INCORPORATION AND REPRESENTATION OF FEMALE ACADEMICS' AGENCY IN IR AND ASSOCIATED DISCIPLINES: A CRITIQUE OF PAKISTANI ACADEMIA

By

NUZHAT RANA

Registration # 00000274799

Supervised by

DR. BAKARE NAJIMDEEN

Centre for International Peace and Stability

National University of Sciences & Technology

Islamabad

September, 2020

INCORPORATION AND REPRESENTATION OF FEMALE ACADEMICS' AGENCY IN IR AND ASSOCIATED DISCIPLINES: A CRITIQUE OF PAKISTANI ACADEMIA

By

NUZHAT RANA

Registration # 00000274799

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MS Peace and Conflict Studies

Supervisor

DR. BAKARE NAJIMDEEN

Centre for International Peace and Stability

National University of Sciences & Technology

Islamabad

2020

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

It is certified that final copy of MSPCS thesis written by Nuzhat Rana, Registration Number: 274799 of Batch 2k18 of CIPS has been vetted by undersigned, found complete in all aspects as per NUST statutes/regulations/MS policy, is free of plagiarism, errors and mistakes and is accepted as fulfilment for award of MS degree. It is further certified that necessary amendments as pointed out by GEC members and foreign/local evaluators of the scholar have also been incorporated in the said thesis.

Supervisor: ⸺⸺⸺⸺⸺⸺⸺

 Dr. Bakare Najimdeen

CIPS, NUST

Dated:

Head of Department: ⸺⸺⸺⸺⸺⸺⸺

Dr. Bakare Najimdeen

CIPS, NUST

Dated:

Principal/Dean: ⸺⸺⸺⸺⸺⸺

CIPS, NUST

Dated:

PLAGIARISM CERTIFICATE

It is certified that MS thesis titled "Incorporation and Representation of Female Academics' Agency in IR and Associated Disciplines: A Critique of Pakistani Academia" by Nuzhat Rana (274799) has been examined by us. We undertake the follows:

a. Thesis has significant new work/knowledge as compared to that already published or under consideration to be published elsewhere. No sentence, equation, diagram, table, paragraph or section has been copied verbatim from previous work unless it is placed under quotation marks and duly referenced.

b. The work presented is original and own work of the author (that is there is no plagiarism). No ideas, processes, results or words of others have been presented as author's own work.

c. There is no fabrication of data or results which have been analyzed.

d. There is no falsification by manipulating research materials, equipment or processes or changing or omitting data or results such that the research is not accurately presented in the research record.

e. The thesis has been checked using TURNITIN (copy of originality report attached) and found within limits as per HEC plagiarism policy and instructions issued from time to time.

_____

Signature of Supervisor
Dr. Bakare Najimdeen

DECLARATION

I, Nuzhat Rana, declare that this research work titled "Incorporation and Representation of Female Academics' Agency in IR and Associated Disciplines: A Critique of Pakistani Academia" is my own work. The work herein was carried out while I was a post grad student at Centre for International Peace and Stability, NUST under the supervision of Dr. Bakare Najimdeen. The work has not been presented elsewhere for assessment. The material that has been used from other sources has been properly acknowledged/ referred.

_____

Nuzhat Rana

MS PCS-2k18

Reg. No. 00000274799

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

Dedication:

For Zainy!

This is to you and me and all that we aspire to be!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This research work explicates "gender" in the disciplinary scholarship and academia of International Relations and associated disciplines in Pakistan. It does so by drawing upon the views of female academics working in these disciplines. With an aim to explore the representation and positionality of women academics alongside the inclusivity/exclusivity of the disciplines and the academia, the study gathers data as focused, purposive interviews of a sample of women in academia. Consequently, founding on a thematic analysis, it finds the gender identity of female academics to be largely unproblematic in voicing their voices but it finds the agency of female academics to be problematic as they do not really align their academic role to serve the creation of a feminist space which they believe is largely missing.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The term "gender" has varied meanings and conceptualizations. It is often made functional in such diverse manners that its very employability generates meta analyses. In the first part of this introductory chapter, "gender" will be discussed in the light of its various connotations in parlance. The rest of this chapter will throw light on what triggered the interest of the researcher, the questions that guided the research alongside a narrative of what makes this study important (and unique) and the research objectives.

