

AN OVERVIEW OF FEMINIST APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING PATRIARCHY

Dr. Mukesh Kumar Khatwani*

Dr. Bushra Hassan†

Abstract

This paper summarises the findings of a doctoral study by Khatwani (2016), which explored the experiences and perception of professional women about their social status, autonomy and respectability. The secondary data, particularly taken from research papers, have been employed for this research. Historically, prevalence of women's subordination to their men has been traced across the globe but in various forms and different levels of subservience. They were not merely subordinated but humiliated, exploited, discriminated, and controlled as commodity. Even in 21st century, women are not treated equally either they are living in highly developed societies or in developing theocratic/traditional societies. Most of sociologists, anthropologists and social researchers are agreed to the argument that a woman's subservience is principally embedded in well-structured system of patriarchy. Therefore, the most of research studies on this subject have explored the association of patriarchy and women's subordination. The term feminism used in 18th century for women's movement for their equal position in society. The development of feminist theories and later on diversity within feminist thoughts regarding gender equality gave birth to different types of feminism. However, the patriarchy has been the central point of behind the subordination of women. Employing the critically qualitative approach, the paper attempts to critically review the different feminist approaches to understanding patriarchy, and how they have been helpful as theoretical framework in addressing hypothetical dimensions of patriarchy, which exhibits in various forms from public to private in almost all societies.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Liberal feminist, Marxist feminist, Socialist feminist & Radical feminist

INTRODUCTION

The subordination of women in the various forms has been witnessed across the world. Women either living in an advanced democratic society or in a developing theocratic/traditional society are still far behind their

* Associate Professor, Area Study Centre, Far East & Southeast Asia, University of Sindh, Jamshoro

† Assistant Professor, International Islamic University, Islamabad

counterparts. In traditional societies, women are still dependent on males and they are restricted to homes and their education and employment is still not socially and culturally accepted at large scale. On the contrary, in advanced democratic countries, they are comparatively independent in their choices to education, employment and life partner, however; they face various kinds of discrimination and they are mostly employed in lower ranking positions. Liberation and emancipation of women has been the hot debate of social researchers and feminist scholars as well. The consensus has been witnessed amongst social researchers as well as feminists that the women's subjugation is deeply rooted in the patriarchal set-ups, and with the passage of time, women have got comparatively better position but still they could not overcome their subordination completely. Experts on the subject of patriarchy have critically examined it and explored the reasons that why do women favour patriarchy system, for instance, the role of mother-in-law in family (Kandiyoti, 1988).

Introduction of the feminism in the 18th century and emergence of various approaches within feminism helped to understand the women's subjugation in society and how women can get emancipation. These various approaches have presented different perspectives on women's secondary position, however; they all have addressed patriarchy as the one of major causes behind the suppression of women. This paper aims to critically examine various feminist approaches to understand patriarchy, and specific objectives of the paper are as under:

- To explore the system of patriarchy as the key factor behind the subjugation of women;
- To develop understanding on patriarchy and its various forms from the feminist perspective; and
- To discuss various feminist approaches to understand the complex system of patriarchy.

The paper consists of four section; first the literature review section, which presents various definitions of patriarchy and its interlink with religion, gender, caste and class. Further, this section covers western perspective on feminism as well as Islamic feminism. The second section justifies the selection of critical qualitative research approach and content analysis for this study. The third section, which is very important, presents critical review on various feminist approaches such as socialist, liberal, Marxist and radical

feminists. The last part presents over all reflection on the findings and theoretical implications.

LITERATURE REVIEW

What is Patriarchy?

