain it. Greenfield emphasises the value of experience arguing that:

"experience may not in and of itself be sufficient to understand reality, it is a crucial building block for such an understanding. Any worthwhile explanation of social reality must not contradict that experience. It may reinterpret it but it must not contradict it" (Greenfield and Ribbins:1993:250).

Glaser and Strauss acknowledge the role of experience in their discussion of 'Insight and Theory Development', stressing that "the researcher can get crucial insight from his own personal experience prior to or outside it [research]" (1967:252). They offer the example of a colleague's article who based his paper on personal experience as a cab driver (Davies,F :1959). They defend his drawing upon that experience where no field notes were maintained, for theory development, stressing that "his principal insights were based on his personal experience as a Cabbie" (Ibid: 252). Stake also stresses this aspect of data, maintaining that data gathering "begins before there is commitment to do the study.....[and] a considerable proportion of all data is impressionistic, picked up informally" before or during research (1995:49). It extends the bounds of data beyond quantitative limits and proves useful in interpreting

research findings within a qualitative framework. This paradigm provides a flexibility of approach suited for my particular research purposes.

3.2. En-coding and de-coding

In Qualitative studies there is no particular moment when data analysis begins. Sarah Delamont's curt advice, "Never let data accumulate without preliminary analysis" (1992:151), becomes superfluous in qualitative inquiry as it is just impossible not to analyse, particularly if it is self-conducted field work. It is a matter of giving meaning to first impressions, as well as field compilations (Stake:1995:71). It implies familiarisation with data (Burgess and Bryan :1994 :178-9), immersion or 'critical reflection' (Cassell and Symon: 1994:27), interpreting data (Lincoln and Guba: 1985), or making sense of data (Denzin and Lincoln :1994:503). Analysis involves 'fracturing data into lumps of meaning' and a subsequent restructuring first by categorisation and then by developing relationships between categories (Glaser and Strauss:1967). The categories evolve during the analysis and assigning category to data entails developing criteria and on-going decisions. In developing categories one has to be "both attentive and tentative - attentive to the data, and tentative in our conceptualisations of them" (Dey:1993:102).

In Bogdan and Bilken's explanation "analysis involves working with data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, synthesising them, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others (1992:153). Unlike quantitative paradigms there are no 'set procedures' or well formulated methods for qualitative data analysis as "it is fundamentally a non-mathematical analytical procedure that involves examining the meaning of people's words and actions" (Maykut and Morehouse :1994:121). Okely describes this type of analysis as creative, demanding, and an all consuming process, maintaining that a researcher "cannot separate the act of gathering material from that of its continuing interpretation" (1994:21). This is an aspect in which qualitative and quantitative approaches are least alike (Stake:1995:75).

In qualitative research data collection and analysis are simultaneous, interacting, reciprocal processes, guiding, shaping and developing each other in their interplay.

This paradigm suggests to jointly collect data and analyse it as an ongoing process and, informed by newly collected data, to make decisions for the next phase of data collection and research design (Glazer and Strauss:1967; Lincoln and Guba:1985; Miles and Huberman: 1994). It is a messy, non-linear process as real life is, going back again and again to previous information for understanding and interpretation. However, it provides a flexibility of approach denied by the quantitative paradigms. Mile and Huberman's interacting model of four stages of data analysis (1994:10) reflects the efforts to introduce vigour while maintaining the flexibility in qualitative research⁶⁹. Data reduction is the second level of data collection occurring at the intersection of research focus, collected materials/information, and researcher's preconceptions/bias. The next stage is data display which helps to enhance understanding and draw conclusions/verifications. It implies working with the data for understanding as well as interpretations of the context. However, Miles and Huberman make the point that these stages are not linear or fixed. In fact they perceive these as fluid, shifting and overlapping processes.

The qualitative research focuses on naturally occurring events in natural settings and consequently the data collected is rich, complex, and messy which is aptly described as 'attractive nuisance' by Miles (1979). In qualitative studies the data collected is "invariably described as voluminous, unstructured and unwieldy" (Brynan and Bilken :1992:106). The most serious difficulty in handling it is that "the methods of analysis are not well formulated" in spite of a consistent increase in the use of this framework (Miles :1979:591). Usually it is the nature of the study and the focus of the research question/s that determine the choice of analytic strategies. However, some common features of the interpretive analytic method as suggested by Miles and Huberman are "affixing codes, noting remarks in the margins, and recognising similar phrases, patterns and theories, as well as differences " (1994:9).

⁶⁹ The first stage of Mile and Huberman's interacting model of four stages of data analysis (1994) begins with data collection. Data reduction is the second level of data collection occurring at the intersection of research focus, collected materials/information, and researcher's preconceptions/bias. The next stage is data display which helps to enhance understanding and draw conclusions/verifications. It implies working with the data for understanding as well as interpretations of the context at the final stage. However, Miles and Huberman make the point that these stages are not linear or fixed. In fact they perceive these as fluid, shifting and overlapping processes.

Codes are a process of categorising and sorting data and serve to summarise, synthesise and explain the information. Qualitative coding is different from quantitative as it means creating categories from interpretation of data and not prior to data collection. In this process a coding scheme emerges from the early responses and is gradually developed and applied to the rest of the data to build categories and identify patterns. Miles and Huberman (1994:56) propose that "coding is analysis" as it "provides links between data and conceptualisation [which] empower and speed up analysis" (Burgess and Bryman:1994:5). In their discussion of 'Codes and Coding', Miles and Huberman (1994:59-72) refer to codes as "efficient data labelling and data retrieval devices", and recommend early coding, as a late coding 'enfeebles the analysis'.

The themes at the initial stage of analysis are often open and flexible. The early coding, also referred as initial coding or 'open-coding' (Strauss:1987), is explained by Strauss and Corbin as the "process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising data" (1990: 61). It is a process of identifying and then developing concepts in relation to their properties, dimensions and cross references. It is followed by an attempt at 'sense-making' and looking for 'explanations and casualty'. In inductive approach causality is established by recurrent relations and informed guesses about influence and relationships. Miles and Huberman in their discussion of causality and explanation emphasise that "text and [casual] network together communicate more than each could alone" (1994:153), explaining that prior events have some connections with following events "even though that connection may not be neat and clear" (Ibid:145). By making connections between concepts and categories "data is put back together in new ways according to their properties and relationships, which is referred to as 'axial coding' by Strauss and Corbin (1990:90). It is followed by 'inferential coding' or 'selective coding' which is a process of selecting the core category and relating it with other categories through constant comparison "weaving the fractured data back together again" (Glaser: 1978:116), to validate and conceptualise the relationships. The "richness of concept development and relationships ... which rest on great familiarity with associated data and are checked out systematically with these data" contribute to theory development (Strauss and Corbin: 1994: 274).

In this study, the analysis mainly proceeded as proposed by Strauss and Corbin. The factors involved in the formulation of management roles of the college heads led the analysis to explore the situated management practices. It implicated exploring a complex interplay of economic and socio-political discourses strongly underpinned by 'an Islamic way of life' and gender issues in a sex-segregated context. The rhetoric/reality surrounding headship and the issues of power/status influenced the roles, practices and effectiveness as well as the job aspirations of the college managers. Related information was put together to form categories, but with a recognition of overlaps and cross-cuts.

This broad categorisation or open coding as Strauss and Corbin would refer to it, led to the next stage of analysis which focused on interviews for developing the themes. It refined the categories but also acknowledged that no amount of rigour could construct categories with clear boundaries. It explored issues around 'appointment as head' to investigate 'un-aspired headship' and its articulations across gender. The analysis delved deeper into professional, political, social and economic factors in a Muslim society and its inter-relation with management roles and practices of the college heads. It initiated the process of 'putting the fractured data back together' in a new way. However, it also raised further questions concerning interplay of 'power' and college management in a specific context. It went beyond 'how power was exercised' into 'how power was constructed' at the intersections of diverse discourses and practices, and examined the discourses formulated across public/private dichotomy.

Public/private dichotomy in the eco-political space interacted with its given interpretation from an Islamic perspective and directed a play of power contributive to the shaping of the roles and practices of the college heads. Here the analysis examines how the college heads 'in authority' were constrained from being 'an authority' and how they re-constructed power by using alternative strategies. The early categories guided subsequent stages of analysis and revealed theoretical implications which related the lived experiences to the issues of power and gender in educational management, in the concluding part of this thesis.

The next chapter details my research design to explain the research process, method choices and the research directions. The data collected and the analyses provided are integrated with these early moves and decisions. In addition to that, claims about the reliability and validity of data are also couched in the research design which was developed under theoretical and pragmatic constraints.

Chapter Four: Research Design

Introduction

In chapter one, and partly in chapter two, relevant details of the research context were explained. Chapter three examined the theoretical implications of using a post-structural frame underpinned by an Islamic perspective, and its appropriateness to explore management roles and practices of women and men college heads in AJK. The unresearched context and its claims of Muslim identity in particular, demanded supreme sensitivity and care in designing the research. Roger Murphy claims that "Education needs educational research in the way the rivers need bridges", and a bridge, according to him, "represents something that is carefully constructed, and of substance, which stands or falls on the basis of the original design and the care, with which it has been constructed" (1996: 5). I agree with his emphasis on the delicacy and importance of the task of designing a bridge. However, for me as a traveller, its merit is also to be judged by how far it lowers the barriers, dissolves the boundaries and facilitates the communication, besides whether it 'stands or falls' as such. If it does not do any of those, and 'stands', the claims would not be more than a score on a CV.

In this chapter, I consider different aspects which influenced my decisions and choices. I try to unveil the care gone into the original research design and its subsequent developments. The research design is emergent and multifaceted in view of the research aims and purposes. It provides a framework within which background information, literature review and an ongoing analysis interact to explore the initial research questions. Lincoln and Guba commend a design "to emerge (flow, cascade, unfold) rather than to construct it preordinately" (1985: 41). For me, given all the constraints as explained in this and the next chapter, it was an appropriate mode of doing research.

An emergent design does not negate the presence of a design. I agree with Yin that "every empirical study has an implicit, if not explicit research design", and that it is "the logic that links the data to be collected (and the conclusions to be drawn) to the initial questions of a study" (Yin:1994:18). The main strength of such a design is its

flexibility and adaptability, which contributes to facilitate the research process in keeping with the research purposes and situational constraints. Placed within a post-structural theoretical framework, the research design is devolving and non-essentialist. The primary research questions are linked up to larger theoretical constructs to understand significant related issues. It proceeds from the caveat that:

"Research can be designed so that as much as its power to draw conclusions, is its power to stimulate thinking" (Stake and Kerr: 1995:56).

Designing the research involved a series of decisions informed by the knowledge and experience of a socio-professional insider (none can claim to be a complete insider - we are all insiders and outsiders in different ways and positions), and the research process itself. In describing dominant issues I have drawn on relevant literature, personal knowledge/experiences, and documents/materials accessible to me in my personal positioning as a head. Validity claims are based on personal constructions of knowledges, in articulation with the research participants with an acknowledgement that in qualitative research, increasingly, "personally constructed knowledge is seen not only as credible evidence but as the product of good research" (Stake and Kerr : 1995: 55).

For ease of reading, the writing is divided into three sections. The first section concerns itself with theoretical considerations underpinning this research. It considers method choices and the contextual constraints under which these choices were made. Certain political issues and ethical dilemmas concerning this research and their wider implications for research design and method choices are also examined. The second section provides an overview of the way the research project was designed. It details the process and the rationale behind the construction of the pilot and the final postal questionnaires, and the in-depth interviews conducted in AJK. Doing fieldwork highlighted issues like: translation in a post-colonial, bilingual research context; in-depth interviewing in a talking culture; and, a need to make sense of social behaviour and knowledge (Garfinkel:1959) from a knowledge of socio-professional set up. It required a brief discussion of issues concerning 'translation' and a 'talking culture',

and a mention of ethnomethodology as a mode of indexing and making sense of certain information. These are considered in the concluding section.

1. Ontological and Epistemological Considerations

Explicitly, the research focused on the management roles of the college heads in AJK, with the intention to gain some understanding of how the things work, or "why things are not working as well as they should be" (Handy: 1990: 5). Envisaged from within an Islamic philosophical location, it also intended to explore the implications that this had for management and management development at that particular level.

The previous chapter examined the choice of a qualitative interpretive paradigm as a broad framework informed by a post-structural theoretical perspective which rejected the rigid permanent categories. It recognised the plurality and fragmentation of the social world with all its rich diversity, complexity, and fluidity (Ahmed:1992; Griffiths:1995; Nicholson:1990; Wiener: 1994), which creates spaces for other voices and "insufficiently elaborated knowledges" (Foucault: 1980:82). This section moves further in relating the method choices to the theoretical frame.

Qualitative paradigms and interpretivism "rely on the interactional, adaptive and judgmental abilities of the human inquirer" (Greene: 1994: 538). The argument offered for the relevance of 'human as instrument', particularly for researching social phenomenon, maintains that to guard against social biases, objectivity, implying neutrality and detachment, is not possible (Guba and Lincoln: 1985,1989). It holds that by making explicit all the subjectivities, contextual conditions, and constraints, the research for situated truths and lived realities can be facilitated. For me, it was further supported by the early Hadith methodology demanding to 'record faithfully' and establish *isnad* (authenticity) through a chain of reliable transmitters and making these sources of 'transmission' explicit (Mernissi: 1991: 35). This required to clarify the positioning of the 'narrator' and transmitter/s of *hadith*/s and of the researcher/collector, and emphasised making explicit as to who transmitted and who verified it, to confirm the validity and reliability of investigations (Azami: 1977: 58-67). Traditionally, authenticity of a *hadith* was established through an analysis of the positioning and the subjectivities of the participants, the collectors and the

transmitters, as well as the process of research and collection. Theoretically, it was a qualitative approach, which put value on the participants, their subjectivities and positioning, ignoring the mere numbers of the transmitters or verifications.

This has a relevance for post-structuralist epistemology which negates 'episteme of representation' (BenHabib:1992) and emphasises that subject is created in the conflux of multiple influences and contextual forces. Besides religious, historical and socio-political elements explained in chapter one, there were diverse contextual factors, personal and collective, which articulated to constitute the subjectivities of my intended research participants. To gain some understanding of their responses, there was a need to understand how particular subjectivities are lived at particular times and in what circumstances (Siad: 1985:135). These college heads, including myself, were women and men from different regions, classes, casts, sects, age groups and socio-political backgrounds, which contributed towards constituting them as subjects, and negotiated their effectiveness, mobility, communication, interpersonal relations, performance, and achievements. Their perceptions of reality reflected commonalities and differences. This supported that human reality is "a construction, ... a product of signifying activities which are both culturally specific and generally unconscious" (Sarup: 1988: 2), and the differences emphasised situatedness of knowledges (BenHabib:1992). The post-structural notion of subjectivity which pronounces "the death of the subject" as the autonomous, the rational self (Braidotti: 1991: 2), has a relevance. The subjectivity is seen linked with spatiality and temporality with an emphasis on pluralism and hybridity.

A post-structuralist approach aims at developing voice among those who have been historically silenced or/and marginalised, providing opportunities to speak, to question, and to explore, and in the present research context, to shape and guide future educational directions:

"Voice as a form of protest is directed both outward at the social construction of meaning making and the structures that reinforce those meanings, and inward at the way the individual takes part in production of certain constrained beliefs, roles and practices" (Giltin and Russell: 1994:186).

The use of a flexible interview schedule aimed at developing this 'voice', among the silent/silenced respondents. I listened to both women and men "opening ears to the voices and perspectives unheard and unimagined" (Belenky et al: 1986: 11). The talking culture context, discussed later in this chapter, facilitated my listening. For me, loosely-structured, in-depth interviews emerged as an appropriate tool to investigate the un-explored situation where research had stronger connotations with laboratory work and paper-work, and where researcher was an invisible phenomenon. I hoped that interactional situation, even when 'with a purpose', would be perceived as less threatening. Further, I tried to use the human element to minimise the artificiality of interview context through natural interaction, supported by my socio-professional knowledge and experiences, and a shared culture and language.

However, peer-group interviewing has its problems. How they might have constructed me as a researcher in view of their knowledge of me, can not be denied to have affected their responses. Also, my understanding and interpretation of their responses can not be viewed as disembedded from my prior knowledge and experience. In this regard, my response to the issues of validity and reliability has been, throughout this thesis, to make the positioning and processes explicit for the reader to make interpretations and draw conclusions.

There is an ongoing debate arguing whether familiarity with the subject/situation contributes to, or hinders, good research. Haw (1995), writing about her research in a state school, admits that "in the case of the state school my criticality was blunted by my familiarity and consequent assumptions". On the other hand, Jorgenson emphasises familiarity and considers it "impossible to acquire more than a very crude notion of the insider's world, for instance, until you comprehend the language and culture that is used to communicate its meaning" (1989:14).

The problems of familiarity can be addressed by explicitly stating the subjectivities and limitations of the self (Burgess:1985a; Haw:1995; Marshall and Rossman:1989; Bryman and Burgess:1994; Griffiths:1996), and by drawing clues from the indweller's 'tacit knowledge' (Polanyi:1967; Shotter:1993), in exploring why things happen in the

way they do in particular situations, at least from the standpoint of the participants (Jorgenson: 1989:12). Familiarity and subsequent assumptions may 'blunt criticality', but these also have a positive side as the researcher through her "familiarity with the situation is able to recognise symbolic or functional silences, distortions, avoidance or blocking, [and] he/she is the more prepared to explore implications" (Merton and Kendall quoted in Cohen and Manion: 1994:290).

I acknowledge limitations of my positioning, but my knowledge of the situation and of the patterns of experience therein, facilitated my awareness of the issues and added to the comprehension of data collected. Finch illustrates how a researcher draws on the personal knowledge of that situation, as she did in her interviews with the wives of the clergymen, drawing from her own experience of being married to a clergyman, at that time (1984). I am not denying the problematics regarding a colleague-turned-researcher, and the political and social problems associated with familiarity and role change, and their effect on validity. Morse (1994) emphasises this point arguing that "Familiarity with the setting or previous acquaintance with the participants dulls the researcher's ability to view the setting with the sensitivity one would have when seeing it for the first time" (Ibid:27). But such sweeping statements ignore uniqueness of each research situation and the issues of access and making sense, as was the case in this research.

My claim is that in this complex socio-cultural context, familiarity and being a socio-professional insider was useful not only for access but for interactional dynamics and a deeper analysis. The section on field experiences in the next chapter indicates how I found familiarity with the professional, socio-cultural and geographical aspects particularly useful for designing the research, attaining access and planning field work, as well as for analysis in the concluding chapters. However, a researcher has to be careful not to become "so involved that she ceases to be an observer and remains only a participant" (Hitchcock and Hughes: 1991:3 7). The criticality can be developed through rigour and explicitness. Familiarity and subsequent assumptions may blunt criticality just as unfamiliarity can hone criticality, and that is why I would argue that each have their positive sides which makes it crucial that every researcher

has to place herself/himself in the text, and be explicit about limitations, so that the reader as one of the other participants can bring a critical eye to the text.

1.1. Method Choices

Philosophical commitments make difference to aims and procedures of research and subsequently influence method choices. In a qualitative interpretive framework, the researcher is present with all her knowledge, skill, background, values and biases, interacting in a multidirectional context, seeking understanding and building knowledges with the participants:

“any piece of research is as much about those undertaking it as the participants in the research, so that a piece of research which does not give legitimacy to the ‘voice’ of the researcher closes down the possibilities for critical dialogue and interaction” (Haw: 1998)

The qualitative researcher does not hide behind the cloak of objectivity. S/he is there to make the claims, value-laden and subject to limitations, and to shoulder responsibility. Stake and Kerr claim that a researcher:

"attempts the impossible, attempts the complete understanding. Each perception is coloured by tacit knowledge, both personally and culturally constructed. The effort to represent, to narrate, to explain, to understand is forever incomplete, yet forever generative of new possibilities" (1995: 55).

This extension of the frontiers of knowledge is the aim of each piece of research. But the way it is worked for and the methods used for this purpose are linked with theoretical positioning. Cohen and Manion define methods as techniques and procedures used in the process of data gathering in qualitative and quantitative research (1994:38-39). Methodology is concerned both with detailed research methods through which data is collected and the philosophical underpinnings upon which the collection and analysis of data are based. Commitments in methods are therefore, informed by theoretical framework and philosophical arguments, as well as by actual personal and contextual constraints. Lincoln and Guba (1985;1987) strongly

argue for matching the methods to the methodological choices to avoid mixing of inquiry approaches at the paradigm level. However, there is another side to this debate, as contended by Patton that "Rather than believing that one must choose to align with one paradigm or another, I advocate a paradigm of choices----whether one has made sensible method decisions given the purpose of the inquiry, the questions being investigated, and the resources available" (1990: 38 -39). The advocates of this argument hold that method choices should evolve primarily from 'information needs' rather than from philosophical ones.

This approach might work if the information needs and the philosophical paradigm match in method choices, otherwise there can be problems in adhering simultaneously to the objectivist detachment of positivism, and the subjectivist involvement of interpretivism. Such arguments point to the flexibility and adaptability of the methods but with certain limits:

“Both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used in the service of any paradigm, what ever its presuppositions and assumptions may be. The only criterion that ought to constrain their choice of methods is their fit to the axiomatic structure of the paradigm selected to guide the inquiry" (Guba :1992 quoted in Greenfield and Ribbins: 1993:179).

Qualitative approaches usually include methods such as on-site observation, open-ended interviews, document review etcetera, and recognise the value of the individual qualities of the human inquirer in meaning construction. In my research, method choices were influenced by the qualitative research paradigm, along with a careful consideration of personal and contextual constraints. These were further informed by post-structural ontological and epistemological assumptions, relating to the role of the college heads as ‘knowers’, participating in knowledge construction and creating spaces for their voices and experiences. These college heads lived and performed in a unique situation and as such had the right to define their world. Spradley argues and I agree that "before you impose your theories on the people you study, find out how these people define the world" (1979:11). It was this intention to seek their definition of their world that led to the choice of open-ended interviews as major research

method for the purposes of this research. But, in qualitative research, there are no tailor made methods to access people's understanding of their worlds. Even the well-used tools need to be re-oriented to the context:

“..... every piece of research is unique, and for that reason we can never assume that existing methodological wisdom can be applied unproblematically. It must be applied as a trial, in a tentative manner, drawing on judgements about the results being produced and their relationship to the goals of the research. And it may well be necessary to modify, change or reconstruct the methods used in the course of any piece of research”
(Hammersley:1995:52)

I used interviewing as a main tool for data collection. It was adapted to the situational requirements when and where necessary, as explained in the next chapter. However, it was not possible in this particular study to interview all the college heads in AJK, mainly because of:

- constraints in terms of time and finances on my traveling to Pakistan and further throughout an underdeveloped hilly region of about eleven thousand square kilometres, with poor-quality roads;
- socio-cultural restraints on personal mobility; and
- an understanding of how my visits to certain areas/institutions (particularly male) might be viewed by the participants themselves, in that educational and socio-cultural context.

To negotiate these problems in obtaining access to the experiences and opinions of the majority of the college heads, in the absence of any prior research in this field and region (Hayes:1987:4), I decided to use postal questionnaire at the initial stage to gain an understanding of the general context. The postal questionnaires were sent to all the sixty-eight college heads in the region. It was not with any expectation to resolve the issues about 'representativeness of findings', but to "allow more confidence about

findings" (Hammersley and Atkinson: 1983:44), particularly for the purposes of designing field work and interview schedules. The information collected also became useful for triangulation which is discussed in the next section.

1.2. Triangulation

The use of postal questionnaire may not be closely in consonance with the interactional aspect of the interpretivist perspective but, for the purposes of this research, this triangulation of methods was expected to prove a valuable source of information. Potter and Wetherell (1994) interpret "talk and text as social practices" believing that "people perform actions of different kind through their talk and their writing". The contexts of filling in a postal questionnaire and participating in a face-to-face interaction affect the nature and quality of information. Use of personal element and probes further influence interview data. My dominant reason for using postal questionnaires was to collect background information for designing and guiding interview schedules and field work, but I also intended to use it for analysis and scene-setting, as in chapter five. This variety of information sources is perceived to enhance reliability, and furthermore:

“The multiple data collection methods diminish bias by increasing the wealth of information available to the researcher” (Sherman and Webb: 1988:131).

The use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour is seen by Cohen and Manion as an "attempt to map out or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint" (1994:233). Many researchers regard this triangulation of methods as a validity check (Denzin: 1970;1994; Lincoln and Guba: 1985). They support multiple mixes of methods, and sources of data to “check the perceptions of the same actors in different contexts: ... in interviews and in a questionnaire” (Deem and Brehony: 1992:11). Hammersley and Atkinson interpret triangulation as “information from different participants, people”, claiming that “even participant validation is a kind of triangulation” (1983:198). I used another group of managers as a secondary source of information, but participant validation could not be gained

because of the geographical distances and the problems involved, as examined later in this chapter and in the next chapter.

Triangulation can become problematic if data generated by different methods is divergent and cannot be naturally accommodated within one interpretation, precipitating methodological shifts and decisions, but this does not negate all the advantages. Method choices and triangulation are subjective decisions which need to be made in consideration of individual research contexts. In this case, an un-explored complex situation and dearth of relevant research obligated triangulation of methods and sources, and:

“a combination of methods, partly because complex phenomenon maybe best approached through several methods, and partly deliberately to triangulate (and thereby to improve validity)” (Hartley: 1994:209).

Besides using postal questionnaires and in-depth interviews, different sources of information were accessed. To facilitate an active readership of the thesis it was important to provide a wider context and understanding of the relevant issues. For this wider view of the research situation a brief postal questionnaire was sent to a group of concerned managers, hereafter referred to as senior educational managers, in the Education Department of AJK, who co-ordinated, monitored and evaluated the performance of these college heads. Their responses were expected to add another perspective to the information, as detailed later in this chapter. They were also interviewed later, which is detailed in chapters six. The following section focuses on issues experienced at the early stage of data collection.

1.3. Issues and Dilemmas

I used postal questionnaires to gain information, to elicit a variety of responses and opinions, and to find themes for interview schedule. However, the participants' unfamiliarity with this kind of activity, their professional positioning, and the nature and size of postal questionnaire sent to the college heads created doubts about response rate, raising questions such as:

- demands on respondents' time and effort;
- fear of writing something personally damaging;
- why these questions are being asked; and
- why to fill in the questionnaire at all.

From my knowledge as a member of that group, I knew that they could spare time and effort, provided they were motivated and satisfied on two points:

- why these questions were being asked; and,
- the issues of anonymity and confidentiality.

Being one of them, I could understand and appreciate their apprehensions in this matter. The covering letter (Appendix C) addressed both these questions; but to ensure more open responses and "trust between colleagues" (Dingwall: 1980: 885), I wrote personal letters to some colleagues among college heads, explaining my personal and our collective interest, hoping that this research for my PhD could be of use in improving practices and in the shaping of a future policy. They were also requested to assure friends, and their friends among the group, by word of mouth or letter, of complete anonymity and confidentiality of the research data.

The questions of confidentiality and anonymity can be extremely important for people working in sensitive positions. Discussing the right to research and acquire knowledge, and the right to self-determination, privacy and dignity, Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) emphasise the principal of informed consent. In view of the sensitive jobs of my research participants, I made the situation explicit. This had particular significance in a talking culture context, discussed latter in this chapter.

Patterns of behaviour and conversation in a talking culture are often not in consonance with confidentiality and anonymity. In such situations the researcher has the extra responsibility of preserving the anonymity of the participants to protect

them from any harm or embarrassment. I felt myself doubly responsible as a colleague: one to explain how anonymity and confidentiality was to be maintained; and two, how to use information if my research participants made slips in maintaining their anonymity, which could be the case in a talking culture tradition.

Anonymity and confidentiality are not just deleting the proper nouns. Sometimes mention of an event, a situation, a characteristic, or any other small thing can thwart the purposes of confidentiality. Beside the issue of privacy or the responsibilities to the researched and to the colleagues doing further research (Burgess: 1991:197), for me it also meant trust in relationships where people open up and share their thoughts and feelings. I certainly did not look forward to hearing complains from my colleagues on breach of trust, on my return.

Access

Access is an essential phase of research which influences the kind of research that can be done. According to Burgess, it influences the collection, responses, reliability and validity of data (1991: 45). Access is not just an issue concerning the gate-keepers or the participants' consent, but there are "multiple points of entry that require a continuous process of negotiation and re-negotiation" (Burgess: 1991:49).

My research participants were college heads and senior managers in the Education Department. One advantage in focusing upon people in powerful positions or senior management is that these are the people who "know more ----can tell more -----[and] are able to report on their organisation's policies, past histories, and future plans" (Marshall and Rossman: 1989:94). Their contribution to knowledge building can be active and effective in this kind of early exploratory studies. However, as Smith (1992) notices, powerful people and institutions are frequently able to deny access because they do not wish themselves or their decision-making processes to be studied, and this can be problematic for data collection.

The gate-keepers or the participants themselves can deny access, erecting discouraging barriers to physical or social access. Relevant contacts may be helpful in 'getting in' or gaining access, but the quality of responses can considerably depend

upon 'getting on' with the respondents or achieving social access. In addition to that, an awareness of cultural norms and behavioural patterns facilitates access, and "unfamiliarity with local norms can cause access problems" (Hammersley and Atkinson: 1987:54). Another concerned issue is the relative status of the participants. Getting access to highly-positioned people often has increased constraints. Marshall and Rossman acknowledge that 'elite interviewing' has restraints of 'time, access, and control', although they agree that it certainly has advantages of providing wider information if carefully conducted (1989: 94,95).

One advantage of researching with educational elite can be their 'interconnectedness' as noted by Ozga and Gewirtz (1993 : 9-10). Often, they are a comparatively small community who know each other and can help with contacts. In my study, the issue of access was not problematic as regarding consent of the interviewees. Except one woman college head, who excused herself for having another commitment, none of the college heads or senior educational managers refused a one-to-one interview even at a few hours notice. Some phoned others and made arrangements on my behalf. I received immense support and co-operation from my colleagues. Personal and family friends among college heads and senior educational managers further mitigated the issues of access, which could have become more serious for me because of constraints on my time and traveling, detailed in the next chapter.

Burgess draws attention to the "relationships [which] influence data collection and analysis" (1984: 8). He also mentions possibilities of access through a role in private life (1991: 57). These relationships proved useful for me during the field work in a culture with specific notions of extended relationships. Further, because of my professional and socio-political positioning, I could not be refused access without violating specific behavioural norms. However, there could not be any guarantee of willingness or openness, which had to be manoeuvred discursively. My intention was to approach the participants in a way that they did not socially or professionally feel threatened. I hoped that my knowledge and experience of the context would prove useful in gaining access to their trust and confidence, and in easing their apprehensions. How it was actually managed is detailed in field experiences in chapter five.

Power-relations

The researcher/researched relationship has a significance in qualitative studies. Any prior relationships or acquaintance between them has further implications for the research. My research participants and I were known to one another in a combination of ways: personally, socially and professionally. This cannot be denied to have influenced information-gathering/giving, and needs to be made explicit for the reader.

From the early replies to the postal questionnaire, it was rather obvious that these responses were specifically for me as known to the respondents. The women heads' responses were more open, conveying a sense of shared information and professional experience in a specific socio-political context. Male respondents seemed to be more careful, political and somewhat defensively-aggressive, probably due to assumptions regarding my opinions, from their knowledge about me. Again, perhaps conscious of my religious and social background, there were obvious efforts to fortify their arguments and opinions by making references to social norms, Islamic traditions and Quranic verses⁷⁰. May be they felt a need to justify their opinions thinking that an off-hand statement would not stand well in the circumstances. It supports the view that even in the case of a postal questionnaire, responses are not simply given to the question/s but to the researcher who has framed those questions, in interplay with how the participants perceive and construct that particular researcher and themselves.

A similar knowledge about the researcher has helped the women to come out with more confidence, expecting an ally in the researcher. I have doubts that responses from men and women would have been similar if the researcher had been a stranger or even a male with my back-ground. Women might have anticipated criticism from a male researcher with a religious back-ground, and men would also have responded differently, perhaps not acknowledging, grudgingly, that women can be 'very' competent and can rise to high posts.

⁷⁰ References to the Quran were often out of context and irrelevant. It surprised me because those who made such mentions knew my background in a 'religious family'. Either they assumed that I personally would not be knowing the Quran in that depth, or they believed their understanding to be the truth. Both ways, it suggests that our assumptions even when supported by contextual knowledge are lacking in many ways.

Similarly, these relationships and knowledge/lack-of-knowledge of each other affects face-to-face interaction. In fact, it is perceived as having stronger implications due to interview dynamics. Powney and Watts emphasise that in an actual interview situation, personal subjectivities and values of the participants interact, raising ethical, political and social issues (1987: 34-51). This requires careful consideration and decision making on the part of the researcher. A researcher/interviewer has to establish a rapport as well as to "place himself (herself) in the best position to obtain a complete and unbiased picture of the community" (Frain: 1993: 2). When in the interview situation, s/he has to make decisions and choices on the spot, under situational demands and constraints, because:

"However junior the investigator, he [she] is the expert on the people he (she) is studying and what they will or will not regard as proper conduct on his (her) part" (Dingwall: 1980: 885).

In my research, there were occasions when the focus was not empowerment of the participants in an interview situation but to maintain appropriateness. My being a women, a senior college head, and member of a Syed⁷¹ family with a socio-political background was expected to affect different interactional situations and participants in different ways. In spite of the fact that the participants belonged to specific professional groups, there were diversities of gender, age, family background, and many others which had a pertinence for interview situation. Each interview situation was unique as it was created at the intersection of subjectivities, and reflected the interplay at a particular time and place in a particular professional and socio-political context which is discussed in the next chapter. I believe that the interactional relationship cannot be controlled, but can be manoeuvred within these considerations:

"It is impossible to control the relationship between the researcher and the researched but ... it is vital to develop the trust and confidence of those with

⁷¹ Syeds, also spelt as Sayyids, command respect in the Muslim societies for being direct descendants of the prophet Mohammed (Malik:1980), and also as assumed bearers of religious knowledge, irrespective of their economic status. Mernissi (1993) also discusses this issue but in a more political context, while my concern here is with its social dimensions. A special report in The News International, Sunday, February 25 1996, p 11, looks into the socio-political role of Syeds in the Pakistani context.

whom interviews are used" (Burgess: 1991:103; see also Oakley:1981; Finch:1984).

The relationship between the researcher and the participants, whether researching above' or 'below' or 'equals', is a relationship of power. Here, Foucault's concept of power, examined earlier in chapter three, becomes relevant to interview situation. He holds a very different view of power, seeing it as circular rather linear, arguing that "it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse" (1980: 119). He interprets power as a relationship between individuals where one agent acts in a way which affects another's actions, and he contends that it is "exercised only over free subjects and only in so far as they are free" (Ibid: 220). In his analysis power emerges as:

"something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain ---- a net-like organisation. And not only individuals circulate between its threads, they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power" (Foucault: 1980:97).

This interpretation has a theoretical relevance to define the relationship between the researcher and the participants in a cultural context which has its own particular status markers, where infinite complex elements articulate with relationships, and where interviewing is socially perceived as a "low-status activity" (Scott:1985).

It would be unreasonable to assume that the issues of power/relationship between the researcher and the participants can be completely resolved in a research context. Although "the interviewee is seen as a participant in the research, actively shaping the course of the interview rather than passively responding to the interviewer's pre-set questions" (King: 1994:15), generally the interviewer is perceived as having control of the situation. It is s/he who asks the questions, knows responses and fits these together (Brine:1993), as well as directs the focus and sets the dynamics. Powney and Watts observe that "to some extent all interviews are seen as threatening by those being interviewed and one of the main skills of the interviewer is to gain their

confidence and to establish a good relationship" (1987: 44), and to put them "at their ease" (Cohen and Manion:1994), for the purposes of valid information. "The human touch, the capacity to empathise with others, is essential to successful interviewing" (Hutchinson: 1988:130) because it eases the interview relationship.

Some feminist writers consider gender as a primary element in determining power-relations in interview situations. They believe that shared gender facilitates research and mitigates issues of power (Oakley:1981; Harding:1987; Stanley and Wise:1990; Opie:1992), and are inclined to ignore that being a researcher itself can be a position of power. Tannen suggests patterns of male/female interaction which tend to predetermine the talking patterns and power relations in conversations (1987;1992), although her focus is more on 'making-meaning' processes across gender.

My study suggests that power relations in research and interaction are not always determined by gender. Rather they are negotiated at the intersections of multiple discourses operative in a particular interview/research situation. Further, Oakley's feminist interviewing may not always be relevant to situation (Smart: 1984:154). In certain situations, 'empowerment' of participants may need to be redefined when women are interviewing the elite/powerful, and across the gender divide. This is considered further in discussing field experiences in chapter five.

2. Research Directions

Here, I detail research direction and data collection. Methodological and ethical considerations which emerged are addressed, with particular attention to issues of validity of data. Care is taken to outline the steps taken, the issues involved, and the limitations faced in the process. I explain my use of pilot and postal questionnaires, followed by a discussion of the rationale of sending another postal questionnaire to the Senior Educational Managers. The next section explains the use of semi-structured, open-ended interviews and considers the selection of interviewees as determined by practical, social, religious and other contextual constraints. Group discussions are considered in the concluding section.

As made clear in the first chapter, this research focuses on college management in a specific geographical locale in Pakistan. My reasons for choosing this particular region as focus of research were diverse:

- The state has a unique geo-political construction and an unusual constitutional status which is problematic for research purposes. Political, social, religious and historical elements add to the difficulties of doing research, with the result that there is a general dearth of research, national or international, in the region, and a complete absence of any research related to educational management.
- I had worked in the local education system for about twenty years, the last three as a college head and I expected my research to inform practice and policy in a research-starved area by opening up a venue of investigation which could lead to improved practices.
- I had an insider's knowledge - professional and socio-cultural - which I perceived as helpful in research design, data collection and analysis. My specific positioning facilitated the process and smoothed certain gender issues in this particular socio-religious context, as explained later in chapter five. Additionally, my familiarity with the difficulties and constraints of traveling in a hard-to-approach hilly region informed the construction of a realistic and practical, although very tentative and flexible, field work plan. However, I was also aware of the limitations on research resulting from my socio-professional positioning and gender which will be dealt with latter in this chapter.

The main data collection for the study can be roughly grouped into two major phases:

- Postal surveys; and
- Interviewing

These are discussed next.

2.1. Postal Survey

Phase one involved sending out questionnaires to all the sixty-eight college heads, women and men, in AJK. The diversity of the participants by gender provided an

opportunity to study the commonalities and the differences. These questionnaires, containing mostly open-ended items, were perceived as “a useful personal document in qualitative inquiry that focuses on subjective perceptions” (Blase and Anderson: 1995: 148). Second, I hoped to make college heads and senior managers in the education department in AJK reflect over the issues raised in these questionnaires. It was perceived as contributive to their later participation in the interviews with more understanding and awareness. Third, the "particular, local, regional knowledge" (Foucault: 1980: 82) provided by these postal responses enhanced my understanding of the research context and provided information from which themes could be abstracted for interview schedules. These responses, in articulation with literature review, and personal knowledge and experience, formed the basis for constructing interview schedules.

Pilot Questionnaire

The study focused on the 'lived experiences' and personal perspectives of the participants at micro level, and then to explore its influence on the development of the concepts of management roles, practices, and other related issues at the macro level. A pilot questionnaire (Appendix B) was the first step to obtain this micro level awareness. In the absence of any prior research in the area, the shaping of the pilot questionnaire was guided by the research focus, and personal knowledge of the context as a member of the group my research focused upon⁷². The detailed pilot questionnaire, with forty-five mostly open-ended questions was divided into six sections, more for the pragmatic purposes of protecting the respondents from being 'overwhelmed'. Natural pauses at the end of each section could provide welcoming breathing spaces, as well as a sense of completion. I was not expecting nice neat chunks of relevant information in different sections and as it happened, the emerging themes were scattered rather more across the sections than within each.

Oppenheim strongly favours pilot questionnaire, insisting that "questions have to be composed and tried out, improved and tried out again, often several times over, until we are certain that they can do the job for which they are needed" (1992: 47). A pilot

⁷² Whenever I refer to myself as a member of the group, it is in acknowledgement of all the differences, besides some socio-professional commonalities.

serves different purposes in qualitative and quantitative frameworks. In this case, it was tried out on college heads, men and women, with a range of five to twenty years of experience as college heads, in four major administrative units of the region. The respondents were deliberately selected for the purposes of research focus and expeditiousness, in view of the personal time constraints, the regional geographical layout, and the possible international postal delays. It was a detailed questionnaire and the purpose was to elicit information for constructing the final postal questionnaire as well as to make some tentative guesses about the validity of the questions, the problems faced by respondents in completing the questionnaire, and the response to the research in general.

The pilot questionnaire was developed from personal knowledge and experience as a college head, informed by an in-depth literature review, as demonstrated earlier in chapters one and two. It was used for initial exploration because conducting pilot interviews/observation was not possible for practical reasons. The pilots were sent out to four in service and three retired college heads. The rationale for including these retired heads at this initial stage of inquiry was that they would feel less inhibited in raising issues which might be more sensitive for in-service college heads, and which could inform the designing of the final questionnaire. Moreover, the retired could have more time (Ozga and Gewirtz: 1993:10) to give early responses which was important for this research.

Because of the local geographical distances and international postal delays the pilot questionnaires were sent to a divisional director colleges, a personal friend, to distribute and later collect from the respondents for mailing back. Working within limited time constraints, mailing international postal reminders can be problematic. Being an insider, I relied on co-operation from colleagues who facilitated early responses, by distributing questionnaires, giving reminders and later collecting completed responses locally.

The general intentions in using a pilot questionnaire were:

- to add to previous knowledge of the context for the purposes of obtaining themes and ideas for designing the final postal questionnaire;
- to judge the effectiveness of questions in eliciting responses; and
- to decide the choice of language/s for writing the questionnaires.

Five responses were received - three from in-service, and two from retired heads, who were two women and three men⁷³. An interesting difference was noted between the two in how they expressed themselves while raising similar issues. The in-service respondents were careful and polite in discussing practices and issues, while the responses from the retired principals were rather more forthcoming. However, the retired college heads were not included as respondents for the final postal questionnaire because:

- they did not raise any new themes, although the details were at times more revealing;
- the research focus was on 'now' in that particular region, and the period of retirement being longer the issues might have changed over time or new issues may have emerged;
- it would not have been easy to get addresses of the retired heads, because they might have moved on in many cases. Although not a complete impossibility, it was still unpracticable in view of the time constraints for this research and the distance from the research context.

The pilot questionnaire provided useful guidance for designing the final postal questionnaire, and this is considered next.

Pilot-guided Modifications

In view of the responses, some questions were amended/improved to increase understanding, boxes were provided where details were not required because of the

⁷³ The responses were coded as P1 to P5. These were not coded for gender identification because of the small number of the pilot group and the possibility of risk to anonymity.

research focus, and within-questions listings were re-arranged to minimise the possibility of the respondents' agreeing with the researcher's listing. The number of questions was reduced after careful deliberation. Those questions which were getting 'repeat' information, or no information related to the research focus, or answers like 'already explained in reply to question number so and so' were eliminated to lessen the demand on the respondents' time. The intention was to reduce time demands on these respondents, made by what was originally a lengthy, predominantly open-ended questionnaire. After a detailed and careful consideration of the responses, mainly with respondent-focused questionnaire review purposes, the number of questions, from forty-five in the pilot questionnaire, was brought down to thirty in the final version, through deletion or integration of items. Furthermore, a few boxes/discrete-point items replaced open-ended questions. All these analytical choices were further informed by my knowledge of the context and readings around the area. The following section discusses these alterations and modifications, along with the rationale underlying these changes.

Section A of the pilot questionnaire included nine questions which became six in the final postal questionnaire A (Appendix C), although it was worked in an informed way as not to make much difference to the required information. The construction of the first three questions as discrete point items, and of a few more in the following sections, was determined as a device to limit unnecessary verbosity in responses to such questions in the pilot questionnaire. This verbosity emerged as a culture specific dimension discussed later in this chapter, and could be categorically time-consuming, adding to the 'messiness' of data which already tended to be huge.

Question 6, 7, 8, and 9 were joined up and presented as question five in the final postal questionnaire, because relevant information was brought in by respondents while filling in replies to question six, thus making the rest redundant or repetitious. My respondents tended to go for details which correspondingly led to converging related queries into one question in the final draft. However, it was a very careful and socially informed process to avoid hampering of information.

The next section in the pilot questionnaire consisted of five questions. The numbers remained the same in the final postal questionnaire, but questions one and two were merged, and a new question "How long have you been head in this institution?" was added. Some principals seemed to be less settled and the intention behind adding this question was to identify if this 'less-settledness' had something to do with the period of stay in a particular institution.

The section on Management had originally eight open-ended items. The first five were retained in the final version, while number six was moved on to the next section where it fitted better, and question seven and eight were omitted. This exclusion was guided by a realisation that in the absence of any skill-oriented training, the respondents were vague about the concept of skill in relation to their professional context, and often perceived it as a trait or capability. For them, required skills were like 'a head for management' or being 'a good disciplinarian'.

Six questions of Section D became four in the final questionnaire. Question one and two, and again three and four were integrated, and along with question six from the previous section were relocated to make the total four, after deleting earlier number six.

Eight questions in the next section titled as 'Women in Management' were cut down to five, omitting questions one, six, seven, and eight, and adding a new one as the last question in this section. Question six and seven focused on female representation in management positions - an important issue in the Western management and feminist literature. However, it was not very pertinent in the sex-segregated context of college management in AJK, where, according to rules, a female college must have a women head, although in practice there were variations, for reasons elaborated in chapter one.

Section F had nine open-ended items, which were reduced to five by merging two questions into one and deleting three more. Questions four and five were integrated into one, for a variety of reasons as highlighted earlier in this section; and questions three and six were omitted because those did not prove very relevant in the absence of any 'self-help groups' or 'management courses' focusing on college heads. Question

eight was omitted because here again references were made back to earlier answers in the pilot responses.

My intention in providing a detailed exposition of the process regarding construction of the final postal questionnaire has been to establish the point that in qualitative research, not only the production of a final questionnaire, but construction and development of each and every question is an arduous, time-consuming, and contemplative activity. The questions need to be appropriate and well-suited for eliciting information, but furthermore, these also must be respondent-friendly. Every possibility needs be taken into consideration to avoid making any item irritating, annoying, or dreary for the respondents. Even in a context of 'mutual obligations', as in this research context, there is a limit to co-operation. Participating in qualitative research activities is in itself quite demanding and the researcher's efforts should be to make it least arduous for the participants.

Another important decision was to design the questionnaire in two languages, Urdu and English, in spite of the implications and complications involved in translating responses. The added pressure and responsibility of being a translator and interpreter are discussed later in this chapter. All these lessons learnt from the pilot study were incorporated in the final postal questionnaires discussed below.

Postal Questionnaire A

The responses to the pilot questionnaire arrived in time to introduce changes and modifications in the final postal questionnaire. It was designed with thirty questions as detailed above. The questionnaire carried mostly open-ended questions, constructed in Urdu and English, offering the choice to use both the languages or either, at will and convenience. The respondents availed themselves of the choice and the questionnaires were completed in Urdu or English or occasionally in both the languages. Twenty-eight questionnaires were returned⁷⁴, and the distribution regarding language was:

⁷⁴ Responses to the postal questionnaire A were coded as M1, M2 --- for men and F1, F2 ---- for women. Because of the emerging emphasis on gender issues/differences it was perceived useful to indicate the gender of the respondent for the reader. Further, The larger numbers of each gender group lessened the risk to anonymity.

- five in English (one woman and four men);
- twenty in Urdu (nine women and eleven men);
- three in Urdu and English: in case of M7 questions 1-6 were filled in Urdu and the rest was in English; M9 filled questions 1-16 and question eighteen in English and the remaining were replied in Urdu; and in case of M15 questions 1-5 were filled in English and the rest was in Urdu. It was interesting that the respondents who used both the languages to complete the same questionnaire, were all men which pointed to gender/language relationship.

Further, it emerged that, for whatever reasons, only one woman out of ten responded in English, while four men out of eighteen chose to write in English and three used it alternately with Urdu. This evidence supported the use of bilingual research tools in relevant contexts, particularly in qualitative research, to mitigate language barriers, and to elicit information and construct knowledges by providing the respondents the speech tool/s they feel most comfortable with. It also pointed to the use of language as a tool for power/status.

The postal questionnaires were sent out to all the sixty-eight college heads in AJK, (Appendix D: List of Colleges), in the last week of April 1996 - about a week before the institutions were to be closed for two weeks for Eid⁷⁵ and Spring holidays. The rationale was convenient timing, when the respondents might be comparatively free from work pressure and job tension. However, only twenty-eight responses were received, ten by women college heads and eighteen by men, two of whom were acting-heads of female colleges; and arrived after long delays - the last one received in September 1996. The response rate was approximately 41%. This slow and low response rate was unexpected, and it raised a few methodological questions:

- Did the postal questionnaires pose any threats of exposure effecting job/career?

⁷⁵ *Eid* is a religious festival among Muslims.

- Were the questions problematic and therefore deterred responses?
- Were the respondents unwilling to respond to this particular researcher?
- Was it a question of apathy, disinterestedness?
- Was there nothing to say at all?
- Did they see it as an inconsequential effort, with no promise of any change in a fixed situation?
- Were the respondents too busy to answer?

It will be very informative and enlightening for any future research to understand the causes of a slow and low response rate, particularly in view of this observation that those who did choose to respond were quite explicit and informative. Also the respondents were not particularly interested in maintaining anonymity promised by this study, and some made themselves explicitly known to the researcher by enclosing personal notes⁷⁶. Further, the timing was also carefully scheduled, informed by personal knowledge as a college head. This shows that a low response rate may not always be for the generally accepted reasons of time constraints, having nothing to say, or a threat to anonymity. All my efforts at appropriate timing, improving the questions through pilot study, and preparing the final questionnaire in two languages did not elicit a high response rate. This suggests a consideration of other possibilities as barriers to response.

In the complete absence of any prior research in the area, I intended the postal questionnaires to initiate a thinking process among the respondents so that when they joined for in-depth interviews they were not 'shocked into silence' because of a total unfamiliarity with the interview context. Furthermore, coming from high-powered jobs and uncertain how to answer the questions could make them defensive and monosyllabic rather than communicative, involving issues of prestige, particularly in the presence of a colleague as researcher. It would not have been useful for the research purposes 'to catch them unawares', especially in view of their 'unfamiliarity'. Also this was the first time, as the participants commented in their interviews, that they were engaged in:

⁷⁶ One respondent wrote his/her name on the top of the questionnaire accompanied by a note that it was in defiance of anonymity.

- this research methodology; and
- these research questions.

These responses were seen as a complementary source of information, a triangulation of data favoured by many qualitative researchers to negotiate the validity issues. Secondly, the data could indicate if 'immediate presence' of the researcher, and the 'distant presence' made any difference to the nature of the responses, as the interviewees were to be selected from the same group of the college heads. As it happened, eighteen interviewees were from among those who had sent postal responses.

My opinion is that sending the postal questionnaires to all the college heads proved a useful exercise even in the case of those who did not choose to send replies. They became familiar with the research focus which facilitated the interview conduction, and, besides, provided the researcher a flexibility of sample selection. Strangely they had all read the questionnaire, at least all those I interviewed, even when some had not returned it. It was revealed when they commented on it in some way during the conversations. Also, all the interviewees had received the postal questionnaire because when I contacted them for interviews, those who had not returned it offered apologies, excuses and/or explanations for not having responded. Only two college heads had not received it but both had been posted/transferred to their respective colleges after April 1996, and probably the out-going heads had chosen not to answer it or to hand it over to their successors.

Postal Questionnaire B

Another development from these initial responses and personal correspondence with some colleagues in the research context was to prepare another shorter questionnaire for senior educational managers mentioned earlier. Besides serving as a different source of context specific information, a further motive for including senior educational managers in the research was the possibility to hear policies which might have shaped and guided college heads' practices, or vice versa. Additionally, these senior educational managers were implicated in the research process because this

inquiry was also expected to inform future policy in relation to college management and management development.