1.1. ON GENDER

Going from simple to more complex meanings and forms, children are first exposed to gender through their grammar exercises where they are made to learn to categorise nouns and pronouns as masculine and feminine. Part of the problem emerges here and we now have established organized critiques (that is critical linguistics) of grammar and language use which juxtapose nouns and pronouns as masculine and feminine. Moving on, gender is a euphemism for biological sex. In this regard, it is a referral to human beings as males and females, men and women. Such a meaning of gender is most pronounced on identity cards and various forms people are required to fill for various purposes, where one entry requires them to specify their gender. Taking it a step ahead, gender implies the "difference" (normalized in practice) between males and females in any particular social and cultural setting; difference not only of biology but of behaviour. From here on, meanings start getting more "contested" and "slippery" since "difference" can mean a lot and behaviour is not

simplistically determined by any one factor, rather it is often very problematic to draw a clear line between biological and social "influences" since they often interact.[1]

The term gender is equally floating and undetermined when it comes to "political theory"; since here it has largely been used "as a conceptual category" to criticize power and politics, both of which confer and aggravate inequalities. Hence, gender becomes a "signifier" of the normative equality project while at the same time being closely linked to concepts such as "difference" and "diversity".[2] As far as this research is concerned, 'gender' pretty much takes this later dimension; since this research is all about disciplines (bodies of knowledges) which flow from political sciences and political theory. To make it further clear, in the scope of this study, gender means two to three things: first, it is a theme, an analytical category (which often leads to critical analysis) which covers feminist perspectives pre dominantly (but not only feminist perspectives) and is hence supposed to be found in the disciplinary knowledge produce. Second, it is the relative presence and representation of men and women in Pakistani IR (and associated disciplines) academic community (representation not just in numbers but also in the disciplinary knowledge). Third, it is the positionality of women academics which, by virtue of their gender identity, determines their academic choices (choices pertaining to what kind of academic work they undertake, whether or not they engage in critical work).

---

[1] Rhoda K. Unger and Mary Crawford, "Sex and Gender- The Troubled Relationship between Terms and Concepts," *Psychological Science* 4, no. 2 (1993): 122-124, quoted in Silvia Sara Canetto, "Meanings of Gender and Suicidal Behaviour during Adolescence," *Suicide and Life Threatening Behaviour* 27, no.4 (1997): 339-351.
[2] "Vlasta Jalušič * Stretching and Bending the Meanings of Gender in Equality Policies 1," n.d.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The words exclusion, discrimination, suppression, inequality do not resonate as high with any other thing as they do with gender identities (simplistically reduced to women and men, though these two are not uniform, monolithic categories). There is some form of dominance associated with men over women and this association is not born out of nowhere. There is a recorded history of experiences, of cultures, of practices. This dominance assumes many forms; some more visible and apparent while others more hidden and so much more normalized that their existence often go unnoticed and hence is difficult to bring to attention (the idea of structural inequality, structural violence). The normalization of this dominance and control is grounded in the tendency that people possess of configuring themselves "in the shadow and figure of the dominant identity". The researcher's observations being a student of International Relations and Peace and Conflict Studies at graduate and post graduate levels respectively were streamlined on an exposure to feminist critiques of the discipline of International Relations. This exposure affirmed that the mere observations exist in a more than organized manner; constituting a well defined area of study and research. Feminist critiques tell us that the discipline of International Relations is gendered; and gendered masculine for that matter. This simply implies that major contribution towards the discipline and the coining of terms and concepts has all been led by men; and hence is not wholesome and inclusive. Pakistan is a state and society where gender based inequalities are maintained and practiced. This sparked the interest of the researcher to look into the penetrability of these patterns of dominance and inequalities locally in the disciplines which the researcher pursued.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions are stated here as;