Patriarchy is arguably the oldest example of exploitative division of labour and social activities. It has been defined differently by feminists, Marxists, anthropologists and sociologists (Khatwani. 2017, 2016); however, they are all of the same opinion that in one or another form, it is a social system whereby men are privileged over women and deny women's access to socio-economic status and say equal to that of men in society (Mason & Taj, 1987). Generally, patriarchy refers to a male domination and male supremacy over women. Patriarchy, as the hierarchical system in feudal/agrarian societies, is variously defined: Hartmann (1996) calls it a mechanism relations, which have shaped the socio-political and socio-economic frameworks of pre-feudal and feudal societies and in such frameworks, hierarchal power is based on ascribed stats instead of achieved status. According to Kandiyoti (1988) patriarchy means 'elder man's authority over all family members including younger men, while Barrett (1988) suggests that patriarchy is 'the rule of men as heads of households over household's economies and extended family affairs'.

Feminists challenged patriarchy's pre-modern conceptualisation and identified its very presence even in contemporary modernised and industrialised societies. They redefined it as a system of gender inequality rather than system of feudal social relations (Beechey, 1979). Thus, the term 'patriarchy' has remained the focus of the feminist discussion and discourses, and it is very essential for an analysis of gender inequalities across cultures. As Walby (1990, p. 1) writes:

Patriarchy is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality as it captures the depth, pervasiveness and interconnectedness of different aspects of women's subordination within the households, community and society.

She has argued that six structures are major mechanisms in establishment of patriarchy or patriarchal set-ups in a society, which are:

... the patriarchal mode of production; patriarchal relations in paid work; patriarchal relations in the state; male violence; patriarchal relations in sexuality; and patriarchal relations in

cultural institutions (including religion, media, and education) (p. 20).

Similarly, Lim (1997) argues that social relations and patriarchal structure of the institutions (e.g., family & marriage institution) are accountable for women's secondary position. Millett (1969) presents the shocking extent of male domination in the political affairs, military, industry, education and affairs in terms of technology in contemporary societies. In a nut shell, power of control in every avenues is male dominated. Correspondingly, Johnson (1997) presenting the picture of male domination in patriarchy system elucidates that power or authority such as religious authority, political authority, social authority, military authority, legal authority even domestic authority (family head) etc. are usually reserved for a man.

Many theorists, sociologists, social scientists as well as feminists are in general agreement that they never mean that all men have power or control over a woman in patriarchal set-up or the context. Despite patriarchy is a system which also suppresses majority of menfolk and patriarchal system based on 'patriarchal interests' overlaps with other existing systems, which are instruments of reinforcement of race, gender, caste and class privileges (Chesney-Lind, 2006). Therefore, patriarchy is not only one component, but it intersects with multiple factors or categories such as caste, religion, class, gender, race etc. (Dekeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2007).

What is Feminism?

In the late 18th century, the discourse on women's equal rights and position and various women organizations, forums, movements came into being for women's emancipation. Thus the term feminism became popular terminology to address women's position in society. The basic idea behind the feminism is that the structure of society is discriminatory and benefits only men who deny the equal position of women. Consequently, a society has become male dominated, in which women are not treated equally (Heise, 1998; Farooq, 2003). Bhasin and Khan (1991, p.3) explain that:

Feminism is an awareness of patriarchal control, exploitation and oppression at the material and ideological level of women's labour, fertility and sexuality, in the family, at the place of work and in society in general, and conscious action by women and men to transform the present situation.

Thus, feminism is a struggle to attain women's equal position and rights such as self-determination, freedom and having control over property and lives. In

the late 18th century, feminist thoughts and ideas began to develop and the focus of these feminist thoughts and discussions were equal rights for women. In the late 1960s, various feminist strategies and approaches were developed to understand the women's position and oppression in various structures such as social, political and economic and family structure, so that the objective of equal rights for women could be achieved properly.