The questionnaire B (Appendix E) was sent to eight concerned managers: the two Regional Directors Education (colleges); the Deputy Director Education (colleges); the Director Education (colleges); the Additional Secretary Education and the Secretary of Education (AJK); and in the case of the University Colleges, the Registrar and the vice-Chancellor AJK University. Out of these eight senior educational managers, six responded⁷⁷, and it added another dimension to the information collected.

This questionnaire was intentionally kept brief in view of the highly demanding and busy jobs of the respondents, and in light of what has previously been learnt since the pilot study. It carried twelve questions which focused on relevant information. It was used as a diverse source of relevant and useful information as they generally possessed considerable experience as college heads themselves⁷⁸.

The questionnaire B was constructed in English only, as the senior educational managers were supposed to have a higher proficiency in English. Secondly, the questions were more structured compared to the questionnaire A, and did not require detailed answers. Thirdly, they were not the main focused group and as such less time was to be spent on eliciting information from them.

These early inquiries contributed to the development of interview schedules for in-depth investigations. The method of further inquiry was in-depth interviewing. Two separate interview schedules A and B (Appendices G and H respectively), were constructed for the two groups of professionals: the college heads; and the senior educational managers. The details are presented in the next section.

⁷⁷ These responses were coded as SM1, SM2 ---- and again without a gender marker because there were two women and four men and it would been more difficult to maintain anonymity with a gender marker, which already was problematic in such a small elite group.

⁷⁸ It was not essential in the case of the Secretary of Education, because this appointment was often dominated by political preferences.

2.2. In-depth Interviews

For the purposes of this research, in-depth interviews were used as the major source of data collection. The interview schedules were developed from the themes emerging from an early analysis of responses to the pilot/postal questionnaires, examined in the next chapter. These were further informed by a detailed literature review in interaction with personal knowledge and experience. Open-ended questions were constructed round these themes to provide maximum flexibility of interaction to facilitate mutual knowledge construction.

Open-ended interviews allow the participants to raise important issues not contained in the schedule. Denzin also favours a 'focused interaction' (1970:133) which does not follow a fixed sequence of questions and allows the respondents to use their 'unique ways of defining the world' (Ibid:125). In addition to that, providing themes for conversation, rather than more structured questions was pertinent to the specific nature of the focused group. Marshall and Rossman (1989) argue that people in senior or powerful positions prefer to do the talking rather than answer questions, because they usually are in possession of knowledge and information which they prefer to give in their own way. They need to be humoured rather than interrogated. Questioning may silence or annoy them, interrupting the flow of information; or they may monopolise conversation. In such situations, manipulating interview directions requires careful and subtle adjustments. It is the researcher who needs information for immediate purposes, even if the respondent may benefit from it in the long run in some way, and it is she who should make situational adjustments.

There is lack of literature on elite/peer interviewing. Neal, who interviewed ninety-one educational managers, points to the "paucity in the amount of research conducted on the powerful" (1995: 518) hinting at research patterns of focusing on 'lowly marginal groups'. This has implication for information collected as interview dynamics change and shift with the relative status of the participants (Gorden:1981; Jennifer:1984; Scott:1984), and influence data collection.

Interview is a widely used and highly flexible research method which is capable of producing data of great depth. It can be used to gain access to situations that through

time, place or situation are 'closed' (Burgess: 1991:106). In-depth interviewing is an interactional activity. Silverman suggests "not to hear interview responses simply as true or false reports on reality. Instead, we can treat such responses as displays of perspectives and moral forms" (1993:107). It can be seen as an effort at joint meaning making. There are various factors influencing the interview situation and conversation. In addition to the research focus, the multiple subjectivities of the participants affect the interview dynamics not just with different interviews and interviewees but even within one interview context. This complicates meaning making and interpretations:

"Both parties to the interview are necessarily and unavoidably active. Respondents are not so much repositories of knowledge - treasuries of information awaiting excavation - as they are constructors of knowledge in collaboration with interviewers" (Holstein and Gubrium: 1995:4).

Interviewing is a participative activity with demands upon multiple senses, in the context of listening/speaking. It is an intersubjective dialogue, and knowledge is constructed between interpreter and participants. Interviews "serve to clarify the meanings participants attribute to a given situation" (Hutchinson: 1988: 130) and "to see the research topic from the perspective of the interviewee" (King: 1994:14). Being a good listener in interviewing can be equally rewarding as asking good questions. Getting a good interview requires good listening, with main questions in mind and careful probing (Stake:1995:65). Yin emphasises the need for the researcher/interviewer to be a 'good listener' (1994:46; see also Silverman: 1993:132). With elite interviewing, or interviewing people who have claims to knowledge in the area, listening acquires more importance.

Furthermore, an interview is an 'artificially contrived' social situation and its reliable use for "data collection depends upon the everyday social competence of the researcher" (Dingwall: 1980: 880). All informants are initially suspicious (Ibid: 888) and the possibility of attempts, conscious or unconscious, to convey a desired impression cannot be excluded. There is a general consensus that "human beings behave differently when they are being observed" (Jorgenson: 1989: 14). The

participants may try to address their information to their imagined or expected audience/s, as was observed by Lynn Davies (1992) in her study of teen-age females, who wanted to know whether or not her husband would hear their tape-recorded interviews.

Denzin also mentions problems of distorting responses, self-representation, relative status and those of penetrating privacy (1970:133-8). These concerns could have more serious implications when it is not just positive impressions to be considered, but careers and reactions of the employers also need to be taken into account, as was the case for my research participants. There was a need to arrange a comfortable and conducive interview situation individually, for every one-to-one interview, in view of inter-relationships and local social norm, to reduce pressures, apprehensions, and biases, and to ensure maximum possible validity and reliability of information. However, it could not be predicted how far I succeeded in negotiating these norms and biases, and associated 'ethical and political dilemmas'.

An interview is a 'social event' (Hammersley and Atkinson: 1983:126), and 'displays cultural particulars' (Silverman: 1985 :174). It is determined by discursive relations and situatedness. There are possibilities of misunderstanding, error and bias. Its increasing use has necessitated a refinement of the tool to improve reliability, validity and effectiveness. The interviewer should preferably have "a firm grasp of issues being studied" (Yin: 1994: 46), to use interview as a research technique. In addition to that, s/he needs to be adaptive and flexible, making 'intelligent decisions' during the interaction to facilitate communication and avoid blockades.

The literature on qualitative interviewing places great emphasis on understanding and familiarising with the context. Stressing the "importance of the establishment of rapport, empathy and understanding between interviewer and interviewee", Hitchcock and Hughes recommend "familiarity with the biographical and contextual features of the respondents life history, outlook, customs and life-style in order to be able to relate more fully and in a more appreciative way with those being interviewed" (1991:85; 86). This familiarity of social structures and behavioural patterns is highly emphasised by ethnomethodologists who link it with understanding the responses. It

is perceived to facilitate interpretation by situating the responses in the context. This point is examined again in the concluding section.

As a socio-professional member of the group, my research participants and I had differences and commonalities, with subsequent implications (Emerson: 1983: 25; Marshall and Rossman:1989; Smith:1992; Bryman and Burgess :1994). My senior post and socio-political background raised certain ethical questions concerning the validity and reliability of the data generated with these participants (Marshall and Rossman:1989; Nachmias and Nachmias:1992; Opie:1992; Cohen and Manion:1994). These issues are made explicit in the next chapter as they were dealt with carefully during the field work, through socially-informed knowledge.

Most of the decisions related to interviewing whom, when, where, and were left to be made on the spot as the field work progressed. The field work plan (Appendix F) was very tentative and flexible. I planned to interview a certain number of women and men college heads from four main regions of AJK, but in view of pragmatics involved and socio-professional constraints on myself and the intended participants, I did not decide on exact arrangements, timings and even the participants, which are detailed in chapter five. It offered a flexibility of planning the field work in accordance with the situational developments. Moreover, it agreed with my theoretical stance that each experience has a value and needs to be accepted as such for knowledge constructions.

The next section examines group conversations as a research method, and its use and relevance for this study.

2.3. Group Conversations/discussions

Group discussions, as a tool for inquiry, is poorly researched and thinly referenced (Marshall and Rossman:1989; Strauss and Corbin:1990; Yin:1989). It has a background in market research (Basch: 1987:414; Carey: 1994:226; Morgan: 1993:3), though with an increasing use in fields like evaluative studies and health education (Basch: 1987:413; Wilson:1997). Wilson finds it useful “to encourage and utilise group interactions” (1997: 211). Discussing its use in qualitative studies, Powney and

Watts (1987) call it 'a group conversation with a research purpose'. However, the group structure has a significance, and a general preference is for a natural group (Steyaert and Brown: 1994: 126).

As a research tool group interviewing has its advantages and limitations, and its aims need to be made explicit. It is often used as a complementary source of information (Lewis: 1992: 414). Lewis suggests four sets of research-based reasons for using group interview techniques:

1. to test a specific research question about consensus beliefs;
2. to obtain greater depth and breadth in responses;
3. to verify research plans or findings; and
4. to enhance the reliability of interviewee responses (1992:414).

The use of group conversations/interviews is generally perceived to generate an exchange of ideas "so that a wide range of responses can be collected" (Powney and Watts: 1987: 27). A general tendency is to use them as a 'brainstorming' activity:

"A good way of getting insight about what to pursue in individual interviews. When reflecting together on some topic, subjects can often stimulate each other to talk about topics that you can explore later" (Bogdan and Biklen: 1992:100).

For the purposes of this study, the rationale behind using group interviews was 'to obtain greater depth and breadth in responses' through providing an open and permissive atmosphere to 'hear about a range of different experiences and feelings (Morgan: 1993: 8). According to Walker:

"The group format aims to capitalise on group dynamics in order to throw light on the research topic. Ideas may be generated which would not have occurred to any one of individuals. Participants may find it necessary to justify their position so that ideas and weaknesses in argument may be thrown into greater relief. In certain contexts the interactions between group members may

themselves constitute evidence relevant to the substantive research problem” (Walker: 1985: 5).

Additionally, gender had a significance because of my decision to conduct mixed-sex group conversations. Women and men college heads in that sex-segregated society did not often get together even in professional contexts. The occasions when they were together as professionals were almost always highly formal meetings/gatherings, or an occasional mixed-sex training programme. By deliberately planning mixed-sex groups I hoped to provide a platform where women and men could dare go beyond the closed boundaries to investigate the deeper interplay of causes and practices concerning college management; to explore the bifurcated worlds for better understanding; and to share experiences and opinions across the dividing line. For me, group interviewing was a supplementary source of data collection, and I was prepared to take the risk of experimenting.

Available literature did not explain the mixed-sex-group-interview dynamics where the participants worked in single-sex organisations or/and in a Muslim context, with dominant notions of *harim* and segregation. Nevertheless, there were mentions of gender, race, age and many others as silencing women, minorities and younger people, and also suggestions of the use of a ‘homogeneous group to ensure equal participation’ (Morgan: 1993:12). My decision to use mixed-sex focus groups did not ignore a likely power-play and the possibilities of challenge, contradiction, conformity and silence. But I rather relied on my multiple positioning and the insider’s knowledge to ensure a friendly atmosphere, “a good setting that will encourage a trusting, comfortable and secure climate” (Basch: 1987: 433) to facilitate everyone’s input.

In the responses to the postal questionnaires, detailed later in chapter five, there was a consensus on mixed-sex training programmes, which my respondents believed to have a higher educational and informational value as these offered a chance to access ideas and experiences from both sectors of the segregated system. It suggested that they did not feel threatened by a mixed-sex group. Also, I hoped that the participants’ familiarity with their immediate management situations as well as a distance from the

situation across the gender divide in a shared wider context, might trigger off ideas and disclosures spurred by a temporary raising of the curtain. I expected to use it as 'a friendly research method', as Morgan terms it, having the advantage "that the exchanges among the participants help them to clarify among themselves just what it is that their opinion or behaviour depends on" (1993:18).

Another consideration was the group conversation context. The dynamics of group conversations/interviews are quite different from one-to-one interviewing. The issues of gender, personal experience, age, social status, race, ethnicity (Burgess: 1991:105), and those of bias, rapport, avoiding loaded questions (Burgess: 1991:119), in one-to-one interviewing are multiplied by the increased number of the participants, each differently positioned. I hoped to draw on my knowledge of the local social context and behavioural norms, aided by an in-depth literature review, to conduct the interviews.

Four major phases of group interviewing that require specific considerations are: organising, conducting, recording, and analysing. Common myths and assumptions about its being done cheaply and quickly can be quite misleading. The concept of group interviewing being more economic in terms of time, expenditure, and effort does not seem to fit in with my research context. In the case of participating college heads, where each college was situated at a considerable distance, with traveling problems, social and practical, it could be quite expensive in terms of time and money for the researcher or the participants, as detailed later in chapter five.

Conducting and recording group interviews are context specific strategies. Fieldwork is application of methodologies and theories to the social world. In qualitative research, they need to be adapted to the situation, reflecting flexibility and understanding, and recognising diversity and plurality. A knowledge of the research methods and relevant literature needs to be used to refine application of strategies but it should not constrain or fix the methods or data collection.

I decided to use themes for conversation, rather than more structured questions, in view of the specific nature of the group (Marshall and Rossman:1989;

Greenbaum:1993; Millar:1992; Morgan:1993) and in view of the way I intended to use it, which is detailed in the next chapter, as is my decision not to record the group conversations. I knew that these will practically be the first group discussions of its type around these issues, and wanted to proceed with caution. This had implications for analysis because in the absence of recording or note-taking, I had to rely on my post-event notes. I will consider this point again in the next chapter, after explaining the group work. The remaining section in this chapter discusses 'translation' and 'talking culture', the two issues which were posed during the research process, and are followed by a brief mention of ethnomethodology and its relevance for making sense of some information.

3. Related Issues

During my research, I experienced that an awareness of many issues is often dormant, and is raised to the conscious level during experiential studies. 'Translation' and 'a talking culture' were such issues which initially did not seem significant but later commanded attention and relevance. The first section examines the significance of translation and its relevance regarding postal responses and interviews. The notion of 'a talking culture' is explored in the following section to discuss the prevailing traditions of a talking culture in the research context and its interplay with methodology, data collection and analysis. The concluding section briefly discusses ethnomethodology.

3.1. Translation

A point brought to focus by the responses to the pilot questionnaire was the issue of having written the pilot in English and the problematic nature of 'translations' across cultures. Languages develop in a multidimensional interacting social context and even similar concepts carry different connotations in differing cultures. In the post-colonial Pakistan, English is the second language (Constitution:1973), one of the two official languages at the national level, optional medium of instruction at the higher education level, and compulsory medium of instruction in certain contexts. There is the possibility that a person brought up within a regional/provincial vernacular may be able to express herself/himself better in English as compared to Urdu (the national language), which in that case might be the third language. To minimise the 'barriers'

to the 'lived experiences' of the participants and their views of 'reality', and to enhance the validity and reliability of the research I constructed the final postal questionnaire in both the languages - Urdu and English - simultaneously. The participants were requested to answer in any language they felt comfortable with, or to use both the languages interspersed at will and convenience. This produced interesting results which have been considered earlier in section 2.1.2. and are further explored here.

Initially, in a post-colonial ESL research context, I had planned to conduct surveys and interviews in English. I believe that this was influenced by prevailing research practices and assumptions in Pakistan as:

- Any research of international standards in Pakistan is often headed by foreign consultants and usually conducted in English. In cases of Urdu speaking researchers none, to my knowledge, raised its methodological and theoretical implications and complications. I was just following suit.
- My thesis was to be written in English and my supervisors were English speaking; and I assumed that to avail their guidance and involvement, I should use English as a language.
- There were the problems and time demands involved with translations. Constructing the questionnaires and interview schedules in English for the supervisors and the final thesis, then translating in Urdu for the respondents and participants was time consuming itself. Then translating and transcribing the interviews conducted in Urdu interspersed with English demanded further time.

Responses to the pilot questionnaire brought an awareness of a possible language barrier faced by the respondents. There were two feasible choices for me: **either**

to conduct the data collection in English, assuming that in a post-colonial educational context where research focus is on college heads and English is constitutionally the second language and office language, the research participants would be able to express themselves in English; **or**

to use bilingual tools for data collection, informed by the responses to the pilot questionnaire and further supported by personal knowledge.

I chose the second option, recognising that the language barrier was being acute in this case because of the open-ended nature of the questions. Just opening up spaces is not always enough. There are situations when voicing has to be facilitated and the present study seemed to demand it, although it added to my responsibilities and complicated the analytical process.

Each aspect was considered carefully, within all given constraints, before deciding how to use translation and my bilingual background. While working on a research project in a British university the research data was to be collected from a specific region in Pakistan and the research participant themselves were educational managers in an ESL context. There were advantages and disadvantages in using two languages, pragmatic as well as theoretical, which led to the decision of using the two languages flexibly as tools where and when appropriate for the research purposes. For example the postal questionnaire A was constructed in Urdu and English while postal questionnaire B was formulated in English only, because of the theoretical and structural differences between the two interview schedules and the different professional groups of participants discussed above in section 2.1.3. Again, the two interview schedules were written in English but were used as checklists while the actual interaction was in Urdu interspersed with English. The interviews were transcribed as such, and only those parts were later translated in English which were required for evidence to be quoted, and the English words/phrases/sentences uttered by the participants were retained.

My 'bilingualism' proved a useful tool in research. It influenced the research process and facilitated pragmatics of translation. However, I recognise linguistic and theoretical issues surrounding translation. Translation is a complex and complicated activity, 'impossible but necessary' (Derrida:1985). Peggy Kamuf, in the author's note for 'More Than One Language' analyses the word itself, maintaining that:

"It [sic] displays the movement of the 'trans' - translation, transference, transport, transformation - as the very movement of thought between points of origin and arrival that are always being deferred, differed, one by the other" (1991:242).

This 'movement of the trans' struck me as very exacting when moving between English and Urdu with all the associated constructions. Derrida, in a 'Letter to a Japanese Friend', written on July 10, 1983, goes through a detailed discussion searching for a word to translate 'deconstruction' in Japanese (another Eastern language!). His concluding remarks are "I do not believe that translation is a secondary and derived event in relation to an original language or text. I clearly understand translation as involving the same risk and chance as the poem. How to translate a 'poem'? A 'poem'?...." (1991:275-6). Referring to the episode of Babel, Derrida (1985) recommends to read it in the language in which it was written because:

"What is being told in this biblical recite is not transportable in another tongue without an essential loss" (Ibid:98).

It is this 'untranslatability' inherent in a text which renders translation problematic, because a "text [is]... irreducibly tied to a language" (Derrida:1985:103), and language is produced in a context. However, there are situations as in the case of this study when this 'impossible' act becomes an unavoidable necessity. The point I wish to reiterate is that translations across Urdu and English, across different cultural and academic traditions, are conceptually problematic because of diverse historical and situational specifications.

Translation emerged as an important issue in this research. It required not just translating the written responses, but translations from interview transcripts, which were interspersed with English words, phrases and sentences, within an overarching framework of Urdu as the language of interaction. In the history of imperialism, language has been used as a highly political tool that always left imprints on the socio-political scene in the post-colonial contexts. English in the post-colonial

Pakistan is an imperial legacy with all the associated symbolism, connotations and dynamics. Translating across such layers of implications and complications is problematic. It is not simply interlingual translation where the choice of a word/phrase may have cultural signification or may reflect language limitations. Mahony discusses Jakobson's three types of translation (Derrida: 1985:94):

- intralingual (paraphrase)
- interlingual (common-sense translation)
- intersemiotic translation

In this study, probably it is all these types of translation availed as needed, to construct knowledges in interplay with situational specifications.

As a TESL teacher, I have been aware that the use of two languages as a medium of instruction and whether to use the two separately or concurrently, has been a controversial debate in bilingual contexts since 1980s, involving issues of translation and mixing of the two languages:

"The predominant view seems to be that intra-sentinel code switching (mixing languages within a sentence) does not have much positive value from a pedagogical point of view. [particularly when it] occurs without a specific pedagogical aim" (Padilla:1990).

However, in the research context, I found that permitting 'intra-sentinel code switching' contributed to the research aims, and thus had a 'positive value'. It provided a flexibility towards adaptation for facilitating communication without challenging any status claims.

Derrida argues that texts are often not what they claim to be. There is more to a text than appears to be:

"We are always caught in a play of references, traces of meaning, meanings dispersed in language and deferred in time" (Cherryholmes: 1988:38);

and interlingual translations add to the complexity of the 'play'. According to Derrida, translation is "the transfer of a meaning or a truth from one language to another without any essential harm being done" (1985:120). However, he argues that "a translation never succeeds in the pure and absolute sense of the term" (1985:123), because in every language there is "something 'untouchable', something of the original text that no translation can attain" (1985:114). "All translation of whatever sort is 'rooted' in the non-language condition of language (Derrida: 1985:112) and therefore, a translation requires an awareness of the 'non-language condition of language', besides knowing the two languages.

Spivak (1992) also raises the issues relating to translation, although in a context different from the present research. She demonstrates through English and French translations of an extract from an eighteenth century Bengali poet (Ram Prasad) that in these translations not only the meaning changes, but also "the depth of commitment to correct cultural politics, felt in the details of personal life, is sometimes not enough" (Ibid:184). Pointing to the difference between two translated versions of Mahasweta Devi's *Stanadayini*, Spivak argues that "translation is the most intimate act of reading" that demands a complete surrender to the text and a "training in intimacy with the original language" (1992:180-3). She is obviously assuming additional 'intimacy' with the language of translation.

In the same article, Spivak refers to the French translation of Ram Prasad's song and an English translation of the same by herself, explaining her argument regarding the need for intimacy with the original language by pointing to the differences between the two translations. Spivak argues for "a tough sense of the specific terrain of the original" and "doing it for the person who wrote it" to 'make the translated text accessible' (Spivak: 1992: 186, 189). Her caveat is that although a post-colonial context has the advantage of bilingualism, words are constituted in space and may carry different connotations in another space, resulting in 'misfiring of translation' (Spivak: 1992: 186). Pollock (1993) perceives the boundaries among accents and languages as 'creative space, free zones which include rather than imprison' fluidity of the speaker and listener to create new meaning. The 'boundaries' and the 'trans' are complex symbols in bilingual context and cannot be explained in abstract and

general terms. Willis and Bartell's study, in a Japanese educational context, mentions the problems of direct translations, particularly regarding terms like 'effective school' and 'instructional leadership' arguing that "meanings attached to these terms are the subject of considerable research and conjecture even in any one culture"(1990:110).

With these limitations in mind, the translation of the postal responses and interviews in my study, and its implications and relevance for analysis can be approached. How much is lost or/and gained in this act of 'trans' is a subjective construction. Referring to migration as an act of translation, Salaman Rushdie argues:

“It is generally believed that something is always lost in translation. I cling to the notion ... that something can also be gained” (Rushdie:1995).

And I believe that it can apply to translation in a bilingual context.

3.2. Talking Cultures

Friere argues that “Knowledge emerges only through invention and reinvention, through the restless, impartial, continuing, hopeful inquiry [people] pursue in the world, with the world and with each other” (1972:58-9). The recorded conversations with research participants, and the subsequent translations and interpretations as well, were all efforts contributive to emerging knowledges. The participating college heads, once in the interview situation, went on talking willingly without showing any wish or anxiety to end it, in spite of demands on their time. To maintain the research focus in the interview situations involved a conscious effort on my part, informed by the local social norms. Further, the signals for closing an interview always came from me, with only two exceptions. In one case the participant had an ear infection and was unwell and wished to end the interview after fifty minutes' recording, and in the other case the interviewee had recently undergone an un-welcome, imposed job adjustment and was slightly ill at ease. The majority appeared to welcome the chance to 'air the issues', probably for diverse and multiple reasons:

- It was the first time that the research was focused on institutional management, with institutional heads as its locus.

- A flexible interview schedule with open-ended queries encouraged wanderings and details.
- The language barriers, which could be an inhibiting factor in qualitative interviewing, were minimised by a shared language background.
- I was a member of the participating group and the conversation would just flow with shared experiences, in a common context.
- The Eastern cultures broadly speaking, have a reputation of being 'talking cultures' and this region shares the reputation.

The oral tradition has been a multi-purpose tool since the beginning of man's life. It operated in various societies over the centuries contributing to their socio-political, religious, cultural and literary histories (Carl:1989; David:1974; Evans:1970; Mitchell:1991; Nicolaisen:1995; Penny:1990). Evans emphasises 'usefulness of the oral tradition' (1970: 277) not only in 'illuminating' social and industrial history but at times records being available "chiefly -- or in some instances only -- in the oral tradition" (Ibid:235). Oratory has been an art and a valuable skill particularly in the pre-printing times. It was a strong feature of pre-Islamic Arab society, a kind of status marker, and the Arabs were proud of it, referring to the non-Arabs as *ajmi* (dumb). Oral dissemination of knowledge remained a dominant feature of early Islamic society. The first public 'call to Islam' was an oral address by the Prophet to the people of Macca, who were requested to gather near the mount Arafat to listen to it. The Prophet was called a 'wizard' and an 'enchanter' by His antagonists as he could convince people with his eloquence.

Further, the Quranic verses were orally delivered by the Prophet and written by the followers. The traditional Friday *khutba* (sermon) is another mark of the same tradition. The last sermon by the Prophet, delivered on the occasion of his last pilgrimage, and known as 'the charter of Islam' is also a great piece of oratory. Accordingly, oral traditions continued during his life and after his demise, and the Friday *khutba* became a permanent feature of Islamic religious traditions. This emphasis on talk and oral communication within an Islamic socio-religious set-up contributed to the development of talking cultures within the Muslim societies.

In the academic context, early Islamic teachings were pre-dominantly carried out orally. It proved a pragmatic and well-suited avenue for dissemination of knowledge, in a context where the philosophy of education commands 'education for all'. The Prophet himself taught orally through sermons or group discussions, and these practices continued even after the establishment of more formal structures and still form a major component of teaching techniques.

In the broader social context, *Alaf-Laila* (The Thousand and One Nights), is a pointer towards the talking culture aspect in Muslim world. The eloquence of 'Shahrazad' proves a guarantee of her life for a thousand nights, bringing her ultimate redemption on the thousand and oneth night. Paula Marshall (1983)) illustrates the strength and 'function' of the talking culture among Caribbean women and brilliantly discusses how the talking culture traditions provide sites and spaces to these women for voicing their concerns and opinions:

"they talked ---- endlessly, poetically and with impressive rangeThe talk that filled the kitchen those afternoons was highly functionalit served as therapy, ... it restored them to a sense of themselves and re-affirmed their self-worth" (1983:12).

Dorothy Launders uses story-telling⁷⁹ as research methodology claiming that "mutual story-telling helps crossing the boundaries between the Self and the Other" (1997:255). This talking culture tradition seems to be more operative in community contexts. The close-knit community structure in Islam, welded together by a network of duties and obligations reinforces the development of talking cultures through sharing and communication.

In the Pakistani context, this broadly Eastern tradition is intensified through interaction with more regional sub-cultures entertaining certain commonalities. *Bethak* (place to sit, deriving from the word *beth* meaning sit), *hujra* (enclosure/room), *dalaan* (yard) where men would get together in the evenings or

⁷⁹ Angela Thody also uses stories by principals to show relevance of stories-telling for study of management practices and research (1997: 325-338).

spare times to talk, fields, and wells (or other water sources) where women would crowd at specific times, have been the sites to strengthen this constant and continuous interaction, besides many religious and social ceremonies, rituals and festivals contributing to it (Shah:1998). Even today, some rural habitats, and architecture of certain old parts in the cities, reflect this sharing and interfering of a talking culture where reticence was not by choice but through oppression.

It is interesting to notice that even after the modernisation sweep, introducing changes in the architectural patterns, life styles, and communal sites, there is still a dominant tendency among these people to indulge in talk quite enthusiastically. They willingly join in conversation in a non-threatening context, and enjoy sharing it. The detailed responses to the postal questionnaire (some even attached additional sheets) by those who chose to answer also reflect this tendency to talk. My participants loved wandering into details and generally seemed to enjoy talking. Accordingly, in such research contexts, it requires a great sensitivity and acuteness on the part of the researcher, to maintain a shared focus, and/or extricate from diversions without adversely affecting the data. Research findings need to be indexed within this setting of a talking culture context. This indexing of information is discussed next.

3.3. Ethnomethodology

An awareness of the sub-systems of social behaviour and a common sense knowledge of social structures is defined as 'ethnomethods' by Garfinkel (1959), who introduced ethnomethodology. It is perceived as providing the insider-researcher a flexibility of manoeuvring which can be manipulated discursively to facilitate the research design and field work. In this study, a knowledge of the local social systems and norms proved helpful in arranging and conducting the field work which is detailed in the next chapter.

Garfinkel uses the term Ethnomethodology to refer to the investigation of the rational properties of the indexical expressions and other practical actions as 'contingent ongoing accomplishments of organised artful practices of everyday life' (1984:11). He stresses background knowledge used in describing and explaining social phenomenon, and its role in the construction of knowledges, which he defines as

'indexicality'. Garfinkel (1984) pays attention to the common sense practices involved in assembling and interpreting texts for analytical purposes, through their 'placing in the context' or indexicality. This generative context is the indexicality of language, meaning, and reality. Coulon explicates indexicality as 'the contextual determinations' that are implicitly attached to a word, arguing that 'the significance of a word or an expression comes from contextual factors' (1995:17).

The form and structure of constructed knowledges are influenced by the situation/s in which these are produced, and concerned "actors take an active part in the 'definition of the situation' " (Coulon: 1995: 9). Social facts are not fixed realities, but are produced by the continual activity of people. Interview or any form of interaction is an expression of that phenomenon and need to be interpreted in that context. Differentiating between ethnomethodology and interactionism Coulon states that "While interactionism focuses on the explicit content of an utterance - seeking to understand how social objects are constructed [and] given sense in the course of our interaction" (1995:7), "ethnomethodologists are more concerned with the implicit aspects related to its structure trying to understand how people see, describe, and jointly develop a definition of the situation" (Ibid:9).

An essential aspect of an ethnomethodological research is a 'member researcher'. Irrespective of the debates around the definition of 'member researcher', whether a language member or class member, a member is expected to use 'a scheme of interpretation by embedding the appearances in his pre-supposed knowledge of social structures' (Garfinkel: 1984:77), using devices⁸⁰ for the management of impressions (Garfinkel:1984:172-9). Garfinkel and Sacks (1986:163) use the term member to refer to 'mastery of natural language' to understand the construction of the social world. Coulon expands this point further by arguing that "acquiring 'an intimate view of a particular social world' implies sharing a common language with the members to avoid misinterpretations. Catching the members' point of view does not simply consist of listening to what they say or asking them to explain what they do. It implies locating their descriptions in their generative context and considering the members'

⁸⁰ Not strictly rational devices, because Garfinkel in his concluding remarks (1984:283) rejects scientific rationality as ineffective ideal.

accounts as research instructions" (1995: 47). It pre-supposes the internalisation of rules of life in a society by the individual which Coulon defines as 'practical sociological reasoning' (1995: 2), and Silverman refers to as 'tacit knowledge of sense assembly procedures' (1985:106).

To control the possibilities of bias in this process of knowledge construction ethnomethodology recommends 'researcher alienation'. Ethnomethodological alienation is dissimilar from the interactionists notion of empathy with the actor. It is a deliberate stance to stand on the margins of some collectivity, seeking how the participants in some event find its character and sustain it, or fail to, as a joint activity (Dingwall: 1981:134-6). This distancing or detached disposition aims at starting from disbelief or a suspension of pre-conceptions.

This study can be perceived as making use of ethnomethodology in some way, as it probes deeper into the social constructions to 'understand how people see, describe, and jointly develop a definition of the situation'. Additionally, as a researcher I had the group member's 'mastery of natural language' which facilitated 'an intimate view of a particular social world'. Also 'alienation' was maintained up to a certain level of knowledge construction, and when otherwise it was made explicit.

The discussion of the research design, and related terms and concepts, provides the context in which analysis of the postal responses and discussion of the field experiences are to be approached in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Research Findings A

Introduction

Chapter five and six are jointly concerned with presenting research findings. This chapter focuses on responses to the postal questionnaires and the field experiences, and accordingly is divided into three sections. Section one presents survey findings. The second section details field experiences, while the concluding section focuses on group interviewing/discussions.

The multifaceted emergent design predisposed an ongoing dynamic design and analysis. The PhD format predetermined and imposed certain constraints of academic presentation, but the data at times became rebellious introducing dimensions and modifications which were not a considered part of the early design. For example, the use of translation and recognition of the 'talking culture' context were emerging modifications as mentioned in the previous chapter.

My intention in providing an early analysis of the responses to the postal questionnaires separately, is to make the process of analysis transparent and accessible to the readers, as it focuses on an un-researched situation. My intention was to provide a macro view of the contextual situation before investigating the micro practices, so that the reader could also engage in the analysis along with the researcher. These responses also raised more questions pointing to the information gaps and the missing links, which were explored further in the interviews. As this analysis progressed further secondary questions emerged, which added to the complexity of the process, but refined the process as well.

I used the information collected through the postal questionnaires to provide a panoramic view of the context and to probe the issues. At times the information may seem densely packed, but I believed these details as contributive to the understanding of this un-researched situation. The responses were the written words, often well thought out and carefully worded, as it seemed to me. The respondents had taken their time in returning the completed questionnaires as the replies kept trickling in for five months, till I went to Pakistan for further data collection. They contained information,

tentative remarks, and hints which, I hoped, could contribute to familiarise the un-initiated reader with the research context. For these very reasons I perceived the postal responses as the safest site to set the scene in its essential details. I decided not to use longer quotes from the filled-in postal questionnaires at this stage, as that would un-necessarily encumber the initial site-development. I decided to use very brief extracts to flag up the issues and corroborate the information, where required.

1. Postal Responses

This part is divided into three sub sections: section one details an early analysis of the responses to the pilot and the postal questionnaires. It offers background information regarding the management practices and issues in the research context which also informed the construction of the interview schedules. The second section explores some complementary evidence collected through postal questionnaire B. The last section summarises the emerging categories and themes for interview schedules, and for further analysis.

As a researcher with a specific subjectivity and positioning, focusing on a group of managers in a unique post-colonial context, and placed in a British university, I was constrained by complex and multiple demands. My intended readers were not only the academics in a British university context, but my colleague, seniors and research participants in the research locale. They had the tool of post-colonial bilingualism at their disposal to 'read' my understanding, interpretations and translations of their responses. How these differentially positioned readers would 'read' it through discourses around orientalism/occidentalism and colonialism/imperialism were some of the considerations for me - the researcher/translator - who would be rejoining them as a colleague, requiring their trust and credibility.

The responses of my research participants gain meaning and validity when located in the context. In qualitative research, understanding any phenomenon "requires looking at a wide sweep of contexts: temporal and spatial, historical, political, economic, cultural, social, and personal" (Stake: 1995:43). Hammersley and Atkinson argue that "Interview data, like any other, must be interpreted in the background of the context in which they were produced"(1983:126), and I agree. Accordingly, chapter one of

the dissertation provided a brief and relevant background to facilitate understanding of the research context which was developed in the succeeding chapters, and the research findings are to be viewed in that backdrop.

The postal questionnaires were sent to sixty-eight college heads⁸¹ - thirty female and thirty-eight male. Twenty-eight responses⁸² were returned which makes the response rate about 41%. Ten respondents were females (36%) and eighteen males (64%) two of whom were managing female colleges. These responses filled in the details of the research site and provided information about the colleges and their management. For me these responses became more alive when related to the respondents' general career histories and wider local context, known to me in my socio-professional capacity. However it does get confusing at times: 'is it the reality as they see it?' Or, 'is it as they want me to see it?'.

A strong feeling is that the respondents who are conscious of me as the immediate presence, as examined earlier in chapter four, do not seem aware of a possible wider audience. Perhaps it has something to do with its being linked with a Ph.D. thesis and their concept of it: a few people looking through it and then its lying dead on a shelf. How the research data can be used, interpreted or dissected does not seem uppermost in their minds, or maybe they tend to ignore it, or may be this is what they want to be known, or perhaps they are availing it as a channel to unload themselves - a process of catharsis, or an effort to find a voice - to be heard.

However, it raises further ethical issues relating to the use of research data in a way that should not harm or even hurt the respondents, shutting them off for any future research purposes. These issues have been discussed in more depth earlier in chapter four. I have been extremely careful in presenting research findings in a way to preserve the anonymity of the participants, by omitting such references and words. I

⁸¹ This was the total number of intermediate, degree and university colleges in AJK in March 1996. I have been informed that another intermediate college has started functioning since September 1996.

⁸² The postal responses were coded as F1-10 for ten women college heads respondents, and as M1-18 for eighteen men.

felt doubly responsible for this as my respondents and participants had been rather careless about the issues involved.

This data was utilised for developing interview schedules, by searching for themes and consistent patterns as well as inconsistencies. Looking for categories and patterns in and across rich and messy data was an onerous and perplexing process of selections, rejections, modifications, and adaptations. I felt a strong responsibility to my respondents, besides a responsibility to the research, and these dimensions certainly influenced all my decisions and choices. I availed relevant socio-cultural knowledge to interpret the responses as close to the respondents truths as possible, but still it is my interpretation and my formation of priorities, choosing certain patterns as pertinent themes for interview schedule and analysis purposes. The following part provides a basic analysis of the postal questionnaires section by section.

1.1. Postal Questionnaire A

Each section offers an analysis of the received responses to the postal questionnaire. In some sections extracts from the responses are quoted, while others provide a simple summary of the facts depending on the nature of questions asked and the responses received. The first two sections which requested personal information and some details concerning the institutions, for example, produced factual details and helped in setting the scene and explaining the research context. The remaining sections contained predominantly open-ended questions that requested for opinions and views. Accordingly, the responses were more in depth, and subjective, and were quite often brought in to support and substantiate the analysis.

Section One: 'Personal Information'

The first section of the postal questionnaire requested relevant personal information. The first four questions focused on facts and figures concerning the managers. Among the responding principals, 'the age at present' varied from 40 to 58 years⁸³. Their length of experience as institutional heads also differed from a few months to

⁸³ The principals were appointed from among the lecturers. They were government employees and generally entered the government service at the age of 22-28 years, as lecturers. However, there was no age zone fixed for appointment as principal. Among the research participants 'age at appointment as head' varied from 33 to 58 years.

about eighteen years. However, it was not necessarily consistent with the difference in age. Some older principals had very short experience as college heads, although they all joined government service as lectures/college-teachers at about the same age. One reason for these wide variations was the ambiguity and vagueness surrounding promotion/appointment as principal.

Because of the condition that a principal should be from the teaching background, all the respondents possessed considerable teaching experience, but the length of work experience varied in each individual case. However, they all posited that their teaching work had not prepared them for their present job, which they all perceived as 'very different' from teaching. They complained of 'difficulties' and 'problems' faced 'in the early period of headship', albeit with slight variations. According to the nature of their experience they can be placed into three broad groups:

- two had been head-teachers in schools before joining the college cadre/service⁸⁴.
- a small number had acquired some management experience over the years, prior to their appointment as principals, through assisting the heads of their respective institutions or by taking responsibilities for various committees, activities and assignments, and through accepting delegated tasks;
- the third group had only teaching experience, and never had a chance to shoulder any management responsibilities, except teaching and class management, for various reasons.

The first two groups agreed that the width and diversity of their work experience prepared them better for headship. It equipped them with some necessary expertise and further facilitated their on-job-learning. They believed that their work as head-teachers or in different management positions in the college context provided them with necessary experience and expertise in problem solving, conducting negotiations, interpersonal relations, and personnel/student management. The ex-head-teachers

⁸⁴ College cadre is different from school cadre and work experience in a school carries no credit for entry into college service, or for appointment as principals.

claimed that their specific work experience was especially useful in **finance management** - a work area which emerged as problematic in general - in spite of the structural and contextual differences between the two sites, the schools and the colleges. Both the groups appeared to draw upon previous learning, in diverse management situations, to apply it in a context which they acknowledged as different and difficult. This extension of existing knowledges and acquired skills to new areas was their survival strategy.

Those heads who had come from teaching positions with no management experience except 'class management', emphasised 'problems' and 'difficulties' encountered by them in the earlier phases of the present job - a job which they found different in orientation, specifications and dimensions. M9 was one exception among this group who replied briefly: 'no difficulty experienced'. One explanation of this variation can be that some people do perceive admitting difficulties as a reflection of incompetency, and thus tend to evade it.

Question five of the postal questionnaire sought information regarding management training. Eight principals (Men 33% and women 20%) had not received any training or education concerning management. They propounded that the preclusion of any relevant training/education for new-to-job principals caused serious management problems. They had learnt their role and work on-job, and it had been a difficult and time-consuming process. They opined that college headship was too sensitive a job to learn through 'trial and error'. Mistakes often involved financial damages and legal complications besides tension and discomfort. .

Twenty respondents had received some kind of management training. Three (all men) had participated in a three month course pertaining to educational management and planning, at the Academy of Educational Planning and Management (EPMA), Islamabad, Pakistan. They perceived it as a useful exercise in general, but lacking in focus on contextual details and requirements. Another seventeen had attended, once each, a short 10/12 days training programme, focusing on book-keeping, budgeting, cash-handling, and service rules and regulations. The course outline, in the later case, was very broad as it catered for all the government servants (new/inexperienced) in a

variety of finance management positions. Although the principals found it 'useful in some way', a shared complaint was that it was too narrow in the choice of difficulty-area, and too general in focus, to be of any real use in the college context. Furthermore, the issues raised in these programmes were of a very preliminary nature and therefore were not pertinent to the needs of the course participants who had all considerable experience as principals/acting principals, and had learned the basics on-job. They opined that such bounded courses could be partially helpful for the fresh entrants but were not beneficial for experienced managers, which points to the importance of situational needs analysis, prior to course production, to ensure course relevance and context-dependence.

The sixth question 'Why did you want to be a college head?' incurred some interesting responses. The question was included to learn about the respondents' plans and programmes concerning the job. One respondent answered blandly "because I was a head teacher in the school" (M4). The remaining twenty-seven side-stepped the question by stressing that they did not wish to be the college heads. Two respondents briefly mentioned, in support of their lack of aspiration, that there is 'no benefit' in headship (M11), and 'no credit is given' (M18). The rest stated having accepted it 'on turn'. However, a direct answer was avoided by all. The consensus on avoidance to answer 'why' they wanted to be a college head raised some questions: Why they did not wish to be college heads? Is it because they have no programme to offer; or is it a strategic retreat from taking any responsibility for the conditions which they themselves describe as 'deteriorating'; and, will this denial absolve them of responsibility and accountability? The responses provided a lead into another area of inquiry: **headship aspired/ un-aspired**, which will be discussed at length in the next chapter as it emerged as a key issue.

Women's responses to this particular question followed the same focus but were different in reasoning. They seemed clearer about why they did not want to be college heads and it was mainly for socio-cultural reasons, rather than professional. College head F1, for example, said that for her it meant working at a distance from home. F4 referred to the 'problems faced by a single women' in such a job. F5, another single woman, hinted at the 'trepidation' of working in such a job, and another female

mentioned 'pressures on [the] mind' (F8). It was different from the Western context where having a family is often considered problematic for women in such demanding jobs. Conversely, in the cultural context of this study, being single was perceived as a problem by women principals.

Section Two: 'The Present Institution'

Section two of the postal questionnaire contained five questions in all and required some relevant details regarding the concerned institutions. According to information gathered through the responses in this section, the first college (male) was established in 1944, in the region referred in this study as AJK. The first female college was set up in 1967⁸⁵. The years of establishment provide interesting information concerning periods of educational expansion. Ten colleges out of responding twenty-eight were set up in 1970s, and twelve in 1980s, while only two in 1960s and three in 1990s. This corresponds with the national trends of expansion in higher education during different decades, detailed earlier in chapter one.

A dominant majority of these colleges offered **single-sex education**. Admissions to female students were allowed in only three male colleges, for specific courses - two professional and one at post-graduate level. All the staff, teaching and non-teaching, in the male colleges was strictly male, with only an occasional female sweeper/cleaner. In the female colleges, almost all the non-teaching staff was male, besides an infrequent male teacher/s and also an occasional male principal as stated in chapter one. This point will be attended to later in the concluding chapter.

The number of teaching/non-teaching staff and students also varied from college to college, interjecting diversity in management issues and practices. The number of students varied from -50 to 2000+, and teaching staff from eight to sixty-eight. These disparities can be one explanation for the diversity of issues. Furthermore, there was no pattern concerning a principal's period of stay in one college. Some principals seemed to be moving around from one institution to the other, while a few appeared to be settled in one college for 15+ years. Also, there were wide dissimilarities among the colleges regarding the number of courses and subjects offered for study. These

⁸⁵ The present heads of both the colleges were among the respondents and the interviewees.

divergences converged on one point - they added to the complexity and uniqueness of each management context from where the responses were sent.

Section Three: 'Management'

The third section of the postal questionnaire focused on different aspects related to college management including delegation, networking, management training - received/recommended, and venues of management development. All the twenty-eight responding heads preferred **management training** to any other 'guidance/support programme', although later in the interviews, the majority expressed dissatisfaction with the received training. Presumably, they believed that a more relevant and appropriate course could be designed. They approved the rationale but wanted the details to be well-suited to the contextual requirements.

The respondents complained of multiple issues related to college management. They suggested a variety of problem areas as a focus for training programmes. College head M8, for example, responded by writing a Persian couplet meaning:

"the whole body is covered with wounds; where will you put swabs, and how many?"

In spite of the limitations in translation, it is an apt description of the multiplicity of problems. Among these numerous inter-related issues, **finance management** emerged as a primary focal point. The dichotomy between teaching responsibilities and management assignments kept the teachers unaware of the issues and intricacies involved in the management system and practices, until they were virtually thrown into the situation. Moreover, the staff dealing with finances often lacked the skill for it. According to the respondents, untrained support staff dealing with money and finances and their low salaries, further complicated the matters by making them vulnerable to temptation and corruption.

In the case of female heads, gender added another dimension to the whole issue of finance management, where the support staff dealing with money and finances was invariably male. The concept of *chadar* and *chardiwari* (veils and walls) implicitly

made them dependent on the concerned male staff, and this dependency was reinforced by a general conviction that women had little head for finances. This opinion was explicitly worded by a majority of the male principals, and many women heads also appeared to implicitly agree with it. Although, some men and women did not mention this issue, none commented that women were good at handling money.

Detailing various issues, another major concern was college administration which they perceived as widely different from other organisations as it involved student management. The college heads considered it even distinct from other educational institutions as well, because of its location at a particular stage in adult life and learning. The widest age spread for college students in this context was 15 to 30 years, a phase of biological changes followed by increasing demands on social, psychological and economic adaptations. It emerged as a critical issue for male colleges. In the cultural and religious context of this region, 'sons' had to share the family responsibilities at the earliest opportunity. They could not cut off their education and then come back to it at leisure. Their education was supported by the family resources, and the obligation had to be repaid. As son of the family, a boy, must complete his education and start earning at an early stage. However, in the absence of future employment opportunities, the frustration was vented through violence within the colleges, creating problems of 'law and order'⁸⁶ for the principals.

Staff management and interpersonal relations were submitted as another area of difficulty. According to the majority of the principals, incompetent people got appointed in the colleges due to political manipulations and social influences, rendering the principals helpless in matters of staff management. The principals had as such, no say in the appointment or transfer of any member of the staff. The systems of accountability and evaluation were politically infiltrated. The rules and regulations allowed the principals some marginal powers regarding such matters but practically these were usurped by the senior educational bureaucrats or politicians. Further, the college staff were government servants, and enjoyed job security till retirement. The principals seemed to be under pressure to manage institutions staffed with employees

⁸⁶ This emerged as a strong theme in interviews and is dealt with in detail in chapters seven and eight. It also links up with the history of students violence in the higher education sector in Pakistan, escalating from the late 1980s onwards (Saigol:1993).

who manipulated all the loopholes in the service structure and evaluation system, to their advantage.

In this context, the issue of **delegation** also acquired an interesting dimension. There were reservations about delegation, expressed by respondents. Delegating was not seen as sharing but as a decrease in authority⁸⁷. It was practised more as a delegation of duties than powers. The preferred word used in response to their 'views about delegation' was 'consultation'. F1 did not consider delegation a requirement in the management context of small colleges. M1 maintained that it was at times useful but at times damaging. F9 and F10 posited that delegation 'can be useful but is unpracticable' in their context. M6, M9 and M14 suggested controlled delegation, where duties were awarded to different people under the 'principals' guidance and supervision'. The emergent pattern was that delegation should be limited, controlled, and supervised, only to lessen the principals' work load and responsibility, and not for any positive or active input. Delegation was perceived as 'a necessary function of management' but the question was 'how best to implement the process of delegation', because there was a fear of subordinates proving too good or too bad. Further some people had a temperamental aversion to sharing and delegating, as well as a lack of ability to direct delegating (Mullins: 1995: 519).

A general consensus about networking was that it was 'useful' and 'important'. One of the respondents defined networking as 'pooling in of individual experiences and learning in management development' (M7). However, it was not viewed as limited within the same professional group. It was given a wider orientation, including social and political contacts, and thus was considered very important and facilitative for management purposes. It points to the specific cultural background and politically saturated context where links and contacts added to the positional power, providing more space for exercise of authority and manoeuvring. However, the two reservations about networking were that it was time-consuming (M16), and it could lead to 'increased interference from outside' (F5), besides gender dimensions.

⁸⁷ A study by Bullock, James, and Jamieson also observed difficulties in delegation, which they viewed as rooted in an aspiration for status and influence besides problems with interpersonal procedures for delegation and invisibility of recipient of a delegated task, particularly in the case of new-to-the-job managers (1994:5-7).

All the principals stressed the need for regularly organised management development and training programmes, at induction. Only five out of twenty-eight managers placed it third in the order of priority, putting 'personal experience' and 'learning from the experiences of others' in the first two positions. For fifteen respondents it was the first preference and for eight the second. The rationale offered was that learning from the experiences of others was not always relevant, context-specific, or even accessible. For a new manager, personal experience was a process of erring and learning, which was described as time-consuming and at times, damaging. During the period of learning through experience there could be serious mis-management of situations and issues, as experienced by many respondents themselves. Management development and training programmes were perceived as a smoother preparation for entry into the job which leads to the next section titled as 'Role Perception'.

Section Four: 'Role Perception'

This section intended to elicit information as to how the respondents themselves viewed their 'role as college-head' in their specific context. An emerging pattern was that the reality proved to be quite different from rhetoric. Headship was socially perceived as a prestigious post, conveying an impression of status, power and authority, which received further reinforcement from religious discourses, and Islamic educational philosophy and traditions, detailed earlier in chapter two. Some responses to question seventeen presented the principal as [the] 'guide and leader' (F2), 'intelligent, hard-working and sincere' (F7), 'guide, controller, administrator and character-builder' (F8), 'responsible' (F10), 'vigilant and active' (M5), 'a versatile genius' (M7), 'possessing courage and initiative' (M9), 'charismatic' (M11), and 'polite and sympathetic' (M17). All these attributes constructed an 'ideal' which, according to the principals, did not survive in the real life context. The difficulties of a complex situation, supplemented by the power structures of wider socio-political context, divested the post of its glamour. The 'powerful' principal was rendered helpless, said M15, by multiple pressures and forces active in the immediate and the wider contexts. There was a sense of disillusionment at the contradiction between the **rhetoric and reality**. Power and status proved illusions, and the problems, pressures, and difficulties of the situation emerged as the realities.

The question about role-learning and role-models elicited identical responses. In the absence of any career development or training programme, the respondents had learnt their role from their seniors/principals by emulating those they appreciated, and by learning from the mistakes (or what they considered as such) of others. It emerged as a critical process of adaptations and rejections, in articulation with the situational demands. The personality of the principal/s or teacher/s of their student-life were other strong influences in role learning. In some cases, friends/relatives in senior positions or those who were perceived as successful, appeared to inspire as role models. There was one exception, M17 who claimed to have learnt the role through 'self-discipline', writing a simple 'no' in answer to the influence of role-models. Strangely, only two from this Muslim society hinted at their religious role-models; M10 referred to Islamic morality and teachings as guide, and M14 mentioned the Prophet saying that his character served as a role-model.