1. Is IR (and associated disciplines) knowledge production in Pakistan gender exclusive?

2. Are voices and views of female academics in the said disciplines sufficiently represented?

3. Do female academics working in the said disciplines engage in radical transformation through their academic work?

1.4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE(s)

This study aims to find out whether knowledge produce in the discipline of IR and associated disciplines (for example Peace and Conflict Studies, Defence and Diplomatic Studies, Defence and Strategic Studies, and the like) is exclusive in terms of gender (this exclusivity can also be articulated as the disciplinary knowledge to be gendered; which means that men have a dominance in these disciplines; not just in terms of presence but also in terms of control and in terms of their view-point forming the main stream of the disciplines) and if this exclusivity bars and hinders sufficient representation (representation in terms of their voices being heard and acknowledged) of female academics and scholars working in these disciplines. Related to these two objectives is the third one; where this study tends to see if women in academia in Pakistan in the said disciplines engage in radical and transformative work; work that is transformative in terms of gender, work that aims at taking up and highlighting marginal perspectives (feminist perspective being one of them), work that tends to uncover the subtle ways in which the gendered reality of knowledge goes unnoticed.

1.5. RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

It will not be wrong to say that a body of knowledge which is specific to gender grounded discussions, theories and debates in the discipline of International Relations is not even in its early stages of formation in Pakistan. The reason why it is of importance to have gender integrated scholarly produce is not only rooted in the multi disciplinary nature of this discipline but also the normative aspect of projects like gender equality and inclusivity. While a discipline is so diverse that it combines together and links the global/international to the national and still penetrates further to the local (and not to mention that this linkage operates vice versa as well), it makes little sense that "gender" is missing from the scope of such a discipline. Though limited in scope, this research has tried to pick up on this very theme (which is rarely touched upon) and tried to explore what are the contours of integration of gender approaches in the major discipline of IR, along with the associated disciplines which have only recently been started to be considered as separate disciplines. Normally and usually, what is written about gender is focused on development to be gender inclusive, impacts of conflicts and climate change on women, their role in post conflict situations and women in decision making.

The current research is unique as its subjects are the women in academia and the subject matter is disciplinary scholarship/knowledge. What further makes this study significant is the very fact that it draws upon the input of females who are professionally associated with these disciplines. Reliance on interviews of female scholars of IR in Pakistan makes this study a feminist research. Hence, a very major gap, in the form of an area of research which is largely missing, is not exactly filled but in the narrow scope of the research, this gap is at least highlighted. By highlighting this gap, this research study lays a foreground for a critical

examination of discipline specific knowledge production and academia along gender lines in many different dimensions. Further research may be carried out to gauge male versus female productivity in research and how this relative productivity contributes towards gendered academic discourse or if the question of productivity has more to do with publishers' biases which in turn reasserts genderization.

This chapter is followed by a comprehensive review of the literature which is built around various themes related to gender. The next chapter is specifically about Pakistan; in which it is described how the academic disciplines are constituted locally and how far they are the shadow of the global and in what aspects they stand in contrast to the global. Following this, is an account of the research methods employed to materialize this study which, in turn, is followed by a detailed discussion and analysis of the interviews recorded. The final part contains a conclusion to the research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The discipline of International Relations can be fairly regarded as a new discipline compared with centuries old knowledges of other social sciences. This discipline is specific to theorizing the world.[3] True, there might be contestation regarding what constitutes the world and there are just as many answers as one can hope for. Hedley Bull prescribes IR theorizing to the affairs which constitute state to state interactions and "world politics".[4] But this is just one of the many ways to approach the discipline and is open to all kinds of criticisms. Of late, a bundle of academic contributions to the discipline have remained focused on questioning the discipline's birth and growth in the United States of America. Criticisms of this category establish the dominance of US (and often Europe) over the discipline just like its hegemony over all other world affairs.[5] Wherein academics around the world (including US itself) make attempts to provide far wider methodological and epistemological groundings to the discipline, a US mainstreamed version still remains in place.[6] Schmidt (as cited in Smith, 2000) pin points the birth of the discipline in 1919, when the first ever department (of

[3]Eric M. Blanchard, "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory," *Signs* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[4]Hedley Bull, "The Theory of International Politics, 1919–1969 (1972)," in *International Theory* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1995), 181–211.