Islamic Feminism

Muslim majority countries, like Pakistan, the social position of women is assessed in the light Shari'a laws. Islam as a religion is believed to be a complete code of life that has an all-pervading influence on its followers (Zia 2003; Hakim and Aziz 1998). Shah (1986) suggests that women social status in Muslim could be understood to have understanding on the religious and legal prescriptions related to a woman's equal status'. In the current debate about gender equality and the equal rights of Muslim women, feminist researchers have articulated two important responses: Firstly, there is a rejectionist attitude or approach, according to which Islam and women's rights are simply incompatible (Hashmi, 2010). On the other hand, there is the modernist or reformist attitude, articulated by Wadud (1992), Mernissi (1992, 1991, 1987), and Hassan (2001), who have given references from Islamic texts in the support of equal rights to women, and have also claimed that the Qur'an sanctions gender equality which guarantees the equal rights of women (Hashmi, 2010).

In 1990s, Islamic Feminism became visible and initiated movement to restore women's equal position as their God-given rights in Islam from the very beginning. Islam, the Qura'n and the Prophets' examples are the real sources of argument and discourse for women's equal rights, this is why the term 'Islamic Feminism' is denoted to this movement. Essentially, Islamic feminists search the straightforward texts of Islam for actual ideas and use Islamic classifications like the notion of *ijtihad* (the exercise of reason in jurisprudence). The apparatuses and techniques of exploring (for example, linguistic methodology) can be different but the frame is within Islam. Thus, the central point of Islamic feminist discourse is the Holy Qura'an and whole discourse and argument detach away from *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) and prevailing social norms and cultural settings of Muslim societies. According to Islamic feminist, the prevailing social and cultural traditions and settings of Muslims societies are patriarchal and negate equal position to women, (Hussain, 2007). Roald (1998) observes that Muslim feminists, who in the beginning struggled against women's oppression in Western feminist terms, have shifted their approach to Islam. She presents the example of Mernissi

(1975) who, in her book 'Beyond the Veil', asserted that changes to the condition of Muslim women could not be made within the framework of Islam, whereas later in her book 'Women and Islam: an historical and theological inquiry' (1991) she emphasises such change has to be made from within Islam, through a reinterpretation of Islamic sources (p. 20). Similarly, Mayer (1999, p. 97) asserts that:

The Qur'an and the example of the Prophet Muhammad provide material that is supportive of extended rights for women, whereas opponents of feminism turn to the juristic traditions and the associated cultural norms, which reflect the values of patriarchal societies.

Muslim feminists (Ahmad, 1992; Wadud, 1992; Mernissi, 1992, 1991; Hassan, 1990) raised questions regarding the authority of *Shari'a* and concluded that it is derived from male biases and influences from local cultures that are at odds with Qur'anic ideals. The prominent contemporary Muslims researchers An-Na'im (1995) and Mernissi (1991), as quoted by Mayer (1999, p. 100), 're-examined the sources and concluded that Islam calls for equal rights for men and women'. Afkhami (2001, p. 236), investigating women's rights in Muslim societies, writes 'neither Islam nor the culture of Muslim people is *per se* an obstacle to women's achieving rights'. However, she says a Muslim woman faces patriarchal constructions and cultural norms, in which certain men having political power misrepresent religion and culture for their vested interests. Thus, the misrepresentation of religion and culture has always been an instrument for keeping women in such a position where they can serve agendas of male domination or patriarchal structures (p. 236). Justifying this, she gives the example of Iran, where fundamentalist clerics are trying and justifying women's restriction to their homes, and Afghanistan, where the Taliban forced women into total segregation (p. 236). The efforts to restrict women to the home and to traditional professions (such as education and medicine) in the name of state religion have also been systematically applied in Pakistan during the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq (1979-1988), by his introduction of the Nizam-e Mustafa¹³(Islamisation) *Hudood* Ordinance 1979, and *Qanoon-e-Shahadat* 1983 (the Law of Evidence). Thus, the patriarchal structure of Pakistani society was strengthened under dictatorial regime of General General Zia-ul-Haq (Weiss 2012).