The last question in this section inquired about issues and problems experienced as college heads. It evoked multiple responses relating to four major components of educational structure: finances; staff; students; society.

Lack of financial resources emerged as a dominant issue in management. The buildings were insufficient for the college requirements. Some colleges were functioning in 2/3 rooms, and the principal's office was simultaneously functioning as a multi-purpose office, staff room, and occasionally as a class room as well (F4). The angry riposte of F10 pointed to the situational problems:

"how can you expect even the best administrator, the most highly qualified and trained, to function in the absence of basic requirements?"

The immediate survival problems rendered issues like training and development superfluous, or at least of secondary importance. Lack of physical resources, necessary equipment, sufficient funding, furniture, and staff were the major problems faced by these college managers. Development and training could be utilised in a context where essential requirements were recognised and provided.

Besides problems of inadequate staffing, and untrained staff, the issue was complicated as the principals interrogated the processes of staff appointments, transfers, evaluation, and accountability. A repeated complaint was lack of co-operation from the members of the staff, their incompetence, and their negligence of duty (being absent from the classes and the college), with an accompanied absence of evaluative and accountability measures. A general **dissatisfaction with the staff performance** was the running theme throughout the responses. Professional organisations of the teaching/non-teaching staff were defined as worsening the situation by acting as pressure groups. Any disciplinary action by the principals/department was rendered ineffective under social and political pressures.

Students' lack of interest in studies emerged as a common issue across the male colleges, but the female heads did not consider it very serious. The girls were 'obedient' and 'disciplined', albeit there was a general complaint of declining interest in academic studies. In the Islamic social order, earning for the family was not a woman's duty. This, consequently, diminished the economic impetus for young girls, which could be one reason for their lack of interest in studies. Among the young males, the disparity between expectations and possible achievements, and the financial requirements and job opportunities, might account for subsequent frustration leading to disruptive behaviour. The conflicts and clashes between different groups interrupted the educational process. The male students were depicted as unruly, disobedient, and violent, and were criticised for their disruptive demeanour. It placed the Muslim teacher/principal in a challenging context, unsettling the traditional patterns of relationship between the teacher and the student as constructed by the Islamic philosophy of education detailed earlier in chapter two. A ban on student unions in 1984 was viewed as having contained their activities. However, these activities then got channelled, for example, through the student groups associating themselves with the political parties and factions.

These '**politically charged students organisations**' stated M7, were used by the politicians as a readily available and organised force to demonstrate their street power, a common political tradition in the region. This 'politicisation' of students

distracted students from studies, and paved the way for 'external interference' in the colleges. It further created management problems, through providing immunity to the students from any normative, disciplinary, or retributive actions. The parents' 'non-co-operation' or 'disinterest', or both, in the matter added to the difficulties. Discipline and 'law and order' were described as the urgent issues in the colleges, in an Islamic context which ideologically recommends both, individually and collectively. This aspect of college management has been hinted at earlier in chapter one and is discussed again in later analysis.

Political interference was perceived as a major disruptive phenomenon. It permeated the student organisations, and interfused every channel. It was perceived as influencing the appointments, promotions and transfers of the principals, teachers, and other support staff. Furthermore, it was blamed for interfering with the students' admissions and passes/fails, and in the case of female colleges, to pressurise the heads regarding the allotment of boarding facilities. According to the college heads, political infiltration affected the students' and the teachers' attitude towards studies/work and their performance. It was the constant threat, the 'hanging sword', for the principal to mind her/his neck, the mildest admonition being a transfer to a far off, difficult station. 'Non-co-operating parents' and 'not heeding seniors', stated M7, aggravated the heads' problems, leaving them vulnerable to political manipulation. This fear of transfer was more threatening for females in that socio-cultural context, raising issues of domestic duties and family responsibilities. This point is considered throughout the thesis.

An interesting issue, posed mainly by the female heads, was '**communication blockage**'. The education department and other concerned offices were not particular about conveying the up-dated information to the colleges. The male heads gained access to it through informal links and mobility. Women did not have 'unrestricted' access to offices, personnel or other sources of information in that socio-cultural scenario. Situational constraints on access to information proved problematic in management, delaying decisions and processes. F1's answer to this question began with "I have no telephone in the office" , which pointed to the importance of wires to maintain information links, in a context of restricted female mobility. The next

section which focused on issue specific to women in management educed a reinforcement of this theme.

Section Five: Women in management

This section was entitled 'Women in Management'. However, a note at the beginning of the section requested "both men and women to kindly respond to these questions". Interestingly, six men did not fill in this section, crossing it out and writing 'NA' (not applicable), although three out of five questions in this section were of a comparative nature (see Appendix C). My assumption is that they did not read beyond the title, otherwise they would have responded to at least those three questions which were equally related to male and female managers. Furthermore, female respondents also said that whatever they had written in reply to question 20 - problems/issues experienced as college head - came from their positioning and subjectivity as women. Realising that the title was off-putting for men and not eliciting much additional information from women, I decided not to repeat such a title in the interview schedule, hoping to draw out gender-related issues during interaction.

The first question in this section covered issues specific to women managers. When asked whether any gender-specific issues existed, sixty per cent women replied in the affirmative, while forty per cent placed a 'no' in the provided space. Interestingly, even in case of those who wrote 'no', their responses were splattered with issues pertinent to women. These were mostly of socio-cultural orientation, underpinned by vested religious discourses regarding family 'duties', notion of *izzat* (honour), husband/male authority, veiling, female mobility, sex-segregation, access to male personnel/offices, and stereotyping of male and female roles and positions in a patriarchal society. Seventy-five percent of the responding men agreed to women facing specific problems, and twenty-five percent disagreed. It was interesting that a higher percentage of men believed that there were more problems for women as institutional heads, which pointed to the differences of perception and positioning. However, the major issues were once more constraints on mobility and socialisation as well as domestic duties and family responsibilities.

Norms of traveling, and a concept of women as symbols of family honour, made them extremely scrupulous, selective, and careful in movement and social contacts. Social attitudes towards working women, "particularly in small areas" stated F1, further placed them in disadvantageous positions. F5 and F10 mentioned it as 'social black-mailing', pointing to differential social standards for men and women, to be judged against.

Management of male staff - teaching and clerical, was presented as another difficulty area by female heads. In a patriarchal structure, the Islamic celebration of 'equality in difference' got submerged by dominant male discourses. The male staffs' manoeuvring to render the female principal helpless and dependent became problematic in the management context where women were the institutional heads in female institutions. Although only two female respondents (F2, F10) went into this issue in detail, there were references made to it by others as well. Finance management appeared to involve a multiplicity of discourses and raised the issue of role socialising pertaining to management. Persistent references to **finance management** by men and women, and its **gender dimensions** suggested its inclusion as a theme for the interview schedule.

Issues specific to women, as perceived by men, were **personal, marital, domestic, familial, and societal** which included child-bearing/child caring, distant stations, traveling/accommodation constraints, male staff and male offices. Some related problems like "social taboos, traveling difficulties, accommodation problem, social restraints" were emphasised by M12. Certain comments by the male respondents were explicitly in patriarchal traditions such as: female-nature, inferiority complex, 'innate weakness' in finances/correspondence/decision-making/supervision/control, etc. They depicted women as inherently lacking in certain areas of performance, probably associating it with the biology of being a woman. Others pointed to the wider patriarchal structure as engendering oppressive socio-cultural practices.

Another interesting dimension was that although both men and women referred to marital/domestic/family responsibilities as adding to women's bag of problems, only men accreted **child-bearing and child-rearing** to it. The question is why did the

women heads not see it as such? There can be various explanations. As for child-bearing in that specific socio-religious context, it epitomises a woman's completion and symbolises her eminence. In Islam, the highest status among all the relationships is enjoyed by a mother, and the Quran and the Hadith are replete with references to it (Abdalati:1994; Hanif:1979; Helms:1995; Hussain:1984; Khan:1988; Siddiqi:1996). Helms discusses that homemaking and child bearing is *jihad* in Islam (1995: 66-67). She discusses how the Prophet repeatedly advised a Muslim anxious to take part in *jihad* "to stay with his mother as paradise is under her feet".

In addition to that, the Quranic assertion of creation 'in pairs' (42:11), and the Prophet's much-quoted *hadith* regarding 'marriage as *Sunnah*' (Farah: 1984:48) point to the importance of the family unit in Islam which has been discussed earlier in chapter one and also later in chapters seven and eight. A family is not perceived as complete without children, within the religious and cultural contexts. Therefore, women aspire for mother-hood as it grants them authority and authenticity. It is celebrated as completion of their women-hood and consequently, it is not an issue for them and is not seen as an impediment to work.

Another explanation for not perceiving family responsibilities as a deterrent can be the regional social structure that comprises of family, extended family, and *khandan/baradari*. To be knitted in this entangled web of relationships, the thread of genealogy must not break, or other threads will take over the space changing the whole pattern. Barrenness is the insult and the crime. A man can divorce his wife or take up another wife if the first one fails to bear any children - one of the contexts in which the second wife is permitted in Islam as well. A child is a renewal of life, and bringing up a child to be a Muslim is a religious duty. Complaining about it would be mixing up priorities.

Further, there can be some very practical explanations to why family is not a hindrance to headship. In Pakistan, women get 90 days maternity leave on full pay, and it does not have any adverse effect on their career in the college management context. At the end of their leave, they re-join their original post, and it is not treated as a career break, as in the Western context. Further, the joint-family/extended-family

system facilitates child-rearing, as other members (women as well as old men) of the family share responsibility for looking after the child/children. Moreover, domestic help is comparatively cheaper and easily manageable. All this facilitates child-rearing, and may explain the female silence over the issue.

Question twenty-two of the postal questionnaire asked for differences between male/female **management styles**. Twenty-one out of twenty-eight respondents answered this question. The silences all came from men. Eight (four men and four women) did not agree that there were any differences, while thirteen (seven men and six women) acknowledged to it. A general consensus was that women were better teachers and men were better administrators. However, an interesting scenario developed as these men and women managers discussed the differences. Due to cultural constraints on socialisation and mobility, women believed themselves to be less informed about changes and developments which they felt, restricted and stagnated their management styles. Conversely, men kept learning and improving through socialisation and mobility. Their expertise was also in divergent areas: men were believed to be better in 'external' management and women in 'internal' management as noted by M16. This demarcation of boundaries was reflected not just in areas of performance but in role socialisation as well. According to the male respondents, women were 'vengeful', 'extremist', 'unpredictable', 'emotional', 'silent', 'humble', 'forgiving', 'hasty and inward focusing', while they described men as 'understanding', 'dispassionate', 'balanced', 'courageous', 'good administrators', and 'ready to take a stand'. It is not possible to claim if they have come across these gendered attributes in specific examples, but my suspicion is that these could be broad generalities reflecting patriarchal traditions, and role-socialisation.

Women in their responses avoided commenting on male management style, which I see as very political. Their descriptions of female management style included references to a husband's attitude or permission; constraints on visiting male offices and making contacts; and women being the *sanafe-nazik* or the delicate sex. Prominent features of female management style presented by them were: a focus on the academic achievement of students, honest, polite, organised, disciplined, kind, sympathetic, careful in conversation, considerate, and forging and maintaining links

with students' parents. Responses to male/female management styles reflect patriarchal role-socialisation presenting women as 'more tolerant', 'more hardworking', 'conscientious', 'extra-meticulous', 'soft and smooth', 'can take less pressures' etc., while men were perceived as 'strong', 'bold', 'take the job and stay in', etc.

The next question was "Which management style do you think is more effective for educational purposes and why?". Seven women out of ten believed that women's management style was more effective for educational purposes because they were 'tolerant and kind' (F1), 'honest and devoted' (F3), 'better in students management' (F5, 9), 'hard-working and devoted' (F6), and 'involve parents in students management' (F8). Three female heads propounded that effectiveness of a management style depended on the personality of the head and not on gender. Thirteen men replied to this question, but none made any clear claims as to whose management style was more effective for educational purposes, unlike the seven females. M9 for example, thought that women heads gave more time to colleges, contradicting M17's opinion in question 22. The primary criterion of educational achievements were examination results, an area where female colleges out-performed male colleges. In the presence of documentary records such as examination results, men found it hard to lay claims to the effectiveness of their management style. Conversely, male hesitation to accept female management style as more effective for educational purposes reflected a culture where male ego and superiority complex tended to ignore statistical realities, if those were disposed in favour of women. Comments such as men are 'more capable' (M4), 'more effective in the social set-up' (M9), 'more effective at higher level' (M12), 'stronger' (M15), and having 'more freedom of action' (M18) reflected patriarchal traditions and construction. Women were perceived as 'better at primary level' (M8,12), 'soft and weak' (M15), 'kind and motherly' (M17) and 'better teachers' (M18), which sounded rather more condescending than an acknowledgement or recognition.

Responses to the next question also reflected gender stereotypes and role socialisation. Men saw women as emotional and less hard-working, as noted by M4. According to the male respondents, women added to their own problems through their

softness, and maintained explicitly that women were suitable only for female institutions (M10,16). Also, managing male staff, networking and access to male-dominated offices were viewed as problematic for them. Among the female heads, a general consensus was that outside interference, and dealings with the 'external' world were their major disadvantages.

Responding to the last question in this section regarding **gender-related issues**, eight female respondents (80%) proposed that there were more problems for women college heads as compared to men. Out of fourteen men who responded to this question, nine agreed with the majority of women. M8 mentioned cases of abduction of female teachers, frightening them further back into safer shells of '*chadar* and *chardiwari*'. However, four men believed that men had more problems, while two women and one man observed that both faced equal problems, but of a different nature. Anyway, the respondents did not go into detail here, and often referred back to other answers in this section. The major issues for men seemed to be staff management, indiscipline among students and 'outside' interference. For women, restraints on social contacts and mobility, finances and management of finance-related staff (all males), and social attitudes towards women in this cultural context, appeared extremely problematic.

Section Six: Management development/training

The last section of the postal questionnaire focused on the need for management development. Each one of the twenty-eight respondents stressed pre-induction training and also recommended relevant courses at regular intervals, emphasising the need for updating and continuous development. Pre-induction training was perceived as important because:

- management is very different from teaching;
- all the college teachers do not get a chance to participate in the management activities in our context;
- absence of relevant training prior to appointment makes on-job learning harder, time-consuming and beset with dangerous pitfalls.

The query concerning **recommended period for a management course** also elicited diverse responses. The majority believed that it depended on the timing and nature of the course. Presumably, pre-induction courses would be detailed and intensive, requiring more time, while courses 'at regular intervals' could be shorter and more focused. An interesting element here was the role of gender in determining time length. The suggested 'appropriate length of a management course' was two weeks to one year in the case of male responses, while women have kept it much shorter - two weeks to two months. Only two women (F3, F10) recommended it should be up to six months. Domestic responsibilities, and cultural norms pertaining to female traveling and staying away from home would render a shorter course relatively convenient for women. Although eight out of ten female respondents had attended a 'not really relevant' two-week training course at the state capital, none of them had been on to the 'more relevant' three month course, offered by the Academy of Educational Planning and Management, Islamabad, Pakistan, which supports my earlier argument. A husband's permission and co-operation as observed F1, or of any other controlling male in the house/family, could not be easily stretched beyond the limits set by the socio-cultural norms, *baradari* pressures, and religious discourses. Any training programme which did not offer '**appropriate**' **boarding facilities for women**, was seen as likely to fail in attracting female heads, no matter how pertinent it was to their professional needs.

Mixed-sex training programmes were strongly favoured by women. Whether it was curiosity in a sex-segregated situation, or daring/defiance, or an attempt at emphasising the Quranic equality in a patriarchal society, or ignorance of a mixed-sex learning context with all its implications and complications are various possibilities for exploration. Nine out of ten argued that **mixed sex settings** could be more beneficial as men and women could learn from each others experiences, although there were references to social norms and traditions which favoured sex-segregation. Also one female, F4, pointed to the need for a 'balance of numbers between men and women participants'. Only one female respondent rejected mixed-sex context as 'unIslamic', and 'socially problematic' (F1). However, there was also some confusion around the answer, as suggested by another response. F8 considered 'mixed sex courses' inappropriate for 'young college students', presumably not realising that the

question was aimed at women and men college heads, and not at the 'young students'. Perhaps F1's response also resulted from a similar misunderstanding. A general approach of these women managers, like some male respondents, was that by the time they became principals they were quite mature and advanced in years, or settled in a family set-up, therefore a mixed-sex programme could not be very problematic. Five men (M4; 5; 8; 16; 17) favoured single-sex programmes.

Perhaps the men recommending sex-segregation were afraid of the threat to male *izzat*, or voiced the notion of woman as *fitna* or 'temptress', who needs to be confined to her 'invisible' position for the benefit of man, or merely expressed their awareness of the social problematic involved in moving across the boundaries. Male respondents offered diverse explanations for recommending single-sex training programmes. M4 favoured it on the basis of a different nature of issues faced by men and women; M5 and M17 argued that sex-segregation was Islamic; and M8 and M16 did not give any reason/s for their preferences. A few of those who favoured mixed-sex programme were open about it, generally maintaining that it was 'better and beneficial'. M2 argued that it was more 'economical' as well. The remaining were rather tentative and apologetic such as: 'no harm in mixed' (M7), 'it can be mixed as well' (M6), and 'it has its uses' (M12), which pointed to specific socio-religious inhibitions silencing open proclamations in this matter, particularly in writing⁸⁸.

Replying to question twenty-nine, the majority favoured **training**. One argument against self-help groups was that these 'tend to become non-serious' (F2). An interesting feature is that among those who favoured self-help groups, three were women (F1; 6; 8) and only one man (M9). Did this reflect gender-specific linear and horizontal relationship patterns? Women might be more willing to work and learn in self-help groups, in a context of horizontal interaction.

The last question invited 'general comments or any other related information not covered by the earlier questions'. It proved useful in producing an overview of the research situation by the respondents. It brought forth what was probably believed

⁸⁸ Later, thirty out of thirty-one interviewees expressed their preferences for mixed-sex training programmes, although for a variety of reasons.

significant in the case of each respondent. The diversity of remarks and the spread of issues hinted at, on the one hand pointed to the multiplicity of problems, but on the other hand this also substantiated that each head's perception of issues and set of priorities was different. The responses were mostly in the form of some general comment/s, a brief review, or recommendation/s to improve the management context and practices, such as :

to bring a better 'role awareness' to principals (F1);
'pre-selection assessment' [of college heads] (F3);
'end of political interference' (F4, M4);
'staff, funds, resources, and a hard working head and team' (F5);
'taking others along' (F6);
'administrative and financial training' (F7);
'a powerful principal' (F9, M9);
'special issues - untrained clerk, disinterested staff, public pressure, bills' (F10)
'to ensure that the staff is present on duty' (M1; 6)
'education in Pakistan and Asia is worst hit because of untrained management staff' (M7)
'co-ordination required among the five elements of education: government, curriculum, staff, parents, and college management' (M8)
'complete staff, library, trained principal' (M11)
'multidimensional role of college head in a widening horizon' (M12).

In a fragmentary way, these comments pertaining to management practices, sum up their responses and also reflect what for them were the dominant issues. The intention behind bringing in brief quotes from almost all the respondents is to convey their awareness of the issues involved and of the possible measures, as perceived by them, to improve the situation.

Another aspect regarding this particular question reflects researcher/participant interaction dynamics. Eighty per cent of women answered this question, while only fifty per cent men replied to it. Being women, perhaps they found it easier to respond to another woman, the researcher. Men might have felt inhibited by the gender and

subjectivity of the researcher in this case, and wished to write only that which they perceived as essential.

An additional source of information was the relatively smaller group of Senior Educational Managers in AJK. Their responses supplemented the earlier findings and elaborated upon certain aspects related to unaspired headship, selection procedures and training situation, explaining the concerned policy dimensions. The following section explores their responses in view of the research focus.

1.2. Postal Questionnaire B

Postal questionnaire B sent to senior educational managers, was comparatively brief and semi-structured as detailed in chapter four. It focused on these respondents' perception of difficulty areas for the college heads and their pertinent management development needs, in view of the respondents' previous experience and present job situations. It introduced the perspectives of those monitoring the performance and effectiveness of the college heads.

The questionnaires were sent to eight concerned personnel, and six completed responses were received. Interestingly, these responses were received within six weeks after being posted by me, unlike the college heads' postal responses which kept trickling in from May 1996 to September 1996. Looking across them, they all struck me as comparatively brief and succinct, perhaps reflecting the very busy nature of the respective jobs of the respondents. Generally, they had extensive experience of college teaching and management and were involved in monitoring college management, which puts a different value to their perspectives.

The first five questions aimed at relevant personal details. All these senior managers were in their fifties, representing a range of fifty-two to fifty-eight years. The length of their experience in management positions was more varied, where the spread was from ten to twenty-nine years. All the men had been on some sort of management courses, two to twelve weeks duration, but neither of the women had attended any of these, perhaps for the reasons discussed with reference to women college heads in the previous section. These courses were defined as Management and Administration,

Planning and Development, and Budgeting and Finance courses. There was no mention of any focus on education and the related issues⁸⁹.

Replying to question six and seven, which concerned the need for management development and training as well as areas of difficulty, amazingly they were all unanimous in stressing 'a dire need' for training, concerning finance and office management. Specific responses showed concern regarding service rules and efficiency discipline rules (SM1; 6); development planning (SM1); interpersonal relations, work distribution and office correspondence (SM3); finance and accounts management, without which a college head becomes dependent on his clerical staff (SM2); to improve their efficiency as managers of their organisations (colleges) (SM4); and coping with day to day administrative problems such as law and order situations (SM5). Other issues were detailed as personal management, staff management, resource management, interpersonal relations, transport and building problems. One interesting rationale for training came from an interviewee in the following words:

“It is not fair to send a soldier in the battle-field without equipping him with required weapons” (SM1).

It would be interesting to analyse these martial constructions of college heads, educational institutions and development programmes in a post-colonial Muslim state.

The identification of major issues by these senior managers was quite similar to those of the college heads. Presumably they were aware of the issues and this gained significance in the absence of any relevant development programmes, in view of the fact that they were the people occupying spaces of power and policy formation. The question is that if there was this pervasive felt need for relevant development programmes, then why was there a complete absence of a consistent policy? - a

⁸⁹ In fact, two respondents stated that they had management training at NIPA (National Institute of Public Administration) - an institute in Pakistan for the training of civil servants, that is surrounded by symbolism and specific discourses in the post-colonial political Pakistan. Its pertinence to the educational context was not explicated.

question which was raised in the interviews and which elicited comments implicating the socio-political set-up.

The next question asked, 'What sort of management development would you suggest for college heads to improve the educational output?'. Four respondents referred back to the answers to question seven where they had identified the problems and issues. Another one wrote, "Sincerely, I don't follow your question ... I feel a bit confused" (SM3). Only one respondent (SM1) recommended training in educational management and planning and inter-personal relations, and the provision of [relevant] basic skills. It points to a disparity between needs realisation and any corresponding development programmes.

Replying to question nine and ten, all the six respondents emphasised pre-induction management development programmes of three to four months duration, and regular follow ups of one to two weeks for updating. Again, answering the next question, all the respondents, men and women, favoured mixed-sex training programmes, although for a variety of reasons including scarcity of funds (SM1; 4; 5), learning from each others' experiences (SM1; 2; 3; 4; 6), and promoting healthy competition (SM1).

The last question which requested any additional input was answered only by one respondent, a male, pointing to the differences in job requirements for teaching and management positions. The rest of the senior managers left this request unanswered. This reticence on the part of men and women at this level can be because of demands on their time, but there can also be a subtle dimension to it. Appointments to all these positions were politically controlled and manoeuvred, particularly in this research locale. It may not be good for the respondents' own careers to be overtly critical of what they perceive as the government policy. They could come up with tentative suggestions but perhaps not with open faultfinding. Further they were themselves a part of the set-up and any overt criticism would directly or indirectly implicate them as well. It can be a silence imposed by choice under very rational considerations.

One senior manager came up with rather a new issue, not raised in responses to pilots or final postal questionnaires by any of the heads or senior managers. SM1 suggested

separating the college management cadre from college teachers, and to make administrative posts more challenging as well as attractive by setting the standards high and adding rewards for the managers. This was again emphasised by this group during the interviews which reflected a desperate need for attracting more suitable people towards headship, within the given complex situational constraints.

Strangely there was not much divergence of opinions among this group of managers, conceding slight variations across the list of issues, or an elusive remark like the one mentioned in the previous paragraph. There was a silence as regards prevailing Islamic discourses, socio-political issues, and gender dimensions at this specific level of educational managers. I would not attribute it to unawareness, but rather a politically selective exclusion of controversial issues, perhaps aimed at the protection of their smooth careers.

Working through these responses from the college heads and the senior educational managers, I looked for patterns and themes to construct interview schedules. The next section discusses emerging categories and patterns pertaining to the management practices and roles as they evolved from initial analysis, and informed the construction of interview schedules.

1.3. Patterns and Categories for Interview Schedules A and B

Deciding on categories and patterns from data which are so rich and complex, is a hard process of exercising choices, even when carefully informed by an insider's knowledge, personal experience and an in-depth literature review. The guiding element was the early research questions that determined the research direction and the research design. The study aimed:

- to understand and explain the management roles of college heads, men and women, in a Muslim, sex-segregated, LDC (low developing country), post-colonial context;
- to analyse management practices and the associated issues, and their mutual interaction in shaping each other in this particular case; and
- to explore the possibilities of management development as perceived by these heads in this specific context.

The primary research questions provided the focus through early findings which were rich in details. The data had the potential to be read and interpreted in multiple ways, by people situated in diverse positionings and focusing on different issues. My specific subjectivity and positioning, as explained earlier in chapter one, in interaction with the research focus, guided this particular analysis which is just one way of explaining the data. The categories and patterns that emanated mainly from the responses to the postal questionnaires reflected the research interests and were grouped into themes as regards their interrelationships and linkage (Miles and Huberman:1994; Strauss and Corbin: 1990). I selected seven recurring themes, which were interspersed throughout the postal responses, for further investigation through in-depth interviewing. Accordingly, the interview schedule for the college heads was divided into seven sections and each of these seven themes became the focal point for a group of questions in each section. However, the titles for these groups of queries were constructed in view of their understandability and appropriateness for the interviewees; for example, 'headship aspired/un-aspired' was titled in the interview schedule as 'Appointment as Head', grouped with a number of cues to explore the related issues. I intended to give the interview schedules to the interviewees as a guide to the research focus. The language needed to be non-threatening and conversational in this particular interview situation, besides being accessible in an ESL context, as explained in the previous chapter.

It was a complex context, and subsequently the emerging patterns and categories reflected that complexity. The inter-relationships among the categories emerged more strongly as the analysis proceeded further to put this 'fractured data' back together later in chapters seven and eight. At this juncture however, the **key categories** which emerged from the postal responses and informed the interview schedule, are summarised and grouped:

- Headship aspired/un-aspired
- Need for management development and training
- Finance management and gender-related issues
- Contextually developed management styles

- Rhetoric/reality surrounding headship
- Position-associated status/authority/power
- Improved management effectiveness

The gendered specification of the third category does not imply the non-existence of gender dimensions with reference to others. It merely indicates a structural phenomenon where male finance staff are employed in the 'girls' colleges, and exclusively male-staffed accounts and audit offices work at all levels on a predominantly sex-segregated educational site. In fact **gender-related issues** appeared to involve a multiplicity of discourses and emerged as a pervasive theme for further exploration in the interview schedule besides raising the issue of role socialising pertaining to finance and management. However gender was intentionally not used as a sub-title for a separate section in the interview schedule, as discussed above in section 1.1. Accordingly, gender remained the 'unwritten' theme of the schedule, but ever-present probably because of the segregated context and the researcher's gender.

The titles of the seven sections of the interview schedule A were as follows:

- Appointment as Head;
- Management Development/Training;
- Finance Management;
- Management styles;
- Rhetoric/Reality;
- Status/Authority/Power;
- Management Effectiveness.

This was the given order in the interview schedule A, but was used loosely and flexibly during the actual conversations as detailed in the next part of this chapter. The aim was to explore the themes in a participative communicative atmosphere, in an effort to refine the categories and explain the interrelationships. The data collected through postal questionnaires and interviews, jointly with other information, is used for a deeper analysis in chapters seven and eight. The following section reports on the

research process and interview dynamics as experienced during the in-depth interviewing, and related field work.

2. Field-work Experiences

This section details my field experiences and is mainly concerned with the pragmatics and dynamics of the interviews. The interview situations are made explicit as they were experienced, with the belief that "the context of the production of recognisable interview is intrinsic to understanding any data that are obtained" (Silverman: 1985:162).

The geographical region involved in this field work (Appendix I), consisted of four districts. In each district headquarters, there were three or four male and female colleges. In the rest of the towns, scattered at distances, it was usually one or two colleges in one town or in a wider area. The roads were narrow, winding, and of poor quality by any standards, and the best an expert driver could hope to make was 20mph; any carelessness resulting in landing into a ditch or ravine dozens or even hundreds of feet below. Traveling to a distance of fifty miles could mean a whole day wasted in the one-way journey, particularly if it was by public transport. These were additional factors besides the socio-cultural constraints mentioned in the following sections.

I started interviews from the home district because of diverse constraints on my time and traveling. Time was needed to get in touch with people for interview appointments and other arrangements in different districts because of a not very dependable regional postal service, problematic telephone lines, and culture-specific traveling requirements. Besides, no rigid interview time-table could be followed because of diverse professional and social demands on my time.

- I arrived in Pakistan on 20 September 1996 and joined the office the next morning, at the end of a one year's study leave. Back on the job, I needed time to sort out matters and be briefed by the acting-head and staff to get back into the job routine.

- The University examinations for my college were scheduled to start on September 25, and as resident inspector I was responsible for facilitating a smooth start and conduction of the examinations.
- I was also appointed visiting inspector by the University for the B Ed examinations, taking place in another local institution, and thereby was required to make visits to that centre on four different days, between October 16 and October 23.
- My daughter was taking her annual examinations in my home town which were to continue from September 25 to October 23, requiring my occasional support and attention.
- A research fellow from the University of Nottingham accompanied me to do her own research, mainly in my home district. As she was my guest, I had to arrange her research visits to different schools and institutions, negotiate access and conditions, arrange for her transportation, and ensure interpreters when required. I was conducting two research programmes simultaneously, besides doing a highly demanding job.
- Socially, in my specific background, it is a close knit community where it was obligatory to attend marriages, pay condolence visits, accept and return invitations to dinners and feasts, and always be prepared to welcome and entertain lavishly the wider family and the guests who may visit even uninformed.

My argument is that a researcher functions in a social context with diverse and multiple personal, social and professional obligations. For me, field work had to be conducted within the contextual constraints, and where decisions and choices needed to be made, modified and altered at every further development. The disruptions and changes were caused by job demands and/or social or pragmatic reasons. For example, I had arranged an interview with a local female college-head. The evening before, some appropriate arrangements for traveling to a nearby district-headquarters were managed, offering a possibility of interviewing 3/4 principals. I decided to

cancel my planned interview, leaving a message for that principal, and availed myself of the opportunity which suited better my time constraints and work demands. However, an important deciding factor was my social and professional relationship with that colleague, which guaranteed the confidence and trust of a sympathetic interpretation. I interviewed that principal a few days later. How far it is appropriate in research to cancel a pre-arranged interview by leaving a message, and how would it effect a researcher's work cannot be decided in the abstract.

2.1. Socio-professional Insider

My being an insider both professionally and socially, had its advantages in data collection. Foster's understanding of the problems and possibilities "when researcher and researched are members of the same cultural and speech community" (1994:131) has a relevance. I agree with her that being a social and professional insider facilitates data collection. My return to a demanding full-time job at times subjected me to crippling time constraints but it also facilitated information collection, professional contacts, and meetings with colleagues. Occasionally, I used my office for interviewing local male college heads, and once for a mixed-sex group discussion. I had access to official documents and information. I was helped by some of my teaching and support staff, and was offered guidance by the senior members. The amazing speed at which the appointments were accomplished, and the manner in which the thirty-one interviews with college-heads and further senior educational managers were arranged and conducted, within a period of less than thirty working days, in four different districts scattered over a hilly area of eleven thousand square miles, would not have been manageable for an out-sider - social or professional.

The inside/outsider issue has strong implications at analysis stage. At data collection stage also, there are debates around the quality of information collected, raising such points as:

- how much the respondents may not tell, making assumptions about the researcher's knowledge as an insider;
- how much the researcher may fail to ask, believing it to be too obvious or too insignificant --- nearness blunting the criticality;

- how much the respondents may not choose to share with a person who would be returning to co-exist professionally and socially, but which they may share with a complete stranger who would disappear with the information.

The issues concerning validity and truth value of the information collected by an insider are dealt with where relevant throughout the study. The point made here is that an insider's knowledge, particularly when supported by positional power and social contacts, facilitates the field work by mitigating the issues of access and through an informed manipulation of resources.

My first interviewee⁹⁰ was intentionally chosen for being a female and a friendly colleague. It is assumed in the literature that interviewing has certain dynamics relating to power relations between the interviewer and interviewee resulting from power/knowledge distribution surrounding research, giving the researcher a position of power. Different discourses shaping contexts within any particular culture which effect the interview dynamics are usually ignored, as examined earlier in chapter four. These discourses operate differently for the insider and outsider researcher in these close-knit communities where social structure is less individualistic and more collective. In the local context, two major discourses surrounded interviewing. One was professional/diagnostic, where the interviewer/s held power, gave approval, and decided selection, entry, promotion etc. The other discourse was socio-political, and the interviewee/s functioned in a stronger power-relation for possessing that knowledge which was being sought. There, generally, the interviewing was perceived as a low status activity⁹¹.

For me and my research participants, in the absence of any tradition/history of qualitative research interviews, there was no existing discourse surrounding this particular activity. It certainly did not fall within the first category. It could not be the second situation because of this researcher's socio-professional positioning and power/knowledge distribution as perceived by the participants. The situational needs

⁹⁰ The codes used for male participating college heads and female participating college heads are PM and PF respectively; and PSM for the group of participating senior educational managers.

⁹¹ There are examples in the international literature where interviewing is perceived as 'a downgraded and menial task' (Sue Scott and Porter:1983).

led to a discursively created discourse, where interaction became participatory, and relationships were more equal, perhaps because of the researcher's and participants' situatedness in the broader socio-professional context. My multiple positioning required that doing the research interview should not be perceived a low status activity. On the other hand, to create an open and participative interactive context, the need was to help the participants feel equally empowered. This required a constant manoeuvring where the conditions of "the ideal speech must ensure discussion which is free from all constraints of domination, whether their source be conscious strategic behaviour or communication barriers secured in ideology and neurosis" (Habermas: 1976: xvii). It implied a constant shifting of positions to maintain the social positioning, and to satisfy the methodological needs of this research.

In a context alien to the research interviews, the respondents may feel uncomfortable at the prospect of participating into one. But it is equally hard for the researcher to adjust to this activity operating within these delicate, diverse and intricate discourses. The speaking subject is shaped by the complex matrix of forces present in and deployed by signifying systems within a culture, and this speaking subject, for me, does include the insider researcher, especially the one who intends to return to the participants in the professional and social context.

Choosing a female for the first interview also had its reasons. In the local socio-professional context, this was my first experiment with research interviewing. For me also, it was a process of learning, gaining experience and improving. I preferred less variables to attend to and concentrate upon, at this initial stage. I wanted my first interview to be on one-to-one basis, which was socially appropriate for me only if the interviewee was a female. Her extensive experience related to college management also facilitated the interview process, requiring less probes and almost no awkward pauses⁹².

⁹² Discussing elite interviewing, Marshall and Rossman also emphasise that "they contribute insight and meaning to the interview process because they are intelligent and quickthinking people, at home in the realms of ideas, policies and generalisations" (1989:95).

My first male interviewee (PM⁹³) was a senior, local college head. The meeting was scheduled for twelve, on a working day, in my office. When PM entered my office at 12.20, my two first year students were complaining about their first Annual paper and crying. I sent them away with the assurance that I would look into the matter the next day. PM responded by explaining his delay which was caused by a student whose cycle had been damaged in the college parking area. This research is perhaps unique in this aspect as well that the field work involved a group of people - the researcher and the thirty-one participants - who were all in busy full-time jobs, squeezing out portions of time for research purposes and to oblige the researcher.

As already mentioned, my time constraints necessitated field work to be fitted in with my job demands. But why did a very busy principal, managing a large college in the state, choose to come to be interviewed at the requested place and time, needs to be understood in the regional social context. But I will attend to this issue a little later.

This educational site was sex-segregated, although segregation was not absolute. In fact, I did visit two male colleges to interview the principals. These two colleges were situated in the hilly areas near the extreme boundaries of the disputed cease-fire line, where traveling was problematic and time-consuming, particularly if by public transport. In view of the traveling facilities at my disposal, it was time-saving to go there myself. With my knowledge of the local cultural norms, I moved flexibly between discourses surrounding gender, professional positioning, and family background, choosing what suited the pragmatics and constraints concerning my research and subjectivity.

I interviewed thirteen male college heads in four different districts. Except for the two mentioned above, the remaining eleven came to the requested places, which varied according to situational requirements such as: my office, my personal residence, a cousin's residence, principals' offices in the district female colleges, and a spare office in the education secretariat at the capital. These participants spared their time, paid their own fare or other traveling expenses, and in some cases travelled up to 50km by

⁹³ Code number is not given here for the purpose of anonymity.

private/public transport⁹⁴ to be at the requested meeting place. Multiple reasons operated in the socio-professional context, differing from person to person, and affected the dynamics of agreement to take part, such as:

- the researcher was a colleague, socially and professionally known;
- some influential people in the education department encouraged and supported data collection;
- the gate-keepers and the respondents were obliging the researcher in a social context where obligations are respected highly;
- some respondents, particularly the senior ones did mention my *khandan* (family) conversationally or asked after my father, and the point was silently acknowledged that they were doing the favours in a specific context; and, perhaps to some extent,
- the research project may have given a hope that the research can ultimately initiate some changes.

I have mentioned this factor last, because it did seem to be the least operative element to me after my interviews and conversations with my research participants, and perhaps it could be one explanation of the low response rate to the postal questionnaire, mentioned in chapter four.

Being a Pakistani, Muslim, woman, college head, I shared these broad categories with my participants except where they were male, and gender became a category of difference. As an 'insider' researcher, doing a participatory research, the issue of maintaining appropriateness in gender relations, in keeping with the cultural norms and social positioning, added another dimension to the interview dynamics. Even in my position as a researcher, any violation of local cultural norms associated with my subjectivity would have been socially problematic for me and shocking for the participants, affecting the interview process and our future relations on my return to that socio-professional context.

⁹⁴ A 50km journey and public transport involve very different experiences in this region, in view of the local road conditions and public transport system.

In total, fourteen male college heads, five male senior managers⁹⁵, and one male representative of the College Teachers Association⁹⁶ were interviewed for the purposes of this research. In the absence of a history of research interviews in this region, there were some problems involved in practicalities. In my particular situatedness, it was not deemed appropriate to be alone with a male for any length of time required for a qualitative interview, and with specific instructions not to be disturbed. An open place and uncontrolled interruptions did not suit the recording requirements. Ganesh also mentioned the “problem of suitable space for interviewing men” (1993: 135) and the issue of “avoiding interviewing men alone” (Ibid: 133) during her research in India, which points to wider regional cultural norms. On the other hand, the presence of a third party and her/his subjectivity could add to the issues of confidentiality and anonymity, raising questions about the truth value of the information, and introducing another dimension to the power/knowledge issues.

I was aware of these issues before going into the field, therefore when a research fellow (RF) from the Faculty of Education, University of Nottingham, expressed the wish to accompany me to Pakistan for the purposes of her research, I discussed the matter with her. We decided that as she was staying with me, it would be practically workable for her to chaperone the interviews. Her presence satisfied the cultural requirements in that context. Her not knowing Urdu - the language in which the interviews were being conducted - had positive implications regarding confidentiality and anonymity. An interesting observation was that quite often the interviewees did ask if RF knew Urdu, although they were not particular about keeping their names or institutions secret in the actual recorded interviews. The discourses of immediate listener and distant reader operate discursively. An immediate listener, who could follow the interaction, seemed to create discomfort for the respondents, especially when her positioning was not known, but not necessarily for confidentiality reasons. Respondents visibly relaxed when assured that RF did not know Urdu and, therefore, could not follow the interaction.

⁹⁵ The code used for this group of seven is PSM (Participant Senior Manager), but the transcripts were not numbered according to the interview order, for confidentiality reasons.

⁹⁶ The representative of the regional professional organisation was also allotted the same code as the senior managers: PSM; first, because allotting a separate code to this single participant would have violated the anonymity of the interviewee; and second, this participant was not a college head and therefore could not be grouped and coded with the college heads.

RF was the only person present during interviews with all the five male senior managers. However, the interviews with the fourteen male college heads had some variations, although each one of them had been informed of RF's presence during the interaction:

- Five had been interviewed when RF was the only other presence;
- Two principals came together and sat through each other's interview silently. Although RF's presence satisfied the social appropriateness norms, still I could not ask any of them to leave while I interviewed the other to maintain a level of general uniformity of interactional situation. In the cultural context, a complex guest/host discourse operates with multiple dimensions of gender, age, class, *khandan*, etc. requiring and imposing two-way obligations. The interviewees had travelled over a long distance, after a working day, to be at the appointed place, because I was a female positioned specifically. This favour needed to be acknowledged with grace. Perhaps they felt uncomfortable at the prospect of being in an unfamiliar situation with a particular researcher, and brought each other for support. The argument is that it is not always the researcher who has the power to design research environments. The contextual forces and cultural systems in certain situations can be strong formulating factors in themselves.
- One principal brought along a senior member of the staff, most probably a trusted colleague; and still another was accompanied by a personal friend. Again, it was the same guest/host context, with me being the host. On both occasions, the guests' choices had to be respected.
- Conversely, when I visited two male principals in their different colleges, I was the guest. As on those occasions, I was accompanied not by RF but a local female colleague who knew English and Urdu, I exploited my position as a specific guest⁹⁷, cutting across gender discourses and social norms, and explicitly asked

⁹⁷ In that socio-cultural context, there are specific traditions of guest/host relationship. The host is perceived as entrusted with the life, honour and needs of the guest irrespective of their personal relationship, although it has some links with their respective positionings.

my hosts/interviewees for one-to-one interviews, which were granted unhesitatingly. The male acting-head of the female college I visited, was also interviewed in the principal's office in the absence of any chaperon.

- One college head came to be interviewed in the office of another female principal. In the absence of RF, the accompanying female colleague casually walked in twice, each time staying a short while for the sake of wider social appropriateness. In my opinion, it interrupted and affected the interaction. This is discussed later in this chapter. It was a new context for all three, causing discomfort and awkwardness.
- One principal was interviewed alone at my residence. The servants kept walking in and out quietly, serving drinks, tea etc., but it was not very disturbing as both participants were familiar with the rituals, and understood and accepted them as a part of socio-cultural set-up.

I interviewed ten female principals. As there were fewer social constraints on my visiting female principals, it became more a matter of pragmatics and convenience, in interplay with the wider social system. I interviewed four principals in their offices, during working hours. Three were interviewed at their residences, in the evenings. One had come from some distance to be at another female principal's office, which suited my arrangements. One had, by chance, come to the education secretariat and was interviewed there in a spare office. Another one was interviewed at a mutual friend's residence.

Each of these meetings was manoeuvred with a careful and sensitive discursiveness, informed by complex social sub-systems operative in a local culture. It may not be so simple and easy for an outsider to work it out. Again it was not just being a colleague which facilitated it. It was not just the gender. It was an interplay of various elements regarding situatedness of the researcher and the participants, in a specific research context which may not be replicable, or could only be replicable if certain factors/requirements are met.

I chose to go to the female participants, because it was more time saving in view of my general arrangements for the field-work, i.e. a competent and trustworthy driver, and an appropriate companion (RF). Traveling for women had certain constraints in that culture, although there were variations across classes, areas, families, sub-groups, etc. It involved a lot of issues and considerations, leading to delays and inconvenience. A preferred practice in Muslim societies is that, while traveling, women should be accompanied by an appropriate female or a male *mehram*⁹⁸, although there is no Quranic injunction to this effect. This practice was quite common in AJK among middle class families, granting certain variations. Even when traveling alone because of particular situational requirements, women had to take into account the traveling time which should be preferably in the day-light, the mode and details of traveling, the locale through which they would be traveling, and a possible breakdown and its implications.

Therefore, unlike my arrangements for interviews with male college heads, I did not request my female colleagues to come, although it did mean taking myself off from my job for longer stretches. There are limits to manipulation even for a favourably situated insider, which need to be observed in research interests. I wished my participants to be relaxed, comfortable and favourably disposed towards this 'research-interviewing', which itself was a new experience for them as well. In the case of women participants, I carefully avoided exposing them to the inconvenience and constraints of traveling.

Further, I preferred to be positioned as a guest, which provided more flexibility of manoeuvring interview situations. In that cultural system, a guest's wishes and preferences are to be respected. I could request a delay in the serving of refreshments which normally are served early to the guest/s, and take up quite some time. I could request the gathered colleagues to excuse us, explaining my time constraints and the purpose of my visit, which the host principal could not do without offending the

⁹⁸ According to the social customs of the region, if a woman is travelling by public transport then it should not be a 'non-mehram' male sharing the seat (although there are variations across classes and social backgrounds). If there is no woman passenger to share the seat then either she pays extra for the vacant seat, or the driver forgoes it because there are not many passengers, or she shares it with a male and suffers social indictment.

sensibilities of cultural norms⁹⁹. Even the most sensible behaviour can offend the sensibilities of social norms in certain cultural contexts. A guest can be excused an infringement of behavioural norms, but not the host. For example, I was interviewing one principal in her office, after having explained the situational requirements to all the colleagues to leave us alone. Still, a few minutes later, one of them re-entered and started interrupting and answering for the principal¹⁰⁰. I requested her to show RF around who promptly stood up, understanding the situation. But again, she was back after handing her responsibility over to some other colleague, and joined the conversation. Very soon the principal was shifting the questions to her to answer, choosing to maintain silence herself. It was an awkward situation, contrary to the research purposes and its theoretical underpinnings. Finally, I had to tell the intruder in clear but pleasant tones that her presence was a violation of research requirements. Such a request by the host principal would have been considered impolite, leading to staff-management problems later. I was placed in a different position. Although I had a guest's obligations which certainly did not allow being rude to the host staff, I also had a guest's prerogatives which I availed.

I had to draw from my lived knowledge of the socio-cultural norms to construct patterns of behaviour useful for research purposes without being offensive. This manipulation of norms requires an insider's knowledge and also points to the inherent flexibility of the norms. If systems of norms and signification, governing any social structure and shared by the actors therein, were fixed, then flexibility would be denied to the actors to construct new patterns of behaviour in a new situation, which is interpreted as 'a continuous accomplishment of the actors' by ethnomethodologists (Coulon:1995:16). This 'making sense' and adjusting action accordingly, derived from a social member's knowledge and experience, and is discussed in the previous chapter.

⁹⁹ When I visited any female principal in her office, colleagues would gather, sometimes in large groups, to pay courtesy calls. Sharing the cultural knowledge, I had to take the lead and request the colleagues to leave us to work.

¹⁰⁰ Some interesting interview situations, when researching with non-Western communities in Britain, are mentioned in Bhatti:1995 and Mirza:1995.

2.2. Language of Interaction

The language of interviewing emerged as another issue. I started with the assumption that the participants would presume it to be Urdu. Also, Urdu being the main language of socio-professional interaction in that regional context, to me it seemed a natural choice for eliciting information. My assumption was based on the fact that the participants knew that I was aware they were conversant in Urdu, and would feel comfortable with it. However, my line of reasoning proved wrong. In the first interview situation, my interviewee casually asked if the interview would be in English. The participants' assumption that the interviews would be conducted in English might have followed different lines of reasoning: the most obvious to me are my professional background as a language teacher, my doing this study in a British University, and the regional post-colonial, bilingual context.

Bilingualism has been an issue in communication, teaching, and evaluation (Baker:1996; Cummins and Swain:1986; Grosjean:1982; Padilla et al:1990), but its implications for research are still un-explored. A 'blind eye' approach to bilingualism and/or translation in bilingual and 'other language/s' research situations, for me, does not agree with the values and philosophy of qualitative research. Further, it elaborates the argument against racially biased epistemologies (Scheurich and Young: 1997: 4-16) which impose White/Western/Imperial constructs on non-White/non-Western/non-Imperial research situations. Cummins and Swain claim:

“Each language may have associated with it a particular ethnicity, a particular religion or a particular nationality that will give it its own social, economic and political status in the community” (1986: xiii).

In the British colonies, English has been a special, multi-dimensional symbol, and in the post-colonial Pakistan it is still deemed predominantly as a status-marker, and code-switching is a common phenomenon. Francois Grosjean offers one reason of code switching 'because it is hard to convey certain ideas or information' (1982:150), but he also attributes it to a combination of many factors such as situation, topic, intent, and quotes studies telling how in Kenya and Uganda (also British colonies at one time) English was a status marker (1982:137). Naz discusses 'elite bilingualism', a

term coined by Poulston (quoted in Naz: 1995: 289), which involves issues of status influencing language choices in bilingual/multilingual contexts. Although her argument is placed in a British context, it points to the issues involved in language choices in general.

Karmani (1995) discusses the relationship between language and religion, and culture and politics in the post-colonial Pakistan, although, again his focus is ESL situation. "Language - the means for communication among members of a culture - is a most visible and available expression of that culture" (Brown: 1980:34); and I believe that in bilingual research situations, language choices for communication and interaction are highly political expressions of a complex interplay of discourses besides the pragmatics involved, as supported by my research and field experiences. The participants used/switched languages which reflected socio-political play of power and status. Nevertheless, Urdu was used as the dominant language of interaction by all the participants which supports my argument regarding validity of a foreign language as a research tool.

English has the status of a second language in the constitution of Pakistan. However, I agree with Grosjean that "bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in their languages; some speak one language better than another, others use one of their languages in their specific situations yet they interact with the world around them in two or more languages" (Grosjean: 1982: vii). I believe that in qualitative research, in-depth interviews should be conducted in the participants first language, or in a language of almost equal proficiency, to mitigate communication barriers. Therefore, for this research, while the postal questionnaire A was formulated in Urdu/English as detailed in chapter four, its covering letter was intentionally constructed only in Urdu (Appendix C) to facilitate overcoming socio-psychological barriers in the choice of language, in an effort to improve validity.

In my view, by choosing to write the letter in Urdu, I was hinting at the venues of future interaction, presuming that some possible interviewees might feel uncomfortable at the prospect of being interviewed in English but may not demand it otherwise for reasons discussed earlier. During the field work, it was only one female

college head who made it specifically clear from the very start that she would talk in Urdu. All the other participants, men and women, waited for me to offer the choice, even when I later found them visibly relax at the offer. Also, at the initial contacts stage, I sensed a hesitation among my colleagues in agreeing to be interviewed, which to me was not really understandable. As mentioned earlier, I knew that it would be a new experience for them besides other multiple factors, but I was also aware that the way I was approaching them was to present it as a joint venture, stressing its newness for me as well. It was in fact during my third contact for an interview appointment when I was able to put together the earlier hints and understood that the interviewees did not realise they had the authority to make language choices, and that it might be one explanation of their hesitation. From then on, I made it explicit at the contact stage that they could choose to be interviewed in Urdu or English, and always told them that I had done so many interviews in Urdu, and perhaps it eased the status issue. It supports the argument that the details and conditions/requirements for interviews need to be made very explicit at an early stage, and it does not mean just big issues like confidentiality, anonymity, recording, but small insignificant things which are taken for granted and mis-understood in the research process.

2.3. Interviewer and Interviewees

An interview can be used as a tool for eliciting information, or as a means of participative knowledge construction. It is a research method which derives its specifications from the research purposes and theoretical constructs. In qualitative/interpretive research, it becomes a participative activity to generate knowledges, a two-way learning process. The interviewer and the interviewee participate in this knowledge building activity, informed by all active and dormant social systems and significations, including linguistic, para-linguistic, and non-linguistic. Every interview situation is unique, requiring constant shiftings and adjustments by both the participants, informed not only by their previous knowledge but also by continuing interaction.