[5] See for instance Ole Waever, "The {Sociology} of a {Not} {So} {International} {Discipline}: {American} and {European} {Developments} in {International} {Relations}," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (October 1998): 687–727.

[6]Steve Smith, "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations: 'Hegemonic Country, Hegemonic Discipline,'" *International Studies Review* 4, no. 2 (September 1, 2002): 67–85.

International Relations) was set up at Aberystwyth.[7] Since then, multiple debates have marked the discipline.

Any scholar of the discipline can be naturally assumed to have an exposure to the key debates that form the disciplinary evolution. The rise of constructivist approaches in the second half of the twentieth century is seen as a theoretical expanding of the foundational/traditional IR (in which marked exchanges took place between neo-realists and neo-liberals); and the discipline was introduced to sociological perspectives.[8] Hence, all major contemporary debates can be seen as a "reflectivist" response to the foundational rationalist mainstream. Schmidt (as cited in Smith, 2000) anticipated constructivism to replace the rationalist mainstream of IR[9] but constructivist approach (as it developed outside of USA) was useful in generating a foreground for post-positivist epistemological and methodological innovation that loosened the grip of a unified scientific inquiry; shaping the most recent of all debates in the discipline: the rationalist-reflectivist debate. Reflectivists reject the fact value distinction and propose that observations cannot be value free and objective and hence reject and disregard the positivist theorising which is the hallmark of foundational IR.[10] Reflectivists assume the role of re-theorising what has been theorised and to do so with considerate normative projections. Among various other inquiries such as the post-modernists, critical theorists, neo-Marxists and (some) constructivists which set foot in International Relations in the 1980s, feminists also made their presence felt.

[7]Steve Smith, "The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science?," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2, no. 3 (October 1, 2000): 374–402.

[8]Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Constructive Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (January 1998): 324–48.

[9]Smith, "The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science?"

[10]E-International Relations, "The 'Great Debates' in International Relations Theory Written by IJ Benneyworth," accessed May 10, 2020, https://www.e-ir.info/2011/05/20/the-'great-debates'-in-international-relations-theory/.

The gendering project or what may also be termed as feminist research is as divergent as it can get "fluidity of feminisms" as Helen Kinsella puts it. The choices of methodologies are equally versatile. Often, the inquiries are trans-disciplinary or inter-disciplinary and more than often, they are works of criticism - critical inquiry. To begin with, there are discussion oriented contributions which address the very basic underpinnings of what constitutes "gender" and how gender is to be employed in critical inquiries. Gender is not a theoretical framework but instead is a category of analysis which can be made functional within any framework. When this analytical category is made operational within the research in IR discipline, it is normally called as the "gendering of IR".[11] Carver also defines the purpose of undertaking such gendering projects; it stems from the belief that "masculine codings" of just about everything have become the norm and these norms benefit men over women. In the same discussion thread, Helen Kinsella (as cited by Carpenter) furthers this argument by saying such gender analyses cannot be completed unless the workings of power in making a discipline and in producing its knowledge base are studied and exposed.[12] Primarily, this is what feminist scholars have remained engaged in since late 1980s.

The discipline of International Relations opened up to feminist approaches very late as compared to other disciplines of social inquiry. It was as late as late 1980s and early 1990s that some books and some conferences made audible a merger of gender perspectives into an otherwise "gender-blind" discipline. These books are now considered the classic works of "gendering IR" and a lot of contemporary feminist research draws upon them. The authors of these classic works are the feminist scholars of International Relations; markedly Cynthia

---

[11]Terrell Carver, "Gender and International Relations," *International Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (June 1, 2003): 287–302.
[12]Carver.