RESEARCH METHOD

It is a fact that the choice of research method for conducting a study depends on the nature of questions, which a researcher intends to explore. Thus, research questions and a researcher's philosophical assumption determines to select a research method (Creswell, 2005; Robson, 2003). The prime purpose of this study is to provide readers with a detailed overview of various feminist approaches to understand patriarchy and holistic subjugation of women. Thus, the purpose of this study justifies the choice of qualitative content analysis method for this study. This is a qualitative critical review research, which primarily based on review of existing literature on the patriarchy, its approaches and feminism including Islamic feminism. The content analysis, which is used on all types of written texts articles, books, reports etc., has been employed to analysis the most relevant contents of the existing literature. Content analysis approach is very useful for analyzing the qualitative written texts (Berg, 2004; Burnard, 1991; Catanzaro, 1988; Downe-Wambold 1992).

FEMINIST APPROACHES TO UNDERSTAND PATRIARCHY

Feminist researchers have adopted different approaches to understand patriarchy as well as its relationship with gender, class, caste, ethnicity and religion. Four major feminist approaches—though they there are overlaps between these approaches—are critically discussed in this paper. Separate analysis of these four approaches help to demonstrate different aspects of feminist thoughts and activism as well helps to understand patriarchy form different perspectives. These approaches are discussed as under:

Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism, which is based on principle of individualism, has campaigned for equal legal and political rights. According to liberal feminism, in a patriarchal society the basis for division of labour is gender biased and they argue that discriminatory division of labour is production of sex and gender in male dominated societies, which excludes women from mainstream and keeps them within specific spheres (Farooq, 2003). Wollstonecraft in her book *'Vindication of the rights of women'* campaigned for women's right to vote. She claimed that if a woman succeeded in getting education then the sex-difference would become unimportant or meaningless in social and political spheres (Wollestonecraft, 1972). Mill and Taylor in their book *'the subjugation of women'* suggested that a woman should be authorized to the citizenship and political rights (Mill & Taylor, 1970).

Taylor viewed that the work outside the home is essential for women's liberation while to Mill first liberation of women then work. She argued a fully liberated woman could enter labour market on her own will (p. 86).

Liberal feminism has been criticised on many accounts. Firstly, it emphasises on individualism rather than community, hence it creates obstacles for understanding community. Secondly, it denied women's pressing need to overthrow patriarchy and capitalism and tried to solve them within system. Critics of liberal feminism also propose that the liberal reforms as advocated by liberal feminists for women's equal opportunities and rights have not yet provided or guaranteed equal share to women due to unaddressed actual issue inequality, which is constructed both socially and culturally (Mandell, 1995). Thus, the first wave of feminism just succeeded in gaining suffrage rights, and the second wave of feminism acknowledging that women's oppression is deeply rooted and merely provision of legal and political rights to women does mean they are independent.

Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminists believe that both subordination of women and division of classes developed historically with the development of private property. Frederick (1948) portraying and building upon the work of early anthropologists suggested that oppression of women had developed when the patriarchal society violently replaced matrilineal societies. Consequently, concept of private property and accumulation of individual wealth had become the dominating and significant. The shifting of production place resulted in the importance of men's work and production, and devalued women's work as well as status. Marxist feminists contends that men is not responsible for women's oppression in the family, but actually it is capitalism, which supports patriarchy for its own survival. Thus, Marxist feminists believe that abolishment of capitalism is abolishment of patriarchy. According to them women's oppression performs for capitalism in three different ways (i) reproducing the labour force, (ii) absorbing anger the proletariat (workers), and (iii) being reserve army for cheap labour. Marxist feminists hold argument argue that exploitation on the basis of class is comparatively more responsible than sexual oppression and only social revolution could emancipate women and overthrow capitalism. Capitalism is one of the potential factors behind women's operation in industrialized societies like the patriarchy is in traditional and theological societies (Ray, n.d.).