Recognising the researcher's power in an interview situation does not imply that the participants submit to it, or do not make efforts to empower themselves. To see empowerment of the participants as an egalitarian effort on the part of the researcher,

particularly across gender, will also be an erroneous judgement, ignoring the interplay of multiple, multi-directional currents. The researcher's efforts at empowering the participants are active in research interest, to maintain the quality of methodology and resulting information. On the other hand, in colleague interviewing there is a constant interference of socio-professional positioning to be taken into account, particularly if the researcher intends to return to the same context. Reconciling the methodological needs and contextual socio-professional requirements demands a constant re-adjustment of discursive positioning and a flexibility of approach.

I desired my participants to be open and communicative. It was a lesser issue with female participants because they were all known to me socio-professionally, with only one exception. This knowledge enabled me to manoeuvre an atmosphere of relaxed participation by ignoring any of my social, academic or professional positioning or all, or by emphasising any or all. These were unique and flexible adaptations and alignments not only across the interviews, but at times even within one interview. However, with male participants it was more problematic. Due to my specific background, only two out of the thirteen male college heads were known to me socially¹⁰¹. It put me at a disadvantage, especially because they were in knowledge of my background. I had to take cues from their conversation to align my demeanour. Being a social insider, any digression from norms would have been inappropriate and socially damaging in the long run. Therefore, in every interview with a male participant, I had to spend some time on getting this feel for the required adjustments, besides orientating them to the research aims and purposes. It also restricted the levels of formality/informality that could be accessed.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the interview schedules were constructed around themes developed from initial investigation and analysis. The purpose was to discuss the major themes and probe into developing aspects. If an intended question had been answered in response to some other open-ended question, it was ignored. In fact, one participant who, for some reasons, was in an emotional and physical state, started a blast of speech around college management without providing a chance for

¹⁰¹ 'Knowing socially' in this context does not necessarily mean meeting socially, particularly in case of men. It simply means an awareness of the family and social background.

preliminaries or any question from me. I immediately adjusted to giving him full reign to talk, because subjecting him to questions in that state of mind would have been a futile effort. Later, after the interview, I discussed it with RF, who had been witnessing it, although across the language barriers, and explained my handling of the issue. This constant exchange of ideas, regarding research and research methodology, with an academic in a similar area, was very informing and satisfying as it improved the validity of methodology for a researcher on her first enterprise.

2.4. Interview Recording

Contrary to my worry resulting from literature around interview methodology, none of the participants objected to the interview being recorded. In fact, even when at the mention of a name or context I asked them if they wanted it to be edited - thinking that not being used to it, they might have forgotten the recording machine - they explicitly replied that they did not care. They did not seem to wish or care to keep anything 'off the record'. At the end of every interview, after ostensibly switching off the tape-recorder, I always talked to them for a while to see if they would add something off the record, but I never got any thing different from what they had already said. In fact, it was only one female who, in response to a probe, said 'it is being recorded!', which implied that she did not want to go into those details on record. But when I switched off the machine and asked if she would like to explain, she refused to add anything.

In general, there was no inhibition at the interview being recorded. Although Brine also did not experience problems in recording (1993:133), there was insistence on confidentiality by her participants which was not the case in my research. She also writes that some very 'revealing conversations' took place after formal interviews which certainly reflect an attitude towards recording. This was again not the case in my research. My participants did not show any inhibitions for the recording and did not add anything new or different after the machine was switched off. Often, they would only conversationally ask if it was the end, and if I had got all the information I needed. I feel, it was perceived as a situation where they were doing me a favour in their own view, and wished that it should be done to my satisfaction. Another

explanation could be the talking-culture context as discussed in chapter four, which might have prevailed over recording inhibitions.

Another source of data were group interviews/conversations which are detailed below. The two sections jointly provide a 'flavour' of the 'field' and the 'field-work'.

3. Group Interviews/Discussions

In addition to one-to-one interviews, my research design included group conversations. When I arrived in Pakistan for the field work, I had a tentative field work plan. Because of the time constraints, I was prepared to be flexible about the timings of group discussions, in spite of the literature recommending it prior to one-to-one interviews as cited in chapter four. In addition to that, my initial contacts made me realise that my intended participants were hesitant of group interviews. In the previous chapter, I mentioned the novelty of qualitative-research-interview-situation for my participants. Probably, to these prestigious professionals, the thought of participating with a group of colleagues seemed more threatening and overwhelming, involving fear of "losing status" (Basch: 1987:416). For these college heads, the issue of status had a significance which was heightened in a mixed-sex-group situation in the backdrop of concerned socio-religious discourses.

Furthermore, I had used postal questionnaires for the initial explorations and to introduce a thinking process, as explained in chapter four. As all the interviewees were to be from the same group of manager who had been sent the postal questionnaires earlier, tentative explorations were not the goal of the activity.

A major purpose of group discussions in this unresearched situation was to make group members aware of what others in the group thought of the concerned issues. Second, my being a women conducting a mixed-sex group conversation could have implications for interview dynamics in this research context. Third, there was a limited evidence in literature which indicated that regarding one-to-one interviewing and group conversations/interviews "at least for adults, the same individuals are likely to give different responses in the two contexts" (Lewis: 1992:414).

The last aspect had a significance in this research situation where responses were subject to added gender dimensions in a sex-segregated society. Those men and women who filled the postal questionnaires or talked in one-to-one interview situations with this researcher, were to participate in a more complex interactional situation inscribed with gender and religious, political and socio-cultural discourses. It also had a reliability value: would there be omissions, deviations and shifts in the responses in such a situation! In addition to that, all the group participants had read postal questionnaires and had participated in one-to-one interviews for this study, with only two exception, and I intended to use this awareness of the research focus for investigating the issues in depth and breadth. In the actual conversations, it provided a flexibility but also maintained the focus without persistent monitoring from me as moderator. These group discussions are discussed under three headings: organising; conducting; recording.

3.1. Organising

Bringing together a group of college heads at a specific time and place had its problems. The issue for me was not the expenses for their traveling. They all paid or/and arranged their own traveling, and certainly would have felt insulted if I had offered to pay. They were doing me a favour and I had to accept it as such. However, getting them together from different places for 'group conversations' involved problems of time and convenience in view of distant locations and their busy schedules. Each college head had her/his own engagements, personal and professional, which often clashed with others with regard to timings. Then they were expected to travel from their respective colleges to the meeting points, which had added problems considering traveling conditions and norms, as discussed earlier in this chapter. This did not give me much choice to nominate the participants in advance, except that I did try for an equal distribution of gender in each group.

The group meeting in the home district was held in my office, and the one in another district was arranged in the office of a female colleague. Selection of female colleges as meeting sites was in view of what was culturally appropriate considering the mixed gender of the participants, and to facilitate female participation. The meetings were arranged on week days as it would have been impossible to get them together on a

single-day week end¹⁰². What I did was to decide upon two evenings in a week when I was free, and make calls to the other college heads in the concerned district to find out who and how many of them could be free on those evenings for these group conversations. Then I worked on that information to choose one evening in each case, on the basis of larger expected participation. Some times it required making further calls. Finally the date and time was confirmed with each one of the participants in a personal call, and each one was told who else was participating. Interestingly, they all wanted to know who else would be there, and I did not think it fair to withhold information considering the social context of interaction. Also I felt that knowing who else would be there might put them at ease.

I planned two groups of six: three men and three women in each. In view of my participants' status and the nature of study, I believed that smaller groups would be more comfortable and offer the participants better opportunities to talk (Carey: 1994:229). In each case I made final appointments with only six, first because I was confident that once I had consents from the required number, they would make sure to be there unless it was unavoidable. Second, because of their prestigious status and how we related on the socio-professional site, it was inappropriate to keep any one of them on a waiting list to fill in unexpected drop outs. As it turned out one of the groups did not work as arranged, and there were two drop-outs. It was completely unexpected and surprising for me and it disturbed the group structure. Nevertheless, it gained more significance later as it illuminated inner dynamics of the group and the gendered dimensions. Both the absentees were men. One had a family emergency but the other had chosen not to come. My later investigations into this unusual occurrence provided interesting explanations. The college head had not come because of one specific woman participant. They were both in the same seniority category. The cause of contention was a management position in the hierarchy which had put the woman in a position of authority. The male college head had refused to take orders from her or to have any thing to do with her office - a development of which I was not aware of because of my absence from the region, and which affected the arrangements.

¹⁰² In Pakistan at that time, Friday was the weekly holiday. Besides special Friday prayers it was also the day for socialising, curtsy-calls, celebrations, marriage ceremonies, outings etc.

The question that interested me was why did the male college head choose to be absent while his female counterpart came:

- did it reflect how they both responded to me, a female researcher, seeing in me an ally or an opponent?
- did it reflect how they both responded to their conflict?
- did it reflect the sex stereotyping and also its rejection?

It could be any or all of this and perhaps many more. Literature on interviewing/group interviewing admits of 'problems with prior acquaintance' (Morgan and Krueger: 1993:6), but that is in the context of interviewee/interviewer. The issue of multiple relationships among the group participants and its different dimensions, particularly regarding choosing to participate - as was the case in this socio-professional context, is not addressed in the literature. Senior managers in one department are often a small group and in this regional culture there were often multiple dimensions to their personal and professional relationships. If members "first impressions of each other affect their contributions greatly" (Carey: 1994:235), it had increased implications for multiple and complex relationships. This phenomenon affected not just group organisation but influenced the interview dynamics and the actual responses. This links with the issues pertaining to the conducting of group interviews detailed next with reference to my field work.

3.2. Conducting

Conducting a group interview is generally perceived as a more challenging task, demanding expertise and patience (Carey:1994; Morgan:1993). Unlike one-to-one interviewing, the interplay of multiple participants and their subjectivities, irrespective of selection criteria, complicates the interactional dynamics in group interviewing. My group participants were selected "on the basis of their common experience related to the research topic" (Carey: 1994: 229). They broadly formed a 'natural group' (Steyaert and Brown:1994:126) because of their shared profession in a specific situation. Beyond that there were differences of gender, age, experience, training, professional reputation, social status, and many others influencing individual and the group responses.

The influence of 'group chemistry' on the quality of responses is widely acknowledged in the relevant literature (Carey:1994; Morgan:1993). Although there is evidence that group interviews tend to be more informative, with a suggestion of 'over-disclosure of sensitive information' (Morgan and Krueger: 1993:6), there is also the possibility that they may not "articulate their views, [if they] are afraid of criticism" (Basch: 1987:416). Thus, creating a right atmosphere to ensure shared participation and promote freedom of expression could be complex and interdependent activity, vibrant with currents of control and resistance/defiance.

It is generally believed that men dominate interaction (Tennan: 1987; 1992). In the educational contexts, it is specifically documented in mixed-sex class interaction as well as in teacher training programmes (Davies:1992), and implies a gender stereotyping beyond the difference of age or status and many others. At times there is recognition of a difference resulting from male/female ratio in the mixed group, but still male talking time is perceived to dominate. In this study, I did not find any evidence of men dominating conversation in mixed groups. In fact the women participated in the conversation and discussed the issues in detail even in the group where male and female participation was equal. They were obviously not intimidated or dominated by their male counterparts. Men were rather diffident and apologetic about law and order situation in their colleges and lower examination results. There could be various explanations for the women to be more vocal in this context, such as:

- the site of group conversation, which in each case was a female college;
- a better record of examination results consistently shown by the girls colleges, and acknowledged by all the participants;
- a confidence in their knowledge and expertise regarding their jobs;
- an awareness of the religious injunctions concerning male/female equality and of prioritising of a mother's role; and
- the female researcher in whom they probably perceived a sympathetic listener and an ally.

Their responses were explicit and confident which has a significance in view of their segregatory experiences in a culture where mixed-sex interaction, social and professional, is carefully circumscribed and any relaxation of the norms is seen as inappropriate. A probable lack of experience of such interactional situations, however, did not appear to constrain the women. Probably, being acknowledged as successful and effective managers was the major source of their confident participation. On the other hand, the men's lesser participation in group conversation could be an aligning with the social norms or a male distancing from those whom they did not value as professional equals, but mere 'others' accepted of necessity in a single-sex-colleges context.

The second group had an uneven gender distribution: one man and four women, including the researcher. There the women dominated more obviously, but it was not through carelessness of the researcher or due to exclusionary tactics on the part of women participants. An interesting aspect was that they all made efforts to involve the male participant in the conversation, either by addressing him directly or by referring to events/information which were apparently shared knowledge. Many studies of interaction emphasise women's inclusionary approach (Tennan:1993), and this group situation provided further evidence to support the argument.

Another significant observation was that the group conversation did not depend on me, the researcher, for steering and focus. The participants had a lot to say, and the conversation flowed. Also they involved each other for the purposes of discussion, verifications, explanations etc., taking-over much of the 'moderator's job'. They had considerable experience of working in colleges - a requirement for appointment as a principal - which added to their knowledge of the management situations and they drew upon that in their conversations. In these group conversations, I often found myself just another participant. This natural setting for a conversation could probably be linked with our shared professional positioning and experiences.

The information content of these group interviews did not suggest any new category. In some cases the conversation explained certain aspects in greater detail like personal experiences of gender, political interference and social pressures and thereby

highlighted politicising of educational issues which they believed to be a major cause of problems in management. Interestingly, references to human/gender equality were more pronounced both by women and men in group conversations. They were like messages moving in multiple directions. Due to severe time constraints, I could not go for single-sex group conversations. I am not sure if it would have been much different with an all male group in the presence of this woman researcher; but with an all women group there could have been possibilities.

3.3. Recording

Tape-recording interviews is a recommended practice in qualitative interviewing. For this study, I recorded all one-to-one interviews, as mentioned earlier. Group conversations were arranged as an additional means of digging deeper into the issues. The schedule consisted of seven themes only, thus giving maximum flexibility to the interaction. The rationale was to let the participants choose what they perceived important for discussion in a natural setting. Although the interviews were set in a college office in each case, I took care to arrange them as informal social gatherings and the participants were informed of that. The seating arrangement was changed from the formal office setting to an informal but socially appropriate setting. They were offered tea with varieties of '*pakoras*', '*chaat*' and biscuits. The servants kept bringing in fresh delicacies and tea, and the atmosphere was of a sitting room. It would have been damaging to the atmosphere, and really problematic, to fit in a recording machine, in spite of the fact that my participants had not previously objected to tape-recording as such, in one-to-one interviews. Further, the clattering of spoons, cups and saucers, and the movements and voices of servants would have affected the quality of recording, and added to the problems of transcription, which itself is a complex job regarding group interviews as detailed by Lewis in discussing the issues with recording, transcription, interpretation and coding (1992: 419-420).

The seating arrangement was also not suitable for recording. As it was a mixed-sex group, appropriate distances were maintained among the seats as would be norm in a general social setting. It was another aspect which hindered recording. I decided not to record group conversations after carefully considering these various aspects. I did not choose even to take notes as that would again have disrupted the atmosphere

(Hutchinson:1988:132). Nonetheless, I wrote detailed notes immediately after the last participant had left (and they did not leave at the same time).

I would argue that the issue of recording needs serious considerations with reference to every single situation. It has a high usefulness for data collection in qualitative research, but its affects on interactional situation, even when the participants do not object to it, cannot be completely denied. Each researcher has to decide these issues in view of the research situation, pragmatics, social norms and the aims of that particular research tool.

The detailed discussion of field experience including one-to-one interviews and group discussions, was offered above to locate the interview findings, which are presented in the next chapter. The intention was to inform the reader about the process of data collection and to situate the information, for meaning to be constructed.

Chapter Six: Research Findings (B)

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section serves as an introduction to the research findings that were drawn mainly from in-depth interviews. Research findings, resulting from the interviews with the college heads and the senior educational managers, are presented and discussed in the next section. The intention is to highlight key concerns and to re-organise and re-arrange the categories. Accordingly, discernible patterns emerge in interplay with the added information and an ongoing analysis.

1. Situating the Interviews

The study focused on a complex and unexplored research context, and subsequently the data collected bespeaks of that complexity. The research findings also reflected how complicated the research situation was. The multiplicity of discourses interacting with each other in constructing the utterances and being constructed in the process, pointed to the web of inter-relationships among and across the categories which might emerge more strongly as the analysis proceeds further in the next chapter to put this 'fractured data' back together. At this juncture however, the key categories are listed as they emerged from the postal responses as discussed in the last chapter, and constituted the titles of the seven sections of the Interview Schedule A (Appendix G):

Appointment as Head

Management Development/Training

Finance Management

Management styles

Rhetoric/Reality

Status/Authority/Power

Management Effectiveness

The initial analysis of the postal responses further informed the construction of Interview Schedule B (Appendix H), intended for the senior educational managers. The Interview Schedule B was brief and more structured, containing eleven open-

ended questions. Here, the prime consideration was the restraints on the participants time. In view of multiple demands on the managers' time and responsibilities, the aim was to keep the conversation focused on issues pertaining to institutional headship. All the participants in this group were asked only these eleven questions; however, the length and content of their responses varied as did the probes and cues which were all determined situationally in consideration of the interviewees interests and situational pragmatics.

Interview Schedule A was used more flexibly. It provided a range of areas to be investigated with a particular focus on institutional headship. The schedule conveyed some possible questions, but at the same time did not exclude the possibility of constructing new questions if need be, or of dropping certain questions if the concerned issues had already been explored in response to another query. It served as a checklist. The order of questions was often shifted depending on the situation and given responses. All respondents were invited to make additional comments or provide additional information. They were not to be restricted by the interview schedule. This was explained to each interviewee before the actual recording of conversation. The intention was to make the most of the time spared by these busy people with multiple demands on their time, and within the time constraints under which I was doing field-work, which have already been explained in the preceding chapter.

The interview schedules for these two distinct groups were structurally different because of the participants' diverse positioning. Nevertheless, in-keeping with the research focus, both aimed at exploring and developing the emergent themes listed earlier. The senior educational managers were interviewed for their particular positioning in the local educational structure as a secondary source of information for data triangulation. Besides the pragmatic purposes of involving people linked with relevant policy-making and implementation, there were also the theoretical considerations of enhancing reliability and validity of the qualitative data. These issues have been examined earlier in chapter four.

This study is an effort to move out of a politically constructed discourse of educational management, towards an understanding and exploration of lived experiences and situated knowledges, rendering vocal what has been silent and making visible what has been invisible, introducing a perspective which may challenge or even change the existing structures and traditional systems. Being an informed insider and a member of the peer-group, perhaps I could have taken a position where I would speak for them, but I believed that it would be less authentic. Furthermore, theoretically and personally, I felt responsible to my respondents to open up spaces for them to speak for themselves. I decided with my participants to present their views and concerns before providing any analysis from my particular perspective. It did mean a lengthy chapter for presentation of research findings, but it was unavoidable in view of my philosophical and theoretical stance.

The respondents/participants were not very cautious or stringent when they chose to respond. It showed that even though positioned sensitively, the 'subalterns' can speak, in spite of Spivak's analysis concluding otherwise (Spivak:1988). In colonial India 'subaltern' was the dividing line between the rulers and the ruled. Spivak defines it "as difference from the elite" (1988:285) "a category heterogeneous in its composition" (1988:284). She explores the 'epistemic violence' which has prevented this subject from being heard, a subject silenced multiply. The hegemonic discourses silencing subalterns were the creation of political needs in the colonial context, whereas the depowering of institutional heads and their subsequent exclusion from positions of policy formulation in the present is a highly complex phenomenon. What has changed and what not in the post-colonial (neo-colonial?) context and why, are the issues to be investigated by exploring the de-voicing processes and the rules of representation dominating the discourses. The 'silent' or/and 'silenced' did speak in this case and, accordingly, the theoretical assumptions are non-essentialist, devolving, viewing subjects as constituted by their own knowledges, each occupying a space, a particular subjectivity, formulated by specific positioning - a situated self (BenHabib:1992). Nevertheless, research reporting essentially involved multiple levels of writing and interpretation (Caro:1996; Derrida:1985; 1991) as the text was understood, rewritten, translated and then presented in the academic discourse. The

implications of this re-writing and translation have been briefly considered in the final section of chapter four.

Earlier in chapter four, in discussing the research design, I mentioned the rebelliousness of qualitative research process affecting design and analysis. Another example of rebelliousness was related to presentation of findings. The data collected through two major methods, postal questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, reflected the methodical differences. Accordingly, I chose to present the findings separately. The information collected through different postal questionnaires was presented in an organised way, uniformly offering findings collected from each section, and highlighting the emerging themes. The written calculated word lent itself comfortably to deliberate organisation, providing a panoramic view of the research context as well as themes for interview schedules. It was intended as such to lay clear the context of an unfamiliar and un-researched situation.

However, the data collected through in-depth interviewing, due to its very nature, demanded a different framework for analysis. The very first interview struck me as to how this specific form of interaction, in a particular cultural context, could influence data collection, and how research could become rebellious. Rebellion is a contentious word and being a reader of the history of nations I was aware that in the annals of war what counted as rebellion for an established authority could be a struggle for emancipation and freedom for the rebels. Within the context of educational research, I perceived this rebellious dimension of the data as an effort towards voicing and emancipation. Any strangulation would have been contrary to my personal beliefs and my theoretical positioning. Therefore the concept of talking culture was introduced in the previous chapter, which in this study opened up spaces for the subalterns to speak. The interviewees spoke, and for me, their words were an authentic interpretation of the research situation. They unveiled the situation and at the same time offered an analysis from their own perspectives. I decided to present this interplay of findings and analysis through multiple quotes.

The multiplicity of quotes in the reporting of research findings at this stage was to enable the reader to listen to the participants voices, with the researcher linking up the

information or explaining briefly the context. Each quote, even when related to the same theme, brings forward a different aspect of the issue to fill rich multi-coloured details in the sketch, and reflects the interplay of discourses. The emerging picture would be different for each reader dependent on individual choices of strokes and shades, as it appeared to be different for every research participant as well, in spite of many commonalities. The research findings at this level are rather video-recording than a still shot. The intention is to capture the movement and interactivity in motion, and the voices. Accordingly the demands made on senses, perceptions, and understanding are higher in requiring time and effort.

I conducted thirty-one interviews, and two group conversations. As stated earlier in chapter one, there were sixty-eight colleges in AJK at the time this research was conducted, thirty colleges for women and thirty-eight for men. Out of a total population of sixty-eight college heads in AJK, twenty-four were interviewed - ten women and fourteen men. Additionally, the eight senior educational managers who had been asked to complete the postal questionnaire B, were approached for interviews. Only six of them could be interviewed because of multiple constraints of time and work, for me and for them. With the addition of one representative of Azad Kashmir College Teachers Association the total of interviewees went up to thirty-one. The fact that eighteen of my thirty-one interviewees had already completed and returned the detailed postal questionnaires, ensured that they were aware of the research focus. Eleven others also mentioned having read postal questionnaire, while only two had not come across it, which is explained in the previous chapter. This general awareness facilitated actual process of interviewing and was a time saving factor.

2. Interview Findings

The data collected were enormous and complex, with a huge variety of themes and stories, each inviting in-depth analysis. At this stage of analysis, the intent is to unpick the issues and refine the categories by using mainly the field work data. The quotes illuminate the development of themes and patterns. In keeping with my research focus, and working within the constraints of a PhD thesis, I had to exercise choices in developing the categories and sub-categories, and choosing the quotes. The

criteria were the primary research questions and the emergent themes which developed with the secondary questions.

The intention here is to present the situation as perceived by the participants. For ease of reading, the discussion is developed around the emergent categories, weaving extensive quotes and a guiding analysis together to illuminate the research context. But none of the topical discussions is self-contained in any way. The categories overlap and interfuse, and the core category evolves at the interstices of interacting themes, demanding a sensitivity to this interplay for an appreciation of the research situation.

Appointment as Head

The first set of questions was formulated around the issue of appointment as college head. Question six in the postal questionnaire was 'Why you wanted to be a college head?', and an emerging pattern was 'not-aspired' - at least not strongly aspired - which answered 'whether' rather than 'why', introducing a shift in the focus which was participant-directed rather than research-led; and it persisted during the field work. According to the respondents, headship was taken on turn to protect the seniority, to avoid working 'under' a junior colleague, or at the wish or command of Director/Secretary education than because of any job-interest, or 'educational programme', or career-advantages, or 'ambition'.

Being a college manager myself, this apathy (if it was apathy!) certainly intrigued me. In the context of available information and readings, it raised questions concerning the appointments of college heads in an un-aspired context, and how it affected their roles and practices. The explorations brought out some interesting narrations of how these college heads were first appointed to their present jobs. The manner and context of appointments were diverse and fragmented which pointed to the absence of a procedure for this purpose. It also brought out the ad-hoc, whimsical, and off-hand manner in which these highly responsible positions were filled. Before quoting relevant extracts from the stories narrated by the college heads, it would be appropriate to mention some comments from the higher educational bureaucracy regarding such appointments. This information was obtained through interviewing the

secretary of education, the director of education and other concerned officials, as detailed earlier in chapter four. According to this group of interviewees, the operating principle for these appointments was **seniority-cum-fitness**. As the college heads were government servants, their seniority was established by the length of their service and promotions into higher grades. However, there was no written definition of fitness, and further there was no criterion, system, or procedure to assess fitness for this purpose. In the absence of a set procedure for selection, there were complains and confusions. The post was **not advertised**, and there were **no test, interview or any other selection process** to evaluate the management potentials or interests of the concerned person, as one interviewee stated:

“There is no definite procedure. Since the mid-seventies, the principal’s post has never been advertised. It is **not a promotion post**. The inter college principal and an assistant professor, and again the degree college principal and an associate professor, work in the same grades [drawing equal salaries except the headship allowance]. There is no attraction” (PF1).

The ‘lack of attraction’ was at one level, linked with **heavy work-load involved**, and **lack of financial gains or other compensations**. This discouraged people from aspiring for it:

"There are so many problems. People run from it. You have to please those above and those below. Why not go for the easy life... Just teach for one or two periods, teach your subject.There are many grade 20 professor, drawing equal salaries and teaching only for two periods. There should be some incentives - grade promotion, facilities, and training" (PM4).

The perceived easy life of a teacher contrasted with the hard busy life of a college head who got no financial incentive or reward for accepting and doing the tough job. On the other hand, to refuse the job offer or later step down as a college teacher and work under junior colleagues would reflect negatively in the socio-professional situation as emphasised by PM10 and PF8. This showed how professional choices

become subject to socio-cultural factors. The angry brief comment by PM7 reflected the desperation at the perceived unfairness of the situation:

"I wish to retire. ... What is the input of those who draw Rupees 18000/- ?"

Not only that the absence of financial incentives made the job less attractive, the fact that the colleagues with teaching duties were drawing equal salaries and had actually very little work load struck those in the job with its unfairness. This structural set up emerged as a serious deterrent in aspiring for headship. A senior educational manager, involved in the appointments of principals explained it in more detail:

"Headship is not linked with grade promotion. A move to the next pay-scale can be an incentive which is not the case. Whether you are appointed a principal or not, you will move into the next pay-scale in accordance with the four-tier system. If you are teaching in Mirpur, there is big city allowance; other facilities like schools, colleges, hospitals, etc. Then if you are posted [as principal] to Samahni [a hard-to-approach small hilly town, near the cease-fire-line], in the same grade, what is the incentive? ... Except Rupees 600/- charge allowance [it is less than ten pounds, according to the current exchange rates]! ... There will be extra expenditure. Moreover, you will lose the big city allowance. If you take the family with you, there won't be good schools for the children [and if you keep them in the home-town you would be virtually running two homes]. Principal's job is very difficult. It is pivotal in our structure. A principal has to deal with the students and their problems. S/he has to face a highly educated staff **and their professional organisation**; and also face the public. It is a heap of problems. Who would willingly go and why? But if there are chances of career development, which is not the case at present, [then people might come]. Whether you are doing this hard job or teaching two periods a day, your chances of career advance and promotion are equal" (PSM5).

Disregard of management experience and effectiveness for career advance, coupled with social inconvenience of moving and lack of financial gains, adversely affected job aspirations. Another college head complained:

“.... You are given a nominal charge allowance with the pay you are already drawing and then sent to far-off hard locations; and are also expected to **fight on all the fronts**. This is no incentive. That is why people prefer to stay as teachers at choice locations. Moreover, there are other higher management posts onwards, in the divisional directorate, Education Board and still higher up. When these appointments are made people avail **other means** to get there. Management experience, performance, seniority, ---- nothing is observed” (PM14).

The appointments were casually made by the authorities, without considering the willingness or aptitude of the appointed, as this example shows:

“A new inter-college was established. The then Director Education asked me to be its head. I had wanted to join the university, and the VC was willing [to give me a teaching job];but the director insisted ---- [and I submitted due to various considerations in a close community]. Before that I had never even thought of becoming a principal” (PM1).

It transpires that the headship was accepted more to maintain the social face or to oblige the Director than due to personal choice or aspiration. The Director’s job was to manage the colleges because they were sub-units of a government department They should keep functioning smoothly. Finding a trustworthy and supposedly competent principal would suit the directors and other concerned authorities. Conversely, being hand-picked as a principal was a **social boost** in a close-knit community. Depending on the nature of appointment, it may signify professional excellence as well as status, influence, and contacts. The following comments add to this finding:

“Nobody asked for my opinion. The director just appointed me. He was a kind person. He had a good opinion of me and perhaps he was being kind when he

appointed me as a principal. ... But my personal opinion is that in this job you are not left with any time to read or write; even today I would willingly go back to my teaching position” (PM2).

“I won’t say that I had no wish [to be the head]. It is natural [to have such wish]. But, practically, I never made any effort for it. I was just appointed, perhaps because my earlier principals appreciated my work and it was conveyed [to the appointing authorities]” (PM6).

“There is no specific procedure. Whoever is deemed fit by the departmental head is appointed as college head. However, they do consider the seniority. The person should fulfil the basic grade requirement.Juniors do get appointed. But then all the seniors don’t wish to go [as principals, because that is not personally convenient for them], therefore ---- well whoever is liked by the director or other authorities, -- and is also willing [gets appointed].... “ (PM5).

Additionally, in the local social context where families and extended families continued to live in a particular area for generations and had permanent home-bases, people were **unwilling to work away from home towns**. Low incentives added to unaspiredness, as this story of appointment, which is one of many, suggests:

“I was **appointed principal in my absence**. I was abroad for a short time and returned in December 19--. My appointment order had been issued earlier in September. I did not want to be the principal. Who would want to be the principal here? Particularly if you were teaching in your home town or close to home town.For example I belong to town X and if I am teaching here I can relax after my work. If I am appointed principal in a distant college it would be tension [new environment], worries [regarding family responsibilities], and more work. There is no incentive. The principals seniority should be determined separately. Sometime back, there were threats like losing seniority, or being posted to hard locations, if the one next in the

seniority list¹⁰³ refused to go as a college head. However, nothing ever happened. Many of those who were seniors, and at home locations, they did refuse to go [to other towns] as college heads, and nothing happened [they were not punished as threatened]. They continued to teach at their home towns and the people like me had to leave their homes” (PM9).

This introduced the element of threat in making people accept the appointment. Heads mentioned having been threatened to be posted as college teachers at worse location if they resisted appointment as principal at a particular location. It was exercising **negative options**:

“I did not want to be [a principal] but was appointed. I was just given a choice between two colleges. ... There is no procedure [for appointment as principal]. Whosoever they get a hold on, is appointed as principal. It works or not, does not matter” (PF5).

“I don’t know what is the criterion for selection as principal¹⁰⁴. They just appointed me as principal and I had to come. I thought that if I refused now, they might later appoint me at a location which is harder for me to manage [for personal and family reasons]” (PF2).

Transfers to unwanted locations were a strong deterrent. To avoid un-favourable postings and/or transfers it seemed important to be in the good books of the concerned authorities, and **contacts and influence** could be additional supports:

“There is no set procedure for appointments or transfers. No rules and regulations. Whoever pleases the authorities, flatters them, entertains them, gets it [the desired results]” (PM7).

¹⁰³ Regular seniority lists of college teachers/principals in all grades are maintained in the directorate.

¹⁰⁴ The respondent had long experience of college-teaching before being appointed as principal in that system, which was also about seven years.

Principals were transferred to hard and un-wanted stations in punishment. Besides the displeased authorities, any group of students, staff, or locals, or any other pressure group, who did not want a particular principal for reasons, or supported another one interested, would create a law and order situation, making the principal vulnerable and insecure. There was a history of 'law and order situations' in the colleges; and causing such a situation was not necessarily linked with any genuine management issue. A decision/action by the principal in routine matters like a student failing or misbehaving, or a staff not doing her/his duty as required, would be made into a public issue followed by protests, strikes and stone pelting. It led to the disruption of studies, and often the institution concerned was closed for some time to smooth the situation. Often, it was the principal who was made a scape-goats and posted-out, as was the case with PF4:

“I was posted out in punishment. I did not wish to go [to that location as head], but I was not given any choice. ... I had to go. ... Later, I went back to teaching at home town. Still later, they conditioned my grade promotion with principal-ship.Again I had to go [to another town] as principal to protect my seniority and promotion. When you are forced into a position, you will not really work well”.

Sometimes, unwanted postings were enforced to accommodate an influential person:

“Suppose there is a teacher in a senior position in this college, and they [authorities] wish to adjust some body; if there is no other way of achieving it, the senior would be posted out as principal” (PM2).

A personal example of a college head confirmed it:

“They wished to bring somebody else there [political adjustments]. I had been a subject-teacher in that college for some time, and I was posted out as principal. However, there were many teachers teaching other subjects, senior than me and with longer stay there, but they stayed on. It was not really a question of seniority. Now, this college is at a distance from my house. Not

only that I am no longer entitled to the big city allowance [although the participant still resides in the same city and commutes daily to the work place], I have to spend money on daily traveling and thus **as a principal I am taking less money home than I used to as a teacher**" (PF7).

PM1 argued that the lack of incentives to take up this demanding job, and the insecurity attached to it, led to problematic and unsuited appointments with a possibility of situational deterioration:

"Why should a person want to be a principal? What do you get after this load of responsibilities? That allowance does not suffice even your daily tea bill [for visitors]. So people avoid it. And then un-deserving people get appointed and wreck the whole thing. No body is thinking of the future".

Appointment as head did not appear to have any financial or professional incentives. And if it meant posting to a college in a different town, it became doubly 'unaspired'. Because of the multiple **ties at the family base**, the college heads generally did not wish to shift the family to the work place. In case of an away from home transfer or appointment, there were two main choices:

- either the concerned head shifts which would split the family and add to the worries in that specific social context, and which would be almost impossible for a female with children and/or other family responsibilities; or
- to commute daily between the home and the work-place¹⁰⁵.

There was a provision in certain departments, and a general approved practice in AJK, that if a husband and wife were both in government service, they would be preferably posted in the same town, but it appeared to be used politically adding to the powers of the posting authorities. On the other hand, the **tendency to stay at the home town**

¹⁰⁵ Daily travelling in that region was a problem because of the road conditions and public transport facilities. Also there was no rail system in AJK because of its hilly terrain. Travelling posed added problems for female heads in that cultural contextt, as already explained in chapter five.

posed problems for the appointing authorities regarding availability of suitable candidates for headship. Accepting headship or refusing it was a socio-politically negotiated decision for a principal as was imposing compliance or ignoring a refusal on the part of the concerned authorities, and how it affected the managers and the management is reflected in the following quotes:

“This college is at a distance from my home town. I travel daily. I have school going children (who cannot be shifted from their schools). ... I have to spend a lot of time in the college now, in this job. I leave the house after morning prayers and get back late in the evening" (PM5).

“I was first offered [headship] in 19--, but refused. There were many reasons, but one factor was the odd station. If you move your children from a better location, it affects their education. It is also affected if the father is away from home. I am not denying the mother's role, but in our society, the mother is a symbol of love and kindness, while father does the disciplining; and both are important for children in their own ways" (PM10).

“A very junior staff is working as principal at X college because none of the senior staff wishes to go there. Women have problems of family and children. ---- We all wish to stay [and work] nearer to our homes" (PF4).

Women heads expressed preference to forego headship if it demanded moving away from their homes. Besides family responsibilities, and the importance of domestic role in a Muslim society, there was also a feeling of security and protection in being with the family. In a cultural context where social-gossip and character assassination were undisciplined, women moving in the public arena in particular, were haunted by the social gaze, a phenomenon which will be considered again with other issues specific to women heads. Single women, in this reference experienced more vulnerability in moving away from family/home. Many female respondents to the postal questionnaire also referred to **social black-mailing**, which put constraints on their mobility and contacts. They were disciplined into non-aspiring in anticipation of the possible social threats:

“No one is interested in going [away from family home] as a principal. Whoever wishes **can publish anything against you** in the [news-]papers anything false or completely baseless, which not only affects you professionally but makes social life difficult in our society. It is only a few people who can get posted [through influence, contacts etc] at prize locations, who are interested in becoming the principals. ... That also for the status [in the society]” PF1.

Some heads had been interested in getting the job as they considered it an apprenticeship period for still higher posts in the educational bureaucracy, but it had to be at the time and place which suited them:

“I was experiencing stagnation as a teacher. The director asked me that if I agreed they would appoint me as head of the X college. It fitted in with my personal circumstances. Perhaps some times later it may not suit me [for personal and family reasons] to move away from home. The timing suited me. I wanted a change of job. I wanted to be more active. The place of appointment suited me. Also, I see this experience as a preparation for more senior administrative posts” (PM13).

Heads seem to aspire and avoid the post for reasons which gain meaning and sense in that specific socio-professional context. Broadly speaking, major determining factors were more socio-personal than educational. The interplay of social status, professional seniority and job position complicated the roles and created management problems, as one manager complained:

“The whole structure is rotten to the roots. Those who are not selected as principals keep complaining that they have not been given an administrative post. In other cases, it is enforced upon people. It is blessing for some and misfortune for others This is not the way to get the right person for the job. Further, if a junior is appointed as principal, the seniors [among the teaching

staff] should let go their leadership. I experienced it twice. Some of my teaching staff were my seniors and they refused to work under me” (PF8).

The vagueness around seniority-cum-fitness criterion and the resultant space for political manoeuvre was criticised by the college heads. In the management context, this space was utilised for political interference and exploitation, leading to serious management issues and un-aspired headship, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. The senior managers maintained that seniority was considered but with more focus on fitness (PSM5). However, one of them opined that:

“ fitness should intend at talent; potential for the job. ... But often when it supersedes seniority there is the issue of exercising personal liking/disliking [by the appointing authorities]. This is one reason why our people want that seniority must be given a weight. It is right that a senior may not have the potential for the job but this [fitness criterion] won't work in our context. There are people [undeserving but influential] among us who wish to jump” (PMS2); the principals agreed:

“The guiding rule is seniority-cum-fitness. It has been followed to some extent, but not in the real sense, since early 1990. The practices have changed. This cum-fitness has been availed to appoint such people who are on number eighty-five in the seniority list [to do them favours]... Seniority is a must. ... Seniority is a must” (PM8).

The issues around appointment as college head appeared to affect not just the choice of the right person, but the subsequent performance of the head as well. The un-aspired, enforced head-ship, and the aspired but undeserving, political appointments, both were held responsible by the participants to complicate the situation, and adversely effected the college management and educational out-put. The **un-preparedness of the college heads**¹⁰⁶, aspiring or un-aspiring, generated the next category.

¹⁰⁶ Arguing in a British case study context, Shakelton et al also emphasise that “FE managers are significantly underprepared conceptually, under-skilled and under-powered when it comes to making the most of the new opportunities and constraints” (Crawford et al:1994:115). This

Management Development/Training

Need for management development and training was a unanimous demand:

“.... when we are appointed principals we have no (relevant) experience and know nothing about the job” (PM5).

"Teaching/learning and administration are two different things. Managers must be trained for their jobs" (PM1).

According to the heads, coming to this job without being prepared for it reduced job-effectiveness, delayed processes, and increased possibilities of errors and omissions. Considerable time was often wasted in seeking informal help, information and guidance, which was not always available or reliable:

“Before appointment as head we must be provided training for a specific period, related to that job [requirements]. Then the principal won't have to worry much or ask people right and left, and get misguided [by them] in the process. Every one is not sincere. It is only if you have the ability to pick the right things that you can learn and succeed. ... When you come to the job, you should be in knowledge of all its details. We have picked things over the times and still there are gaps. Even now, when an audit team comes, they point to errors and omissions” (PF2).

The participants emphasised the need for comprehensive, pre-induction training. Learning-on-the-job was described as a hard and distressing experience by both male and female heads:

“This [headship] is different from teaching. I learned on job, and from seniors, which is problematic. It would be easier if people are trained in administration..... I think there should be a course where people are trained in

research context pointed further to the interplay among the three elements and its affects on management practices which were not elaborated by the writers.

relevant problem solving. If a fresher is picked from a teaching post and appointed as principal then the person who had only to teach two classes would be saddled with the management of the whole institution. And s/he may not know the ABC of administration. That would be really difficult” (PM1).

“I would recommend a year long training [prior to posting]. Every thing related to college management should be taught there. We are managing now, but if all this is taught before appointment, things like budget, time tables, work-division etc, then it would have been less distressing” (PF5).

Even those principals who had never participated in any management development and training programme, and felt comfortable with their work, admitted to a need for training, to accommodate the element of change, as the following quotes suggest:

“There should be training facilities. Although I never had any training, I think that there are certain things with the changing times, that we do not understand. Training can bring an awareness of new things and developments. It can make our job easier” (PF4).

“Principals should be trained before appointment so that they can do justice to their job. Training is a must, both related to office management and finance management. There is so much to know. Even after twenty years of college teaching we have no idea of rules and procedures concerning college management” (PF3).

PF7 was one of many interviewees who mentioned various situations where their ignorance of rules and regulations, and processes and procedures, led them into awkward situations with legal and financial implications:

“I learned my work on job. In the beginning I made many mistakes. ... Even the two weeks training that I had after two years in job, had its uses. They could have at least provided the same a bit earlier. One of the support staff had been continuously misbehaving. I dismissed him, but I did not know that

a certain number of 'show cause notices' had to be given and published in the local papers as well. It messed up our case, causing worry and waste".

A serious problem mentioned in relation to management was a communication gap and absence of an information base. Importance of communication is highly emphasised in recent literature on management and is linked with management effectiveness¹⁰⁷. The principals in this research situation generally assumed office in ignorance of rules and regulations, not just those related to finance management but even those concerning principal's powers and responsibilities, staff/student management, academic matters, evaluation and disciplinary procedures, and office management. There was no comprehensive guide to these matters. The principals picked and put together fragmented information from different offices and departments, personally or through contacts, and built up a survival kit. It effected decision making and management, as PF9 observed:

"Because we don't know the discipline/efficiency rules, we have problems in taking a disciplinary action; there would be a time bar or some similar problem".

PF10 offered two examples where this information gap affected purchases in one case and in the other it led to a legal case regarding pension allocation of a deceased support staff. These brief quotes explain the point:

"I did not know that an NOC (No Objection Certificate) was required for this purchase. I completed the usual process and sent the completed documents and the bill to the finance [office]. They refused to release the money because the NOC was not attached. We are not informed and consequently the institution suffers"; and

"Soon after my taking charge, this pension claim had to be filed. I did not know, and could not get satisfactory information as to who and how many

¹⁰⁷ It is generally argued that "because so many changes are taking place in educational institutions, effective communication is more than ever critical for their effective ness" (Riches:1994:245; see also Davies and Ellison:1990).

could be the claimants. I forwarded the claim papers filed by the deceased's son to the authorities and that led to a case against me by other claimants [daughters and sons-in-law]".

According to the heads, information was collected through personal efforts and contacts, as stated PF7:

"I usually collect information through my contacts and relatives. There is no systematic process of conveying information to the principals. Many times I faced problems because I did not know the concerned rules".

Further comments confirmed this view and provided further details:

"When a situation develops you are compelled to collect relevant information to act, either through contacts or offices. There is no organised system. If there is any booklet, that is very out-dated and needs to be revised [to accommodate amendments]" (PM1).

"For example, if a notification was made in 1980s; --- a new-to-the-office principal won't be aware of it. A rule is that in emergency, a principal can sanction fifteen days casual leave. I think, 99% principals do not know it. The principals need to be informed of all the operating rules and regulations" (PM8).

"When I started job in 19--, still there was this practice of conveying the rules and information to all the institutions but it is no longer so. If the principal does not have wider contacts, and a situation develops, he would have to ask all and sundry for information. Often you do not get information even if you write the department for it. The practice seems to be just to pass the time" (PM2).

“We have to make efforts ourselves. We are not provided rules and regulations or other necessary information; neither are we informed about up-dating” (PF3).

The current mode of learning the job was laughingly explained by PM14:

“You know nothing. You are not competent for that job. But you are placed on the job and you have to prove yourself; you have to learn”.

The experienced heads were critical of the new entrants, as in the words of PM8:

“In the past, principals were experienced, although they were also not trained. The reason was that as soon as they joined as teachers they had it in mind to learn the administrative job. They worked in close association with the principals. Today, a new principal does not know how to answer a routine letter. What have they learnt in ten fifteen years of teaching? Only to prepare the lecture the night before and regurgitate it the next day in the class”.

A senior manager (PSM3) described the situation as learning-on-the--job, and making do with *atkal pachchu*¹⁰⁸. However, learning-on-the-job was a distressing memory for many participants and was viewed as “very difficult, very demanding” (PF6). Also there was an awareness that many people did not have an aptitude for management:

“Some people are so involved in teaching that they know nothing about administration or rules/regulations. Working within the institution, they do not know how situations developed and how these are managed by the head....” (PM8).

¹⁰⁸ *atkal pachchu* means trying to apply insufficient bits of knowledge/skills picked from different areas, in the absence of specific knowledge/skills.

For those who had been close to their principals, this acclimatising to the job had been less problematic. Their sharing the principals responsibilities equipped them better with required expertise, as PM3 opined:

“I learned my job by assisting other principals. A person new to the job cannot survive. If you had been a vice-principal, and assisted the principals sincerely and efficiently, then you gain experience”.

However, in the absence of a post of vice-principal, such arrangements were purely interpersonal¹⁰⁹. There was no compulsion for the teaching staff to shoulder the delegated tasks, except the socio-religious notion of a head's role:

"Most people avoid taking duties.... There are economic issues. Every one is interested in side business. Every lecturer wishes to spend less and less time in college, only to do the teaching duties if s/he is an honest worker, or is afraid of the head or feels some personal obligation. Majority avoids delegated tasks..... Such tasks are performed as a personal favour to the principal. They don't think that it is a part of their duties as college teachers" (PM1).

The financial factor increasingly influenced practices. The Islamic philosophy of ‘teaching and learning being every Muslim's duty, and to be performed without financial considerations’, as discussed in chapter two, was being overshadowed by more pressing demands of daily existence in a present day world, and affected the roles and practices:

“The times have changed. Twenty years back, a teacher was respected irrespective of his/her financial status or life style. Students would respect any way. Now he must have a car, a good living, other things. S/he has to maintain within a small pay. The problems are financial; it should be facilitated” (PSM6).

¹⁰⁹ Harvey (1994) discussess deputy-headship in the British school context where it is a specified job. Even there, he admits of confusion about the role of the Deputy Principalship and suggests a need to reconceptualise it. The role and responsibilities of a Deputy Head become more confusing when the job does not exist but is a situational tradition.

But besides the economic pressures for the college teachers, the absence of a formal structure to encourage delegation decreased the possibilities of learning the job through apprenticeship. Other socio-cultural dimensions like trust and status further complicated the situation. Consequently, formal training and development programmes emerged as the one obvious solution to the problem:

“I think heads must be trained prior to appointment. Everybody does not have an experience [related to management] like me. Also all the heads do not trust the teachers with so much responsibilities. Some teachers consider it below status to perform delegated tasks [and thus they don’t get a chance to learn]. A principal must be trained in personnel management, time management, staff management; must know the job” (PF9)).

An ideal state of things was described thus by some respondents:

“A principal-to-be should be first attached with another principal¹¹⁰, then trained and then given the job responsibility” (PM7).

“Training is a must. When we become principals we have no experience. We know nothing about cash books, money matters, or administration. How could we? We could have experience if we had worked as vice-principals” (PM5).

“There should be such courses and work-shops. I was supported by my school experience, but those who are suddenly pushed into it (headship) face trouble. There should be work-shops, --- practice related and not just theory. Actual work should be taught, such as what are registers, bills, procedures, rules and regulations; what are the powers, at inter [college] and degree [college] levels.

¹¹⁰ The issue of mentoring regarding management development of institutional heads is increasingly drawing attention in international literature. Some relevant texts are Burnham:1993; Daresh and Playko:1992; Kirkham:1993; and Pocklington and Weindling:1996.

Work should be taught or the clerical group will dominate. They would mismanage and exploit you” (PM4).

This imposes a context-related training direction, which emerged as another pervasive category involving a complex interplay of professional, socio-cultural, economic, and religious discourses with added gender dimensions. There was total consensus on **finance training**, but there were variations regarding training needs in other management related aspects. A majority of college heads and the senior educational managers recommended much wider and intensive training programmes, but there were a few men and women college heads who believed in learning from experience and on-the-job, as PM3 argued:

“Our training needs are finance related. The rest, such as student dealing, staff dealing, public dealing, you can learn all that from experience. Experience is the highest training. We read theories; this theory, that theory; but you learn management when you are practically in it”.

Interestingly, a strong demand for management development and training programmes did not negate the value of experience in a situation where experience was often the only available mode of learning to do the job. It was not just the professional experience; it had roots in the socio-religious notion of family as this quote shows:

“A baby starts learning from home; by copying, by getting scolded. Later he becomes the head of the house. That is also a type of administration. We wont say that a principal comes completely empty-handed to the job. He has received a lot from the society. He has learnt. He has learnt a whole lot over a long period. But, besides that, there should be provisions for training as in many other departments, with care and caution” (PM6).

Many other respondents also constructed colleges as family sites and perceived the principal as the head of the family. It reflected the importance and centrality of family in a Muslim society, where it was ideologically an essential unit as well as a part of

the whole, as examined earlier in chapter one. Secondly, the authority and respect commanded by the parents and the head of the family had religious validations. By fusing the discourses around education and family in Islam the heads could be seeking that power and status which appeared to be denied for complex socio-political factors. The heads preferably perceived themselves as *sarbrah-e-khana* (the head of the house), apparently feeling safer and stronger in managing the situations, students and staff from that position, as affirmed by the following quotes:

“I have suggested a theory to my staff: when a student comes to you treat him as your own child and deal accordingly. You have to counsel students like your own children. If some one is in the wrong you cannot shoot him; you have to educate and improve” (PM13).

“The college head is also like a head of the house. It is a family; an extended family. The head has to manage the same way as a family head, treating each one according to one’s positioning” (PF3).

The senior managers responses confirmed the view:

“The head’s role is like a parent. He should manage the institution as head of the family. He should be flexible but firm. Firm does not mean rigid, and flexible does not imply absence of rules and principles “ (PSM3).

“A college head deals with people, living people; not with files only, which makes the job interesting. It should be a sympathetic role; a parental role. What makes you a good parent? You should be kind and loving and caring for others” (PSM1).

Baradari is a significant and complex structure, with internal management traditions and patterns in the local sub-cultures. The management practices of the college heads appeared to draw from the religious, the socio-cultural, and the professional discourses, moving from one to the other according to the situational demands. However, an awareness of change, at times too bewildering to cope with even at the

intersections of these multiple discourses, increased the emphasis on development and training. The two government departments with highest provisions for intensive and extensive training in Pakistan are the army and the civil service. A majority of principals suggested similar processes for selection and training:

“It should be as in Army. An officer is selected through a systematic, intensive process, and then trained in the academy for two years. By then the mind is made, is moulded. Then he does not do any thing wrong. He works according to his training. This is not followed in education” (PM8).

“As the CSS (Central Superior Services) people are trained for their special jobs, there should be an academy to train the principals for their specific responsibilities. The most important aspect is finance-training. ... Then administration and handling of awkward situations. If a principal had access to training and development, the college would benefit from it. The students would learn; the staff would learn; others would gain” (PM8).

“In public administration where officers have to deal with illiterate majority, officers are put through rigorous training before appointment. In colleges where you have to deal with educated people and energetic students, totally un-trained people are sent to manage. The short re-orientation courses or workshops are just time-killing practices, mere excursions” (PM13).