Enloe, J. Ann Tickner, V. Spike Peterson, Christine Sylvester, Jean BethkeElshtain and Anne Runyan. [13] The earlier works comprised of criticisms of basic assumptions of the most influential realist school of thought[14] and subsequently alternative conceptions, theorising and methodologies were also proposed. In the wake of challenges offered by feminists to realists, there are few engagements across both sides of the divide. In response to Tickner's 1997 "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists"[15], Robert O. Keohane published "Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations between International Relations and Feminist Theory"[16] The conversation revolved around differences of methodological considerations (stemming, off course, from a variance of epistemological considerations). Tickner further published a response in which she addressed the challenge that Keohane posited; the challenge of doing gender in the usual social scientific way, to formulate causal mechanisms and to establish hypotheses. She maintained that feminist project does not adhere to any unified method since the methods must stem from what we believe to constitute "knowledge".[17]This disunity of methods became apparent in the research works that were and are still being carried out by the contemporaries.

The themes around gender range from simpler explorations of impacts of wars, conflicts, economy, climate change on women to more complicated studies into gendered performativities and the use of language as gendered. Study of gender in organizations has

---

[13]Annick T R Wibben, "Feminist International Relations: Old Debates and New Directions," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* X, no. 2 (2004).

[14] See for instance J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on achieving Global Security* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1992).

[15] J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (December 1, 1997): 611–32.

[16] Robert O. Keohane, "Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between International Relations and Feminist Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (March 1, 1998): 193–97.

[17]J. Ann Tickner, "What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (March 1, 2005): 1–22.

been undertaken within International Relations as well as outside of it. Within the discipline, military (as an organization) has been researched in view of gender analysis; as well as universities (as organizations and epicentres of academic capitalism lately). Sandra Whitworth gives a detailed account of the "contradictions" that exist within the UN Peacekeeping regime. Her analysis revolves around the incompatibility of soldiers' militarized, highly masculine identities with the task of peacekeeping (where apart from combat, protection and delivery of care and necessities to conflict affected populations is just as equally important and sometimes is even more important than combat; depending upon the mandate of a mission). Whitworth ascribes the occurrence of incidents of violence, rape and sexual assault (by blue helmets) against the innocent non-combatants to the kind of training that soldiers receive and the kind of identities they assume owing to that training.[18] Yet another very interesting study takes a critical look at the theory that has been generated by the adoption of Resolution 1325 (UNSCR on Women, Peace and Security) and the subsequent outcomes when theory is put to practice.

In this study, Kesteloo relies on accounts provided to her by gender advisors of the Dutch military who served in ISAF operations in Afghanistan. Through these accounts, she tries to establish the understandings of the notion of gender among the gender advisors and if these notions are in line with the feminist underpinnings of the gender problem. She finds out that incorporation of Resolution 1325 in ISAF operations in Afghanistan seems more like a "add women and stir" kind of an approach where gender advisors are seen to know best what to do and their role and duties are not really integrated into the bigger operational strategy.

---

[18] Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder, LynneRienner Publishers, 2004).

Moreover, simplistically equating women and gender is also seen as part of the problem.[19] Puechguirbal went one step ahead and did a textual analysis of Resolution 1325 and makes a case for stereotypical representations of women in this UN document. She establishes that this document presents women as vulnerable populations (just like children) and hence undermines their agency and the possible constructive roles that they can play in post conflict rebuilding scenarios.[20] Such a (mis)representation has real policy implications and they seem to further strengthen the patriarchal norm where women are victims and subordinate. Hence this very useful study approaches the gender problem within the UN with a special focus on use of "stereotyping language".

Further literature on gender and military brings to us country specific discussions. Sasson-Levy, Weinstein and Woodword and Duncanson have carried out research on militaries (armed forces) of Israel, Unites States and Britain respectively. Sasson Levy did an extensive review of scholarship on "gender relations" in the Israeli military since 1970s and records what changes have come through. She concludes that military as an organization is very resistant to changes in its formally declared, legitimized and normalized adherence to gender inequality. Despite the fact the militaries now have a range of functions to perform (apart from the traditional combat; for which female bodies are considered inappropriate); a range of non-combat roles related to techno-centrality of artillery, still inequality and a strict division of roles persists.[21] Such a division of labour has been closely studied across the three British armed services by Woodword and Duncanson. They rely on "statistical data"

---

[19]A.J. Kesteloo, "Gendered Discourses and Practices on Gender in Military Operations: The Interpretation and Implementation of a Gender Perspective in the ISAF Operation by the Accounts of Dutch Military Gender Advisers," September 22, 2015.