Marxist feminists are criticised for only their focus on economic factors and exploring women's oppression in terms of economic instead of other factors. They are also criticised for their view about family under capitalism and they are blamed of their inability to accept the role of family in preserving social diversity (Elshtain, 1981). They assumes a universal role of women (degree of passivity with women) in traditional nuclear family while ignoring family diversity where a woman may actively choose role of wife/mother. According to socialist feminists, Marxist feminists are 'sex blind' and they merely take the issue of women's oppression for their critique of capitalism (Hartmann, 1979).

Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism having roots in Marxist feminist philosophy contends that women only face politico-legal disadvantages but in fact the unequal relationship between sexes is intensely engrained in the economic and social structure. According to socialist feminists various social categories such as gender, class, caste, sexuality and race in society are intersectionally working as barrier to women's equality. Therefore, the centre point of their discourse is structural transforming and rearrangement of society, where in these social categories have no longer importance and they could not be barrier to women's emancipation (Mandell, 1995). Means of production has always been the focus of Marxist feminists, on the contrary, socialist feminists discuss 'relations of reproduction' and they argue that understanding of patriarchy is only possible through having understanding on relations of reproduction. Mitchell in '*Women's estate*' argues that gender relations are a part of the super structure and patriarchy is roots in the ideological level while capitalism in the economic level (Mitchell, 1971). Mitchell identified that women fulfil four social functions (i) active involvement in workforce and production, (ii) bearing of children, (iii) responsible for socialisation of children, and (iv) sex objects (Walby, 1986). Delphy (1977, p. 37) argues that domestic mode of production is the basis of gender relations. Thus, all forms of women's oppression are basically derived from family (Wallby 1998). Similarly, Eisenstein claims:

Male supremacy and capitalism are the core relations which determine oppression of women...patriarchy as a sexual system of power in which the male possesses superior power and economic privilege (Eisenstein, 1979, p. 17).

Thus, to socialist feminists not only economic class relations or structure are significant in determining women's position but also gender relations.

Therefore, eradicating social class inequality alone will not necessarily eliminate prejudice or discrimination based on person's sex.

Radical Feminism

A systemic theory of sexual oppression developed by radical feminists emphasizes to address the sexuality as it is the root cause of patriarchy. The centre point of their discourse is 'heterosexual sex' and taking it as basic paradigm, they build argument that sex performance acts physical domination. They challenging the very notion of femininity and masculinity state the 'the concept of motherhood' suppresses women, prolongs patriarchy and also determines the conditions of their motherhood (Bhasin & Khan, 1991) that creates feminine and masculine characteristics (Ray, n.d.). Radical feminists challenging the structure and norms of the society have stress upon redefining the individual identity, re-establishment of political power and re-evaluation of human behaviour. Thus, they advocate sexual revolution for transformation of sexuality and sexual behavior. Radical feminists therefore argue that women liberation is only possible through reconceived and reconstructed sexuality (Mandell, 1995).

Marxist feminists criticise that radical feminist are confined to ahistorical biological deterministic theory instead of developing their understanding on materialistic basis of patriarchy. They have ignored the historical realities of class and race, because all men don not oppress all women in the same way. Therefore, single model cannot be used to explain a world that is not uniform.

CONCLUSION

The prevalence of patriarchy has been witnessed in even contemporary modernised and industrialised societies, however the forms or modes of patriarchy of modern societies are different from those of feudalistic and tribal societies. Thus, patriarchy is redefined by feminists, sociologists and social anthropologists as a 'system of gender inequality' rather than 'system of feudal social relations'. Realizing the changing form/mode of patriarchy, feminists believe that 'patriarchy is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality. All these above discussed feminist approaches have addressed patriarchy –as origin of women's oppression but in different ways. To liberal feminists division of labour on basis of sex in patriarchal society is biased and plays role in isolating women form paid work. Thus, women's paid work outside home is essential for women's liberation. While, Marxist feminists argue that women's subordination developed with the development of private property which violently replaced communal, matrilineal societies

with patriarchal in which individual wealth and private property became significant. Thus, they believe patriarchy and capitalism both support each other and solution to women's liberation lies in social revolution which over through capitalism and establish socialism.