The questions regarding training needs and training facilities for institutional managers were discussed with the concerned senior educational managers, during the interviews. They admitted to the dire need but were rather reticent in explaining the complete absence of regular training programmes. As if by consensus, they curtly blamed it on to the lack of financial resources. Two of them discussed the issue in some detail. In PSM5's view:

“There is no training policy; no training programme for our institutional heads. There is now an Academy for Educational Management and Planning

in Islamabad (Pakistan)¹¹¹, and we occasionally send one or two college heads there for three months training, but there is no such provision within AJK. There are financial restraints. To set up an academy you need money. There should be a policy to that effect. Many times, a teachers' academy was planned but even that could not be done because of financial constraints. --- During the last regime, a training institute for primary teachers was set up at X, but even that did not achieve the desired aims". PSM4's detailed response introduced other elements:

“A head should be good at managing finances; it can be a big problem. From my point of view, they should be trained in finance and administration. We do not have any policy or organised programme to enhance their expertise. Our resources are limited and also there are political compulsions. There is **demand and need for staff development**. It should be given priority. But when a politician (in power) says ‘give a college to that area, or upgrade that inter-college into degree or science college’, our meagre resources are diverted towards that. Politicians have their own priorities. Even officers in our positions, are not the real policy-makers; it is the politicians' domain”.

Development and training of institutional heads seems to be a peripheral issue in the policy-making-politicians' domain, in spite of emphasised importance of Higher Education sector and its admitted relationship with national development, which has been discussed earlier in chapter one. Another quote which emphasised this political aspect of policy making maintains:

“All our planning is highly political. Recently research was conducted in Pakistan which discovered a few hundred ghost schools¹¹², twenty-seven such schools were in AJK” (PSM6).

¹¹¹ This Academy was abolished in 1997, as already explained in chapter two: 4.1.

¹¹² The term has been coined for the schools which exist in papers and records only. The teacher, one or two at the most, draw salaries regularly but there are no students or school. These usually fall in the category of political bribes.

Policy-making or absence of relevant policy making emerged as a political phenomenon. According to the concerned managers, meagre resources were piped into political projections, establishing a set of priorities controlled by those in power. The *ad hoc* training arrangements, occasionally made available, were not closely related to the specific needs of the college heads. Although, all those who had attended such programmes welcomed the chance to learn, the comments lacked any enthusiasm, and pointed to the need for more carefully organised courses, delivered prior to appointment. These comments confirm the finding:

“It was a get-together. Most of the topics and information were not relevant to college context” (PF8).

“I was recently sent to attend the three-week training course [after more than six years in office]. By that time I had picked the basics; I had been running the office. And also the [course] content was irrelevant” (PF2).

“Training is usually of two weeks [and generally once in a life time for each principal]. It is a short period and most matters are not taken up in detail. One issue would be raised and the whole topic time would be taken by that, even if it was not very relevant for me [or many others]” (PM6).

“Mostly it is irrelevant. For example the secretariat office procedures cannot be applied in colleges where you are dealing with hundreds of students. and also training should be straight after appointment as principal. This training programme at Muzaffarabad (in AJK) is inter-departmental. Basic issues common to all departments are discussed. There can be some commonalities regarding perhaps, accounts or correspondence, but administration ! --- College administration and administration in agriculture, for example, are two different things. We daily deal with hundreds of people. The issues are different; the content should also be different” (PM9).

College management emerged as a complex multi-faceted phenomenon. Its one significant aspect was finance management which is the theme discussed next.

Finance Management

In the AJK context, the money involved in college management was incredibly small as compared to Western standards. The annual budget of a college was determined by the education department or the University according to the college-category, and the funding was provided by the same authority. Finance management was not a very entrepreneurial activity as the heads had only to manage within the given budgets, and they were not required to generate resources. An earlier attempt at introducing self-financing by interjecting it in four prestigious educational institutions of Punjab (Pakistan) in 1990, later ended in failure, leading to the governments decision to end it (The Daily Jang: 1997:2). The money management mainly involved maintaining the college budget and accounts, besides, if possible, politically influencing the budget drafting at the head office to squeeze more money for the institution. Moreover, each college was provided with clerical staff for office work and to maintain the accounts. The principal was responsible for the money as the drawing/dispersing officer.

Significantly, the interviewees and the respondents all emphasised the need for training in finance management, in spite of limited financial activities and availability of finance support staff. This unanimous insistence invited further explorations which revealed some interesting aspects. Headship was perceived by the heads as finance-centred and control over money. This economic orientation of education pointed to a move away from the Islamic philosophy where educational leadership presupposed excellence in the subject area and 'knowledge', rather than the skill in 'managing finances'. Interestingly, even those college heads who opined that management was learned in the field insisted that training in finance must be provided prior to appointment, as the following quotes indicate:

“The department should arrange for training in finance. It is a skill. If you don't have it you incur a bad name ---- that you have swindled, that there is a fraud; even if you have been perfectly honest. It is a punishment for not knowing. Keeping a check [on the clerks] is very demanding; they will find a way to swindle” (PM2).

"The principals should be trained, not just in theory but practically. ... Trained in all related matters. Otherwise the clerks will dominate My point is that training course should be instructive. Particularly in finance related matters, the AG (Accountant General) office often makes objections. Why not teach first, then there will be less mistakes and less scope for the clerks to do 'hanky-panky'. You don't even realise and they get your signatures on dubious documents!" (PM4).

Economic orientation is a persistent theme in the Western management literature, particularly from the more developed countries. In developing countries like Pakistan, financial aspects of management traditionally received less emphasis probably, because there was less money involved. However, in view of the recent increasing economic restraints, money had to be managed and accounted for carefully, requiring the heads to develop the relevant skills. The findings pointed to the contextual changes which correspondingly modified the concepts and determined the needs, as explained by PM6:

"Finance training is our main need. There are other problems as well but ----. I also do not approve of our audit system. Once in a blue moon, when the whim seizes they send an audit team. I am always worried about it; not knowing what we are doing; and when I am posted somewhere else, there might be audit objections [which I am no longer there to explain]. The audit should be systematic, organised and technical. Any hundred or two not properly accounted for - perhaps because we did not understand some aspect of that expenditure, or probably a voucher was missing, would be termed as fraud or swindling. It is outrageous; it is insulting".

The emphasis on finance training seemed to arise from a shared belief that "as long as you do not know a job yourself you cannot make others do it for you properly. Your subordinate will work better if he knows that you know it" (PM5). The college heads unanimously laid blame on the clerks and the accounts staff for malpractice, which

intensified if the principal was new to the job or/and did not know the accounts, which PM8 saw as time-consuming and a serious issue in management:

“If the principal signs a voucher¹¹³ for Rupees 40/-, and the clerk later adds a zero, making it 400/-, how would the principal know. Only a knowing principal would demand that the amount should be written in words as well. If a principal knows the work [accounts] then they [clerks] would avoid hanky-panky. But still they would try it. The fact is that they are very low paid, and they have to maintain the families. ... Another thing is that they are often untrained themselves. In a situation, they would dispose off the matter, but a few years later the audit team would raise objections and the process of objections/explanations would continue for years”.

The principals had many stories of malpractice to tell such as these:

“The college budget provided uniform allocation for the menial staff. Once the concerned bills were put on my table and I signed them. A few weeks later, I asked my peon where his uniform was and what was its colour. He responded that he was given no uniform but just Rupees 180/- and half of that was kept by the *babu* (accounts clerk). it is not always possible for the principal to check each and every voucher. They (accounts clerks) always time it when you are in a hurry. I remember another case; a student came to claim his scholarship cheque, and the clerk accepted *salaami* (offering) from him. When I came to know I made that clerk pay back double of the accepted money. It corrupts practices and the principal is held responsible. S/he bears all the ignominy” (PM9); and,

“A case was registered against a clerk. I read in the newspaper and inquired. He used to leave a small blank space with the figures and after the principal had signed the bill, he would add a figure there. There are good people also but if you are caught up with a clever one -----” (PM14).

¹¹³ These vouchers were usually hand-written, unless the amount involved ran into thousands, which was occasional.

The situation was more problematic for women, which is suggested by these quotes, pointing to an interplay of socio-cultural discourses addressed later in chapters seven and eight:

“The female principals don't know anything (about finance-related matters and procedures) and become puppets in the hands of these clerks” (PM4).

“Issues regarding finance are similar but it is comparatively easier for men to solve these. People in audit, superintendents, clerks, they are all male. Females maintain a distance from them. Males get close to them and learn the job” (PM3).

Men had no such restraints, as pointed out by PM5, because “being a male I can be in contact with all sorts of offices”; but being a female meant added responsibilities in the cultural context and multiple constraints. Some of the quotes that support the finding are:

“The women teachers also have domestic responsibilities. They have to cook and to look after their children. They are often anxious to finish work quickly and go home. In this routine they would work for ten, fifteen years and then become principals, but they do not know the work. Further, the clerical staff knows it and acquires control” (PM8).

“I think women face more problems, because the **finance-related staff is male**. They do a lot of malpractice which women often cannot grasp. They depend on male finance staff. This staff is not very honest. They are different in nature from professors or principals. Women have a natural weakness. They are dependent by nature. When they don't have the skill and depend, it creates problems. [Men acquire skill] through contacts and by being mobile. They maintain links with other accountants and auditors and learn something about accounts. This is not possible for females. They cannot visit frequently, cannot ask others often ---- This is a problem for them” (PM1).

"Women are weaker in maths and also in dealing with the matters harshly. Therefore they (finance staff) swindle them. In a girls college, a lecturer was issued a cheque for 15000/ for official purchase. She spent Rs.10000/- and returned the remaining 5000/- in cash which the principal handed over to the clerk to be put back in the bank. That money was never deposited. When at a later date, an audit disclosed the missing amount, the principal was accused of fraud. The pressure and tension that the principal underwent till she got herself cleared! It is small oversights like this that become serious issues" (PM2).

Some heads had been more meticulous and careful, which they found useful but time consuming:

"Once I had tea [and snacks] for some visitors in the college, and signed the bill as usual. Some weeks later the clerk brought it back with a smudge on the figures and requested me to sign the duplicate. I just started wondering which tea bill could be for Rupees 1122/- and suddenly realised that the clerk had added one to 122/-" (PF1).

Another women college head said:

"I wish there was a way that we could deal directly [and not through the clerks] with the banks. Our women managers suffer a lot because of social norms and pressures. It is inappropriate for women to visit banks or other male offices" (PF5).

There were many who had to depend upon their clerks for moving between the male/female domains:

"I have to send my clerk to get the bills passed. I send him and pay him TA/DA (traveling allowance/daily allowance); and he comes back saying the

bill has not passed. My being a women becomes a problem. If it was a man, he would go himself [to the concerned office] and get it done” (PF2).

The women’s restricted mobility subjected them to exploitation, and highlighted gender issues:

“There are problems. The clerk demands money to offer tea to the accounts people. Many years back, my clerk asked for 500/- to get my bill passed. I refused and the bill did not pass. Much later, I got it done through personal influence” (PF6).

Another principal explained:

“When there are objections on a bill, sometimes it is a genuine point; but often it is a tactics to exhort money. It can be your own clerk, or it can be somebody at the accounts office; but it is always junior staff who are extremely low-paid” (PF5).

There were some female heads who tended to ignore the general norms, and availed that to manage more effectively:

“There was a development bill of about three hundred thousands. My head clerk rang up from the head office that they (people in the AG office) were demanding 5% to see it through..... I travelled the same evening, and the next morning I was in the director’s office. He rang up the concerned office and was told that the bill has been passed. When I asked the clerk he said that that they did ask him for money. I cannot say anything. May be the clerk did it on his own, or may be the office people did put up the demand but seeing me there in person they resisted” (PF1).

Did the clerks attempt malpractice with the male heads as well? The responses indicated that it was so, but with a difference. They tried it with those men who were new to the job or un-skilled ones, but even then the consensus was that “men can

handle it by beating them (clerks) into discipline” (PF1); and it was confirmed by PM1's story :

“My TA (traveling allowance) bill was in the audit office along with another colleague’s. One day he told me that he had got his through by paying ‘commission’. I was furious. I went to the audit office, just in the mood to thrash him if he asked me for money, which he very wisely did not dare”.

A woman manager would have to think a few times even before deciding to visit such a male dominated public space, and violence would not fit in with female role-socialisation. Valerie Hall’s observation in the British context has a relevance here that organisational roles reflect the patterns of wider society and that expectations of men and women’s behaviour outside the workplace influence expectations at work (1994:3). One female participant (PM1) remarked that “men can quarrel, fight; a woman cannot do that. For her, going to the accounts office is itself a problem. How will she go there --- *bechari* (the helpless)”. Considering this issue another woman principal (PF6) suggested that perhaps a female clerk in a girls college could ease the tension for a women head but a majority felt it practically useless in the existing set up as these quotes reveal:

“I think a male accountant knows better than a woman; he is constantly dealing with other men, and keeps moving around. We, the women, can only talk to one another; our knowledge is limited” (PF4); and,

“We need male accountants to deal with the outer world. They have to get the bills through and visit accounts office and other offices; they do it all. We just sign” (PF7).

Such situation-specific considerations and practicalities perpetuated traditions and structures, even when it was admitted, as by PM4, that religious teachings claimed “men and women are equals, in every way”. It was admittedly ‘a male society’. The finding highlighted a complex interplay of discourses: patriarchy, role-specifications, female mobility and networking, public/private dichotomy, and role-socialisation

within a Muslim, Asian sub-culture where the **public/private** divide was effectively maintained. The girls colleges emerged as extensions of private space rather than as a part of the public arena. Structural constraints such as all-male offices and male support staff, cultural traditions of male supremacy, and the notion of sex-segregation in Islam appeared to be exploited to restrain digressions, unwanted in a patriarchal scenario. It will be interesting to mention another research finding here that beyond the girls colleges, there were no females in the University's administrative offices, and only three women in management positions in the education department: an additional secretary, a divisional director colleges, and an assistant director. Their positional powers and authority were effectively curtailed by socio-political norms and practices. It may not be directly related to college management, but this aspect of findings did illuminate the attitudes and the socio-religious norms which were politically interpreted to control and discipline any deviations or violations of the boundaries, and this quote highlights the issue:

“Men get angry if a woman is appointed in a senior position. Their stand is that women should be selected for women only posts but not for open-to-both ones. As long as we are in subordinate positions, there is no problem otherwise there would be even attempts at character assassination” (PF6).

Although the postal questionnaires or interview schedules did not contain any question inquiring women's selection for open-to-both-sexes posts, quite a few male college heads commented in their responses against women's appointment to the senior management posts which were not 'women-only'. It reflected the cultural trends and traditions aiming at exclusion of women from public space and positions of authority. An interesting story relevant here was narrated by PSM1:

“The secretary education was to preside over the Annual Prize Distribution in a male college. The local divisional director colleges, a female (the first woman divisional director colleges), was not invited by the college principal to that ceremony, contrary to the usual practice. When it was brought to the secretary's notice, he advised the lady on phone to be present at the occasion. She went to the college at the appointed time. The principal was angry to

see her and told her rudely that no seating arrangements had been made for women”.

The episode shows how women were and are marginalised. Different discourses were exploited, in this case the notion and traditions of sex-segregation, to exclude women in the positions of power from the public space, which is another concern of a deeper analysis provided in the next chapter. The family and *baradari* (clan/extended family) also played their part in perpetuating the public/domestic divide. PSM1 observed that many women did not accept management positions as they feared it might effect their family set-ups. The in-laws would criticise that they were after careers and did not care for domestic responsibilities which had serious repercussions in a family-focused community. Further, a fear of social black mail re-inforced the barriers, with threats of character assassination. Women became easy victims to these exploitations, and restrained themselves to the relative safety of the private space for the sake of family *izzat* (honour) and to keep the family intact.

In the back drop of the Quranic injunctions of equality and justice, the degree of freedom and equality practically held by women within patriarchal patterns was limited. It emerged as another area where dissension between rhetoric and reality contributed to un-aspired headship, albeit only for women. This public/private divide not only affected finance management but also shaped management styles, which is my next concern.

Management styles

The contradictions and the heterogeneity of socio-political discourses demanded a variety and flexibility of style. There was a wide spread from authoritarian to participatory styles of management. This seemed to influence decision-making, implementation, and interpersonal relations, including student management, staff management, and public dealings. How far these inclinations were personality features and how far conscious political choices and stances supported by gender, class, and social standing of the person concerned, are debatable issues. To be effective principals according to their own understanding and within contextual

constraints, each principal developed a management style to suit the purposes; as these quotes support:

“Our principals have to deal with different classes. Employees from grade one to grade twenty work with me. They come from different [social] backgrounds and different positions. To get work from them you have to adopt relevant styles. You have to be stern with lower classes, a 100% supervision. Some people do their work properly, but others compel you for supervision and control. Therefore, I believe, that a good administrator should be a psychologist” (PM1).

“I have worked with more than a dozen principals. I have witnessed that those principals suffered, and were at a disadvantage, who were harsh and autocratic. Those who were friendly, showed better results; their interpersonal dealings were good; students were happy with them and they made a positive impression” (PM3).

“I am extremely tolerant. People often comment that I always keep smiling. ... I am never harsh. I am soft but firm. I deal in such a way that no body can complain” (PM4).

Functioning within the constraints of interacting ideological, educational, professional, political, cultural, and wider socio-economic discourses, the male and female college heads maintained a flexibility of management styles pertinent to the immediate context. One college head who emphasised tolerance, at the same time insisted on being harsh in accountability:

“If someone is in the wrong and you remain soft, then you will weaken administratively. ---- You should be generally nice and sympathetic but if someone does not do one’s duty, and does so knowingly, then if you are soft that would be your biggest mistake. A stern action would teach a lesson to the concerned person, and would be an example for others” (PM5).

There were others who disagreed:

“Educational institutions are different. Harshness does not pay there; it only worsens the relationships” (PM6).

“A harsh style does not pay; it can worsen the situation. There should be understanding among the head and the staff. They should sit together and discuss the things. When I get posted in a new college, I form a committee of four/five influential teachers who occasionally hold meetings with the students also. Consultation is essential. Centralisation of powers does not work in colleges. Staff should be involved in every thing, then it would work better” (PM7).

And still others who recommended balance:

“One should not be so soft that every one rides rough-shod over you; or so stern that others are afraid to approach you. One has to be moderate” (PM10).

“We have worked with many principals and we know that if the head continues to be harsh and autocratic, the problems would add up. Even the ten fingers of your own hands are different, and people are like that. They need to be handled accordingly” (PF3).

“Some times you are autocratic, some times friendly. There is no fixed style. It is the problem, the situation, that determine the style. For example, if it is a senior member of the staff, I would deal differently, but if it is one of the junior staff or one of my own ex-students now on staff, my dealings would be quite different” (PF4).

The staff and the students were not just professionals and learners. In this particular society, each one of them was positioned differentially in a complex interplay of socio-economic and politico-religious determinants. Their multiple subjectivities interacted with their professional/learner positioning, imposing relevant cultural

norms on behaviour and interpersonal relations. Any management style tending to ignore these complex subjectivities could add to the principal's problems. This can be another explanation of the principals' emphasis on appointments at home towns, and of the obvious reluctance to accept postings at other places:

“The intentions should be that a principal is not appointed at a far off place [away from home town]. S/he should be appointed at a place where s/he knows the people and understands the local environment” (PM8).

“There are diverse sub-cultures in different districts (of AJK). If a principal is appointed, for example, in Pounch [district] s/he will have to follow their norms and fulfil their expectations of behaviour and style or the people will turn against that head” (PF1).

Generally, a flexible style, encouraging participation and consultation was perceived by a majority of heads as suited to the situational requirements:

“You cannot follow the rule of Martial Law in educational matters. You have to adopt an appropriate strategy. Manage the right atmosphere and give priority to the aims! Secondly, no one can claim ultimate wisdom. A colleague can offer some very useful advice” (PM6).

Even those heads who believed that the best decisions were your own decisions (PF8), acknowledged the need for consultation to maintain a friendly and participative atmosphere in the colleges. PF4 stated:

“I try to involve staff in everything. You (the researcher) were coming and I had discussed even that with some of them. I consult them in every matter, and think over that. If my decision is different then I take them into confidence and explain my constraints as a head. If it is not possible to consult all, I do discuss it with the senior few”.

Although, officially the principals were responsible for all decisions and actions, a shared decision did imply a shared moral responsibility which had a value in a close-knit community:

“I discuss everything with the staff committees. The advantage is that a decision is then not just my opinion I believe that if more minds think over a matter something better would come out of it; and also it becomes a [morally] shared responsibility” (PF3).

Nevertheless, there were situations when the staff did not wish to share the responsibility:

“Consultation is very useful and important. But there are matters where the principal *bechara* has to decide on his own; the teachers do not share the responsibility. It is particularly so in matters pertaining to personnel management” (PM10);

which again pointed to the web of relationships operating in the socio-cultural context, determining the professional behaviour and actions. Gender issues in a feudal Muslim society further complicated the situation for women college heads, as hinted by PF5:

“If you give task to a male staff they would take it as if they are being ordered; which would be culturally inappropriate except in rare situations”; and

“The culture in our country is to limit the women within their houses; --- that women should not talk to men often. It creates problems. The women think of themselves more as women than managers. If they realise that as principals they had to do their job themselves, had to work hard, keep up discipline, maintain accounts, and manage the male staff, then it would work better. [But] They are just made into figure heads and the head clerks (always male) take control”, explained PF1.

Women college heads, **confined into the private space** of a girls college, appeared to be disciplined by the patriarchal norms. It shaped their management style. It was not only finance management but many other area of work where female movement and performance was restricted, explained PM2:

“If it is a new college or the building is to be constructed, there will be the matters relating to land acquisition, records, and other legal processes. Now, in our society, it is hard for a woman to persistently visit the concerned officers to get the work done”.

And women agreed that the risks involved in moving across the boundaries were too many, as this quote illustrates:

“If you are a women, you would be immediately labelled as immoral. If a male visits your office a few times consecutively, you would be declared having an affair with him. I once travelled for an official meeting with a married male college head, and there was another male colleague in the car. I stayed in the women’s hostel and returned with a family. When I got back after a week, I learned that a local paper had published a news item about my affair and engagement with that head. It is a serious drawback [for women]. The norms in our society permit men to do any thing; they can re-marry [in the presence of a first wife] or have even [according to Islamic law] illicit relationships; that is all OK. The moral standards for men and women are the same in Islam, but there are immense social pressures [for women]. If a women’s reputation is effected no one would marry her; and it would affect her career also” (PF1).

According to the respondents, a structure, evolved from more localised social and behavioural norms, was exploited to marginalise women. They were prone to be easy victims to 'social indictment' and 'scandal'; and PF8 angrily protested that “if a woman works with male colleagues, there is a scandal. ---- There can be relationships without corruption!”. Women felt that they were often playing in a defensive position.

Consequently, they relinquished freedom of mobility in the work context, which was often availed by men to their professional advantage.

Male principals who managed girls colleges also experienced some constraints but with a difference. One such male principal maintained:

“You have to be careful with female staff¹¹⁴. You have to talk carefully, as a wrong interpretation can be put on to it” (PM6).

A ‘wrong’ interpretation was socially and professionally more problematic for the female staff involved, but in this case as the person was acting-head in a girls college, any violation of the norms of the private space could lead to a public-enforced transfer. In addition to that, norms of conversation and behaviour across genders disciplined behaviour and communication. A female interviewee stated:

“Being a woman principal, I occasionally do face problems. Then I talk to the concerned male personnel on phone. If the problem is not solved I have to make a second call; but there would be a *hijab* (hesitation) this time. I find it a bit difficult to talk to men on phone. I intentionally try to avoid the situation” (PF4).

The fear of interpretations and consequences effectively discouraged communication and movement across the boundaries, with quite explicit demarcations of the sites of activity¹¹⁵. It influenced male/female interaction, relationship and dealings in the work context.

¹¹⁴ In the British context, Hall mentioned a study of superintendents where most men "admitted that they felt uncomfortable in a close working relationship with an attractive women" because others might see 'something unseemly in the relationship'-- or it could mean 'trouble on the home front' (1993:58). This highlights that the gender issue has roots much further than in religious discourse.

¹¹⁵ Interestingly, telephone was mentioned by women college heads as a useful means of communicating across the boundaries, albeit with occasional problems which were technical as well as cultural and required a circumscribed use of the facility. Nevertheless, it provided a link between male/female domains without physically violating the rules of spaces. PF2 and PF7 mentioned problems in communication and college management because they did not have this facility in their colleges.

Another aspect of management style was concerned with student management. The college heads complained that the changes in the value systems over the years, had changed the teacher/student relationship. The teacher was no longer the spiritual parent, and the parental involvement in the education of their children was minimal, complained PM1:

“..... The student says that he is paying for education, so --- that [spiritual] relationship has ended. The parents no longer bother after sending the child to the college; they feel well-rid for a few hours; they do not even contact. As a principal, I tried many times to have meetings with parents but it was a bitter experience; nobody comes ---- just one or two, occasionally”.

The students emerged as an aimless, directionless population, prone to exploitation, which aggravated management problems, as maintained by these quotes:

“The boys no longer come [to colleges] with a constructive programme; they are not seeking *ilm* (knowledge). They have other issues: a quarrel with this person or that group, clashes with the transporters etc.” (PM2).

“There is no parent control or teacher control over the boys. Politicians and *baradaries* use them for vested purposes” (PM7).

“In the male colleges students come to 'manhandling' During an earlier posting, I took an action against some students. A group of twenty students came to my office and threatened me of the consequences, telling that the effected student was a member of X party. I maintained a bold front, but I also know that in a context where the PM's brother gets murdered so horribly, there is no security for a common citizen. My daughters go to colleges, and such vagabonds can harm them to destroy me¹¹⁶” (PM1).

¹¹⁶ The concept of *izzat* and its interpretation renders women responsible for the family honour, directly and indirectly. The head of the house is socially responsible to protect the *izzat* of women of the house and a daughter's *izzat* has the highest priority. This notion is discussed further in chapters seven and eight.

This tendency among the students to be used by diverse groups signalled their lack of interest in their studies, and slackening in parental hold. They became easy victims to exploitation:

"Why should a student come to class? What is the incentive there?.. What will he get after graduation? Only a few will get jobs, those who have influence. The rest will take to roads. When a student sees that a brother who had graduated six years ago is still jobless, what is the motivation for him? ... To improve the conditions within the educational institutions, we must control social evils. Before using the power of expelling students [for malpractice], you need to create a context that discourages malpractice. Otherwise if you start expelling in the present situation, then in a year you will have a hundred students left out of a thousand" (PM1).

Furthermore, the heads believed that the students were used by different elements to further their own interests, as these quotes explain:

"Even teachers use students for their purposes. If they don't want a principal, they would create problems for him by using these students; by sending them out on the roads to demonstrate against the principal, only to victimise the principal. There are more problems for the male principals. We have students politics which complicates the matters. ... The girls don't come on the roads¹¹⁷ [to demonstrate]. When they enter the college, they go to their classes; do as they are told. The boys are spoiled. Also there are phony students who enter the college with tasks entrusted to them by political parties. All their conspiracies to create a general crisis are to be counter-managed by the principal. He is often bewildered. Now he cannot be at every joint to spy on their programmes. Then, non-students infiltrate and create a crisis. This does not happen in girls colleges. Once a group of students called for a class-boycott. A class was in progress, the teacher --- a very decent person.

¹¹⁷ I know quite a few examples to the contrary, but these are much less than the boys.

The group leaders entered the room to enforce boycott and violently pushed the teacher. I ordered an inquiry and the committee recommended expulsion of the concerned student. Finally, his father approached the committee to withdraw expulsion on the condition of compulsive migration (which was granted to avoid political pressures). ... In another case, in 198-, a principal was held captive along with two teachers, by a student group, because he had refused to meet their demands. There have been many murders in our colleges” (PM8). And still another story:

“The head took an action against some students. I was then a member of discipline committee. The students went to the house of each member of the discipline committee, at night, and did vandalism. They went even to my house which was close to the police station. ---- Then there was vandalism in college and they threatened some teachers with guns; and cut off the telephone lines. Then they went to the head and threatened to shoot him if he did not comply. The poor man was compelled to withdraw his own decision” (PM10).

The senior educational managers were aware of the issue and showed concern for what they termed as **law and order situation** in colleges, particularly in the boys colleges. It had implications, particularly as it influenced transfers and appointments and evaluation of heads effectiveness (PSM4). The senior educational managers highly emphasised a head’s ability to maintain law and order, as stated PSM3:

“Law and order is an issue. Every other day there are students disturbances. There are students groups and organisations. There is political factor as well. The students organisations often clash with each other. It is wrecking the educational environment. The college head must know how to manage such situations. There are complaints every other day of clashes; it is shooting today and quarrel the next day. People are injured; teachers are misbehaved”.

Student-management emerged as a serious issue with reference to the boys colleges, and a major factor complicating the situation was believed to be the political affiliations of the students. This encouraged them to challenge and violate the system, and created serious management problems. It influenced the traditional role of the head as parental authority. Principals' orders were set aside by political authorities. Rules were modified and violated if the higher authorities wished so, or desired to favour certain students, and here the female colleges were equally open to exploitation, as these examples confirm:

“There are specific rules and procedures regarding allotment of hostel accommodations. I can appreciate the seriousness of safe accommodation for girls, but we have very limited seats. I want those [seats] to go to the rightful. People (parents) come with *parchis*¹¹⁸ requesting seats. I try to make concessions if possible,---- but it wastes a lot of your time and creates management problems. ---- It also creates personal problems for you” (PF6).

“Our merit requirement for admission into science classes was 500 marks. A minister's niece sought admission but was refused because her marks were less than required. There was a lot of social and political pressure, but I resisted; if I had admitted that one student how could I justify not admitting those dozens of students who had been similarly refused for scoring less than 500. I was asked to lower the marks criterion but I again refused. I was challenged that it would be done by the higher authorities. My response was that I was a government servant and had to comply with any government orders, but otherwise I won't do any thing I believed to be wrong. The minister got the amendment order issued by the Prime Minister [of AJK], lowering the criterion to 450 and I had to admit that student, but along with many others in the same category. It did mean a lot of problems for me because in the absence of any new science grant it was really hard to

¹¹⁸ A *parchi* is a personal message on a slip of paper - with no records or legal implications -from any-one in a position of authority, i.e. in the department, bureaucracy, government, politicians, community, religious leaders, or friends and relatives. It often contains a demand which may not be strictly in accordance with the rules. An action or refusal regarding that *parchi* is negotiated socio-politically and with great caution, because an action may lead to being stuck in a legal situation, while a refusal can be treated as a personal insult.

accommodate the increased numbers, but I had the satisfaction that I had not done injustice to others” (PF4).

The uncertainty around decision making and implementation processes rendered the principals helpless and unsure. They wished to be able to exercise their legal and positional authority in managing students and in all other aspects of college management but felt depowered in the face of political interference, social structure, cultural norms, and many other elements. This paradox of **rhetoric/reality** is linked with another dominant theme of positional authority and socio-religious status. Further, as **power/status/authority** were perceived to have implications for **management effectiveness**, the two are jointly examined next for the purposes of coherence and to establish links with the earlier themes.

Rhetoric/Reality, Power/Status/Authority, and Management Effectiveness

In the earlier reporting of these research findings, issues pertaining to power/status/authority of the college heads emerged at many points which suggested that the principals did not ask for more powers but wanted the right to exercise the authority they had as college heads. They claimed that theoretically they were entitled to adequate structural powers, social status and ideological authority to support their management roles and practices. The contention was that in practice all this was rendered as mere rhetoric, divested of any reality, in a highly politicised context of power-play. They insisted that the management of educational institutions did not merely require professional development in related areas, but a highly developed socio-political awareness and personal influence. A principal without influence appeared to be insecure and consequently ineffective, as argued these participants:

“I would say that only that principal can be somewhat successful who has a political back. Without that it is hard to survive. If a brother or a relative is in government then the principal would feel secure; and perhaps would perform better. If a principal has no such support, he is totally insecure; he cannot make any decision” (PM1).

“There are barriers in exercising your legal powers. People threaten you. Every body thinks that he can get his way contrary to rules. They believe themselves as powerful. Just a *parchi* arrives [telling the principal what is required]” (PF6).

"Legal authority? Yes. But no *de facto* powers. It is a political set-up. The director, the secretary, the principal, they are all powerless in spite of their legal powers. We are not really practising democracy. A principal can make appointments up to scale seven, but during my six years of headship I could not make a single independent appointment. Instructions will arrive from high-ups and we would go through a fake procedure to adjust the recommended person" (PM2).

Contacts and influence emerged as a controversial debate in a community of multiple relationships. PM7 and PSM6 argued that local principals with links and relationships established strong groups and exploited their powers. A reference was made to the British rule when the practice was not to appoint government servants at home stations (PSM6). However, a majority believed that a local principal would have less family worries and therefore would work better and harder (PF4; PM1; PM4). In the home town [through contacts and *baradari*], s/he could exercise the legal and positional powers more effectively. A fusion of position and power was viewed as promoting effectiveness. However, in the case of disjunction between two elements, due to multiple pressures and interference in this case, alternate power bases were sought and created by the managers to aid and increase their **management effectiveness**. Social relationships, political links and local contacts emerged as some of these alternate power sources:

“A local principal can be more successful. If he is a strong person and has contact, he can utilise that to be more effective. If a local principal has a good image, it could be a great help. But it is not a formula. In a reverse case (negative image) a principal can survive at a different place [where s/he is not known socially], but certainly not in the home town” (PM13).

Chapter seven examines in depth this specific socio-cultural context where professional competence was not enough for being effective on the job. A principal needed power and contacts to be effective and even to survive the interplay of socio-political currents:

“A few students will approach the PM complaining victimisation, and get their way. The ministers do not know the law, and issue orders. It is our misfortune. The PM’s word is the law ---- that is the Quran/Hadith. You remember principal X who expelled two students after an inquiry. He was asked to withdraw his decision, which he refused. He was transferred in punishment” (PM9).

The senior educational managers who were interviewed, strongly criticised political interference, and were unhappy about its affects on educational out put and college management. They stressed that the main reason for deteriorating interests in studies in the case of boys, was their involvement in local and national political currents, which rendered **student management** an extremely complex and sensitive issue, as observed PM1:

“Today’s student is *madar padar azad* (free from parental control). There are political organisations in the boys colleges; each political party has its own sub-organisation. The politicians are behind them. When students from such backgrounds, come to the principal with an issue the principal has to see and handle the situation in *that* context. He would have to keep in mind that if the issue was not settled amicably, what would be the consequences. The principal is surrounded on all sides and has to decide every step with caution. Being harsh won’t always work, and being soft would end all rules and regulations. He has to find a middle way” (PM1).

The strategies of survival were learnt hard and managed hard, maintained PF3:

“You are not permitted to exercise your powers. There are pressures and interference at every level. It is after a long time that you learn how to cope with all that”.

From many responses the heads emerged as the lonely crusaders fighting on multiple fronts, as constructed through these quotes:

“Principal’s job is hard, really hard. To manage the institution s/he has to struggle on many fronts. There is grouping among the staff; the students have affiliations with different parties and organisations; there is the local community as well” (PM8).

“When having tea together, if a teacher serves it to other colleagues, he is considered nice and polite. But if one of them places the cup before the principal, later in the staff room, it is dubbed as flattery. The staff have their own front; then there is the students front and the public as well. A principal is surrounded on all side” (PM2).

The analogy of multiple fronts was consistently repeated by many interviewees. The head was perceived as fighting on all fronts, unaided and unsupported. The students, the staff, the support-staff, the department, the professional organisations, political powers, and different pressure groups, were all fronts probably requiring sophisticated war techniques:

“There are three different forces active against you; three different fronts - staff, students and support staff” (PM10).

“It is not one front. There is the students front, the staff, the office work, the public, and then appointments and transfers. No body lets you work in peace” (PM14).

“He has to face quite a few fronts: the students, the staff, the public, the leaders, then finance and the department itself” (PSM7).

An interesting aspect was that this analogy of front was used exclusively by male interviewees. Women heads referred to similar issues as problems which must be resolved. Either the metaphor did not go with the female management style or it did not fit into the space where they inhabited, or both. Nevertheless, they did mention multiple pressures in their work situations. If a principal did not bow to unreasonable demands “false reports and complaints would be sent to the higher authorities, poisoning them against the principal. It increases the pressure. There is no probe in the matters” (PM8). The senior managers were aware of these issues and expressed a need to protect the principals:

“To increase the effectiveness of the college heads, the department must provide them protection. For example, if I know that a principal is working effectively and then if there is opposition, we must protect her/him. We should not join people to victimise her/him” (PSM1).

But PSM7 pointed to another side of the issue:

“The problem is, we have professors’ Mafia, students’ Mafia , principals’ Mafia¹¹⁹. We have to face it all. They have their affiliations with the ruling party. If a principal is influential, s/he would get his/her way, and vice versa. If teachers are in a [politically] powerful position they would dictate their policies to the principal, with the threats of an unwanted transfer/posting. It is a vicious circle” (PSM7).

To break the vicious circle, another senior manager argued:

“Unless you end this politicisation, even if we make the head all-in-all s/he would be paralysed in practice, by the ruling party’s [students] wing. If

¹¹⁹ Eric Hoyle, discussing ‘micropolitics of organisations’, explains ‘organisational mafias’ as “an organisational underworld which we all recognise and in which we all participate” (1994:256). According to him, ‘micropolitics of organisations’ is a hidden agenda which usually goes unacknowledged in organisation theories but, exerts great influence on organisations and management; also see Blase and Anderson:1995 and Davies 1994 (chapter 2).

there is **political interference**, it would remain a direct or indirect problem. They [in power] would find ways and means; if nothing else there would be a transfer [of the un-compromising head]” (PSM3).

The principals stressed that in their particular social existence they might need to be flexible and accommodating in implementing rules and regulations but they wanted to be free in deciding those relaxations in the best interests of their students and institutions. They believed that the pressures on their decision-making were often not in the interests of the students or institutional management. Almost every head had examples where a disciplinary action against a student or an expulsion order had to be rescinded due to political interference, which encouraged malpractice and increased problems for the heads. The interference was not limited to matters related to the students. The staff and the public also used political contacts to pressurise the principals and to get their way. Political manipulations superseded professional procedures which influenced performance and quality. According to the interviewees, the staff focus in the circumstances, was no longer on work and performance but on seeking effective contacts. A general feeling of discomfort at political interference and its implications was reflected in many responses like this:

“Politics has penetrated into students, teachers and other employees, and it is increasingly becoming difficult to manage educational institutions, as here you are managing almost without powers” (PM10).

“A common practice today is that promotions are sought through ministers , MPAs, MNAs, and also transfers [to choice locations]. Conditions cannot improve unless service matters are made subject to rules” (PF3).

Another principal needed a driver for the college bus, in a hilly area with poor quality roads. The post was advertised and applications were called. Meanwhile:

“A *parchi* from the President [of AJK] and another one from a Minister arrived. There was public pressure as well. The candidate whom they were all supporting was not suitable for the job. I was under pressure. Ultimately, I

went to the Director personally and explained everything. He very wisely suggested to call in an Army expert for test. I did that and got the right person. But that is possible only in cases where the department is supporting you, and when I am sure that somebody is there to look after me. If I am afraid that in case of not submitting, I can be thrown off to Leepa (a far off town), my resolve will weaken” (PM14).

A female head retorted rather flatly:

“Do you think that a principal can disobey a PM’s order or a government order? Does not she wish to stay in her home [town]? She could be transferred where she may draw less salary and, additionally, the family life will be spoiled. Principals are government servants. They are just to implement the policies of the government. Whether they wish it or not, they have to obey the orders they receive” (PF1).

It was claimed that this interference not only depowered the heads and created serious management problems, but also affected the quality of education. The heads felt insecure, faced with the additional issues of student and staff management in a politicised situation. In the absence of any effective evaluative system, and what they called ‘trade-unionism’, the principals found it hard to maintain the quality of the teachers work; as supported by these quotes:

“If a staff does something, or a teacher’s work is unsatisfactory and the principal sends a report to that effect to the directorate, the AKCTA (Azad Kashmir College Teachers Association) gets active against the principal. The senior officers also often do not give any weight to the principals report” (PM8)

“I never write an adverse ACR (Annual Confidential Report). But suppose if I do write that a certain person is not a good element, or not a good teacher, requesting a transfer, no body would listen to that. That would be conveyed to

the concerned staff and he would form a group to conspire against me. He would use the students and the staff” (PM1).

PSM1's story communicates the fears and threats faced by these managers:

“A group of lecturers made a practice of not sending leave applications when they were absent occasionally. The principal informally asked each one of them to submit leave applications in time to enable him to make alternate arrangements but they never heeded. By the end of the year, when the principal wrote in the ACR that they were not regular, or their performance was not good, or that they did not co-operate, they ganged up to propagate that the principal was an Ahmedi¹²⁰. They accused him of blasphemy and similar things; some *molvies* (Mosque *imams*) criticised him during Friday *khutbas* (sermons); and soon the head was running hard, and explaining hard, that he was a Muslim and believed in Quran, and that Mohammed was the last prophet. That group approached a Minister who ordered an inquiry. ... The principal was under pressure” (PSM1).

Such cases had negative disciplining effects. The heads managed passively to avoid personal risks. Many argued that any attempts at accountability and re-shuffling of staff often added to the their own problems:

“There is more possibility that in trying to get even a peon transferred, the principal herself might get posted to a worse place” (PF5). Or

“The principal’s opinion is not even considered, regarding appointments or transfers of staff. If you check any staff or demand an explanation [for unsatisfactory work], they will be annoyed [which would set off a whole chain of reactions]” (PM7).

¹²⁰ Ahmedis are declared non-Muslims in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (1973).

The **professional organisations** of different categories of staff were blamed for using all pressure tactics to support their members, without a due sense of duty to work. They were viewed by the majority of the interviewees, the college heads and the senior managers, as another political agency obstructing the management processes. They were perceived as using the politicians or at times being used by them, to protect vested interests, and consequently rendered the staff management problematic, as highlighted in this quote:

"Those who have contacts with government (political leaders) won't even take their classes, boasting of their relationships with the sitting MLAs or Ministers. If you write an adverse ACR, it will be used against you. They will gather under the umbrella of their professional organisation and make situation difficult for you....We (principals) have no professional organisation" (PM1).

The senior managers confirmed the problematic role of different professional organisations:

"Professional organisations, the so-called associations, are a serious issue. They function on local and regional levels. Their role has been predominantly negative. Instead of being a help in administration, they erect barriers in solving the issues; --- and cause problems at times. For example they blackmail the administration, --- for petty gains; and bring infamy to the whole system" (PSM3).

There was a consensus that management effectiveness could be increased by acknowledging the principals' **powers** and giving them a free hand. The issues of the status and power of the college heads evolved at the interstices of **rhetoric and reality**. The apparent paradox reflected a complex interplay of diverse religious, regional, cultural, educational, and more contemporary socio-economic discourses.

In Islam in particular, and in the Eastern cultures in general, a teacher has claims to spiritual, intellectual and social superiority. The recent interactions with highly

powerful currents of social, political and economic changes have diffused the discourses. The spiritual parent who traditionally commanded respect and authority, validated by religion and traditions, felt like a *bechara*; as confirmed by the following quotes:

"Earlier I considered it a position of '*tehka*' (glamour and power), of splendour, but very soon it was obvious that it was a hard job" (PM2).

"The society respects the principal. He is invited everywhere. There is honour and prestige. But then the captain has to lead the team: it is hard work" (PM4).

There was a distinction in being a principal. If the principal was walking past, others would slow down and say *salam* (Islamic greetings). There was a *roub* (authority and veneration) associated with the position, that has vanished now --- you cannot even demand an explanation from a teacher for not taking a class" (PF1).

The contradictions between rhetoric and reality were more confusing for the new-to-the-job heads. Handling the practicalities of a complicated and politicised situation, in the absence of imagined *tehka* and *roub* rendered the job harder; divesting it of the rhetoric, and baring the realities, as these quotes reveal:

"It is a good thing to be a principal; it is an honour. The unpleasant thing is that even when you are doing the right thing people criticise" (PF8).

"Being a principal is a great status. I won't belittle it by showing ingratitude. It is a great position and if we do not respect this position ourselves, others won't do that either. ---- Well, we should have a free hand" (PM6).

And this absence of a free hand converted the commanding spiritual parent into a *bechara/bechari*. The feeling of helplessness and powerlessness to cope with the demanding job was acknowledged in the earlier quotes even when the rhetoric still

had its sway. But there were others who were disillusioned with the rhetoric after adverse experiences. PM7 had a similar experience and angrily stated:

“People say that you become principal *sahib*. Some do have inflated egos, and they find satisfaction [in being called principal *sahib*], ...but not me” (PM7).

The religious and socio-cultural halo round the position of a teacher made the post attractive, but the system and procedures of selection, postings, and development policy, which were described by the interviewees as oblivious of the demands of the day, rendered the management problematic. The absence of a clearer job description added to the interplay of diverse discourses, resulting into these apparently confusing and contradictory responses concerning rhetoric/reality of a principal’s position, but with an essential underlying homogeneity - an acknowledgement of change:

“The times have changed. We feared our teachers or remained quiet out of respect. Now it is different; a student comes to you and bangs his fist on the table saying this is my demand, this is my demand” (PM2).

“In the Asian countries, being in command, being an officer, is a big thing. but a principal’s work is no longer appreciated in our society in this materialistic age. A *patwari* or *tehsildar* (junior officers in land revenue, working in very low grades), or an AC (Assistant Commissioner¹²¹) are now commanding more respect ---- may be superficial respect. The gains from them are material; a principal educates their children but a *patwari* can give them land (which is important in a feudal society)” (PM11).

Located in Islamic philosophy and traditions of education, and in the absence of material gains, the heads - both male and female - aspired for status and ‘authority’. The situational constraints - structural, economic, social, political and cultural - made headship an unaspired phenomenon. The contradiction was reflected in the discourses and the practices, and the linking thread was the ‘unaspired headship’.

¹²¹ An Assistant Commissioner is in a junior grade as compared to a principal.

Unaspired headship emerged as the core category. It permeated the stories told by different participants. In spite of religious, social, political, and professional discourses of status and authority, the heads emerged as *bechara/bechari*, caught in a situation where options and choices could not be exercised. If they were the dolls in the puppet show then who controlled the strings to keep the show going? And this also links with the secondary questions developed earlier in chapter one, which inquire the factors and forces contributive to the construction of management roles and practices of college heads in this research context. There could be many other positions and perspectives to engage with these stories, but for me ‘unaspired headship’ was one way into the data, to weave the threads into a pattern. It also offered a possibility of exploring the situation in the single-sex-colleges context. Significantly, the issue of gender and its wielding as a tool for empowerment and marginalisation was highlighted in the segregated domains of work. The next chapter pulls together all these different strands picked from the data presented selectively in chapters five and six, and shapes the traveller’s tale.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

Introduction

The data collected for this study pulsed with stories exposing concepts and practices in a specific educational situation within a Muslim, post-colonial, patriarchal context. It offered the potential and possibilities of differently positioned spring-boards for cleaving through the muddy waters into clearer depths, but what the diver collects would depend very much on the site of plunge and the preferences of the diver. My intention in taking this plunge was to argue for the active pulsating life beyond the muddled surface. My argument is that a lack of understanding and sympathy for a research situation can lead to muddled generalisations, particularly in the absence of a 'placing in the context' (Garfinkel:1984). A reader, not adequately understanding the cultural, political and socio-economic complexities of the situation and the interplay of discourses therein, might shrug off certain findings such as detailed in chapter six as malpractice or mere corruption which would be unfair to the research subjects situated in an intricate context. There is nothing which can be labelled 'simple truth', claims Maurice, arguing that "simple truths can be very complex, often contradictory bound to cultural and political conditions which shift and intermingle rapidly and subtly, disallowing any presumptions of stability" (1995:83). Before declaring 'simple truths', they need to be situated in time and space, because effects of truth are produced within discourses which are themselves neither true nor false (Foucault:1980). The stories told by the respondents and participants in this study were their truths reflecting their beliefs and values:

"A story is never just a story -- it is a statement of belief and morality, it speaks about values. Stories carry loud messages both in what they say and what they do not say. They may accept political and social priorities without comment or they may challenge those priorities" (Goodson: 1995:56).

And my research participants did both.

In the previous chapter, I presented their stories, avoiding infiltration in as far as it was possible in the role of a researcher/translator and a guide facilitating traveling in

the 'strange lands'. Here the attempt is, in Sally Westwood's words, "to offer those involved not simply a voice but a speaking position" (1991:83). This chapter is written from within my perspective, and investigates in depth the messages in and within 'what they (the participants) say and what they do not say'. It offers an analysis of what is 'accepted' and/or 'challenged', and investigates 'why/s'. My participants and the readers may see and construct it differently from how I understand and interpret the data and the situation. This is one explanation offered from a specific position and subjectivity, at a specific point in the research process, and needs to be engaged with as such. It is pulling the fractured data back together, by tracing the entangled threads and their interstices, to work out a theory of relationships in the effort to make sense of an overwhelmingly dense and unique data.

The research findings presented in chapter six introduced the reader to a mesh of interacting forces and discourses where to explain college management merely as an 'on-the-site-activity' would be crudely simplistic. Investigating an educational site without exploring the wider social existence, to me, is like anatomising the flower without studying the plant in all its parts, and the earth where it grows. An understanding of the 'flower' and any changes at that level would, preferably, involve work at the 'plant' and the 'earth' level. This chapter reflects efforts at the deeper diggings, where the researcher ceases to be a mere guide and becomes an explorer looking for meanings and their relationships, a traveller in the Islamic traditions.

The first section of this chapter is concerned with the development of the core category, relating it to the other themes and filling in the details to explain their relationships. During the process, I often refer back to evidence presented in the earlier chapters for the purposes of elaboration and validation. Section two considers the disempowerment of the institutional heads, and its sources and effects. It examines how struggles for dominance, and attempts at resistance, were simultaneously carried out in the college management context. Alternative empowerment strategies are explored in the third section of this part. It takes into consideration the heterogeneous and compound nature of power in interaction with categories like expert positioning, academic status, gender, social class, power differentials, and relates it to the categories developed earlier through an ongoing

analysis. The concluding section discusses deployment of myriad discourses which formulated management roles and practices of institutional heads in this specific context, with a focus on religion, gender and sex-segregation.

1. The Issue at the Core: Unaspired Headship

Dreyfus and Rabinow argue that “[T]o understand power in its materiality, its day to day operation we must go to the level of micro-practices, the political technologies in which our practices are formed” (1982:185), and I agree. Placed in a position of authority in the formal educational structure, the participating college heads emerged as ineffective and helpless, with little or no agency¹²². It necessitated a study of ‘technologies’ in which practices were formed. Rose defines technologies as “hybrid assemblages of knowledges, instruments, persons, systems of judgement, buildings and spaces, underpinned at the pragmatic level by certain presuppositions about, and objectives for, human beings” (1996:132). For example, in the context of disciplining of students, Barbara Grant examines technologies of domination (1997:107-9) wielded through discourses like ‘what is a good student’ (Ibid:110-1), to achieve specific ends. In this research context, multiple discourses surrounding family, gender, Muslimness, teacher, and knowledge, were some of the technologies deployed to create regimes of subjectification. Submission reflected anxiety to be acknowledged as ‘good’, but it did not rule out struggle and resistance.

The avoidance and/or refusal to acknowledge the wish to be a college head emerged and developed as a persistent pattern after initially emanating unsolicited from the postal responses, as mentioned in the analysis of responses to the postal questionnaires in chapter six. One straight forward question asked from the college heads was ‘Why did you wish to be a college head?’. From the early responses, I was prepared to use probes during the later conversations to investigate curt denials, if any, of such aspirations. The flexibility of in-depth interviewing provided spaces for re-formulation of queries. As it happened, in cases of non-aspirants, I changed the question conversationally to ‘Why did you not want to be a college head?, and that often led to animated explanations. Unexpectedly, the innocent query served as an

¹²² Bhabha offers an interesting interpretation of the notion of agency as the apparatus of contingency, and ‘ambiguity of such phenomenon’ (1994:187).

effective tool in bringing out details of the educational structure, the pitfalls, the loopholes, the practices and other complex countless issues related to institutional headship, with focus on un-aspired headship. This section investigates the situational forces pertinent to un-aspired headship in a specific Muslim society, in the backdrop of international literature and with reference to the local context.