[20]Nadine Puechguirbal, "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (April 2010): 172–87.

[21]Orna Sasson-Levy, "Research on Gender and the Military in Israel: From a Gendered Organization to Inequality Regimes," *Israel Studies Review* 26, no. 2 (December 21, 2011).

regarding the employment of women into the armed services and also the positions on which they are employed across the ranks and conclude: "it is insufficient to argue that the participation of military women may lead to transformations in military culture and structures."[22] Weinstein explores the implications of more women in the military service for the overall structure and culture of the organization; a case of US military. She conducts a discourse analysis to expose the constructions of gender into the organization across three levels: the official documents, recruitment and experience of members of the organization and concludes that there are no "monolithic" gender constructions across these three levels.[23] The official discourse is focused on enhanced effective performance while members often look down upon "feminine" traits.

Speaking about gender is not just speaking about women (Tickner views equating gender with women as problematic[24]). It has far wider emancipatory implications (women emancipation being one of them). When we speak of gender, we speak of workings of power, we speak of perspectives which are otherwise marginal and not mainstreamed. Gender analyses are often comprised of studies of men, their identities and the consequent masculinities that those identities generate; most written about are the militarized masculinities. Tickner speaks of "hegemonic masculinity" as having an over powering shadow on the very ideas that we associate with states and their behaviours.[25] Ashe uses the lens of "critical studies of men/masculinities" to establish an alternative understanding for the

---

[22]Rachel Woodward and Claire Duncanson, "Gendered Divisions of Military Labour in the British Armed Forces," *Defence Studies* (Routledge, July 2, 2016).

[23]Sarah Finch Weinstein, "CONSTRUCTED SERVICE : GENDERED DISCOURSES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES MILITARY" (University of St Andrews, November 30, 2013).

[24]"The Growth and Future of Feminist Theories in International Relations on JSTOR," accessed June 4, 2020, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24590520?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

[25] J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on achieving Global Security* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1992).

Northern Ireland conflict; a conflict that is primarily studied under ethno-nationalist explanations. Employing masculinities, she studies the power relations that form the conflict and are equally visible in the conflict transformation scenario. Her study concludes that apart from focusing on ethnic identities in peace building measures, identities emanating from gender are just as equally determining and therefore a need to "reassess" the way we know "peacebuilding".[26] Nancy Taber has extended the gender discussions in military to juxtapose "academia" to be an equally gendered organization; thus arguing that militarism has deeper and wider penetrability. She draws parallels between discourses of "service before self" in military and discourses of "commitment" and "productivity" in academia where academics are supposed to serve the institutions that they are a part of and wherein research choices are being constantly impacted by "corporatism"[27] (what many other scholars have studied as "academic capitalism").

"Academic capitalism is an outcome of the interplay between neo liberalism, globalisation, markets and universities."[28] The kind of inquiries that have been undertaken under this theme investigate how bringing the neo liberal order to universities and academia (and a subsequent formation of "knowledge economy" or "research economy") interacts with the gender order (or perhaps disorder).O' Hagan and co-authors conceptualize universities as organisations which replicate the gender norm of the society and within the universities, academics internalize academic capitalism and the practices that they adopt as a result lead to "re-masculinisation" of the academia.[29] A similar point is made by Miriam David when she

---

[26]Fidelma Ashe, "Gendering War and Peace," *Men and Masculinities* 15, no. 3 (August 23, 2012): 230–48.
[27]Nancy Taber, "Intersecting Discourses of Militarism: Military and Academic Gendered Organizations," *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 34, no. 2 (March 4, 2015): 230–46.
[28]Clare O' Hagan et al., "Perpetuating Academic Capitalism and Maintaining Gender Orders through Career Practices in STEM in Universities," *Critical Studies in Education* 60, no. 2 (April 3, 2019): 205–25.
[29]O' Hagan et al.