Socialist feminism, unlike Marxist feminism, looks at both relations of production and relations of reproduction to understand patriarchy and believe that social and economic structures are responsible for women's oppression. Thus, socialism will no end patriarchy as it has cultural and ideological roots. On the contrary, radical feminists asserts that sex is hetero-sex is an act of physical domination by men and ideology of motherhood subjugates women and perpetuates patriarchy. Thus, they suggest transformation of the traditional sexual identity through sexual revolution and unless sexuality is reconceived and reconstructed in the image and likeness of women, the latter will remain subordinate to men.

REFERENCES

- Afkhami, M. (2001). Gender apartheid, cultural relativism, and women's rights in Muslim societies, In Agosin, M. (ed.) *Women, gender and human rights: A global perspective* (pp. 234-45). London: Rutgers University Press.
- An-Na'im, A. (1995). The dichotomy between religious and secular discourse in Islamic societies, In Afkhami, M. (ed.) *Faith and Freedom: Women's Human Right in the Muslim World* (pp.51-60). London: L. B Tauris Publishers.
- Barrett, M. (1988). *Women's oppression today: the Marxist / Feminist encounter*. London: Verso.
- Beechey, V. (1979). On patriarchy, *Feminist Review*, 3, pp. 66-82.
- Berg, B. L. (2004). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. 5th (edn). Boston: Pearson Education.
- Bhasin, K. and Khan, N. S. (1991). *Some questions on feminism and its relevance in south Asia*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Burnard, P. (1991). A method of analysing interview transcripts in qualitative research. *Nurse Education Today*, 11(6), 461-466.
- Catanzaro, M. (1988) Using Qualitative Analytical Techniques. In: Woods, N. and Catanzaro, M., Eds., *Nursing Research: Theory and Practice*. St Louis: Mosby Incorporated, pp. 437-456.

- Chesney-Lind, M. (2006). Patriarchy, crime and justice in era of backlash, *Feminist Criminology*, 1(1), pp. 6-26.
- Creswell, J.W. (2005) *Educational research: Planning, conducting and evaluating quantitative and qualitative Research*. 2nd edn. New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc.
- Dekeseredy, W.S., and Dragiewicz, M. (2007). Understanding the complexities of feminist perspective on women abuse: a commentary on Donald G. Dutton's rethinking domestic violence, *Violence Against Women*, 13(8), pp. 874-884.
- Delby, C. (1977). *The main enemy: a materialist analysis of women's oppression*. London: Women's Research and Resource Centre.
- Downe-Wamboldt, B. (1992). Content analysis: method, applications, and issues. *Health care for women international*, 13(3), 313-321.
- Eisenstein, Z. (1979). Developing a theory of capitalist patriarchy and socialist feminism, In Eisenstein, Z (ed.) *Capitalist patriarchy and the case for socialist feminism* (pp. 5-40). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Elshtain, J.B. (1981). *Public men, private women*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Farooq, M (2003). Structural transformation and gender employment in Pakistan, Unpublished Thesis (PhD), Multan: Bahauddin Zakariya University.
- Hartmann, H. (1996). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: Towards a more progressive union, In Lippit, V. D. (ed.) *Radical political economy: Explorations in alternative economic analysis* (pp. 165-196). London: M. E. Sharp Inc.
- Hashmi, S.H (2010). The rights of Muslim women: A comment on Irene Oh's *The right of God*, *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 38(3), pp. 588-93.
- Hassan, R. (2001). Challenging the stereotypes of fundamentalism: An Islamic feminist perspective, *The Muslim World*, 91, pp. 55-70.
- Heise, L. L. (1998). 'Violence against women: an integrated ecological framework', *Violence Against Women*, 4(3), pp. 262-290.
- Heywood, L.L. (2006) *The women's movement today: An encyclopedia of third-wave feminism*, volume 1(A-Z). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