Explorations into this theme of un-aspired headship, during conversations with the research participants, unveiled a complex interplay of religious, professional, political, economic, structural, and socio-cultural forces and discourses as formulating factors. A dominant theme was a feeling of being depowered, and its affects on management roles and practices. Significantly, these college heads did not demand more powers to be effective managers. What they explicitly (through clearly worded statements) and implicitly (through stories and examples) asked for was a situation favourable to the 'exercise of the powers' - powers structurally granted to the college heads in the formal system - a retrieval of their agency. They did not raise any issues of barriers to achieving headship; the issue was the absence of a 'wish to be a college head', which appeared to me to be linked up with the absence of agency.

An interesting finding was that "un-aspired headship" was not gender-specific, as expounded in the international literature. In the Western literature on educational management that I have come across, a strong theme was that low aspirations, less ambitions, and avoidance of leadership positions was a gendered phenomenon linked with multiple barriers related to role-socialisation and stereotyping¹²³ (Davies:1992; Nayyer:1985; Ozga:1994; Shakeshaft:1991; Strachen:1993; Wilson:1995; Witz:1992). In addition to that, family and domestic responsibilities were generally perceived as a barrier to high aspirations¹²⁴. Conversely family, which is a strong central unit in a Muslim society with a detailed structure of responsibilities and obligations, did not seem to make women under-aspiring in this study. An awareness of the social problems was there but still women did not come up as less aspiring.

¹²³ It can not be ignored that these assumptions are generally formulated in a mixed-sex work-context, with all the associated gender implications. Avoidance of leadership positions in single-sex and mixed-sex contexts are two different phenomenon and need to be explored as such.

¹²⁴ Raj (1982) mentions complains about combining home and job duties in Indian. India is sitated in the same geographical region and there are cultural similarities between India and Pakistan but one strong variant is religion.

Maybe it can be traced back to the importance of women's domestic role in Islam which the Quran presents as complementary to the male role of 'bread-winner' and nowhere is it implied as lower. Even in the history of Islamic societies there are mentions of women role models commanding power, prestige and status in diverse fields (Ahmed:1992; Al-Saadawi:1982; Memissi:1993).

Probably, it was a perception of the **female role in Islam** as equals in difference that women, after achieving some awareness through education and relevant knowledge did not feel inhibited to aspire for any roles in spite of the patriarchal traditions in the society. On the other hand, in the case of not-aspiring women heads, it could have links with socio-cultural traditions, regional history, and vested interpretations of religion, in addition to the immediate contextual problems and disadvantages. There were different barriers: structural, social and cultural, which added to the problems for the female heads. The initial concern of this study was not gender-focused, presuming that in single-sex institutions gender may not be a strong determining factor. As the study progressed, gender, in interplay with religion and culture, achieved dimensions which permeated beyond the structural bifurcation, and emerged to play a major role in formulating management roles and practices. The responses of my research participants, women and men, unveiled a play of gender and religion in formulating discourses, and as a mode of ordering roles and practices.

In a complex research situation, it is impossible to attribute stronger/weaker determining powers to any one element. However, a study which claims to focus on men and women needs to take into account “women’s experiences of gendered power relations [as] a source of knowledge” (Ramazanoglu: 1992:209). It is not ‘privileging the significance of gender’ (Alcoff:1988) over other factors, but a recognition of the gender element and of power differentials through engaging with them on the same critical plane (Stanley and Wise:1983). This emerged as an essential requirement for better understanding of organisational culture and practices. Ramazanoglu argues, and I agree, that:

“The intersections of gender and sexuality with ‘race’/ethnicity and class are still too little understood, and yet these intersections are fundamental to any full understanding of social life” (1992:209).

The discursive practices to monopolise discourses and usurp power in the educational hierarchy, by those above and below, to dis-empower those situated as college heads, had added gender dimensions. Women in this specific Islamic society, were subject to a complicated multi-dimensional power-play. The dis-empowerment of women college heads by subordinate finance staff, who all happened to be males even in this sex-segregated context, reinforced patriarchal power-play aiming at women’s exclusion from positions of power, or at least restraining the exercise of power through weakening their hold over money/finances. Similar problems were experienced by male managers, although with a difference, and they also handled them in a different way as discussed later in this chapter.

Nevertheless, if low aspirations were not gendered, as suggested earlier, but culture and context dependent, historically specified practices, it obligated an exploration of the factors and features formulating this attitude, besides pointing to the possibility of changing or re-formulating the practices. Another aspect demanding attention with regard to unaspired headship was the professional work environment, the responsibilities and the work load which could be deterrents in a specific situation, leading to job stress and subsequent lack of aspiration. It is a phenomenon acknowledged widely in international literature, and is discussed next before exploring the wider socio-cultural context with reference to un-aspired headship.

A number of research studies confirm that the teachers (Farber:1991; Rogers:1996), the head-teachers (Alistair:1995), and the top executives (Quick:1990) all experience a high degree of stress due to the high demands on their time and effort. The stress, in the case of institutional heads in the western literature, is associated with workload and an isolated culture of the job. Graham Lund (1990) quoted many references to indicate the accelerating tendency among head-teachers to seek early retirement, and among school teachers to avoid headship. The British media has been emphasising “The crisis over head-teacher posts an eighty per cent increase in heads taking

premature retirement” because it is stressful (workload), and statistics of increased vacancies of head-teachers are provided to support the argument (The Guardian Education: May 27, 1997:2).

The majority of management studies focusing on college heads and their tasks emphasise their workload and isolation. My research participants acknowledged these two elements but interpreted them differently. From their responses, the workload, because of its conceptual association with education, was perceived as a prestigious responsibility in a socio-religious context of mutual obligations and duties within an extended community; and isolation was defined by the degree of contacts, or lack of those, within the same. These obligations and contacts emerged as forces in the formulation of management context and practices. It were not in fact their management responsibilities as such, or the demands on time, primarily liable for ‘unaspiredness’. The stress, if it could be understood as stress, was not internal to the job but rather external to the work responsibilities and environment. From the responses of my participants, I would say that they ‘did not want headship’, not because of work load causing job stress¹²⁵, but because of the nature of the ‘work’ involved and the ‘situation’ stress.

Another question that arises here is related to the much debated East/West dichotomy. Is low-aspiring, or rather claiming to be low-aspiring, an Eastern approach/culture? Willis and Bartell's study (1990) of Japanese and American secondary school head teachers finds that as compared to the American 'ladder climbing' model, Japanese principals do not seek this position, preferring group work to authority. The Japanese situation is discussed as a case where men lack ambition for leadership positions, concluding that "... most Japanese principals do not seek this position", which the researchers further explain as "fully in accord with the highly centralised group-effort-focused nature of Japanese' endeavours in the work place" as compared to "American-style system of 'ambition and ladder-climbing'" (1990:113-4). The study implies this attitude among the Japanese as an elemental factor for their not aspiring for leadership positions.

¹²⁵ The administrative and financial structure of colleges and the regional socio-cultural patterns create a work context with a different kind of work load and demands on time.

I would agree that Eastern cultures tend not to be very vocal about career ambitions but it need not imply an absence of ambition. Moreover, Muslims have a tradition of leadership associated with knowledge while working with and/or through group/s, and not necessarily of avoiding taking responsibility for the group. Some other reasons suggested by Willis and Bartell for this low ambition are 'process of selection', 'small increase in salaries', and vagueness about 'future careers of principals'; and it is followed by a corroborative comment that "The principals' role in Japan today can be seen as largely symbolic and ritualistic" (1990:121). I would argue that it is not an 'already there' cultural attitude shaping the practices in this case of avoidance of leadership positions, but that the attitude itself can be a construction of a complex interplay among those 'other reasons' quoted above from Willis and Bartell, and the socio-cultural context.

1.1. The Ideological context

In a country like Pakistan demanded and established on the basis of Muslim identity and ideology, religion acts as a strong force in determining various conceptualisations and constructions. The concept of education in Islam is related to man's striving towards a holistic continuing development, aiming at 'perfection', never fully attained but always worked for to rise higher in *taqwa*, as discussed earlier in chapter one. The primary aim is to facilitate developing those values whose roots are in the attributes of God and which God has planted within human beings as potentialities" (Ashraf:1995). The educational institutions should ideally bring out these 'potentialities' and develop them to the maximum possibilities, but with a focus on 'holistic development of man' and not on the marketability of education. It represents a philosophy of education which is, to some extent, reflected in a liberal concept of education promulgated by thinkers like Freire (1972).

The Islamic philosophy of education and the **prestige and status** associated with teaching in Islam, discussed earlier in chapter two, create a rhetoric of '*bazurgi*' (greatness), *izzat* (honour) and *roub* (awe), fusing *ilm* (knowledge), *taqwa* (righteousness) and leadership in the role of *moallam* (teacher) who provides

knowledge and guidance, and has the highest claims to obedience¹²⁶. This give and take, ideologically, has no financial obligations attached. The teacher's claims to obedience (as source of teacher power) within Islamic philosophy, are mainly determined by her/his claims to *taqwa* and knowledge, and the learners' submission is extended according to their perceptions of 'knowledge'. The construction of an institutional head as the best teacher presupposes academic excellence, which would be consistent with the Islamic philosophy of knowledge. It also re-inforces the rhetoric, and could empower the heads as its embodiment, laying claims to respect and status. However, it ignores the job specifications and the multifarious tasks involved in the management of the post-school educational institutions in an intricate context which requires more than academic excellence or mere 'job seniority', as was the case in AJK. A unanimous emphasis on the college head's academic excellence probably reflected the desire to re-appropriate the power accorded to a teacher by the Islamic philosophy of knowledge. The 'helpless' heads tried to attain empowerment through a religious discourse.

Noreen Garman claims that "our professional lives depend on understanding how the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by what Foucault (1972:4) calls 'the societies of discourse'" (1995:49). The discourse surrounding the status and prestige of a 'teacher' in a Muslim society, is not merely a matter of academic recognition bounded within the professional domain. It further extends and concerns the 'whole' person, as the job of the teacher involves holistic development of the learner. Deriving from this Islamic ideology, and functioning within an inter-connected close-knit web of communal existence re-inforced by the regional cultures, status and prestige needed to be acknowledged and maintained in the wider community. According to the essential philosophy of education in Islam, knowledge is for the 'development of body, mind and spirit' (Al-Attas: 1979:158); and in acknowledgement of the teacher's role in this multi-dimensional 'development' s/he is acclaimed as a spiritual parent¹²⁷ with claims to a high status,

¹²⁶ According to the Islamic philosophy of education, there is no dichotomy between 'teacher' and educational manager. Higher positions in education are to be claimed by those who are higher in knowledge and therefore a college head theoretically should be higher in '*ilm*' and '*taqwa*' than other teachers.

¹²⁷ Status and rights of parents are a highly emphasised phenomenon in Islam which is stressed in the Quran and the Hadith and other religious texts.

and with equal demands on observation of the rules and norms to justify the claims. How this aspect is wielded socio-politically is examined later in this chapter.

Theoretically, the principal, being higher in knowledge and *taqwa*, has stronger claims to respect and obedience from the learners, and respect and acknowledgement from the colleagues and community. This has been a source of power for the institutional heads in a context where stories abound in obeying the teacher, and about the teacher as the saviour (spiritual and moral); where knowledge is the legacy of prophets and prophets are the messenger of God, and guides to mankind. In spite of a virtual absence of economic gains, the responding principals accepted the position as it carried a halo of status and prestige as detailed in chapters five and six. The rhetoric prevailed. However, the emphasis on 'lack of ambition for headship' and dissatisfaction with the job reflected the tension between the ideological rhetoric and situational realities. It pointed to the demands and pressures linked with the job in a dynamic context where values and notions were changing and correspondingly, re-formulating the practices and norms. When the discourse of teacher/principal's status and teacher-learner relationship was operationalised in the existing socio-economic context, and under the influences of local eco-political forces and aspects of globalisation (Giddens:1990), the rhetoric failed to stand up to the realities. It led to a feeling of ineffectiveness and disempowerment among the institutional heads, and caused apathy. The next section focuses on concerned socio-economic elements.

1.2 Socio-economic Dimensions

Socially and ideologically, the principals desired to command respect and obedience to facilitate management; and economically, they wished to be paid fairly for the amount of work they did, so that they could maintain their status in a world of changing values where knowledge and *taqwa* were no longer exclusive forces as was particularly evidenced by PSM6 and PM2 in chapter six. Politically they needed power to function in their job positions without being paralysed by counter-powers in a complex socio-political situation. This section discusses how the interplay of discourses, with focus on its financial aspects, problematised the situation to contribute to 'un-aspired headship'.

A lack of **financial gains** accompanying the headship, appeared to make the job less of an attraction and more of a bother - more work, more responsibility, more demands on time and insignificant financial compensation - although the protests were not very loud. It was mentioned conversationally as nominal, insufficient even to pay office-tea-bills, but was not emphasised¹²⁸. Probably this not mentioning money for work in education can be traced to a religious philosophy which presents teaching/learning as religious duties. As such it is assumed that these ought not to be performed or pursued for material gains. Ideally it should aim at 'nearness' to God and to win God's favour as was a common practice in early Islam, without linking it with financial rewards as examined in chapter two¹²⁹. This bonding together of a localised (in time and space) dominating concept of a teacher's work in early Islam, and a permanent feature of the Islamic philosophy of education might well suit those occupying the positions of power and interpretation. Appointing those higher in 'seniority', who may not necessarily satisfy the Islamic requirement of being 'higher in knowledge', to the principal's post and then propounding the attendant social status as its reward raises two points. The first one concerns appointments and will be discussed in the following section, but the other regarding social status is of relevance here. This manipulation of religious and social discourses acted to educe submission and it ignored the demands on time and efforts of the principals. Consequently, the comments concerning lack of financial rewards for the institutional managers were feeble but not absent. It could be a surrender to given political and religious discourses, and a further inability to resolve the tensions between and within these discourses because of lack of 'power' over their 'formulation' and a lack of relevant knowledge/s to occupy the spaces of interpretation, as examined earlier in chapter three. The problems were enhanced by the service structure, the rules and regulations of government service, and the procedures and processes involved.

¹²⁸ Interestingly, even the aspiring American and Japanese principals in Willis and Bartell's study cited earlier, did not mention salary as key factor, but the "realisation of one's educational ideals" (1990:121). It points to commonalities across assumed dichotomies, in the discourses surrounding 'Education'.

¹²⁹ It is significant to note that such discourses ignore facts like, for example, the case of the prisoners of the battle of Badr who were set free by the Prophet on the condition that they taught a fixed number of the Muslims how to read and write. It could be viewed as a form of reward/payment for teaching.

1.3. Structural Issues

The system of appointments and postings disempowered the heads further. The processes of appointments and selection requiring seniority/turns/a particular length of teaching experience in a college, appeared to discourage any positive aspirations for headship. The Senior Educational Managers and the principals both expressed dissatisfaction with the system of appointment-as-principal, which was obvious from their relevant responses in the preceding chapters. The guiding principle in this matter was termed as 'seniority-cum-fitness', by all the research participants. However, their stories interpreted it as seniority-cum-political-influence/support, and complained of the exploitation of the 'fitness' clause by the political forces, achieved through the appointing authorities. Significantly, the disapproval of a system that ignored suitability for the job did not extend to a demand for change. They expressly stated that the fitness clause, although explicitly linked with seniority as the first priority in the service rules, was already being manipulated by the powerful to exercise favouritism. They were apprehensive that if seniority was replaced with 'fitness-for-the-job', in the absence of a valid or reliable evaluation or accountability system within the present service structure, it would be exploited to appoint undeserving people. The existing set-up lacked incentives to aspire for headship but the 'risks' involved in initiating change acted as deterrents to improve practices. Cherryholmes argues that choices are exercised situationally, maintaining that "educational practices result from choices. Choices cannot be made without reference to a value, set of values, criteria(on), or interests" (Cherryholmes: 1988:4). He questions that:

"If people are free to choose what to do, why is it they choose activities coincident with rules and normative commitments of established practice? Why do their choices not produce something closer to anarchy? One reason is ideological: people accept, internalise, and act according to shared ideas they believe are true and valid. A second reason is that social practices are supported by power arrangements" (1988:5).

In this study, the participating college heads appeared to accept the unaspired headship for 'ideological' reasons and submitted to the socio-political forces under 'power arrangements'. The systems of selection/appointment of institutional heads

emphasising 'seniority', it was agreed, tended to ignore job-fitness but the alternative had fewer defences against socio-political pressures and manipulations. This was not only stated by the heads but admitted by the senior educational managers also who were structurally involved in the selection and appointment procedures, although they expressly stated that it did not imply that they had any power in deciding the matters, as quoted in the previous chapter.

Almost every respondent to the pilot and the postal questionnaires referred to multifarious **pressures and interference** as a major management issue. These were explained more explicitly during later conversations. Perceived interference was enacted at different levels and for different purposes such as:

- Pressures in transfers/appointments/promotions of staff etc. in the personal interest of the concerned person/s rather than the institution.
- Pressures in dealing with matters relating to the students' performance, admissions, examinations, disciplinary matters etc.
- Pressures/interference from teachers' organisations political/social/religious groups etc., who were often protected, supported, and patronised by the political parties/groups and/or personalities, and subsequently became unmanageable for the heads;
- Pressures on the senior educational bureaucracy, from where these infiltrated back to college heads.

Discussing educational management, Hodgkinson declares it "reasonable to expect a correlation between efficiency and effectiveness" (1991:53). This caveat ignores the 'difference' or 'distance' between efficiency and being in a position to exercise efficiency. In my study, being in a position to exercise efficiency was not merely determined by professional considerations, but other economic, socio-political and religious discourses which were all entangled with shifting boundaries. The problems in staff and student management unveiled areas which extended beyond 'efficiency'

into the domain of a complex power-play at a communal level. The prioritised issue was an infiltration free zone to exercise 'efficiency'.

The situational interference and pressures created a feeling of insecurity and disempowerment among the heads. Association of institutional leadership with sources of influence and power has differed over times and cultures. In the present day Western literature, the powers occupied and exercised by the educational leaders have diverse validating authorities. Handy defines resource power, position power and expert power as different sources and expressions of power (1990:116). He discusses power and influence in relation to leadership, in general, defining power as 'force', and influence as 'process', both drawing from various sources such as position, expertise, authority, charisma etc. (1993:125-51¹³⁰). In the academic context, leadership is perceived to derive power from professional competence, legitimate authority, and personal factors, and its maintenance rests on the leader's "continuing ability to fulfil the followers' expectations", or reshape them (Middlehurst:1993:32). However, these assumptions that professional competence and/or legitimate authority are sources of power tend to ignore the socio-political set up in which power is to be exercised. The next section examines how the 'powerful' can become 'depowered' in specific situations.

2. Disempowerment: De-powering of the Powerful

Irrespective of the debate around the sources of power there emerges one point of convergence: that authority is required for effective educational leadership. Authority is a contentious term. I am using it here to refer to the ability to use the positional powers associated with the headship. A phenomenon exposed by my respondents and interviewees, and evidenced by quotes in chapters five and six, was the helplessness of the college heads in exercising their positional powers. They were very explicit that for the effective management of their institutions they did not demand more powers, but only asked for the right to exercise their existing powers without 'pressures'. A management position appears to require a conjunction of *de jure* and *de facto* powers for effectiveness. The present research context presented a classic disjunction of the two.

¹³⁰ See also Adair:1988; Bryman:1992.

Colleges are complex organisations. As organisations, they are perceived as needing leaders possessing both legal authority (positional power) and professional competence (expert power) for effectiveness. My study suggests that positional power and expert power become virtually equal to zero power if not supplemented by socio-political influence in this particular context, where the latter frequently appeared to supplant the other two. This observation required further investigation of the socio-political 'technologies of power' depriving the *de jure* authorities of their very authority, and of how these 'technologies' operated.

The perceived disempowerment of the college heads, according to the research, had multifarious sources and dimensions, interacting within multiple spaces and relationships. Very broadly, these can be categorised in the following groups:

- patterns of cultural existence
- structural loopholes
- socio-political pressures
- professional organisations

These are briefly considered next to locate the discussion offered in section three.

2.1. Patterns of Cultural Existence

Kinship patterns and extended networks were a traditional feature of regional socio-religious scenes. These constrained individual acts but at the same time guaranteed larger support. Religion and religious community served as sources of strength and empowerment. In Muslim societies, one aspect of modernity often strongly criticised is its perceived distancing of people from religion and the value system emphasised by religion (Ahmed:1992). It is accused of alienating the people from established patterns of existence and upsetting the local social structures. It is blamed for undermining religious values and thus creating a vacuum, because the alternate values that it offered were perceived as lacking spiritual validity and religious authority (Ahmed:1992).

Modernity disturbed the patterns of cultural existence more drastically in the communities where emphasis was on collective existence as compared to the more individual-focused societies. Many references by the participants to changing values, particularly those affecting relationships between the teacher/learner as well as within the family and community, emphasised changes in the cultural set-up. These were perceived as 'deteriorating' the educational situation and rendering the institutional heads helpless. The intricate network of relationships and obligations in the wider community made them vulnerable to pressures even within their professional domains and they expressly submitted to cultural pressures and practices in violation of the professional norms. One common example was the issue of malpractice in the examinations. It was unacceptable as well as punishable both under the organisational law and in the religious value system. The hesitations on the part of college heads in punishing such crimes, even in the presence of clearly coded rules, reflected the socio-political pressures in the context of extended family and kinship obligations. Many principals mentioned how they avoided taking any action for the fear of having to revert a decision under *baradari*/community pressure. They believed that to be worse than avoiding action and perceived both as making effective management impossible. The situation was aggravated by structural loopholes which created spaces for such manoeuvrings.

2.2. Structural Loopholes

Headship was viewed by respondents as associated with power and linked up with legal position/authority, academic status and professional expertise. But at the same time there was a conflict around the 'exercise of power', not only in the wider culture but on the professional site as well. It required political skills which Kotter (1988) defines as the ability to understand and develop power relationships, or build coalitions. Power was seen as being 'usurped' by those 'above' in the hierarchy as well as those 'below'. Those above did not 'heed' to the heads, particularly in matters relating to 'staff appointments and transfers', 'financial requests', and even in matters concerning 'work quality', 'efficiency', and 'discipline'. Those below usurped power through their skills such as competency in handling the accounts, finances, office procedures etc. and thereby rendered the principal 'less confident' and 'less independent'. In view of these constraints from seniors and restraints from juniors

(skilled, experienced office staff), authority of the position was not accompanied by the power to exercise that authority.

Peter Watkins in an interesting discussion of **power relations** between the superordinates and subordinates stresses their relational nature that "Even if one recognises that there may be large disparities in the availability of resources between the parties, the relational notion of power ensures that subordinates have some measure of autonomy while superordinates have some measure of dependency" (1989:26). He also quotes Giddens (1982:32):

"power relations in a social system can be regarded as relations of autonomy and dependence; but no matter how imbalanced they may be in terms of power, actors in subordinate positions are never wholly dependent and are very often adept at converting whatever resources they possess into some degree of control over the conditions of reproduction of system" (Watkins:1989:25).

Power is contested on educational sites. Prevalence of conflict, contesting goals, bargaining and negotiation in the institutions of higher education are some of the decentralising elements and "the decision making process is likely to be determined ultimately according to the relevant power of the participating individuals and groups" (Baldrige: 1971:41). I am not implying that institutional heads were mere subjects of depowering strategies. I agree with Cherryholmes that "Regularities in what is said (discourse) and done (practice) are based on shared beliefs and values ranging across tasks accomplished, problems addressed, values articulated ... " (1988:1). The college heads certainly claimed being rendered helpless by multiple forces and elements discussed earlier, but it did not rule out their share in the formulation of practices and their agency as producers of alternate empowerment technologies. "Discourses are generated and governed by rules and power" (Ibid: 1988:35), and power emerged here as a multi-dimensional interplay rather than a linear activity. In fact the respondents appeared to manoeuvre the same or similar elements to re-empower themselves which had been manipulated to dis-empower them. Corresponding religious, socio-cultural, professional and political discourses

were formulated to create 'spaces of resistance' where power could be exercised, which will be analysed later in this chapter.

This tension and ambiguity around power-sites, contradicted the Islamic construction of 'teacher's status', and can be another explanation of the heads' sense of 'disillusionment', hinted at by many - the high perceptions of the college head's role prior to posting and the actual depowering experience. It also conveys a sense of the unpreparedness for the actual job and a feeling of incompetence in the work situation. In addition to that, it can account for an almost unanimous demand for management training, 'pre-induction' and at 'regular intervals', perhaps to achieve expert power' (Handy :1990:116). Contextual problems and issues contributed to the construction and development of a specific skill-oriented concept of management. It was related to the skills they needed most in their work situation and which they expected would empower them. They perceived management development as a means to enable them to exercise that power which they saw as associated with their legal position, and to attain more 'confidence' and 'independence'. To a certain extent, it also explains their understanding of management development more in terms of skills relating to financing, budgeting, and office procedures. They obviously believed that a relevant skills-development would at least save them from being 'depowered' by the support clerical staff, and guarantee their professional integrity and reputation in the society. It might also develop professional confidence, enabling them to take a righteous stand with the 'high ups' in the matters relating to college management.

A strong emphasis on 'need for management development' indicated that it could be a fear of failure on the job - how to go about doing a job which involved public dealing and not just dealing with the students and colleagues, which was generally the case in teaching positions in this context. Headship was open to wider criticism. Here performance was publicly visible and therefore subject to restraints and perhaps harsh appraisal. Putting in extra effort to make a success of it by learning through experience did not seem to be a satisfying approach - may be the hard way to learn and therefore the stress was on management development as an 'empowering' strategy.

2.3. Socio-political Pressures

The interference and pressures created a feeling of helplessness, a situation with which the heads were often unable to cope. It can be a strong reason for un-aspired headship in a context where political interferences often manoeuvred to side step rules and regulations. The heads may not wish to get entangled in more than can be safely handled, realising their inadequacy at resisting these pressures. Divested of the rhetoric of power and glamour, the job perceptions changed for those who had been in the job for some time and even earlier for those who had been close to their heads prior to their own postings as principals.

These political pressures/interference can also be analysed in association with a 'legitimation crisis'. In the developed countries, increasing market-orientation of the educational system is related to this legitimation crisis (Habermas:1973), which seems to be experienced differently but rather more strongly by the governments in politically unstable and economically underdeveloped countries. Political instability keeps them under constant pressure to seek 'legitimation' but a poor economy makes the going hard. Consequently, corruption, political bribes, unfair practices and violation of rules/regulations occur as alternate means to win/buy that 'legitimation'. It points to the impossibility of explaining practices in education as separate from the wider economic, political and social context.

These pressures formed a multidimensional web of depowering forces, rampant in the wider community. Heads' decisions, even though in accordance with rules and regulations, were rescinded under pressures, making them into 'scapegoats', and creating management problems. This caused a general feeling of 'helplessness' among the heads, increasing stress and raising questions as to how to cope with the situation which often threatened 'law and order', a serious management problem which worried the senior educational managers and threatened the principals, as detailed in chapter six and discussed again in chapter eight. Even following the law was no guarantee to be able to maintain law and order. The situation was aggravated by the professional organisations who, according to the participants, acted more like socio-political pressure groups.

2.4. Professional Organisations

Professional organisations emerged as another strong depowering element. Different professional organisations of the academic and support staff operated, often beyond the professional arena, in the wider socio-political context, exploiting the network of relationships on the cultural scene. They were used as clout by the members to protect their personal interests in a situation of confrontation with the principals. In the absence of any rules to circumscribe their activities as noted by PM10, they emerged as powerful pressure-groups posing a constant threat to the managers' authority. Their agenda appeared to be to establish socio-political contacts, in a context conducive to such activities, and use those to protect the transfers, promotions, evaluations, and the jobs of their members.

It is significant that in responding to a question about networking there was a strong emphasis placed by the principals on developing 'contacts' with parents and influential people (powerful!). Networking was seen less in the professional context, and more in the wider socio-political perspective, probably sensing that other heads could be as 'helpless' as they themselves were in this particular reference. It could be a counter-strategy for professional organisations. Significantly, the political dimension of networking received emphasis, rather than its professional or gender relevance aspects which are stressed in the Western management literature. The empowerment strategy, networking in this reference, takes a different direction in a changed context. To counter the pressures from diverse directions and sources, the heads emphasised the need for 'contacts' on the political and social scenes.

The helplessness of the principals in matters of appointments, promotions, transfers and training of staff, and in even implementing work-time, teaching evaluation, and teachers' accountability reflected their depowering through these organisations. Interestingly, the senior educational managers were quite explicit in their criticism of different organisations as detailed in chapter six, and perceived them responsible for creating management problems and 'law and order situations'. On the other hand, the heads were rather tentative in their critique of the professional organisations, suggesting measures to curtail their activities to an extent which would enable the heads to exercise their structural powers without political pressures. Obviously, they

could not afford to offend them by explicitly criticising and proscribing their activities.

The college heads were positioned in a perceived 'helplessness', but still they were required 'to manage' which obligated 'power' or 'authority'. They were placed in leadership positions, practically divested of the 'power' to exercise the 'position powers'. The following section will explore how these institutional managers 'empowered' themselves to be effective within situational constraints and how power was exercised.

3. Alternate Empowerment Strategies

The concern of this study has been to understand the management roles and practices of college heads in a specific context, and to explore their management development needs. The focus has been on the college heads in their 'situatedness' and by implication on diverse factors and forces present in the situation. The primary research questions proposed were:

- to understand and explain the management roles of college heads, men and women, in a Muslim, sex-segregated, LDC (low developing country), post-colonial context;
- to analyse the management practices and the associated issues, and their mutual interaction in shaping each other in this particular case; and
- to explore the possibilities of management development as perceived by these heads in this specific context.

As the research proceeded it became clear that an intricate interplay among dominant discourses of economic, political, religious/ideological, socio-cultural and professional/ educational regimes contributed to the construction of the management roles and practices of the college heads, and towards the determination of their management development needs. Defining dominant discourses 'as manifestations of larger political investments and interests' Luke writes:

“dominant discourses in contemporary cultures tend to represent those social formations and power relations that are the products of history, social formation and culture (e.g. the gendered division of the work-force and domestic labour, patterns of school achievement by minority groups and national economic development) as if they were the product of organic, biological and essential necessity. By this account, critical discourse analysis is a political act itself - an intervention in the apparently natural flow of talk in institutional life and attempts to ‘interrupt’ everyday commonsense” (1996:9).

This chapter re-visits the research questions, set out in chapter one, to provide some critical perspectives. It is different from the previous chapter where the research participants spoke for themselves. Written from my particular discursive positioning, this chapter explores the interacting discourses to understand, and possibly to extend beyond their limitations.

The remaining part of this chapter details how colleges and college management were perceived in the present research context and the implications that it had for the management - the managers, the managed and the process. Discussion is linked with the research findings through cross-references to negate the ‘colonisation’ (Said:1976) or ‘appropriation’ of the research subject to sustain a particular representation of the view of the ‘other’ (Opie:1992). The heads were located within and across multiple discourses which constituted their subjectivities and their individual and collective positionings. Their subject positions were multiple with inherent contradictions and dissensions. They brought their socio-political subjectivity to their professional positioning - to be regarded an influential principal or powerless. The interplay was among discourses of family background, educational background, contacts, and political influence. Within colleges there were relationships with the students, staff, and senior bureaucracy, besides reputation and image as a teacher and academic, which extended to the wider society and *Ummah*. Further there were gender relationships in a pre-dominantly sex-segregated context in a post-colonial Muslim society influencing the exercise of power.

The power relations between male heads and female teaching staff in women colleges, female heads and male staff in women colleges, male heads and male finance related staff in male colleges, and female heads and male finance related staff in women colleges, all emerged as sites of struggles for dominance and resistance. Social and political contacts with the educational bureaucracy and political regimes added another dimension to the power play. The college heads emerged as participants in diverse formulations, in spite of the professed impotence of their management roles as discussed earlier. This power play, enacted on fluid reformulations of public/private, is the focal point for further discussion.

3.1. Relational Power

Greenfield argues the need to acknowledge in institutional management the “power-driven choice, the uncertainties inherent in them, and the ensuing responsibilities that fall upon themselves” (as cited in Hodgkinson: 1991:4). The responsibilities create a need to act which is linked with positional power and authority. In the case of my research participants, the message understood was an absence of power to act. A broad grouping of the sites of ‘depowerment’ rendering the institutional managers ‘helpless’ and subsequently ‘un-aspiring’ could be formed in three categories:

- social
- political
- professional

Social obligations and relationships in the cultural context of AJK, political pressures and manoeuvrings in a particular Muslim society, and the structuring of the regional post-colonial education system, contributed towards depowering the college heads. Interestingly, the same were manipulated for ‘empowerment’ through the production of ‘reverse discourse’. The managers availed certain dominant discourses in interplay with a network of relationships to re-gain the structural powers denied situationally. Stephen Ball argues that:

“As a discourse with a scientific status, as a ‘regime of truth’, management empowers the manager and objectifies and subjects the managed.

management is a 'micro-physics of power'. managements, as localised practices, are micro-power structures and power relations that touch every aspect of organisational life and are serially related. They are special applications of power. They embody very specific mechanisms, procedures, and techniques with particular economic and political utility" (1990a:165).

In the context of this study 'micro-power structures and power relations' did not appear to be 'serially related' but interacted in a highly complex and irregular way. As 'multiply-positioned' subjects, the college heads were subject to 'power', and also exercised 'power' in diverse situations and positions. It reflected a power-play where power ceased to be hierarchical or lineal or gendered. Some conspicuous sources of 'empowerment' emerged as:

- religious discourses
- professional discourses
- contacts/influence

In this Muslim society, the traditional **discourses surrounding teacher/teaching**, as already examined in chapter two, are still very powerful, particularly regarding the relationship between the teacher and the taught. Significantly, the institutional managers referred to themselves as *ustaad* or *moaullim* (teacher) showing a re-appropriation of the discourse in the management context. The notion of 'In Loco Parentis' (Parker-Jenkins: 1988:53-4) is a reflection of a teacher's rights and duties as a 'careful parent' (Ibid:53). Traditionally, teaching has held a certain status across cultures and societies, even when it has been perceived as 'ambiguous' or 'shadowed' (Farber:1991). In spite of a declared work-load, many participating heads stated that they occasionally taught in the classes to, as they claimed, 'establish contacts with the students', or probably to retain control of a powerful discourse. The position-powers denied to the institutional managers in practice were counterbalanced by the authority acquired in a different space through another discourse, and manipulated for 'effective management'.

The inherent assumptions concerning the traditional teacher/taught relationship (particularly in the Eastern cultures) bequeath the teacher a professional authority. A

collective emphasis by the college heads and the senior educational managers alike, on the **academic excellence** as a pre-requisite for the college heads, indicated a desire for 'empowerment' through appropriation of 'teacher' discourses. The headship, un-aspired because of problems and issues involved in practice, was accepted for the rhetoric of authority and status surrounding teaching, and that rhetoric was re-appropriated for professional empowerment through the wider society, even if not directly within the system itself.

Besides the integration of religious, social and professional discourses, a network of **contacts** and relationships also contributed to counter the 'depowering' factors elaborated in the earlier sections. This network comprised of familial relationships, socio-political contacts and the families of their students and was a specific feature of the regional socio-cultural scene (Shah:1998). An additional aspect was personal influence through the community of ex-students - their families, contacts, and job-positioning - the majority anxious to be of any service to an honoured teacher (an integration of social and religious discourses). Significantly, these 'empowerment' strategies were accomplished through re-conceptualising the college management as 'family space'. Those elements which acted as depowering forces in the professional positioning - the public space - were noticeably manipulated as empowerment strategies through this re-positioning of the space from the public into private. This practice invested the institutional managers with the *de facto* authority accorded to 'the head of the house' in the religious, socio-cultural and patriarchal discourses. Multiple references to the principals as 'the parent', teachers as siblings/family, and students as children showed the construction of a metaphorical space of 'resistance' where 'depowerment' in the 'public' could be effectively countered. The remaining chapter explores how the concept of 'family' and the multiple discourses surrounding it interacted with the roles and practices of the institutional heads in this research context, and how these determined their management roles and practices.

3.2. Deploying the Discourses

The earlier section examined some 'alternate empowerment strategies' with regard to the college heads and institutional management. It raised questions concerning exercise/production of power in educational leadership, and its pertinence for college

management. How the metaphor 'family' was availed as an alternate empowerment strategy on the management sites in this study, is the concern of this concluding section which also discusses its contributions towards formulation of roles and practices of college heads, both male and female¹³¹, and their perceptions of management development. Foucault interprets power as a constantly shifting dynamic relationship between individuals, effecting each other's actions as discussed earlier in chapter three (3.2.2). He argues that subjects are constituted by the operation of power, which effects their ways of perceiving things, or conceiving of world, as well as form of their knowledge and its content (Foucault: 1978:67). Discussing Foucault's notion of power Harvey maintains that:

"Close scrutiny of the micro-politics of power relations in different localities, contexts, and social situations leads him (Foucault) to conclude that there is an intimate relation between the systems of knowledge ('discourses') which codify techniques and practices for the exercise of social control and domination within particular localised contexts" (1990:45).

An interplay of systems of knowledge and techniques of social control produces regimes of power. Chapter one discussed how in the dominant regional culture and religion, family was conceived as a primary social unit. It served as an organisational model and as a site of social control. The following is a consideration of its pliancy and transferability as a discourse, and of the claims to sacred sources which rendered it useful for exercising power. The discussion focuses on the interacting discourses to investigate how power was exercised and how it shaped management roles and practices.

To examine the productions of power discourses in the context of college headship this section will focus on two points:

¹³¹ The roles and practices of women and men in the family vary from family to family within different sub-cultures in Pakistan and its different regions. For example, two articles (Akbar S and Ahmed Z: Mor and Tor : Binary and Opposing Model of Pukhtoon Womanhood; and, Naveed-i-Rahmat: The Role of Women in Reciprocal Relationships in a Punjab Village) included in Epstein and Watts (1981) highlight such differences between two village cultures in Pakistan. However, one shared phenomenon is the issue of power and control where in spite of admitted complementary roles "women manipulate while men dominat" (Ibid:75).

- First, family is presented in the Quran as a site of equality, love and justice. It is regulated by the Quranic teachings which are the ultimate source of *sharia* (Islamic law), and the same govern the public space as well, rejecting given distinctions between the public/private. In practice, this space of equality is closed by deploying socio-cultural discourses and practices, and is thus converted into a space of oppression, perpetuating inequality. It reflects an interplay of patriarchal discourses suppressing the Islamic discourse in a Muslim society, in an effort to seek 'control' denied by Islam. Conceptualisation of colleges and college management as 'family' can have varied implications in the backdrop of these interacting discourses.
- Secondly, a difference in the responsibilities within the institution of family is constructed as a gender-specific phenomenon and extended to the public. It serves to impose stereotyping and sex-segregation leading to exclusion of women from 'public'. The dilemma of college management as a public activity, located within sex-segregation, is resolved in the case of Muslim women college heads by re-conceptualising the site as 'family'. Interestingly, it did not appear to be divested of patriarchal trappings, in spite of the references to the Quranic caveat of equality, and caused issues in management.

To understand how sex-segregation affected the management roles and practices of institutional heads across the gender divide in a specific society requires an awareness of the essential framework of that social structure and its ideological basis. In view of the segregatory practices on the professional and the social sites, it becomes relevant here to explore how the discourses of *izzat*, gender, veiling, labour-division, education and religion interacted to produce relationships of power which influenced the management of colleges.

Significantly, both women and men participants conceived colleges as 'family'. This observation gains meanings in the broad Islamic context and in the chain of discussions in the earlier sections. The disempowered college heads shifted the management space from the public to private to re-invest themselves with the power denied to them in the public space for multiple reasons discussed earlier in this

chapter. It is interesting to analyse how it was availed across the gender divide for similar ends but by adopting different ‘technologies’. The pertinence of these conceptualisations with reference to experiences of the women college heads is debated first, followed by its implications for male institutional heads.

The basic caveat of Islam is an essential equality between people and sexes, irrespective of their ‘colours’, ‘tongues’ or other differences (The Quran: 30: 22). However, Muslim societies have been subject to patriarchal discourses and practices, and as such open to oppression and ‘injustice’. Within different societies and cultures, Muslim women have been confined to the ‘private’ through ‘inclusionary’, ‘exclusionary’ and ‘segregatory’ modes of control, reinforced by given discourses of ‘veiling’ (Ahmed:1992; Al-Hibri:1982; Mernessi:1992). They have been denied equal rights by the dominant patriarchal regimes through vested interpretations of the Quran (Afshar:1987; Ahmed:1992; Mernessi:1992). They have been practically incarcerated by ‘veils and walls’ and hence made invisible. What could not be made invisible, granting all the blurrings, was the status of women in the role of a mother and their rights as a member of the family, stated in the Quran and emphasised repeatedly in the Hadith. Within an ideal Islamic social structure, family is a site of equality:

“For Muslim women marriage is seen as a move towards independence because of the Quranic rights given to women, which protect their property, give them inalienable rights of inheritance, and allow them to keep their name ...” (Afshar :1994:131¹³²).

In view of this comparative ‘empowerment’ of women in the ‘private’, they might have felt stronger to re-conceive colleges as ‘family’ as a space for resistance. Theoretically, the metaphorical formulations provided spaces for women through irrefutable precedents from the Prophet’s family where women had, for example:

- initiative and exercise of power: the prophet Mohammed was paid by Khadija to conduct her trade; after marriage, he always consulted her in every matter

¹³² Also see Addalati (1977) and Mutahhri (1981).

spiritual, social or religious; and also it was Khadijah who proposed marriage to Mohammed (Badawi: 1994:86);

- mobility: women of the Prophet's family participated in religious and social activities and accompanied Mohammed on his journeys (Fernea and Bezirgan:1977); and
- authority: Aysa was nominated by her father to execute Abu Bakr's will, and not her elder brother Abd al-Rehman' (Badawi: 1994:89); Hafsa, and not her brother, was entrusted with the first copy of the Quran by Omar (Ahmed: 1992:93); and women had equal authority for giving testimony to the Hadith.

By constructing colleges as 'family', the 'excluded' 'segregated' women college heads moved into a discourse where they had perceived claims to power and authority, sanctified by the Quran and the Hadith. They aspired to empower themselves in the role of 'mother', who bears and brings up future generations, and who is to be obeyed and honoured as a passport to heaven (the Quran; the Hadith; see also Ahmed: 1988:184). The integration of religious and social discourses invested them with a status and authority where gender discrimination could be resisted. Whether they experienced balancing of different roles as 'a source of pressure' (Al-Khalifa: 1992:96) or not, assumed secondary significance in view of the empowerment achieved through multiple roles. Frequent references to the students as children and staff as siblings gave them a 'disciplining' power legitimised by religion. It can be one explanation of a 'much better law and order situation' and 'better educational output' in the female colleges acknowledged both by the male college heads and the senior educational managers, in the postal responses and particularly during the interviews as stated in chapters five and six.

The formulation of the concept of family for colleges and management can be analysed as a female's effort at empowerment or a male strategy of confining women to the private. Schrijvers presents the 'paradox of powerlessness and power' discussing gender in the Sri Lankan context. She argues that "one-sided portrayal of these 'others' as passive victims of colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism was not correct. I had seen motherhood and sexuality as source of women' power" (1993:155). Interestingly, the Muslim women college heads appeared to draw from

the Islamic notion of family for functioning on a public space, while the same concept was constructed more in the socio-cultural traditions by men to emphasise women's domestic role. Diverse discourses were drawn on as modes of ordering the relationships and practices, by subjects situated variably. The formulations were manipulated discreetly across gendered divides for diverse intentions, which is addressed below.

Haleh Afshar critiques "a general identification of women with the sphere of domesticity", arguing that "the roles and obligations of women within this sphere and the definition of domesticity itself are culturally and economically specific" (1987:3). By over-emphasising the domestic role and by belittling its status, patriarchal traditions have forced women into places of invisibility and immobility. Jean Holms' observation carries weight that "In several religious traditions the position of women was higher at an earlier period in their history than it later became [and it reflects] the contrast between the classical teachings of religions about the equality of men and women and the actual lived experiences of women" (1994: xiii). In Islam, women participated in the public without discrimination (Ahmed L:1992; Mernessi:1992). They operated in perceived male domains like business and wars. Muslim women scholars gave instructions to male and female students, and prayed in the mosques (Fernea and Bezirgan:1977: Introduction). The Prophet is even recorded as having appointed "according to both al-Tabari and ibn-Sa'd, a woman, one um-Waraka to lead the prayers for both the men and women" (Badawi: 1994:109), of which there is no example in the later history of Islam. Al-Ghazali, the famous Egyptian Muslim scholar strongly claimed "that 'Islam provided women with 'everything - freedom, economic rights, political rights, public and private rights' though these rights were unfortunately not manifest in the Islamic societies" (Ahmed, L: 1992:198). The practice of excluding women from the public life was not the original intent of the prophet (Smith:1984; Smith and Haddad:1982) but "local 'interpretations' [of Islam] have usually affected women negatively" (Fernea and Bezirgan: 1977: xxiv). With reference to the Nigerian Muslim community, Dennis mentions how certain 'women-focused-activities' were banned in Nigeria as "efforts to control women's access to public space, according to particular interpretations of Islamic law" (1992:189); and the 'strategy' applied was a criticism aimed at women

‘for neglecting their domestic duties’ (Ibid:192). Significantly, women have been deprived of many of the Quranic rights in the name of family peace and interest (Afshar: 1987:132), which makes metaphorical construction of colleges as family interesting and marked. It invites questions like ‘did the women college heads find it a safer site to operate’, or ‘was it the only space where they could operate at all’, or at a different level, ‘was it a deliberate political strategy to resist transfers to unwanted location’.

My research participants voiced a priority of domestic role for women. They expressed the need to stay at home stations and let go of headship offers if it disturbed their domestic roles; or preferred to opt out if professional responsibilities clashed with domestic ones as mentioned in chapter six. However, women did not mention that their domestic responsibilities were any barrier in the performance of their professional duties. In fact it were men interviewees and respondents who stressed difficulties faced by women managers because of their domestic responsibilities. It implied a risk to the family. This emphasised discourse of risk could be a strategy to frighten women away from the public and leave more spaces for men. It pointed to an interplay of diverse discourses which could have different implications for men and women in management.

In the case of women, over-emphasis on family and domestic role might have resulted from submission to dominant discourses disseminated by renowned religious scholars like Maulana Maududi who recognise women’s physical and mental equality and acquisition of knowledge (1979:113-122), but still strongly argue that “her sphere of activity is home” (1979:152). Or it might have stemmed from the Islamic discourse where ‘private’, conceived as *Harim*, is a place “not to keep women in but to keep the intruders out” (Helms:1995: 65). However, it raises questions pertaining to its appropriateness for women to operate in the labour market in a present day context and their acquisition of skills required for a professional role. Could they develop their professional role in the confinements of the ‘private’? Expressed problems, particularly those related to finance management and inter-personal relationships, not just point to the areas of difficulty but also to the interacting discourses within which the needs ought to be considered.

In management literature, women's expressed desire to learn finance related skills (Adler et al:1992) hints at their problems in the area. However, an interesting aspect is that in my study, men college heads also emphasised its pertinence for women, making it rather gender-specific. It is surprising because in the Pakistani context women manage the houses¹³³ - usually with the husbands' money, as often they are not earning themselves - and this managing is complicated and tough in that socio-economic context. They are viewed as possessing a gift for managing the houses even when they have no formal education at all, which is more often the case. Why do women college heads, educated equally as required by the job, and with equal experience as male college heads, find finances daunting in the job context?

- Is it the experience of patriarchy within institutional structure which works towards diminishing the self-esteem of women in areas they might well be highly competent in?

Or

- Is it submission to a patriarchal notion of family where matters in the 'public' are handled by male head of the family; and finances are categorised as 'public' because they are related to control over resources and production.

Structures within male-dominated societies restrict women to limited options and choices, like the Chinese tradition of encasing the feet of the young in iron shoes so that they don't grow larger than a specific size. Chinese foot-binding, European witch-burnings, Indian *suttee* are different expressions of what Daly calls 'planetary patriarchy' (Daly:1984), aiming at disciplining women. Similarly, usurping control of money/finances by stressing that women are 'weak in money matters' or 'have no head for finances' can be another effective 'disciplining' strategy. It achieved two ends:

¹³³ Roger Ali explains this in his interesting study as "patterns of female control, dominance and decision-making" among Asian, where "domestic content is predominantly female-controlled" (1996:453).

- it exempted the segregated structures and male domination of finance department from being responsible for women's problems in finance management; and
- secondly it cut women on their confidence and self-esteem - a classical colonisation 'technology'; as observed Aptheker:

“The process of colonisation is not only one of limiting access, of subjugation, of political domination, of racial superiority, or of a poverty of resources, but also an internal erosion, a loss of esteem, a loss of confidence in one's knowledge, an inability to give expression to experience, to name oneself. To understand the colonisation of women is to understand its interior dimensions, its psychological consequences, its hold on the imagination, and the enormity of effort individual and collective, which is required to break its cycle. At the heart of the colonisation of women is a belief in the superiority of men, in the infallibility of male judgement and authority and in the absolute priority given to achieving male approval and validation” (Aptheker: 1989:8; also see hooks:1981).

Apparently, the Islamic notion of family was permitted to operate conditionally; when it became a threat to patriarchy, rigid boundaries were created through vested interpretations of the Quran. A negative stereotyping of women was constructed and disseminated through the dominant discourses, by a discursive integration of religious and socio-cultural conceptualisations of women and family. As long as women college heads continued to manage without moving into the male world they appeared to enjoy the status and attributes of 'mother'. Beyond the *chardiwari* (four walls/boundary-wall) they were not only perceived and declared incompetent, but were made to feel de-skilled as well. Then the patriarchal concept of family prevailed, emphasising the public/private boundary, and 'family' became relegated to private, a strategy to discourage women from entering into male territory where the control over resources and the finances has traditionally belonged.

The myth of female incompetence in finances is a given construction not supported by research or literature known to me. In Pakistan, in keeping with the segregatory

traditions, a Women's Bank was established in 1989. A recent news paper item evaluates the Bank's performance:

“Today, only eight years old, the Women Bank boasts a deposit base of Rs 2.317 billion. A mere 352 women manage advances of over Rupees 400 million. In 1994 within five years of its birth, while politicians and others were making free use of the crumbling nationalised banks, the Women Bank won the Euro Money Excellence Award. It has a recovery rate that no other bank in the country can boast - 92.5 per cent. The nationalised banks in fact can't even come even half as close as that” (Sadeque: 1997:10).

This evaluation becomes very significant in view of the critical conditions of the Pakistani economy, and shows women's competence in finances even in difficult circumstances. However, the government's recent decision to sell out this bank (Ibid) shows how women can be pushed out of the bit of space allocated to them in segregated societies if they appear to be utilising it for higher effectiveness in the public domain; if they happen to threaten the myth of male competence. They are 'others' and 'aliens' whose entry and existence in the male domain must be monitored and controlled. Recently, Lalu Parshad's wife, a 41 years old housewife and mother of nine with only primary education, was sworn in as chief minister of the Indian state of Bihar after being nominated by her husband who had to resign as chief minister when a court issued his arrest orders due to involvement in a multi-million corruption case¹³⁴ (The News International: 1997). The purpose is to keep a political hold on the situation through a woman of the family who must submit to male 'control'. This is another dimension : how women in the family can be used in the public context.

To attribute given gender differences to biological elements or role-socialisation is extremely simplistic. It ignores the more political organisation of gender-differences evolving from highly political agendas and practices, which constitute specific discourses aiming at control and exclusion. The Islamic concept of segregation which

¹³⁴ Carol Wolkowitz (1987) offers an interesting study of female participation in national politics in the sub-continent and how they are 'disciplining'. It presents women politicians as dependants on their male kin, and controlled by them. See also Bhutto (1988).

proposed to create a space for women and aimed at emancipation and empowerment, is reversed in the feudal patriarchal structures for their oppression and subjugation.