- Hussain, S. (2007). Reflection on Islamic identity, citizenship rights and women's struggle for gender justice: Illustration from India, *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 9(1), pp.63-79.
- Johnson, A. (1997). *The gender knot: Unravelling our patriarchal legacy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy, *Gender and Society*, .2(3), pp. 274-290.
- Khatwani, M.K (2017). Professional women's experience of autonomy and independence in Sindh-Pakistan, In: Alvinus, A. (ed.) *Gender differences in different contexts*. BoD-Books on Demand, ISBN 978-953-51-5988-0
- Khatwani, M. K. (2016) *Professional women's perceptions & experiences of respectability, social status, and autonomy: a case study of women employed at the University of Sindh, Jamshoro, Sindh-Pakistan*. Doctoral thesis (PhD), University of Sussex.
- Lim, Y.C. (1997). Capitalism, imperialism, gender and patriarchy: The dilemma of third World women workers in multinational factories, In Visvanathan, N. et al., (eds.) *The women, gender and development reader*. London: Zed Books.
- Mandell, N. (1995). (ed.) *Feminist issues: race, class and sexuality*. Canada: prentice Hall.
- Mason, K.O. and Taj, A.M. (1987) Differences between women's and men's reproductive goals in developing Countries, *Population and Development Review*, 13 (4), pp. 611-638, JSTOR [Online] Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1973025>
- Mayer, A. E. (1999). *Islam and human rights: Tradition and politics*. (3rd edn.) Colorado: Westview Press.
- Mernissi, F. (1992) *The veil and the male elite: A feminist interpretation of women's rights in Islam*. Basic Books.
- Mernissi, F. (1991) *Women and Islam: An historical and theological inquiry*. South Asia Books.
- Mernissi, F. (1987). *Beyond the Veil: Male and Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

- Mernissi, F. (1975) (ed.) *Beyond the veil*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing.
- Mill, J. S. and Taylor, H. (1970). Early essays on marriage and divorce, In Rossi, A. S. (ed.) *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill Essays on sex equality*, Chicago: University of Chicago, pp. 65-69.
- Millett, K. (1969) *Sexual politics*. London: Rupert hart-Davis.
- Mitchell, J. (1971). *Woman's estate*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Ray, S. (n, d). Understanding patriarchy. Available form: http://www.du.ac.in/fileadmin/DU/Academics/course_material/hrg_e_06.pdf
- Roald, A. S. (1998). Feminist reinterpretation of Islamic sources: Muslim feminist theology in the light of the Christian tradition of feminism thought, In Ask, K. and Tjomsland, M. (eds.) *Women and Islamisation: Contemporary dimensions of discourse on gender relations*. Oxford: Breg.
- Robson, C. (2003). *Real world research*. (2nd edn.) Oxford: Blackwell.
- Shah N. M. (1986). Changes in women's role in Pakistan: Are the volume and pace adequate? *The Pakistan Development Review*, 25(3), pp. 339-63.
- Walby, S. (1997) *Gender transformations*. London: Routledge.
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorising patriarchy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Walby, S. (1986). *Patriarchy at work*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Wadud-Muhsin, A. (1992). *Qur'an and women: Reading the sacred texts from a woman's perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weiss, A.M. (2012). *Moving forward with the legal empowerment of women in Pakistan, Special Report No.305*. United Institute of Peace. Available from: <http://www.usip.org/publications/moving-forward-the-legal-empowermentwomen-in-pakistan>
- Wollstonecraft, M. (1972). *A vindication of the rights of women*. New York: Cosimo, Inc.
- Zia, R. (2003). Religion and education in Pakistan: An overview, *Prospects*, 33 (2), pp.165-178 Hakim and Aziz 1998.