On the college sites, an acceptance of the boundaries by the women, and associated discomfort and uncertainties at moving across/between the boundaries, becomes indicative of role stereotyping in a particular professional context where almost all the people working in finance-related positions (seniors and juniors) are men, except for these women college heads. This preponderance of men in this particular work area might have led to assumptions about their competence in that area and subsequent presumptions about women having problems in handling money matters - money having connotations with power. This stereotyping aimed at disempowerment of women even when they were in positions of authority, which suggested a male rejection of female authority. It can be a gendered power-play where male office staff intentionally held back while working with women heads; or in a sex-segregated context, women may experience an inbred reluctance to acquire these skills by working with male office staff, although a favouring of mixed-sex training programmes by 80% of the female respondents could be seen as a rejection of this presumption.

Another aspect of the Islamic concept of family relevant here is the Islamic code of conduct, invariably ordained for men and women. It regulates conduct and behaviour in accordance with the Islamic values and aims to create a non-discriminatory and non-threatening environment in the public and private. Threatened by the patriarchal norms and surveillance dominating in the public, women college heads appeared to feel secure and confident in the reconstruction of colleges as 'family'. However, the tensions between the Islamic and the patriarchal notions surfaced when 'religious content' (Sharma: 1980:3-7) was replaced by patriarchal content and disseminated under 'religious cover'. For example Islamic injunctions regarding rights and status of a wife and mother were reconstructed as "discourse of motherhood and wifely duty to household for honourable, implying otherwise who extend the sphere of activities" (Afshar: 1987:73¹³⁵), and thus effectively confined women. They were culturally constructed as 'site of familial honour' (Afshar: 1994:129), and the 'guardian', as

¹³⁵ See also Afshar:1992:211; Fernea and Bezirgan:1977:Introduction; Wolkowitz:1987; Weiss:1994.

pronounced by the Quran, became ‘the guarded’ in practice, and thus subject to ‘surveillance’ and manipulations. By being constructed as ‘the guarded’ the women lose their agency and subject position. They become ‘things’ and ‘commodities’ left at the disposal of the dominating subject/s ‘to be used’¹³⁶.

Recurrent references to the educational sites as ‘family’, at one level of analysis, emerged as ‘a tool of social control centrally involved in the propagation, selective dissemination, and social appropriation of discourses’ (Ball:1990; Talbani:1996). It certainly marked a significant shift from the Islamic ideology of education and social existence. These ‘segregationary’ and ‘exclusionary’ modes effected women’s management of colleges, and created issues, particularly in finance management, public-relating and networking. They promoted male control by subjecting women to ‘surveillance’ and ‘disciplining’. In addition to that, feudal orientation of Muslim societies in general (Ahmed:1992), and given interpretations of sexuality and family law in Islam, further strengthened patriarchal practices (Mernissi:1991) and converted male responsibility “to spend of their wealth [on their family]” (the Quran: 4: 34) into male control over finances leading to the exclusion of women from the sphere of public activity, associated in particular with finance management.

Moreover, ‘double moral standards’ for men and women (Afshar:1994), and a politically constructed notion of ‘*izzat*’ controlled women in public and private alike and promoted male control. The discourse was manipulated and misappropriated to ‘blackmail’ women into silence and invisibility, subjecting them to a close surveillance, as remonstrated many women participants. This is further discussed in the next chapter. However, women’s admitted acceptance of higher pertinence of *izzat* for females made the issue more complicated, and probably more effective, as:

“Power operates visibly and invisibly through expectations and desires. It operates visibly through formal, public criteria that must be satisfied [what it

¹³⁶ An ex-interim-prime-minister of Pakistan, in a recent interview, actually appreciated practices like ‘*bahhn dina*’ (giving the arm) as a mode of settling dispute among tribes like his own (Mazari:1997). Giving the arm is a particular custom to settle disputes, particularly concerning *izzat* or warfare among certain tribes in the region. A female is given (in marriage or to be married when of age) to the group/tribe where apology is due. It is explained as initiating close relationship, but what is left un-mentioned is the opinion or feelings of the female concerned in being used as an ‘object’ in dispute settling.

is to be a 'good woman']. It operates invisibly through the way individuals think of themselves and operate Often power is most effective and efficient when it operates as desire, because desire often makes the effects of power invisible" (Cherryholmes: 1988:35).

The ethical charter of conduct/character laid down by Islam in the Quran is not gender-biased. It provides an identical framework for men and women for their social existence. Relaxing it for men and magnifying it for women to impose confinement and invisibility on them can be patriarchal practices and not the Quranic teachings. This raises the issue of interpretations of religious texts - a point emphasised throughout this thesis, because:

"So far as religious teaching is concerned, traditionally Muslim women have not been well versed. They have been barred from *ijtihad*, religious discourse and interpretation " (Afshar:1994:131¹³⁷).

The skewed codes of conduct constructed by male authority posed threats to women who chose or dared to move in the positions of visibility. Incriminating the moral character of a woman competing for a higher management post jeopardised her chances of promotion, particularly if she happened to be without a socio-political umbrella. Attributes like 'seditious, corrupt, or prostitution' are "granted freely to women but not to their male 'accomplices'" (Afshar: 1987:74). Such practices ignore that the twenty-fourth *sura* of the Quran explicitly, and in angry tones, pronounces God's displeasure at character assassination not supported by evidence, and the standards for evidence are very rigorous. Slanderers are promised:

"a painful punishment in the world and hereafter" (24:19); preceded by

"And those who accuse honourable women but bring not four witnesses, scourge them with eighty stripes and never (afterwards) accept their testimony. They are indeed evildoers" (24:4).

¹³⁷ See also Ahmed:1992; Hussain:1984; Mernessi:1992; O'Conner:1989.

It is not the women's adherence to the Quranic norm of conduct which appeared problematic in their professional role. In fact it was their acceptance of the latitude culturally granted to men, that became an oppressive tool in a patriarchal society as it conversely affected female mobility and participation in 'public'. The separate patterns and standards of conduct/character applied to men and women were socially endorsed as propounded by Islam; and women, by not having access to places of interpretation submitted to those; and it had serious implications for their professional roles. Reinforced by cultural norms, this controlled their professional performance and effectiveness.

Women college heads were situated among men as seniors (with rare exceptions), men as office staff/support staff, men as student's fathers/guardians (it is very seldom that a student's mother would approach the woman-head even on matters concerning the student and the college), and men from other departments and the community. They performed under high pressures because of social norms and the associated fear of 'gossip', 'scandal' and 'social victimisation', threatening at times their careers, reputation, and family set-ups. This threat emerged as a barrier for aspiring women who consequently tried to underplay their management roles. They preferred to remain 'invisible' (F3), and often left those senior managerial posts for men, where rules did not specify the gender. The tradition of sex-segregation in the Pakistani society provided spaces for women to perform in the single-sex institutions, but the confinement continued to prevail by reconstructing those as 'family' or/and 'private'. Outside these institutions, at the top-management level, they were effectively kept out or frightened away through the threat of social hazards. Risks involved in moving out of the boundary, cordoned off by 'veils and walls', was conveyed through tacit and categorical comments:

“warning to women of what will befall them if they choose to enter the (male) public sphere (Faludi:1992¹³⁸).

In spite of implicit and explicit references to 'scandal', 'blackmail', and 'social indictment' when approaching a male colleague/senior for guidance/consultation,

¹³⁸ Also see Deem:1978; hooks:1981.

women college heads recommended mixed-sex training programmes, as mentioned earlier in chapter five (5:1.1). It could be analysed as an effort for emancipation or identity, a rejection of patriarchal traditions and a reaction against being restricted to certain spaces, or a reconstruction of the site itself in accordance with the Quranic pronouncements. It voices a demand for the freedom of movement, and freedom in the choice of space in a segregated society where a sex scandal can lead to a complete social, personal, and career ruin for women. By positioning the professional locale within an ideologically cherished site, probably these Muslim women college heads aspired to acclaim a woman's rights in the family, and the status and authority commanded by a 'mother' in a household, equality irrespective of the members' gender, a move from the 'margins' towards the 'centre'. However, a counter discourse operated to exclude women managers from the 'public', restraining their professional activities to the private.

Patriarchy expects women to submit to gendered stereotypes and discourses. In a patriarchal mode of ordering, women must conform to a given 'femininity'. bell hooks (1991) argues that white men constructed hard working and physically strong black women as inhuman to deny the acknowledgement of their equality in a 'masculine' space. As a similar discursive practice, in the segregated educational context in AJK, colleges were re-located in private to exclude women managers from the 'public'. By placing the colleges in the private as an extension of the family, the women were denied 'equality-in-difference' in a public space, and additionally their professional activities were effectively restrained to the private. Many Western feminist writers favour women-only organisations to achieve control over resources. Kandiyoti agrees with that believing it to be a means of "avoiding confrontation with cultural patterns" in certain societies, like mixing of un-related men and women (1985:104). In this study, the theory of women-only organisations does not seem to give women control over resources although single sex colleges may have restrained mixing of un-related men and women which is not pertinent to the issue of empowerment and control of resources.

The women managers earned and were expected to contribute to the family maintenance in this Muslim society (although not ordained so by the Quran).

However, they remained confined to the 'private' and were denied access to finances and resources through various given discourses and discursive practices. Various women college heads mentioned problems in dealing with the banks, finance department, and other male-dominated offices. Using close male relatives (brothers, fathers, husbands and sons) in this reference had its own problems and complications, and relying on male support staff created serious management issues. All these issues have already been highlighted by relevant quotes in chapter six.

For men, mixing and reshaping of discourses around educational institutions and family implied an unchallenged right to operate in the public. It confirmed authority of the feudal lord over the 'family', exclusion of women from the public and their continued confinement within the private, and the use of coercion and violence if need be. The remaining discussion focuses on analysing and elaborating these observations.

All posts in senior educational bureaucracy, beyond the segregated colleges, had traditionally been occupied by men in AJK although there was no law saying it. A woman Additional Secretary Education or a woman Regional Director Education (the only females in senior educational bureaucracy¹³⁹) were tactfully reduced to handle the women's affairs only, or at least mainly, and were by-passed by men to approach Secretary Education or Director Education, using social norms as covert excuses. The practice seemed to be to humour women with nominal positions and for men to monopolise authority and exercise power, denoting female "exclusion from the sites of [real] power" (Weiner:1994; see also Al-Hibri:1982). Some comments from research participants like 'women heads for female colleges only' and, women in primary education 'but no woman as Director Education' elaborate the patriarchal traditions further. The 'blind eye' ignored women even if they were operating in the male arena, creating insignificant islands of 'private' in the ocean of male public domain.

¹³⁹ Arabi (1986) details institutional biases and discrimination against women teachers with reference to Brunei and claims that a few women were appointed as Heads of Departments or Senior Mistresses. Goldsmith and Shawcross (1985) mention lack of women's nomination on scholarships for management roles. These findings support implicit and explicit exclusion of women from positions of authority across cultures and societies.

On the site of male colleges, these political conceptualisations re-created an institutional manager as 'head of the house', with access to 'extra structural' powers. It entitled them to command respect and obedience, and to make decisions and transactions on the behalf of other members. Further, it explains the importance of 'contacts' and 'influence' (coercion) for the heads to exercise this 'extra structural' authority. It created a space for the role of violence on educational site (as mentioned at many points in this study) which plays a crucial part in the study of patriarchal relations (Mies:1986; Murray:1995).

Furthermore, the construction of a professional site as family had implications for professional development. It justified learning the role through experience 'as a [male] child learns the role and responsibilities of the head of the house' (PM6), and the same was believed of female role/s. However, finance management emerged as the 'highest difficulty area', as probably it had been for the feudal lords or heads of the houses. The finance management was understood more in the sense of maintaining a control of the finance staff, as supported by many quotes in chapter six, rather than for improved quality. The management appeared to be interpreted as 'control' and finance training was expected to improve that.

The metaphorical shifting of sites and political formulations of discourses tended to empower the 'depowered' college heads in different ways through diverse modes of ordering. The discursive practices involved point to the complex research context and the power-plays operative therein, which shaped the roles and practices of the college heads and determined their needs for professional development. Men and women, positioned in their own subjectivities, submitted to the discourses and reshaped them through resistance. A deliberate wielding of discourses to perpetuate certain 'regimes of truth' emerged as another issue to be investigated situationally. It raised questions about the concept of truth:

"'Truth'..... is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatus" (Foucault: 1980: 132).

If organisations are concerned with power which is constituted through the production and dissemination of particular forms of truths/discourses then the emergence of 'subjugated knowledges' can pose a challenge to the exercise of power. Foucault argues, and this analysis agrees that discourses are never free of history, power and interests:

"Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by the virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its own regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is the type of discourse 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" (Foucault:1980:131).

In this study, the constitution of management roles and practices occurs at the intersections of multiple discourses drawing more from religion and culture rather than from professional discourses. In addition, the economic and political pressures, along with the globalisation forces, make further demands and add to the complexity of situation. How these roles are conceived and how the practices are discursively constituted is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. It is not a situation where a neat list of recommendations can be offered for management development or improved effectiveness. The study proposed to explore the situation. It aimed to seek ways of improving practices not through a prescriptive treatment but through enhanced understanding. The next chapter, which is the final chapter also, links up the theoretical framework with the research findings and pulls together diverse strands of analysis in the concluding discussion, located within an acknowledgement of my limitations as a researcher.

Chapter Eight: Re-thinking: Backward and Forward

Introduction

When I set out in chapter one to study institutional management in a single-sex-colleges context, my decision to include women and men college heads as research participants was rooted in the Islamic philosophy of male/female complementarity. This notion conceives *insaan* (human being) as complementation of man and woman at the pinnacle of creation. For me, it implied that any study beginning with a considered rejection of one complement, be that male or female, would mean that “only half the story is being told” (Delamont: 1996:10). In addition to that, single-sex colleges and the emphasis on sex-segregation in the cultural context also demanded looking into ‘both the halves’ to construct a fuller picture - to gain any understanding of the roles, practices and policies on a specific educational site in a particular socio-economic-political situation.

Therefore, the primary research questions, as set out earlier in chapter one, aimed:

- to understand and explain the management roles of college heads, men and women, in a Muslim, sex-segregated, LDC (low developing country), post-colonial context;
- to analyse management practices and the associated issues, and their mutual interaction in shaping each other in this particular case; and
- to explore the possibilities of management development as perceived by these heads in this specific context.

At that early stage, it appeared a straight forward inquiry. The single-sex colleges in this research context were, broadly speaking, a production of the discourses of religion, education, sex-segregation, and gender, in articulation with myriad social, political and economic elements. The theoretical frame set out in chapters one, three and four perceived the management roles and practices of the women and men heads of single-sex college as discursively formulated at the interstices of these interacting

discourses. In accordance with the theoretical stance, I needed to go back to the research situation to find the 'subject/s' version of reality. This shaped a research design which could accommodate the theoretical position and situational pragmatics as examined in chapters three, four and five.

However, as the research proceeded, it became clear that the 'two halves' were in fact a structural determination, and could not control interfusion of discourses. Competing discourses of religion, education, sex-segregation, authority, management of space, and many others, interfused across the gendered institutional divide and shaped roles and practices of women and men managers in a complex interplay. Gender, intended as a study of complementarity in the single-sex-colleges context to attempt a 'holistic' view, emerged as a major category of analysis itself. It became clear that the primary questions were enmeshed in deeper questions bordering into areas 'where angels fear to tread'. The early data, collected through surveys and an ongoing analysis, rather than providing the answers, raised more queries. It constructed a setting but did not explain why it was like that. The 'why' led to the secondary questions which have also been made explicit in chapter one as:

- What are the perceived roles of the college heads and how do these perceptions articulate with gender and subsequently influence the role constructions?
- What are the major forces contributive to role-constructions and management-practices?
- How do these perceptions and constructions articulate with single-sex-college management?
- What are the major issues in college management and what are the corresponding strategies?
- How, and what, management development/training needs are shaped situationally?

This concluding chapter offers a critical response to these questions through problematising the discursive practices, discourses and the discursive fields as well. It is the unpacking of the questions rather than providing neatly packed answers. Here, I re-think the questions, the process, the findings and the earlier analyses. I present my perspective but also create spaces for the reader to 'construct' other answers.

Chapter one provided relevant background information and examined certain notions to locate this research. It examined the educational context, and investigated the organisational roots to the family site and the Islamic concept of family with its preference for sex-segregation. The succeeding chapters made explicit the research context and process, exploring how multiple interacting discourses influenced and shaped the roles and practices of both male and female college heads, and determined their development needs, and with what implications for college management. From this point in research I, a multiply positioned social insider and a practitioner-turned-researcher, look back at the primary questions and examine what they masked and what they unveiled. For these explorations, I focus mainly on the participants' accounts to explain the research situation and to provide my understanding of the informants, as according to Hammersley:

“Informants’ accounts can and should be examined, not just for what they tell us about the phenomenon to which they refer but also for what we can infer from them about the informants themselves” (1992:198).

This brings me to another important point, that is the theoretical anchoring and frame of the research. One requirement of the interpretive paradigm and post-structural approach is to make explicit the discursive positionings of those involved in knowledge-construction and interpretation. Chapter one introduced the researcher and the participants, and further details were filled in at relevant points in chapters three, four and five. This concluding chapter is written from within my discursive positioning at this point, and reflects on the competing discourses and the discursive practices which shaped those discourses, and how these interacted with college management. I engage with the emerging discourses from within this 'situatedness' to

examine the ‘production’ and ‘effects’ of discourses, as well as the possibilities of moving beyond them.

The chapter concludes the thesis by addressing the themes that permeated the discussion. It is divided into three sections. Section one reiterates theoretical concerns which influenced the research and analysis. In a critical response to the research questions, the second section examines sex-segregation in a Muslim society and its implications for college management through discourses of religion, education, culture, gender, and public/domestic. The third section focuses on the management of ‘gendered’ colleges, followed by a discussion of the implications that this research has for managers/management, for improving practices, and for future work in the concluding section.

1. Theoretical Frame Re-visited

This section deliberates some theoretical concerns and philosophical considerations that underpinned the research. Located within Islamic philosophical thought, the thesis is rooted in an acknowledgement of innate human equality. A problem with the notion of equality has always been how to accommodate it with ‘difference’, which is often associated with some sort of scale or gradation. Derrieda’s work on ‘difference/differance’ problematised the concept and pointed to possibilities of deconstructing difference and its subsequent implications.

In the Quran, acknowledgement of difference/diversity comes first, before making any claims about equality, as can be seen in the relevant *ayahs* cited throughout the thesis. The argument is not constructed as ‘equal and different’ or ‘equal but different’; in fact, it is the other way round: different but equal. This does not relegate equality to a secondary position but rather positions it within diversity to counter any challenges coming from ‘difference’, though without closing the debate around it. This celebration of difference as a location for equality had pertinence for this study.

However, ‘difference’ is not only seen to be problematic on a theoretical level but on a practical level as well. It points to the need to explore how regimes of power use ‘difference’ to fragment opposition and to divide individuals from each other and

within themselves while looking for ways of utilising the phenomenon. Celebration of difference in Islam and establishment of single-sex colleges opened spaces and offered opportunities to women, but conversely a socio-cultural notion of difference fed into systems of representation closing spaces and depowering them. This requires looking for cracks and contradictions in the system to negotiate plurality - differences and commonalities, located in the discourses of religion, education, gender, cultural identity and morality, and above all the power struggle involved. A post-structural frame and the Foucauldian concepts of discourse and power/knowledge possessed the sensitivity and flexibility pertinent for the study and for the analysis of this complex phenomenon, as already examined specifically in chapter three.

According to Gaby Weiner, two aims of post-structuralism are:

“It seeks to deconstruct, to analyse the operations of difference and the way in which meanings are made to work. [Second,] It also offers the possibility for the production of a counter discourse (or reverse discourse) which challenges meaning and power” (Weiner: 1994:101).

Therefore, this approach not only opened spaces for voice/s, it also provided a framework to position the ‘subjects’, which again had high significance for this research and analysis. A post-structural analysis involves attention to diversity, plurality and relations of power embedded in interpretive structures. With regard to this study, it implied recognition of the heterogeneous nature of power interlinked with categories like gender, family background, age, knowledge (religious and professional) status, social class, and others, and how these articulated on the educational site. It draws on the Foucauldian notion of power discussed earlier in chapter four. According to Donald and Beechey:

“Foucault insists that power is not *based* anywhere. His images of power saturating and oozing from every nook and cranny of the social formation, swallowing up everything in its path, can even suggest that power itself is the generative principal of social relations -” (1985: xvi).

This aspect of power is glaringly obvious with regard to management roles and practices which cannot be de-linked from ‘social relations’, at least not in this cultural context as unveiled by the research findings. Management situation on an educational site reflects the order of the society and the dominant discourses, even though the managers share the production of practices and power relations; a reiteration of the point made throughout this study. Human subject/s are products of conflictual political and contextual forces. In the single-sex college context, the people in the area, the staff, the students and their positioning, and how a head related to all that - all determined the management discourses and roles/practices which were indeed located in time and situation. The power relations are fluid and the categories are not fixed as Foucault insists, but are constructed within particular discursive regimes:

“the objective existed and the strategy was developed, with ever-growing coherence, but without it being necessary to attribute it to a subject which makes the law, pronouncing in the form of ‘Thou shalt’ and ‘Thou shalt not’” (Foucault:1980:203).

Second, each manager was discursively positioned in relation to a number of diverse and competing discourses already mentioned, and framed within the discourse of management in single-sex colleges, in a social context emphasising segregation and with implicit discourses of veiling and *izzat*. Each discourse was shifting and fluid, formulated by an interplay of multiple discourses, with spaces for discursivity. The empirical study highlighted that the management roles and practices were produced through engendered bodies, located in specific historical, cultural and religious contexts, and each needed to be acknowledged as offering a space for discursivity. A discursive position taken by any one manager was dependent on a number of factors constitutive of her/his positioning and subjectivity, one of which was gender itself. Nevertheless, patterns of power and subordination were not just gendered, they were “also cut across and transformed by class and other social formations” (Weiner : 1994: 24).

Third, the gender discourse, in this case, had its roots in interpretations of religion and the status of women and men in Islam as made explicit by my research participants in

their interviews. These appeared to be deliberately wielded by women and men to perpetuate certain regimes and indicated “how truth is implicated and deployed in social practices and how ‘regimes of truth’ can have profound social and cultural consequences” (Donald and Beechey: 1985: xiv). These discourses opened discursive fields to the Muslim women college heads in the case of Girls Colleges, and to men in the case of Boys Colleges to position themselves and re-work their meanings. The discourse of equality encouraged women to enhance economic independence, career progression and social mobility but a counter discourse of gender difference imposed constraints. Movements within and across the discourses of gender, culture and religion were situation-determined, and continuously changed priorities. This suggested that any analysis of roles and practices, and the possibilities of development, had to be worked within the parameters of these constructed discourses, particularly the religious ones because of the Quran being the accepted ultimate validating authority.

Moreover, the practices were linked with the local sub-culture/s, *baradari* or family background and political influence rooted in religion, politics, socio-economic position etc. This impinged on the issue of how the discourses were constructed, as interrogated by the secondary questions, and what was the role of culture and gender in shaping these constructions. The issue was not merely what it meant to be a Muslim and a woman/man and a college head, but also what it meant in that culture and context, as made explicit by the research findings. Edward Said (1978) argues that a scholar cannot be detached from the circumstances and context of his/her production. I agree with him and would even extend his argument to all subjects be s/he a scholar, a researcher, a manager or any one. The roles of the college heads, as well as their practices, were situated constructions, as Gaby Weiner maintains:

"all human action is the consequence of specific cultural, economic and social conditions and influences" (Weiner: 1994: 21).

A subject is not a fixed unitary essence. On educational sites, plurality and fragmentation of subject positions was reflected in re-constructions of roles in articulation with situational influences, and this framed the practices. For example,

what is the role of the female head and male head for each other, for the students, the staff and the community? There is no single subject position. Walkerdine (1990) argues that we all exist at the interstices of contradictory discourses and practices and therefore contradictory positions, and these formulate our subjectivities. These subject positions, linked with the discursive practices, are not unitary but multiple and often contradictory, so that the constitution of subjectivity is not without seams or ruptures. The seams and ruptures offer spaces where discourses are constructed. This highlights a significant point with respect to this research: the issue of how deliberate and conscious people are of the discourses which they are wielding. Foucault maintains that discourses seek to form 'the subjects about which they speak'. According to him, the subjects are doubly involved in 'construction': they are constructed in discourse, and they partake (consciously or unconsciously) in discourse construction, as Marshall explains:

"subject carries the twin meaning of an active knowing subject and of an object being acted upon - a product of discourse. In terms of discourse we can say that the subject both speaks and is spoken ; in epistemological terms we can say with Foucault (1970:323) that 'man appears in his ambiguous position as an object of knowledge and as a subject that knows'" (1990:14).

Here discourses operate as productions and producers of power/knowledge, and :

"Their purpose is to regulate, to discipline what is desirable and what is not and so to divide people from each other and within themselves. They claim the moral and rational high ground: they claim to be telling the truth, and in seeking to discredit any other claims they participate in the politics of truth-telling or discourse" (Kenway et al: 1994:198).

These are the theoretical positions in which this book is located and it is these concepts which are used to examine the evidence regarding the differing experiences of managers, and the heterogeneous nature of power as it impinges on the roles and practices of the college heads. The politics of social sciences research is reflected in the struggle over meaning, symbols and sources (Westwood: 1991: 79-80) by all the

research participants - the interviewees, the respondents and the researcher. The experiences of the participants are to be understood in a number of ways, and in terms of the power differentials round competing discourses like gender, culture, *baradari*/kinship networks and class, and the difficulty of operating as a Muslim woman in a society as well as facing 'surveillance' and 'gaze', because social interaction is made up of sets of discursive relations positioned in discourses. The study unveils the disciplining and de-powering forces, and examines the counter discourses aiming at empowerment. Further exploration with reference to the research questions is the main focus of the remaining sections of this chapter.

2. Re-thinking the Research Questions

In this section, I will first briefly consider the primary research questions in the light of the research findings and then relate these to the secondary research questions through the discourses operative on the educational site. The primary research questions intended to understand the roles and practices of both male and female college heads in a specific context. The research findings highlighted that such an understanding required engagement with multiple discourses that articulated with role-constructions, and formulated practices. How a college head perceived her/his role and how it was perceived for her/him reflected differences in subject positions and the play of discourses. This linked with the secondary research questions. An exploration of the secondary questions was intended to unveil the entangled discourses. Subsequently, this leads to a consideration of the implications that these explorations have for college management and managers.

Roles are socially constructed, be these domestic roles or public. In this research context, social was further enmeshed with religious to the extent that to disentangle and identify the discourses was problematic. It had a significance because of the validating authority held by religion, already examined in chapter three. Through re-descriptions of roles and practices, the political and the socio-cultural wielded power in the capacity of religious, and re-constructed discourses to marginalise and depower those who were denied positions of religious interpretation and discourse formulation. This is explained further through discussion of discourses operational on this

educational site with reference to single-sex colleges and gender, to bring to light the discursivity involved in role formation.

Single-sex colleges are indicative of a dominant tradition of sex-segregation in Muslim societies which has significant implications for education and gender. In spite of marked boundaries, the management of a single-sex institution is open to infiltration of multiple discourses influencing the wider social scene. How sex-segregation articulated on the educational sites in this case, and how it determined roles and practices has been examined in chapters one and seven with reference to 'family'. Another feature of the social which needs to be considered to understand power relations affecting roles and practices of women and men, is a specific regional concept of *izzat* as mentioned by the research participants in chapter six and discussed in chapter seven. This is further explained below in relation to sex-segregation and single-sex education to highlight its implications for management roles.

2.1. *Izzat* (honour)

Izzat (honour) has particular implications for the college heads and for management. It is a notion defined through actions/activities. What adds to, or detracts from, *izzat* is always relative. A violation of the norm of *izzat* need not be against the law of *sharia* or the law of the country. In fact it is often not. It emerges as a socio-culturally constructed discourse to centralise power and to maintain control, as the following discussion examines. It operates in different relationships: senior/junior; teacher/learner; head/member (of any unit); parent/child; husband/wife; elder/younger and many others. Significantly, it draws from the Quranic emphasis on respect, honour and obedience due to parents as explained, for example, in many *ayahs* (the Quran: 17:23-24; 31:14-15; 46:15). In practice, the notion is constructed and wielded differently in each situation for diverse factors and purposes. In the case of women, a different discourse of *izzat* becomes active which is gendered, familial and social, and which as such has no legal or religious validations. By associating disparate notions of *izzat* with women and men, and making women solely responsible for it (Anwar:1978; Ashraf:1992; Weiss:1994), it is given a gendered description which has serious implications for women operating in the professional and the public.

Broadly speaking, the notion of *izzat*, for women, implies acceptance of prevailing social norms: submission to the male head of the family (if not husband or father then the next male in hierarchy¹⁴⁰) in all matters concerning personal, marital, professional, social, economic etc.; capitulation to restricted/proscribed mobility; observance of sex-segregation; and, withdrawal from the public. But the study shows that it also had wider, agendered applications in certain discourses where it could be contributive to empowerment. The discussion will briefly consider these diverse aspects to indicate the pervasiveness of the concept.

The college heads, women and men, had claims to *izzat* as teachers, seniors, elders, spiritual parents and guides, and they wielded the discourse as a political tool for management purposes. In student/staff management they explicitly performed from within the discourse which, according to them, compensated for the depowerment occurring through many factors already discussed in the previous chapter. Also, during my visits and meetings, I noticed that they often addressed their students as child, son/daughter, and the members of the staff as sister/brother. This deliberate effort to draw the addressee in a particular discourse, and shift the site from the professional to the familial, with patterns of power-relationships, had a suggestion of Foucauldian 'technology of power'. It helped the managers in the exercise of authority which was contended by depowering forces, and discussed in the previous chapter.

However, stronger claims to this discourse of *izzat*, linked with the head's role, required observation of religious values and what it meant to be a Muslim. That was another discursive field open to manoeuvre and manipulation. How were the religious values defined/interpreted and by whom, determined and framed the discourse of Muslimness as examined earlier in chapter three. Its articulation with the 'socio-political' added further dimensions, with implications for gender. If in one context it empowered managers and facilitated practices, its gendered aspects led to oppression and confinement. Women and men, 'created from *nafas-e-wahidah* (one soul)' (the Quran: 4:1), and likewise made subject to social and moral values in Islam, were

¹⁴⁰ See Anita Weiss :1994 for details.

constructed as gender-inscribed by socio-eco-political determinants. It had two aspects:

1. Muslim women were the bearers of religious values¹⁴¹ and teachings in a society where men were practically exempted from any such obligation.
2. Values and norms were defined in articulation with feudal/patriarchal discourses, to marginalise women and deprive them of equality and rights granted within Islam. A regional-cultural discourse of *izzat*¹⁴² aimed at depowering, immobilising, confining and silencing of women, and countered the relative empowerment aspired through the religious/familial discourses.

The spontaneous wish by a woman college head that “I wish there was a way that we could deal directly with the banks¹⁴³” (PF5) points to the extent of depowering experienced through exclusion from the public. This is linked up with the Islamic discourse of sex, chastity, morality, and the code of conduct, and needs to be viewed in that context. The irony is that in all these aspects Islam completely refuses any gender discrimination but in practice there were completely different and contradictory discourses of *izzat* functioning in that society. For a woman it would be a violation of family *izzat* to move into ‘male domains’, and here *izzat* as a technology of power serves double purposes: control of women, and control of finances/resources. ‘Character assassination’ discussed earlier in chapters six and seven, emerged as another tool paradoxically linked with the notion of *izzat*. A genuine emphasis on conduct/character can be traced back to the Islamic concept of a teacher who has the dual role of a knowledge giver and moral role-model to be emulated, and this has been discussed earlier in chapter two. But there can be another aspect to it: an honourable family could be destroyed through the character assassination of a woman-member of the house, which encouraged immobilisation

¹⁴¹ See Afshar:1994 for details.

¹⁴² Broadly speaking, it may concern education, dress, socialising, work, marriage, or any other personal matter as well.

¹⁴³ I do not reject the possibility of some women college heads dealing with the banks in person, but it would be on rare occasions and not on regular basis. Second, this confinement through *izzat* was more the predicament of the middle class women to which the majority of the college heads belonged, and even there the interpretations varied from family to family.

and invisibility of women; and here it becomes a 'power technology' linked with sex-segregation.

Sex-segregation emerged as a political mode of ordering roles and practices. The rhetoric emphasised it as an Islamic injunction. I will mention very briefly the concerned religious texts to argue that it is a relative concept recommended so far as it is essential to maintain the social fabric of an Islamic society with its specific discourses of family and sex¹⁴⁴. In Islam, segregation is not to constrain women, but to restrain men and women in accordance with the Quranic values and code of conduct. In Muslim societies, it has often been wielded as a tool for gender discrimination, particularly through the discourse of 'veiling'. There is a huge literature which explains veiling as a quasi-religious, politically-charged, cultural phenomenon¹⁴⁵, with variations of style, mode, purpose, nature and extent. It is beyond the scope of this study to detail veiling in Muslim societies¹⁴⁶ - the concepts, norms and practices, which not only have roots in pre-Islamic Arab society, but can also be traced to many other feudal patriarchal structures. My argument focuses only on two points: first, sex-segregation as defined by the Quran is a part of a particular educative programme for men and women, and certainly does not aim at depowering or marginalising women. In fact the concept of sex-segregation (linked with the discourses of sex and family in the Quran) aims at a non-threatening environment to ensure equal participation of men and women in the public as well as the private; and second, any Quranic injunctions addressed specifically to the Prophet's wives do not extend to other Muslim women because the Prophet's wives are explicitly defined as a separate group in the Quran:

“O wives of prophet you are not like any other women” (33: 32).

I will briefly explain the two points.

¹⁴⁴ For further details see Shah:1998.

¹⁴⁵ An interesting variation is mentioned by Fernea and Bezirgan who state that “among the Tuareg of the southern Sahara, it is the *men*, not the women, who are veiled, yet this is not viewed as a sign of repression; quite the contrary” (1977: xxv).

¹⁴⁶ For further details concerning 'veiling' in Islam see Abdalti:1994; Afshar:1992; 1994; Ahmed:1992; Ali:1975; Macleod:1992; Maududi:1995; Mernissi:1985;1991; Siddiqi:1996; Weiss:1986; Zein-Ed-Din :1982.

In the first Muslim society of Medina, during the Prophet's life-time, two major sites of the public were the mosque and the battle-field. Muslim women participated in both which shows that the practice of excluding women from the public was not the intent of the Prophet (Ahmed:1992; Ahmed:1992; Fernea and Bezirgan:1977; Memissi:1991; Smith:1995). There is an on-going debate surrounding veiling and the issue as to whether it is a Quranic injunction or not. 'Veiling' is mentioned in the Quran with reference to the prophet's wives. The readings of *suras* 24 and 33 highlight the recommendation of 'veiling' for the Prophet's wives as a socio-political strategy to protect the Prophet, the Messenger of God and the leader of the *Ummah*, from annoyance and perturbation¹⁴⁷, as is made explicit particularly in *sura* 33. The reference which includes all women concerns the dress code:

“O Prophet! Tell thy wives and thy daughters and the women of thy believers to draw their cloaks close around them (when they go out/abroad). That will be better, so that they may be recognised and not annoyed (emphasis added)” (33:59).

The veil here does not aim at 'invisibility' but to make Muslim women 'visible' as distinct from non-Muslim women. The Prophet's wives are set further apart through commands like:

“His (the Prophet's) wives are as their (believers') mothers” (33:6);

“talk to his wives from behind a curtain” (33:53); and,

“nor that ye should ever marry his wives after him¹⁴⁸,” (Ibid).

In addition to that, God who makes explicit in the Quran to punish and reward every man and woman for their deeds equally, directly addresses the wives of the Prophet:

¹⁴⁷ One explanation offered by Fernea and Bezirgan is that: “An increasing number of visitors, of all classes and types, came to see him and often spoke to the wives when they could not find the Prophet himself”, and some mistook them for slaves and did not show them proper respect, so the orders of seclusion (1977:29).

¹⁴⁸ In the case of other believing women, marrying a widow or divorcee is a recommended practice, and the Prophet himself married such women.

“O wives of prophet if any of you should act in a manner incompatible with the highest standard of piety her punishment will be doubled (33: 30); and also “stay in your house and do not display your finery like the ostentation of the days of ignorance” (33:33).

These *ayahs* make it explicit that an injunction for the Prophet’s wives does not apply to all Muslim women. Making such situation specific commands a basis for generalisation has served as a mode for ordering power relations in Muslim societies. Sex-segregation has remained a conspicuous feature of Muslim societies, and there is abundant literature on it. My concern with the term and notion here is only in so far as it articulates on the educational site, and there again with a focus on college management. The roles taken up by women and men in my study were dependent on their discursive positionings and interplay of discourses which constructed them in and across the public and the private, and determined their relative power and authority as managers. The single-sex-college phenomenon in AJK, Pakistan can indeed be traced back to the religious influences but in articulation with many other forces and factors; and an interplay of multiple competing discourses is reflected in college management as well, which is discussed next.

2.2. Single-sex Colleges and the Implications for Management

The mosque has been the centre of learning for Muslim women and men since the Prophet’s times¹⁴⁹. Any restraints on access have been socio-political - legitimised in the name of religion but not necessarily religious. Looking back at the historical specifications of the Pakistani context, the traditional Islamic system of education which ideologically focused on the ‘holistic’ development of ‘man’, was disrupted by the colonial intervention. The resultant discourse of education was primarily rooted in political and economic imperatives. Paradoxically, the attempts of the indigenous Muslims to protect the Muslim women from ‘non-Islamic’ education not only denied women the Islamic rights to knowledge and equality, but also emphasised gender

¹⁴⁹ The Prophet used to teach the Muslim men and women together in the mosque. A variation, that later became the source of imposed sex-segregation in Muslim societies, was that Muslim women of Medina requested the Prophet to teach them in the evenings as often they could not attend the morning gatherings due to domestic responsibilities; and felt that they were left behind in knowledge acquisition as compared to men. The Prophet agreed to teach them according to their convenience, which rather highlights his belief in equality of sexes than the emphasis on sex-segregation as it is often interpreted (see also Ahmed:1992 and Mernissi:1991).

stereotyping and division of labour never intended by the Prophet or implied by Islam *Rasalah* (Mernissi:1993). Later, the socio-economic predicament of post-colonial experience emphasised the economic element, and this influenced re-negotiation of gender roles and participation. The pragmatic shift in the aims and objectives of education to respond to the economic demands necessitated female participation in sharing family finances (Weiss:1994) - an exclusively male responsibility according to the Quran, as already examined in chapter one.

In post-colonial Pakistan, the education of women emerged as an economic and political rather than religious imperative, and the number of single-sex institutions, schools and colleges, gradually increased. The international debate around achievement levels in single-sex institutions (which is a broad generalisation and ignores socio-political forces affecting attitudes and performance in mixed-sex settings) is beyond the scope of this study. Besides which, I do not intend to critique the single-sex colleges as such. In fact, women-only colleges offered aspiring women an opening of space in the public. However, the structural denominations inscribed the roles and practices, and that is the concern of this study. This was re-inforced by the socio-cultural practices where 'traditional patterns of behaviours prescribe certain roles to which individuals, males and females, partially conform to differing degrees' (Blackmore: 1995:121). What Valerie Hall observes regarding educational managers in a British context, holds true in this situation as well that:

“As individuals, they cannot be separated from the society and culture in which they work and in which assumptions about men and women in public and private, in work or at family, prevail” (1996:12).

The roles of women and men college heads reflected these 'assumptions' as already examined in the last section of the previous chapter. The management practices often conformed to the gender stereotypes in the wider social order. Even when placed structurally at similar points, the role expectations and specifications of gendered managers were different. The roles of male and female college heads were discursively constructed through historically inscribed discourses of what it was to be a Muslim, a woman/man, and in the 'domestic/public', according to given

interpretations of religion in a specific culture at that point. This meant that not only the site of activity got dislocated from the public to the private as suggested by the pervasive metaphorical use of family for the colleges, and as examined earlier in chapters six and seven, but also that the male and the female colleges became defined as male and female space within the 'family'. Referring to 'retrogressive' use of family in a political context Apple argues that "the discourse of family can be used for many social purposes" (1996:60), and here it is used on the educational site. The female and male colleges were officially termed in Urdu as *zanana* (for women) and *mardana* (for men) colleges, which reflected the marked boundaries of family space on the cultural scene.

2.3 Marked Boundaries: *zanana* and *mardana*

An awareness of how the family site was constructed in that culture, particularly with regard to the management of space and gender is useful to understand the relevant metaphorical constructions. The cultural domestic site was divided in *mardana* and *zanana*, with associated connotations of rights and duties, positions, norms, movements and access¹⁵⁰. The 'respectable' woman did not step into *mardana*, while men enjoyed a proscribed access to *zanana*.

Here, I would refer to a particular phenomenon in single-sex-college management. As stated in chapter one, there were quite a few male principals managing *zanana* colleges. Conversely, there was no example of a woman principal ever appointed head of a *mardana* college in the study's region. This is consistent with the symbol of family where men are an authority in the *mardana* and *zanana*; but *mardana* remains beyond the bounds of female authority. It re-inforces the gendered notion of authority which disallows a woman to be in immediate authority above men. This supports Marshall's observation that "women bring their femaleness with its connotations and

¹⁵⁰ In the family house or *Haveili* of a feudal lord, space is divided and marked as *mardana* (for men) and *zanana* (for women). *Zanana* is a specified and bounded area, forbidden to men except selected servants besides *mehrim*s and members of the household; there might be further sub-areas in the *zanana* forbidden to some men of the house who are *non-mehrim*s in relation to that area. *Mardana* is completely forbidden to women of the house, or other 'respectable women'. The women moving there would be broadly categorised as supplicants, maids or prostitutes. The rest of the world is *baher* (outside) for women of the house, and any movement into that needs to be justified and conducted according to the family norms. In this context, the terms *mardana* and *zanana* colleges gain significance.

status in society with them when they enter organisations" (1984: 4). Even in the professional positions of power, women were expected to comply with the male authority and not to move out of *zanana* except strictly in accordance with the notion of 'family' and norms of *izzat*, and the same was expected from the women college heads. One question which emerges is 'why did women college heads submit to the metaphor' if it apparently constrained them in their professional capacity. Probably the explanation lies in the Islamic notion of family and the wider social fabric, already discussed in chapter one. This also points towards an interplay of discourses which at the same time constrained and liberated them.

The religious discourse offered a model which acknowledged difference, equality and justice, and where relationships held high priority. The ties of blood (relationships) not only determined *halal/haram* in marriage but influenced inheritance of property, claims of relationships, rights, duties and obligations. They were the cohesive element in family. Symbolically, family, connected by 'blood' flowing through the bodies, becomes a single 'body' where a 'position' is ascribed to every part, commanding obedience and loyalty. Reconstruction of 'organisation' as a 'body' in this sense by the college heads, both male and female, might reflect the desire to find a way out of their respective problems and complications arising in 'organ-isation' - or 'Organs without Bodies' (Braidotti:1994). The re-conceptualisation had relevance to the discourses mentioned earlier. For the college heads, it facilitated management. But one aspect is contested: in its implications for gender, this construction was not reflective of the Islamic epitomisation of male/female complementarity in the form of 'human being' at the pinnacle of creation. It was a feudal patriarchal construction of domestic where *zanana* is marginalised and bounded. It denied social justice and equality. 'Family' was perceived as a male-centred, male-dominated site, and this 'engendering of the concept' (Michelson:1996) necessitated a study of gender to seek understanding of organisational life (Mac an Ghail:1994).

The context for these management roles being educational institutions, it had a significance how the colleges were defined as organisations. An earlier overview of relevant international literature in chapter two, propounded that organisations, and educational organisations in particular because of their specific ideological

dimensions, were social and situated constructions. Metaphorical conceptualisation of colleges as family by my research participants made them a contested site of diverse and competing discourses pertaining to claims of power, control and space management. Altrichter et al emphasise the influence of metaphor in formulating perspectives and discourses (1993:128-131), and I agree. The metaphorical use of 'family' was embedded in associated perspectives and discourses, and it influenced college management. For example, I was told by the college heads that, according to law, local administration and the police could not take any action within the college bounds or enter there with any such intentions, without prior permission of the college head, be that a male or a female college. In the light of this information, the following quote becomes significant:

".... a few years back, a superintendent [for examinations] got killed at Rawalakot. He was badly beaten by the students and died a few weeks later. You [the researcher] may visit the [examination] centre in my college. Now there is police posted at the centres [at the head's request/permission]. There are about a dozen police-men sitting outside the examination-hall. What can they do [to stop use of unfair means]? The superintendents also do not dare to check a student. It will be me, the principal (my emphasis), risking to stop malpractice through personal authority or persuasion" (PM1).

The metaphorical construction seems to be upheld by the law, which appears to 'stop' at the 'college gate' like it does at the gate of the domestic/private, as examined in chapter one. And when it does enter the 'domestic', it is in-effective like the police-men sitting outside the examination-hall powerless to stop malpractice or even violence. This reiterates the point that "questions of justice were restricted to the 'public sphere', whereas the private sphere was considered outside the realm of justice" (BenHabib: 1992:109). It unmask further questions:

- How does these conceptualisations influence roles and practices of both male and female heads?

- Is the immunity of site a cause of ‘law and order situation’, or violence in the colleges (Saigol:1993), as in the case of ‘domestic’?
- Is this a reason for malpractice and multiple pressures in a community with networks of *baradari* and extended family?

The metaphor obviously articulated with the notions of authority, and shaped the discourses of ‘head’s’ depowering and empowerment on this educational site. Following is a discussion of its gendered orientation which had implications for institutional management.

3. Gendered Colleges and Management Roles

The woman and man college head were perceived as ‘mother’ and ‘father’ respectively, and this affected their management roles and practices. For example, if a woman college head, the ultimate authority in that specific management situation, was constructed as a ‘mother’ it shifted the site from the public to the familial/private. In the absence of higher male authority, the control of money practically went into the hands of the senior male figure on the site even when ‘lower in authority’, and in this case an accountant/clerk. The woman who had gained a powerful senior position continued to feel powerless because of the cultural “gendered ideological foundation of authority” (Luke: 1996: 289). The mother figure was rendered a *bechari*, often little more than a signing robot. It was a replication of social patriarchal organisation of family where absence of ‘father’ relegated finance control in the hands of the next-in-line male rather than the ‘mother’ in spite of all the Quranic emphasis on mother’s status, female equality in finance management¹⁵¹, and gender equality. Nonetheless, the research findings also highlighted the attempts by women college heads to resist depowering through a conscious wielding of religious and cultural discourses. Their efforts at managing power over finances partly were indicative of a struggle over production of power relations in the ‘public’ in contravention of the ‘private’, through a recourse to religious texts.

¹⁵¹ The Quran specifically emphasises women’s share in inheritance (4:7), right over dower (Ibid:24), and right over what they earn (Ibid:32).

These explorations into power differentials and gender demarcations had implications for the management of single-sex colleges regarding roles of women and men college heads and management practices in a society that prioritised and approved sex-segregation. A persistent emphasis on the discourse of family and the efforts to seek validation from religion were evidenced both by the replies to the postal questionnaires and the interviews carried out later with women and men college heads and other senior educational managers. The following is a discussion of management roles and practices in these gendered colleges and how these were formulated by interacting discourses.

3.1. *Mardana* Colleges

For men, the *mardana* college was the male domain that offered transferability of male role and authority between the domestic to the public. The shift of the site warranted empowerment of the male 'head' and his authority that was threatened by multiple pressures in the professional context, as constantly complained by the participants. The 'father/elder brother' role was emphasised in student and staff management. It gave the male head a moral authority validated by the religious texts¹⁵² where legal authority failed under pressures and malpractice.

Second, men benefited from the re-description of colleges in matters of 'networking'. Male colleges were the *mardana*, and thus in spite of being located in the 'family' they were a part of the 'public'. The contacts were open, and friendships and alliances were forged without restraints to facilitate management of the site as well as to further career developments. The study highlighted the difference in social and moral norms operating in the *mardana* and *zanana* to the advantage of males, and how it constructed the gendered discourses of roles and practices in college management.

But *mardana* also had its disadvantages for management. First, its openness to public rendered it vulnerable to interference and infiltration as suggested by empirical

¹⁵² Besides the Hadith and records of the saints' lives, the Quran is extremely emphatic about the duty to parents, which often in patriarchy is interpreted as 'duty to father/male head of the house' and gives him a right to authority. In this regard the Quran is very explicit in its commands not to act harshly (46:15; 31:14) or speak harshly to parents (46:17; 17:23), and to be 'humble' with them and always obey them in every matter even if displeasing to you, unless it is against the commands of God. Significantly, the Quran balances it with mention of children's rights and parents' duties towards their children.

evidence. The domestic/familial construction of the professional site encouraged relaxation of rules and regulations, which was demanded and at times granted; and the locale being *mardana* there was no barrier to entry or interference. The submission to demand/s was to be negotiated not in accordance with the 'law of the public' but the norms of the domestic and in consideration of the relative status of the parties.

Second, bounds of *mardana* merged with the world outside and hence the helplessness of the male college heads to prevent infiltration of 'non-students' who disrupted the educational atmosphere in the guise of students as mentioned by many participating college heads quoted in chapter six. The 'law' (police and local administration in this case) had restrained access to the family site even if it was *mardana* but its being *mardana* opened it to multiple socio-political infiltration. In addition to that, the *mardana* population (male students and staff) could not be constrained into immobility and there were complaints concerning the staff not taking classes regularly and not being available on the college campus. In addition to that, the pervasive complaints about 'boys' not attending classes and showing poor results was another common phenomenon, as stated in detail by PM1, and almost every one agreed:

“There are fixed timings in the girls colleges. The girls enter the college, and the gates are closed till the last period. Teaching continues un-interrupted. That is not so in the boys colleges. By the last class, there are less than half the boys left in the college. I think, administratively the girls colleges are better, though they have problems in accounts, office management, and in dealing with the directorate There are advantages and disadvantages on both sides, but administratively women are in a better position ...”.

Thus, there were advantages as well as disadvantages of the boundary. The girls colleges were mentioned as more disciplined, opposed to violence in the boys college, and also there was less outside interference. The women college heads agreed that the boys colleges were problem sites, and one factor was their male population, as commented PF6 that “ ..it is more of a problem to handle the boys”. Even those heads who believed that women faced more problems in managing colleges emphasised that

female students were 'a comfort to manage', pointing to interesting dimensions of role socialisation. PM5 argued:

"Ladies have more problems. But there is one advantage on their side: the girls are not trouble-makers. The boys create more problems and they are often used by other forces as well".

The senior educational managers affirmed that the boys colleges were problem sites. The gendered roles extended to the students and created problems in student management:

"Male heads have more problems. The girls are law-abiding, their activities are limited, but the boys get involved in many things ---- outside education. We have more problems there. Women colleges are leading in the Board and University examination results. It is not that the quality of education is different, although there can be individual differences. The fact is that there is no unrest in female colleges" (PSM5).

I have already pointed out in the previous chapter that the metaphorical formulations and the gendered roles and practices, as conceived and constructed, had advantages and disadvantages. But the question is, did these metaphorical conceptualisations and associated discourses contribute to management effectiveness? I would argue that, in the circumstances, it did in a certain way and with limitations, and this is also evidenced by the responses presented earlier in chapters five and six. Both male and female college heads wielded these discourses to counter depowering strategies, as examined in chapter seven. It facilitated management and smoothed many issues. But did it respond to the demand for quality in educational management, particularly at higher education level? The limitations of this study precluded any in depth exploration of this question; however, it is briefly considered below in relevance to management roles and practices.

With regard to quality of management, one common evaluative measure mentioned by the participating college heads was the annual examination results. The research

findings showed that the pass percentage of the board and university examinations had been usually between 10% to 30% since 1981¹⁵³. Significantly, on average, the boys' colleges scored considerably less than the girls' colleges, as confirmed by the findings:

“they (girls) give better results. We have good male lecturers but the girls colleges scoop all the positions [in the examinations]. It is because the girls study and work hard. Also they are showing a higher aptitude for studies The boys do not pay attention, do not study" (PM1).

The lower performance was attributed to the ‘diversions’ and ‘deviations’ available on the male site, as constructed in that socio-political culture.

Another criterion for appraisal was ‘co-curricular activities’, which included arranging relevant functions and activities for the students. There again the girls colleges showed better records in the quality and number of events. According to the male principals, they avoided organising co-curricular activities because of threats of disturbance and disruption in the *mardana* colleges from interfering violent elements; as this could lead to a ‘law and order situation’. They avoided exposing themselves to such risks. There could be the issue of required management abilities, interpersonal relationships, and demands on time and performance, pertaining to management styles of different college heads but interestingly, the participants often chose to explain it as the *zanana* and *mardana* phenomenon which highlighted the gendered aspect.

3.2. *Zanana* Colleges

According to the empirical evidence, the metaphorical constructions had different implications for women college heads who were confined to the *zanana*. This influenced their roles and practices whether it was so by compulsion or by choice, or somewhere between the two. They had positional power and authority and additionally, their performance was better when judged against the general criteria

¹⁵³ As mentioned earlier in chapter one, the AJK University was set up in 1980. It started conducting examinations from 1981 onwards. Previously, The University of Punjab, Pakistan, was the examining body for this region.

mentioned above. The interviewees, women and men, ascribed this to the ethos and norms of the *zanana*: female population being more co-operative, obedient, hard-working and disciplined, concentrating on the work in the absence of any distractions/diversions. This was a grudging acknowledgement, but, in my opinion, a devaluation and underestimation of the performance and achievements of women managers in spite of multiple barriers and problems, by linking it up with gendered roles and socialisation. A significant dimension was women's tacit acceptance of the insinuations, which hinted at the disciplining effects of the prevailing family discourses where male head must prevail.

Second, women heads of *zanana* colleges were indirectly protected by the 'walls and veils' of the *harim* which kept the intruders out (Helms:1995). Unlike *mardana* colleges, *zanana* colleges were closed to the 'public' and a violation of the bounds by the male outsiders as such, was culturally inappropriate and liable to social censure. This provided women managers a space in which to manoeuvre without the threat of open interference and blatant pressures experienced by their male counterparts. It did not mean that they were completely protected from such phenomenon, but that the pressures and interferences were more subtle like telephone messages, *parchis* and the mobilisation of female kinship-networks; but these could be at times subtly avoided or managed without offending the cultural patterns. This was supported by evidence presented in chapter six, that women managers felt advantaged by the comparative protection of the *zanana* and were envied by male managers in this respect. However, there were obvious disadvantages concerning the issues of mobility and socio-professional networking which have already been discussed. These had serious implications for women managers' professional development and career advance in particular.

The issue of mobility had another aspect which was linked with *izzat*. A mobile woman was putting the family *izzat* at risk. If anything unseemly, to say the least, happened to her outside the family bounds it was to be viewed by how it affected the social family, rather than the woman as a person. Women managers were the subjects and objects of family *izzat* and as such were placed in an extremely vulnerable position. They were the targets in family politics and conflicts, and this indirectly

emphasised 'safety behind the walls' for them. This fear was reflected in many responses, like M8 saying: "recently a woman teacher has been kidnapped¹⁵⁴ in broad daylight from outside a school in Lahore and this is not one lone case"; although often not as clearly worded as this quote. My research participants mentioned this as a major reason for female immobility, even though they felt that it had serious repercussions for the professional effectiveness of women managers, besides being problematic in day-to-day management.

This was indirectly linked with the lack of respect for working women, and had special pertinence for the middle class¹⁵⁵. Culturally, a working middle class woman implied that the husband or male head/members of the family were not earning enough, could not support family, and lived on the woman's income, which was socially disgraceful and religiously incorrect. To meet the financial needs and to save the social face¹⁵⁶ a discourse of self-willing women, or women wanting to work operated whose wishes were acceded to by graciously compromising males. However, the work situations were 'controlled' to avoid risks to family 'honour'. Thus contribution to family income was achieved, but without any threat to patriarchal power or disciplining. This highlighted how socio-cultural norms and discourses determined gender roles and practices in the private and the public, and defined the sites. It points to the heterogeneity of regimes of subjectification that "arises from the fact that ways of governing others are linked not only to the subjectification of the governed, but also to the subjectification of those who would govern conduct" (Rose: 1996:139). This complexity of the subject and 'heterogeneity of regimes of subjectification' requires an "analysis of particular modes of objectification, of the forms of knowledge and relations of power through which human beings have been constructed as subjects" (Smart: 1988:71-2).

¹⁵⁴ Kidnapping a woman is much more than a legal crime. It means social destruction of the victim and her family, although there is a difference in degree, in relation to the personal and the family status.

¹⁵⁵ Here middle class refers to the group between the very poor and very rich. Rich had the 'power' to mould discourse of *izzat* to suit them, and the poor were immune to it in their efforts to survive, but the middle class was constrained by the discourse. Moreover, the middle class went for education as a means to maintain/improve their living conditions and needed more earning hands which meant finding '*baa-izzat*' ('where honour is maintained') employment for their women. Education was perceived as such a field but if any position threatened *izzat* then it was to be avoided.

¹⁵⁶ This has great importance in a close-knot extended community.

The construction of the female college locale as *zanana* aimed at subjectification of women in a particular discourse of 'otherness'. This raised epistemological questions about knowledge and subject. What is 'female'? A 'complementation' of male (as claimed by Islam); or a 'negation' (as asserted by patriarchy)! In patriarchy, according to Sheila BenHabib:

“Woman is simply what man is not; Her identity becomes defined by a lack - the lack of autonomy, the lack of independence, The narcissistic male takes her to be just like himself, only his opposite” (1992:156).

And this becomes contradictory to the Islamic notion where equality is located in difference, as examined above, not in negation of difference.

The *zanana* appears to be constructed as 'other', a violation of the norm; and this has pertinence to the issue of women's voicing, particularly with regard to policy making:

“Neither the concreteness nor the otherness of the 'concrete other' can be known in the absence of the voice of the other. The view point of the concrete other emerges as a distinct one only as a result of self-definition. It is the other who makes us aware of her concreteness and her otherness. Without engagement, confrontation, dialogue, and even a 'struggle for recognition' we tend to constitute the otherness of the other by projection and fantasy or ignore it in indifference” (Ben-Habib: 1992:168).

This devoicing of 'the other' in the 'public' extends to the 'private' - in this case an educational site. On the family site, the *zanana* is supposed to be quiet where female presence is 'seen but never heard' (Belenky: 1986:32). Belenky emphasises that women themselves 'feel deaf and dumb' (1986:24) which could be a consequence of self-policing or social gaze, or both. I share Louise Lamphere's 'suspicions' that 'women are much more silenced by power than men' (1994:220), and I strongly believe that 'women also have very different ways of coping with powerlessness' (Ibid), but that does not mitigate the issues of de-voicing and silencing. It will be

extremely simplistic to ignore the power discourses - such as religion, family, izzat, and others, which effectively gag the voice of the 'other'.

Many studies highlight that in the 'family' women are not heard as men are. They are socialised into 'silence' and this 'learning to be silent' in the domestic often transfers to the 'professional'. The following quote from one female college head illuminates the point:

“in general, attention is not paid to women's words. Their opinion regarding any official matter is not given that weight as a man's word. Then, being a women, it does not seem appropriate to argue with men (my emphasis)” (F3).

Significantly, this de-voicing or silencing of women, does not appear to be a specific feature of this particular context. Belenky mentions research on sex differences which indicates that women and girls have more difficulty than boys and men in asserting their authority (1986:4-5). She claims that “many female students and working women are painfully aware that men succeed better in getting and holding the attention of others for their ideas and opinions” (Ibid:5). An interesting dimension is presented in Valerie Walkerdine's study of the small boys' resistance in a nursery school with a female teacher (1987:172). The same phenomenon is discussed by Carmen Luke in a teaching context. She explains the 'politics of knowledge production' which constrains women to 'exert intellectual authority and institutional power' (1996:294), and makes them feel 'de-authorised' and invisible (Ibid:297). Referring specifically to the gendered aspect of being 'heard' in management, Shakeshaft states:

“Certainly we know that male teachers exhibit more hostility towards dealing with female administrators than do female teachers. We also know that women have to work harder to get male teachers to 'hear' them” (1993:54).

These studies of different work situations and diverse age groups illuminate the pervasiveness of the issue. They illuminate the patriarchal modes of ordering gendered power relations and explain female positioning in the public which has a

relevance to the Foucauldian argument that discourses are never free of history, power and interests (1980:131).

This discussion of the secondary questions explored how diverse and, at times, opposing roles and positions created within practices were lived and how these affected the production of subjectivity and gendered roles. At this stage, it now becomes possible to consider the final question concerning the implications that this has for management development and relevant policy-making.

4. Policy and Professional Development: Implications for Management

Management development is generally viewed as an area that is determined by government policy. The last section of chapter two provided an overview of literature on management development. There appears to be an overwhelming consensus on the need for management development, although there are variations regarding approaches, theories and programmes. Some of the skills emphasised in qualitative studies were: a broadening of vision (Middlehurst:1993; Greenfield and Ribbins : 1993), intellectual, social, technical and professional capabilities (Mullins:1995), high level analytical ability (Hunt:1991), management of 'internal and external context' (Middlehurst:1995), interpersonal skills (Wilson:1995), and political skills such as the ability to understand and develop power relationships or build coalitions (Kotter:1988;1992).

What seemed to me extremely simplistic was the implicit presumption that provision of development could also mean the application of new knowledge in actual practice, and as such lead to increased effectiveness. Chapters six and seven highlighted the problems in achieving 'effectiveness'. A stronger emphasis was laid on improving the situational conditions, than on extensive professional 'preparation'. My argument is that a management situation is not merely at the receiving end of development programmes; it is definitely an interactive context and needs to be acknowledged as such.

My research participants agreed to a need for management development and specified the areas of higher pertinence as detailed in chapters five and six; but the primary

demand was a situation where these improved skills could be used. For example, finance-related skills were the most strongly emphasised area but the issues raised were procedural and socio-political. How far the acquired skills could be utilised in a system with complaints of malpractice, corruption and multiple pressures, with added gendered dimensions like male-dominated offices, segregation and female immobility, was the bland question. Heads certainly "need techniques and skills to be effective --- [and for] developing a better way of thinking about their role" (Fullan: 1992:31); but they also appear to need a context where techniques and skills can be applied. I agree with Legotlo and Westhuizen that often debates around academic ability and need for management development ignore the broader and different problems in developing countries (1996:409), and still other issues in Muslim societies.

The empirical evidence supported the point that gender and different versions of Muslimness across and within gendered categories, constrained practices and effectiveness. The issues resulting from the women's role socialisation and patriarchal practices need to be explored from a Quranic perspective in Muslim societies where gender emerges as a source and tool of exploitation rather than a celebration of difference as presented in the Quran. The participating women college heads were constrained by specific social and structural conditions, which they seemed hesitant to admit but which emanated from their responses. One explanation can be that they chose to be silent in this specific socio-cultural context; or may be they weighed these against issues specific to male institutions and considered themselves 'better off'. However, the issue needs to be investigated.

This research points to problems broadly related to gender in college management: finance management, public dealings, social and domestic considerations for women; and, political interference, pressure groups, unions/professional organisations etc. for men college heads. In this instance, in view of implicit and explicit extensions of metaphorical constructions regarding *zanana* and *mardana*, the issue for women was the socio-political constructions of gender rather than the biology per se. It could be traced back to Muslim acknowledgement and celebration of 'difference', within the

‘family’ or the *Ummah*, without any essential connotations with inequality as discussed above.

In this context, college management is framed in a discourse of Muslimness. I am not implying any hegemonic Muslimness. My argument is that practices and discourses cannot be de-contextualised. What is empowerment or development for a Muslim male manager, or a Muslim female manager, can not be delinked from their Muslimness. A stepping outside the dominant religious discourse/s may not be good for their sense of self, and probably for the management effectiveness as well. Conversely, the risk, as highlighted by Foucault, poststructuralism and many Muslim feminists as well, is the way interpretations are monopolised and fixed. This risk is heightened particularly when religion is the validating authority. In my study, there was awareness among men and women managers, of the drawbacks of their fixed positions. For the moment it meant that there were some advantages in the *mardana* and some in the *zanana*, but a re-negotiation was sought to improve both. However, for any genuine reforms, a recognition of religious values was perceived essential.

Religion is a dominating discourse in this study. Due to the Islamic philosophy of knowledge, education emerged as an active discursive field entangled with issues of religious identity and ideology. This revival of religion as a source of ‘identity and security’ (Bell:1979¹⁵⁷) is increasingly being perceived as a post-modern phenomenon. For many groups, it frames struggle from margins to centres¹⁵⁸. In such situations, the need increases for un-fixing, re-negotiation¹⁵⁹ and re-interpretation of discourses with a view to work out where change is possible and where not regarding notions of development, effectiveness and empowerment. Here gender assumes high significance. The study highlights the implications of gender in the construction of roles and practices of women and men college heads, in a single-sex-colleges context. The ‘blind eye approach’ of policy makers is critiqued, drawing attention to plurality

¹⁵⁷ See also Bauman:1997; Kepel:1994; King:1993.

¹⁵⁸ Kepel also mentions people’s distancing from religion, in general, in 1960s and reversal in 1970s (1994:2) and highlights the use of religion as a tool for legitimising social order (1994:10). Bauman sees revival of religion as a response to the ‘human insufficiency’(1997:168) and considers fundamentalism a contemporary, thoroughly post-modern phenomenon (Ibid:182).

¹⁵⁹ In this regard, it is useful to address the difference between re-negotiation and ‘re-description’ as finely analysed by Bhabha (1994).

and fragmentation. I will address this point later in this section, with particular reference to policy-making.

Policy-making is a multi-layered, multi-level process. Ozga and Gewirtz claim that three major groups are responsible for education policy: the state apparatus itself, the economy, and the various institutions of civil society (1993:6), and these shape the practices in education as well. Stephen Ball mentions three levels or dimensions of educational policy making: the political, the ideological, and the economic, acting as two way processes each a source and resource (Ball: 1990b:9). He emphasises that policies in education seek to respond to a complex and heterogeneous configuration of facts. They are political in character and reflect 'struggles for control of meaning and definition of education' (1990b: 21):

"values do not float free of their social context. We need to ask whose values are validated in policy, and whose are not. policies cannot be divorced from interests, from conflict, from domination or from justice" (Ball:1990b:3).

I believe that homogenising the issues by providing blanket policies is not only unjust, it muddles the issues. Knight et al, focusing on a multicultural context, advise looking into 'discursive assumptions' underlying reading of 'competing texts'. They emphasise that educational policy studies have

"the task of producing new meaning around such policies that expands the multiplicity of voices in it (Barthes:1975). Only when the 'official' authority of the text as knowledge and its source as guarantor of its truth are transcended, can the construction of really useful knowledge begin" (1990:34).

This has equal significance in a proclaimed 'uni-cultural' (Muslim) context. The study highlights the differences within 'one culture', ascribed to religion, gender, *baradari*, class, age and many other factors. Any genuine re-negotiation of issues requires an understanding of the managers' subjectivity and how it relates to the structural conditions (Rizvi: 1994:192), as well as with dominant discourses, for the

purposes of policy-making and increased effectiveness. The need is to 'transcend' the official authority of the 'text' and involve situated voices in the construction of really useful knowledge.

Another issue concerned with policy-making, particularly in the case of developing/under-developed countries, is 'borrowing of policies'. Perhaps the rationale behind this uncritical borrowing is their 'success' in respective countries. This approach is embedded in the philosophy that policies themselves are good or bad and ignores the context of application. In his argument against borrowing policies Walford argues that "wrenching particular policies from their historic, economic, political and social roots can result in unanticipated consequences as those in the host country react to the new implant" (1996:63). An unawareness of contextual difficulties in implementation (LeCompte and McLaughlin: 1994:163) can be as problematic as ignorance of or indifference to the situational requirements. It would be relevant to point out here that although there was a strong demand for management development, at the same time the emphasis was on making such programmes more relevant to the situational demands. The available provisions were accepted as 'better than nothing', although the lack of relevance/usefulness was pointed out by many as supported by responses quoted in chapter six. Even occasional government-funded awards for the purpose of management development/training, in developed countries, were seen as waste of resources because of 'non-applicability' of the skills learnt on such courses in the absence of developed technology and within the given socio-political constraints.

In addition to that, gender was not addressed in any adequate way in policy. The assumption appears to be that the same policy can be effective with regard to *mardana* and *zanana* colleges. This ignored complex implications of gender differences by resorting to overarching cultural-religious sharedness. I agree that gender is not the only or ultimate variant but it certainly emerges in this study as a significant one, and it needs to be taken into account on educational site, particularly for the purposes of policy making. The study highlighted an exigency to critically re-examine the policies in consultation with the managers, both female and male, and to

acknowledge differences across and within the gender divide, without a disregard of commonalities.

There was an awareness of fragmentation within both male and female heads which was openly acknowledged and then approached by the understanding and sensitivity borne out of shared experience and familiarity. But the differences received greater emphasis, probably because of the single-sex context. This required an analysis of the experiences of the managers in both settings to provide insights for gender issues and religion. The research offers an exploration of the context in the hope to increase awareness of the concerned. Even if it does not succeed in initiating an immediate change, at least it is expected to influence policy “indirectly by entering into the consciousness of the actors and shaping the terms of their discussion about policy alternatives” (Trow:1986).

Located in a post-structural frame, this research offers an exploration of the management roles and practices of women and men managers and acknowledges the plurality and fragmentation of their subject positions, and their efforts at adjustments in a complex context. I admit of gaps in my knowledge and in what I see as a traveller which is inextricably linked with what interested me and what I understood, and thereby with my own subjectivity and positioning. This points to the limitations of the study, as in all research, and highlights the importance of maintaining a critical ontology on ourselves as:

“an attitude, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment in going beyond them” (Foucault: 1984:50).

A qualitative paradigm emphasises an awareness of such issues, and demands to make these explicit, which I have tried to do in this study. Remembering her experiences as ‘a subject in traditional research’ Susan Weil writes: “I had seen the subtle ways in which the power of researchers, and the presumptions which underpinned their hypotheses and research practices, could blind them to alternative

conceptions of the world” (1996:3). If this implies that a qualitative paradigm divests the researchers of the ‘power’ and ‘presuppositions’ as such, then I disagree.

I will also reiterate the point made earlier in chapters three, four and five, that there are issues of language and ‘making meaning’, where meaning is subjectively constructed. Contextual determinations influence all aspects of research, including the interpretation. The significance of a word or an expression comes from ‘contextual factors’ such as “the speaker's biography, his immediate intention, the unique relationship he has with his listener, and their past conversations” (Coulon: 1995:17); and my interpretation of the data needs to be seen in that context. These aspects gain further significance in a bilingual context where L1 (Urdu) and L2 (English) have associated historicities constructed around dichotomies and oppositions. I understand with Sheila BenHabib that:

“Certainly, language always says much more than what the author means; there will always be a discrepancy between what we mean and what we say” (1992:216); and, I would add ‘what we say and what is understood’.

The study focused on a research situation where too little was known about how institutions operate, how decisions are reached, and how discourses are deployed. Judith Bell (1993) states the aim of research to be in a position to suggest action which will bring about changes in policy and/or improvements in practice. I differ with her by not suggesting ‘action’, but by offering explorations to work out the changes and improvements situationally.

I have tried to make visible the problems in the college management and in the cultural fabric, where this had relevance to the research focus. This has been achieved through invaluable participation of my colleagues and seniors. Their contributions have initiated a move which I hope will add to the understanding of the concerned managers and policy makers. They have opened venues of exploration hitherto closed to research, and which, if pursued, can enrich literature and lead towards improved practices, especially within a non-western context. In addition to that, the study has not only explored the existing notions of research regarding management and gender,

but it has also introduced new concepts which have relevance to Muslim contexts and which extend further our knowledge of educational sites, management roles/practices, cultural settings and gender relations.

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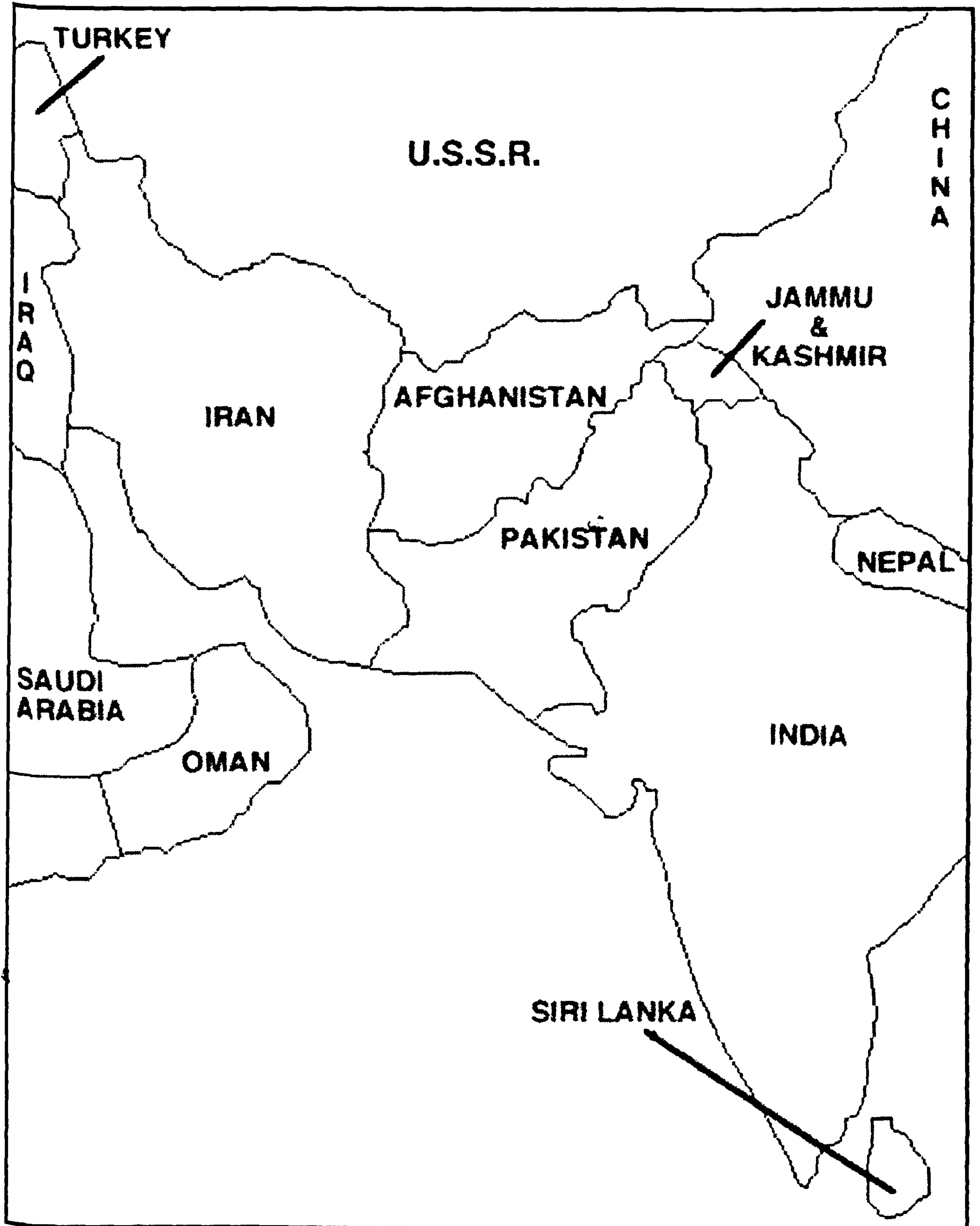
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Appendices

Appendix A

Regional Map of Pakistan

PAKISTAN: REGIONAL MAP



Appendix B

- I. Covering letter for the Pilot Questionnaire
- II. Pilot Questionnaire

Dear Colleague,
Assalam - Alakum.

You are requested to join in our efforts to explore and understand the management issues and possibilities of management development, for college heads in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, by filling in the attached questionnaire. It is a long questionnaire, but to understand a previously unexplored situation, we need all possible information and suggestions.

This Questionnaire is a part of my research related to Ph D, at the University of Nottingham. It is hoped that the research will inform policy, and implement policy changes in connection with management practices and developments in AJK.

The information provided by you will be seen only by myself. I ensure you complete confidentiality and anonymity. The data will be analysed for the purposes of this research only, and will not be made available to any person/agency for any purposes.

I am interested in your opinion and your perception of the issues. As you go through the questionnaire, if you have any further suggestions (questions to be added or deleted or anything else) on any subject or issue to raise, I would welcome your input. This is a pilot to the Postal Questionnaire. Your suggestions will help us redesign the postal questionnaire which is to be sent to all the college heads in AJK in April 1996.

I have left space after each question for your answers, but should you need more space for any of your answers, please do so on an additional sheet.

Thank you for your co-operation and your valuable time.

Saeeda shah
Ph D Student
University of Nottingham
England

2/96

Pilot Questionnaire

A. Personal Information

1. Qualifications
2. Experience (work experience before being appointed as college head).
3. When were you first appointed as college head?
4. Age at that time?
5. Why did you become a college head? Will you please discuss your reasons for it.
6. Do you have any academic qualification/s related to aspects of management, i.e. B Ed, M Ed, M Phil, etc. and how did it influence your performance?
7. Did you receive and management development training?
8. If yes, at what stage/s in your career and for how long?
9. What were its effects on your work?

B. Institution

1. Total number of students?

2. Total number of: (i) teaching staff (ii) support staff
3. Courses of studies offered by the institution?
4. When was the institution established?
5. Does the institution offer male, female or/and co-education?

C. Management

1. Would you suggest any strategy/training/guidance/support program to help the heads improve their management performance?
2. What are the possible areas/aspects of management where development/training can facilitate/improve performance, (e.g. discipline, finance/budgeting, interpersonal relations, office procedures, etc.)?
3. How do you see delegation/sharing in management?
4. What is your opinion of net-working or/and official meetings in relation to management development?
5. How do you perceive the following as contributing to effective management in the order of priority, and why?
 - i) personal experience
 - ii) Management development and training program
 - iii) learning from the experiences of others
6. What problems/issues do you experience in the performance o your tasks/duties?
7. What skills are needed by a college heads?

8. How can these skills be learned/improved?

D. Role Perception

1. What was your perception of the role of a college head pre-posting?
2. How is it different, if at all, from your prior perception of it?
3. How did you learn your role?
4. What could be improved in relation to learning this role?
5. Did you have any role model/s? If yes, how do you see its influence in relation to your work?
6. Would you suggest any role learning/training prior to posting and why?

E. Women in Management

The aim of this section is to identify special circumstance for women in management, but women and men both may please answer.

1. How do see the role of women college heads?
2. Are there any issues/problems special to women? If yes, what are they?
3. Are there any advantages/disadvantages of being a woman college head?
Please explain.

4. Did you perceive any difference/s between male/female management styles?
What are these?
5. Which management style do you think is more effective for educational purposes and how?
6. Women being fewer in college management, would you suggest an increase and why?
7. How can this increase be achieved?
8. What is YOUR opinion of women college heads as managers of educational institutions?

F. Management Development/Training

This section assumes the need of management development/training for college heads. Your answer may inform us to suggest a framework for such programs.

1. What do you consider the most appropriate time for management development/training:
 - i. pre-induction
 - ii. after a specific period
 - iii. at regular intervals

please give reasons to support your point.

2. What should be the appropriate length of a course and why?

3. Would you favour award-bearing or non-award-bearing course/s and why?
4. How far can structured management courses facilitate the learning of management skills?
5. What can self-help groups contribute towards management development?
6. What are the advantages/disadvantages of individual/group-centred management development programs?
7. Management development programs can be mixed/single-sex. What would you suggest and why?
8. In your opinion, what should be the role of a college head in the present day world?

PS: You are welcome to make any comments/suggestions not invited by these questions, or/and suggest any questions for better inquiry.

Thank you

Saeeda Shah
Faculty of Education
University of Nottingham

England

Appendix C

- I. Covering letter (in Urdu) for Postal Questionnaire A
- II. English translation of the Covering Letter
- III. Postal Questionnaire A

محترم / محترمہ -

اسلام و علیکم -

سربراہان ادارہ کے انتظامی کردار اور محاملات و مسائل کو سمجھنے اور بہتر بنانے کے لئے اس تحقیقی عمل میں آپ سے شمولیت اور تعاون کی درخواست کی جاتی ہے۔ یہ تحقیقی پروبیسیکٹ دامتہ ہے پی۔ ایچ۔ ڈی کورس کا ایک حصہ ہے۔ اور امید ہے کہ اس تحقیق کے نتیجے میں تعلیمی اداروں کے انتظامی محاملات و مسائل کو سمجھنے اور بہتر بنانے میں مدد ملے گی۔ یہ عمل مستقبل کی پالیسی سازی میں بھی معاون ثابت ہو سکتا ہے۔

ہم سوالنامے کی طوالت کے لئے معذرت خواہ ہیں۔ کچھ کسی سابقہ تحقیق کی عدم موجودگی میں زیادہ سے زیادہ معلومات کے حصول کے نقطہ نظر سے یہ طوالت زائری رہتی ہے۔ براہ کرم انتہائی بے خوفی اور سہجائی سے مسئلہ سوالنامے کو پُر فرمائیں۔ آپ کا نام اور فراہم کردہ معلومات کلن طور پر نفعیہ رکھے جائیں گے۔ سوالنامے پر نام کتریر کرنا کوئی ضروری نہیں۔

سوالات کے درمیان فراہم کردہ خالی جگہوں میں جوابات تحریر فرمائیں، اور فراہم کردہ جوابی لفافے میں دلیپیں ارسال فرمادیں۔ سوالنامہ اردو اور انگریزی میں اس لئے ہے کہ اصل محاملات کی وضاحت ہو جائے۔ براہ کرم جوابات اردو میں تحریر فرمائیں، اور معذرت فرما کر سمجھیں انگریزی اصل محاملات کا استعمال کریں۔ زبنتہ اگر آپ کو اردو لکھنے میں دقت ہو۔ تو انگریزی میں ہی جواب دیکھ سکتے ہیں۔

اگر کسی سوال کے جواب سے لئے جگہ کم ہے۔ تو آپ اضافی صفحہ استعمال کر سکتے ہیں۔ آپ اپنے سوالات سے بٹ کئی بھی تحقیق کے مونیو مع آئے دائرے میں اپنے خیالات کا اظہار فرما سکتے ہیں اور اس سے لئے بھی اضافی شیٹ استعمال کی جاسکتی ہے۔

ہم آپ سے رابطہ جاری رکھنے کے خواہشمند ہیں۔ اس سلسلہ الٹی تحقیق کے بعد اگست ۱۹۹۶ء میں ہم پرنسپل / ڈین صاحبان اور دیگر انتظامی قدامتوں سے تبادلہ خیال اور تبادلہ گروپ کی ضرورت میں کرنا چاہیں گے۔ آپ کی رائے کا انتظار ہے۔

آپ کے تعاون اور قیمتی وقت کے لئے ہم شکر گزار ہیں۔

سیدہ شاہ
فیصلی آف ایجوکیشن
ڈائریکٹر یونیورسٹی
انٹرنیٹ

9۔ اپریل۔ ۱۹۹۶ء

Respected Colleague,

Salam-Alaikum.

I request you to join and co-operate in the efforts to explore the management practices of the college heads in AJK, Pakistan, and to look into the possibilities of management development by filling in the attached questionnaire. It is a part of my research project for PhD, at the University of Nottingham. I hope that this research will enhance our understanding of the related issues and inform the future policy. It is a lengthy questionnaire, but to understand a previously unexplored situation we need all possible information and suggestions.

The information provided by you will be seen only by myself. I ensure you complete anonymity and confidentiality. The data will be analysed for the purposes of this research only, and will not be made available to any other person/agency for any purpose.

Kindly write responses in the spaces provided after each question, or tick in the relevant box/es, and return the questionnaire in the addressed envelope provided. The questionnaire is written in Urdu and English for your convenience. The responses can be made in either of the languages, or both interspersed at will. Should you need more space for any of your answers, please do so on an additional sheet.

I am deeply interested in your opinions and your perception of the issues. I look forward to further exchange of ideas with you, and will appreciate if you can be available for related discussions during my visit to Pakistan in September/October 1996.

I thank you for your co-operation and valuable time.

Saeeda Shah
Faculty of Education
University of Nottingham
NG7 2RD

April 1996

POSTAL QUESTIONNAIRE

- سوالنامہ -

Please answer the questions in the spaces provided, and in order to ensure anonymity and confidentiality no names are required on the questionnaire. When there are boxes, a tick is required in the relevant box. Thank you for your help.

براہ کرم خالی جگہوں پر جوابات تحریر کر دیا۔ آپ کے نام کی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔ جہاں خانے ہیں۔ وہاں متعلقہ خانے میں ✓ کا نشان لگا دیں۔ آپ کے تعاون کا شکریہ!

PERSONAL INFORMATION: ذاتی کوائف1. Male ☐ Female ☐2. Age at present: _____ years.
موجودہ عمر۔3. When were you first appointed as college head? Month _____ Year _____.
تاریخ تعیناتی بحیثیت سربراہ ادارہ / برس4. Experience (work experience before being appointed as college head):
بحیثیت سربراہ ادارہ تعیناتی سے قبل تجربے کی نوعیت۔

5. Do you have any academic qualification/s or training related to aspects of management? If yes, how did it influence your performance?

کیا آپ نے انتظامی امور سے متعلقہ تربیت / ٹریننگ قبل از تعیناتی یا بعد از تعیناتی حاصل فرمائی؟ اور آپ کی کارکردگی پر اس کے کیا اثرات مرتب ہوئے۔ یا تربیت نہ کرنے کی صورت میں کیا کوئی مشکلات پیش آئیں؟

6. Why did you become a college head? Will you please discuss your reasons for it?
کیا آپ نے یہاں ادارہ بننے کی خواہش رکھتے تھے؟ براہِ شرح وضاحت سے روشنی ڈالیں۔

INSTITUTION (the present one): (موجودہ) ادارہ

7. When was the institution established? Year: 19____
آپ کے ادارے کا قیام کب مکمل میں آیا؟

8. Does it offer male/female or co-education?

Male ☐ (i) خاتون (ii) Female ☐ (iii) مخلوط Co-education ☐

9. Total number of:
- مجموعی افراد -

(i) Teaching staff _____
تدریسی عملہ

(ii) Support staff _____
معاون عملہ

(iii) Students _____
طلبا و طالبات

10. What courses of studies are offered by your institution?
آپ کے ادارے میں کیا کورسز پڑھائے جاتے ہیں؟

11. How long have you been head in this institution? _____
آپ کتنے عرصے سے موجودہ ادارے کے سربراہ ہیں؟

MANAGEMENT: انتظامی امور

12. Would you suggest any strategy/training/guidance/support programme to help the heads improve their performance? Can you please give details?
آپ سربراہان ادارہ جات کی انتظامی کارکردگی بہتر بنانے کے لئے تعلیم / رہنمائی / تربیت یا دیگر کیا متبادل پروگرام تجویز کرتے ہیں ؟

13. What are the possible areas of management where development or/and training can improve performance(e.g. discipline,office procedures,interpersonal relations,finance etc.)? And why?
آپ کون سے انتظامی شعبہ جات (از قسم نظم و ضبط - باہمی تعلقات - دفتری امور - حسابات وغیرہ) میں بالخصوص کارکردگی بہتر بنانے کی ضرورت محسوس کرتے ہیں۔ اور کیوں ؟

14. How do you see delegation and consultation in management?
انتظامی امور میں شراکت کے بارے میں آپ کے کیا خیالات ہیں ؟

15. What is your opinion of net-working and official meetings in relation to management development?
سربراہان ادارہ کے ذاتی رابطے یا سرکاری اجتماعات؟
انتظامی کارکردگی کو بہتر بنانے میں کیا کردار ادا کر سکتے ہیں ؟

16. How do you perceive the following as contributing to effective management in order of priority ?

آپ کا کردار بہتر بنانے کے لئے درج ذیل کی درجہ بندی کسی ترتیب سے فرمائیے گے۔

(i) Learning from the experiences of others:

دوسروں کے تجربات سے رہنمائی حاصل کرنا۔

(ii) Management development & training programmes:

باقاعدہ (منظم) تربیتی پروگرام۔

(iii) Personal experience:

ذاتی تجربہ۔

and WHY?
اپنی ترجیحات کی وجوہات پر روشنی ڈالیں۔

ROLE PERCEPTION: نظریہ کردار

17. What was your preception of the role of a college head pre-posting & how do you preceive it now?
ایک سربراہ / پرنسپل کے پیشہ ورانہ کردار کے بارے میں قبل از تعیناتی اور آپ کی

تربیت کا نظریہ تھا۔ اور عملاً آپ نے اسے کیسا پایا؟

18. How did you learn your role, and what could be improved in relation to role-learning?

آپ نے پیشہ ورانہ کردار کی ادائیگی کبھی طرح سیکھی۔ اور آپ کے تجربے role-learning کی روشنی میں اس عمل کو بہتر بنانے میں کیا عوامل معاون ثابت ہو سکتے ہیں؟

19. Did you have any role-model/s? If yes who were they and how do you see their influence in relation to your work?
کیا آپ کے سامنے کوئی مثالی / رہنما کردار تھا/ تھے؟

20. What problems/issues do you experience in your work as college head?

سربراہ ادارہ کی حیثیت سے آپ کو کتنی معاملات و مسائل کا سامنا رہا ہے؟

WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT:

منتظم خواتین

The aim of this section is to identify special circumstances for women college heads. However, I would like both men and women to kindly respond to these questions.

اس سبب کا مقصد خواتین سربراہان کے معاملات سے آگاہی حاصل کرنا ہے۔ براہ کرم خواتین و حضرات پر دو ہیچے رائے کا اظہار فرمائیں۔

21. Are there any issues/problems special to women in management?

کیا خواتین سربراہان کو خصوصی معاملات و مسائل درپیش ہوتے ہیں؟

Yes جی ہاں ☐

No نہیں ☐

What are they?

اثبات کی صورت میں وضاحت فرمائیں۔

22. Do you perceive any difference/s between male/female management styles?

کیا آپ خاتون اور مرد سربراہ کے طرز عمل اور طریقہ کار میں فرق مانتے ہیں؟

Yes جی ہاں ☐

No نہیں ☐

What are these?

وضاحت فرمائیں۔

23. Which management style do you think is more effective for educational purposes .
اور نظم و انتظامی مقاصد کے حصول میں کسی کا طریقہ کار زیادہ مؤثر ہے۔ اور کیوں؟ and why?

24. What are the advantages/ disadvantages of being a woman college head?
خاتون سربراہ بننے کے مثبت اور منفی پہلوؤں پر روشنی ڈالیں۔

25. Are there more problems for: (Please tick the relevant box)
کس کو زیادہ مسائل کا سامنا ہوتا ہے؟

- (i) Women college heads ☐ خاتون سربراہ
(ii) Men college heads ☐ مرد سربراہ

What are those problems ?
ان مسائل کی نوعیت کیا ہے؟

MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT / TRAINING: انتظامی تربیتی پروگرام

26. What do you consider to be the most appropriate time for management development/training?
آپ کی رائے میں انتظامی تربیت کے حصول کا مناسب ترین وقت کون سا ہے؟

- (i) Pre-induction
قبل از تعیناتی -
(ii) After a specific period
تعیناتی سے ایک مخصوص عرصہ بعد -
(iii) At regular intervals
باقا عہدہ وقفوں سے -

Please give reason to support your point.

اپنی ترجیح کی وجوہات پر روشنی ڈالیں۔

27. What should be the appropriate length of the management course & why?
انتظامی تربیتی پروگرام کا دو رنیم کیا ہونا چاہیے۔ اور کیوں؟

28. Would you favour mixed and/or single sex programmes and why?
مخلوط اور منفی پروگرام میں آپ کسے ترجیح دیں گے اور کیوں؟

29. Would you favour self-help group or structured management courses for management development? Why?
انتظامی کارکردگی کو بہتر بنانے میں باہمی مددگار، گروپ زیادہ معاون ہو سکتے ہیں۔ یا باقاعدہ تربیتی پروگرام؟ دفاقت فرمائیں۔

30. Is there any thing further related to management roles/issues/ development at college level you would like to add to, to inform the research?
کالج کی سطح پر انتظامیہ کے متعلقہ امور پر ان سوالات سے بڑھ کر اگر اظہار خیال فرمانا چاہیں تو اس کتبے علاوہ آپ اضافی شیٹ بھی استعمال کر سکتے ہیں۔

Thank you for your time and co-operation. In the future, I look forward to sharing the results of this work with you.
آپ کے وقت اور تعاون کا شکریہ۔ آئندہ میں آپ کے ساتھ اس کام کے نتائج کو شیئر کرنے کی امید رکھتا ہوں۔

Supervisors:

- (i). Dr. Morwenna Griffith
- (ii). Dr. Marie Parker-Jenkins

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Appendix D

List of Colleges in AJK

List of Colleges in AJK, Pakistan

1. University College of Home Economics (Women), Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
2. University College of Textile Designing (Women), M/abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
3. Degree College (Girls), Mirpur, AJK, PAKISATN
4. Degree College (Girls), Dadyal, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
5. Degree College (Girls), Bhimber, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
6. Degree College (Girls), Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
7. Degree College (Girls), Muzaffarabad, AJK, PAKISTAN
8. Degree College (Girls), Bagh, AJK, PAKISTAN
9. Degree College (Girls), Kharik, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
10. Degree College (Girls), Palandri, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
11. Intermediate College (Girls), Panjeri, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
12. Intermediate College (Girls), Chowki, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
13. Intermediate College (Girls), Barnala, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
14. Intermediate College (Girls), Islamgarh, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
15. Intermediate College (Girls), Athmoqam, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
16. Intermediate College (Girls), Chikar, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
17. Intermediate College (Girls), Hatian Dopatta, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
18. Intermediate College (Girls), Hattian Bala, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
19. Intermediate College (Girls), Kahuta, Bagh, AJK, PAKISTAN
20. Intermediate College (Girls), Dheerkot, Bagh, AJK, PAKISTAN
21. Intermediate College (Girls) Abbaspur, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
22. Intermediate College (Girls), Hajira, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
23. Intermediate College (Girls), Mong, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
24. Intermediate College (Girls), Tarar Khal, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN

25. Intermediate College (Girls), Sehansa, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
26. Intermediate College (Girls), Khuiratta, Kotli, AJK PAKISTAN
27. Intermediate College (Girls), Fatehpur, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
28. University College of Business Administration, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
29. University College of Agriculture, Rawalakot, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
30. University College of Engineering, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
31. Degree College (Boys), Rawalakot, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
32. Degree College (Boys), Palandri, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
33. Degree College (Boys), Abbaspur, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
34. Degree College (Boys), Hajira, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
35. Degree College (Boys), Bagh, AJK, PAKISTAN
36. Degree College (Boys), Kahuta, Bagh, AJK, PAKISTAN
37. Degree College (Boys), Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
38. Degree College (Boys), Dadyal, Mirpure, AJK, PAKISATN
39. Degree College (Boys), Bhimber, AJK, PAKISATN
40. Degree College (Boys), Islamgarh, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
41. Degree College (Boys), Ghari Dopatta, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
42. Degree College (Boys), Dheerkot, Bagh, AJK, PAKISTAN
43. Degree College (Boys), Malot, Bagh, AJK, PAKISTAN
44. Degree College (Boys), Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
45. Degree College (Boys), Sahnsa, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
46. Degree College (Boys), Khuiratta, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
47. Degree College (Boys), Fetahpur, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
48. Degree College (Boys), Muzaffarabad, AJK, PAKISTAN
49. Degree College (Boys), Athmoqam, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN

50. Degree College (Boys), Chanari, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
51. Intermediate College (Boys), Panjera, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
52. Intermediate College (Boys), Tatta-Pani, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
53. Intermediate College (Boys), Panjan Chirhoi, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
54. Intermediate College (Boys), Naar, Kotli, AJK, PAKISTAN
55. Intermediate College (Boys), Mong, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
56. Intermediate College (Boys), Tarar Khal, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
57. Intermediate College (Boys), Baluch, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
58. Intermediate College (Boys), Datoot, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
59. Intermediate College (Boys), Thorar, Poonch, AJK, PAKISTAN
60. Intermediate College (Boys), Danna, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
61. Intermediate College (Boys), Kail, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
62. Intermediate College (Boys), Samahni, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
63. Intermediate College (Boys), Barnala, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
64. Intermediate College (Boys), AfzalPur, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
65. Intermediate College (Boys), Chakswari, Mirpur, AJK, PAKISTAN
66. Intermediate College (Boys), Chikar, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
67. Intermediate College (Boys), Balseri, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN
68. Intermediate College (Boys), Leepa, M/Abad, AJK, PAKISTAN

Appendix E

- I. Covering letter (in English) for Postal Questionnaire B
- II. Postal Questionnaire B

To:

Dear Sir/Madam,

The attached Questionnaire is a part of my research at the University of Nottingham. It aims to explore management roles/issue and management development possibilities for the college heads in AJK. I hope that it may ultimately, contribute towards the shaping of future policy.

Because of your valued experience in the area, I am interested in your perception of the issues and your opinions. As you go through the questionnaire if you have any further suggestions about any relevant aspect, please do so on an additional sheet. I will welcome all your input.

I have left space after each question for your answers, but should you need more space for any of your answers, please do so on an additional sheet. All information/responses will be kept anonymous and confidential, and will be availed only for the purposes of this research.

I thank you for your co-operation and valuable time.

Saeeda Shah
Faculty of Education
University of Nottingham
NG7 2RD

May 1996

Postal Questionnaire B

Please answer the questions in the spaces provided. This should take no more than 30min. of your time. The information is confidential. Thank you for your help.

1. Male ☐ Female ☐
2. Age _____ yrs.
3. Present Post:
4. What is the nature and length of your management experience?
5. Do you have any academic qualification/s or/and training related to aspects of management? How did it effect your work?
6. Do you feel the need for any management development development/ training for the college heads, male/female? If yes, could you please explain your reason for it?
7. What are the areas/aspects of management in which college heads need to be developed to facillitate/improve their performance?
8. What sort of management development would you suggest for college heads to improve the educational output?

9. What do you consider the most appropriate time for management development/training:

(i) Pre-induction

(ii) After a specific period

(iii) At regular intervals

Please give reasons to support your point.

10. What should be the appropriate length of course and why?

11. Would you favour a mix or single-sex programme and why?

12. Is there anything related to management roles/issues/development at college level you would like to add to inform the research?

Supervisors:

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Appendix F

Field-work Plan

Field-work Plan

Title:

Educational Management : An Exploratory Study of Management Roles, and Possibilities of Management Development at College Level in the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), Pakistan.

Location:

The State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan

Time Span:

Five Weeks (September 24 to October 29 1996).

Sample Size:

(i) Twenty-four college heads from four districts:
Bhimber, Kotli, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad.

(ii) 6-8 Senior Educational Managers.

First Week:

Initial contact - getting in touch with college heads in the home District and Bhimber district - preferably on phone to smooth any hesitations/evasions.

Making arrangements for interviewing at least eight college heads, men and women - some from the district headquarters and others from the neighbouring areas, to have a spread of opinions. The district headquarters institutions are bigger with larger staff and greater number of students, while the others are comparatively much smaller which can have implications for the nature of management practices and issues.

Time practicalities determining the choice of neighbouring colleges: Preferably those colleges which fall within range of one-day return-journey, in view of multiple constraints on field work.

In-depth interviews and relevant documentation.

Conducting some interviews; arranging for a possible focus group discussion.

Initiating contacts with the college heads at the third district, Muzaffarabad, the State capital.

Second Week:

Conducting remaining interviews, group discussions.

Arranging interview with one of the two Regional Directors Education (Colleges) based in the home district.

Making arrangements for the journey to and stay in M/Abad district.

Third Week:

Sample size: Again about eight college heads, men and women, from the district headquarters colleges and the neighbouring institutions.

Conducting interviews and collecting relevant documentation.

Getting in touch with the Senior Educational Managers who are based at the State headquarters.

Fourth Week:

Conducting remaining interviews with the college heads and fitting those in with interviewing the Senior Educational Managers.

Arranging for another group discussion in this district.

Making arrangements for field work in the fourth district.

Fifth Week:

Interviews and relevant documentation in the fourth district.

Sample size hopefully equal - Sample selection using similar rationale. However, this being a hilly area and difficult travelling conditions, the sample size and selection can vary.

Arranging group discussions.

Appendix G

Interview Schedule A

Interview Schedule A

Title: Educational Management : An Exploratory Study of Management Roles, and Possibilities of Management Development at College Level in the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), Pakistan.

Code: Dist/MF/Number:

Dear Colleagues,

We will talk about the issues mentioned below, or any other related concerns suggested by you. I will leave this interview schedule with you. If you have later time to look through it and wish to modify, change or add anything to your responses, please do not hesitate to contact me at the following address or phone number:

Address: Saeeda Shah
University College of H Eco
Mirpur, AJK.

Phone No/s: 0582-3919/3681

Appointment as Head:

Please tell me something about yourself e.g. age, qualifications, appointment as college head - when and how -your opinion about the selection procedure - any comments/suggestions?

Management Training/Development:

How did you learn to do your job?

How can a college head be best prepared for this job in our specific context?

What management training did you receive, if any:

- i. Prior to appointment?
- ii. Since appointment?

What type of training would you like, or would have liked to receive? and when?

In your view, should training be in single/mixed-sex situations, and why?

Finance Management:

Did you receive any training in this specific area of your work?

Do you think you need particular skill/training in this aspect of management? And why?

How do you manage the staff responsible for finance/ budgeting in your institution?

Are there any gender issues involved in managing the finance- related matters/personnel? If yes, what are these?

Any changes that you would like to suggest in this particular area?

Management Style:

How would you describe your management style?

Why did you develop this management style and how?

What do you perceive as the qualities of a good manager in your context?

How do you go about getting the best out of different members of your staff?

Rhetoric/Reality:

Before you became a college head, how did you perceive this job?

Since being in job, how have your perceptions changed if at all?

What do you consider the major factors causing this difference of perception?

Ideally, what should be the role of a college head in a Muslim society like Pakistan?

Status/Authority/Power:

Are there any difficulties/problems in exercising your legal authority as head? What are these?

Do you experience any pressures in this job? If yes, what are the sources and causes of these pressures?

Are there any constraints on you as a manager:

- i. Structural
- ii. Contextual
- iii. Any Other

Please elaborate with examples/cases, if and when possible.

How do you see delegation in management?

Management Effectiveness:

What skills do you think are required for effective management?

How are these skills learnt?

How do you understand net-working, and what would you hope to gain from it?

Are there any issues regarding information/communication net-work in different contexts, which influence effectiveness?

Do you experience any specific issues related to the gender of the head, in college management?

What do you enjoy the most about your job?

What do you like the least about it?

How would you like to see it different if at all?

* Is there any thing relevant that I haven't covered and you would like to add, or go back over a previous response.

I thank you for your valuable time and co-operation.

Saeeda Shah

Appendix H

Interview Schedule B

Interview Schedule B

1. What are the criteria for selection of college heads?
Are you satisfied with selection procedures? Any comments, suggestions?
2. How do you appraise the effectiveness of the college heads? And what are your comments on appraisal measures?
3. How do you view the job of a college head?
4. In your view, what makes a good college head?
5. What do you think college heads need to improve their effectiveness on the post?
6. How can you/your department help to improve their effectiveness?
7. Do you have a policy with regard to management development/training? What is that?
8. What do you consider as the major responsibilities of the college heads?
9. What are your responsibilities with regard to your management of the college heads?
10. What are the major management issues in colleges and how do you intend/suggest to resolve those?
11. Is there anything you would like to add to inform this study?



Appendix I

Map of AJK

(The State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir)

MUZAFFARABAD

The State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir

POONCH

KOTLI

MIRPUR

● denotes major research sites

REFERENCES	
State Boundary	-----
Line of Control	- - -
District Boundary	-----
Rivers	~~~~~
Lakes	~~~~~
Road Metalled	=====
Road Un-metalled/Jeevable	-----
Mule Track, Foot-path	~~~~~
Rest House/Hut/Angler's Hut/Inn	▲
Elevation () in meters	△
State Capital; District HQ	◎:◎

Scale = 1 c.m. = 10.09 Kikometers