analyzes the change that higher education is subject to in the context of academic capitalism; she finds out that this transformation has not really taken the course of social as well as gender equality.[30] Both of these studies have been carried out in Europe; the latter specifically in U.K. and they explore gender and academic capitalism across divergent disciplines (the former in STEM and the latter in "English higher education"). Owing to the adoption of neo-liberal practices in management of research institutes (universities and others), a study carried out by four academics in different universities across UK explores "gender discrimination". This study finds out that the market oriented culture of research and knowledge production systematically leaves out women in a way that their full involvement and potential is not materialized in the research process.[31]

Since a lot of research related to gender or what we can call feminist research in the strict sense makes it a point that first hand narratives or a primary record of women's experiences and their lives constitute the methodological domain, more than often research inquiries are based on detailed or focused interviews and ethnography. This holds true for studies undertaken to analyze "academia and gender" phenomenon. Across numerous disciplines and varied institutional settings across different countries of the world, research scholars have brought to us experiences of women academics and have placed those experiences into concepts and contexts. Wherein Tsouroufli conducted "career narrative interviews" of female academics in medicine in Greece, Rhoades and Yu Gu carried out semi structured interviews of women faculty members at a leading university in China. The latter utilize "feminist stand

---

[30] Miriam E. David, "Diversity, Gender and Widening Participation in Global Higher Education: A Feminist Perspective," *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 19, no. 1 (March 2009): 1–17.

[31] Catherine Fletcher et al., "Performing Women: The Gendered Dimensions of the UK New Research Economy," *Gender, Work and Organization* 14, no. 5 (September 2007): 433–53.

point theory" to establish the challenges that are there for the female faculty members[32] whereas the former explores the gendered performativity, drawing a conclusion that a dismantlement and reconstitution of gender norms has not really taken place based on the performativities of the academics who have been interviewed, rather such a change requires organized "institutional" and "political" effort.[33] Such an account of an organized effort has been presented by Avril Butler where she writes about the creation of a "feminist research group" in the university where she works.[34]

Contrary to these afore mentioned works based on direct interviews, Katila and Merilainen pose themselves as the subjects of their research while they are working as researchers (female) in an otherwise male dominated business school and juxtapose their identities, their sense of selves as being constituted in view of a male stream norm of "professional identities".[35] Also they consider the reconstitution of their identities in not just everyday interactions but also in the discourse that guides all such interactions. Similarly Wallace and Wallin explore the identity formations of ten Canadian female academics by examining closely their work, their professional activities over the course of five years. They find the role of these academics to be transformative (in gender terms); transformative both in their research works as well as their positions in the organizational setting.[36] Hence working in the field of educational administration, these academics have a sense of self as females and their work, their organizational role corresponds to the transformative responsibility which comes

---

[32]Robert A. Rhoads and Diane Yu Gu, "A Gendered Point of View on the Challenges of Women Academics in The People's Republic of China," *Higher Education* 63, no. 6 (June 15, 2012): 733–50.

[33]Maria Tsouroufli, "Playing It Right?': Gendered Performances of Professional Respectability and ' Authenticity' in Greek Academia," *Journal of International Women's Studies*, vol. 19, 2018.

[34] Avril Butler, "Creating Space: The Development of a Feminist Research Group," in *Surviving the academy,* ed. Danusia Malina and Sian Maslin-Prothero (London: Falmer Press, 2003), 102-111.

[35]Saija Katila and Susan Meriläinen, "A Serious Researcher or Just Another Nice Girl?: Doing Gender in a Male-Dominated Scientific Community," *Gender, Work & Organization* 6, no. 3 (July 16, 1999): 163–73.

[36]Janice Wallace and Dawn Wallin, "'The Voice inside Herself': Transforming Gendered Academic Identities in Educational Administration," *Gender and Education* 27, no. 4 (June 7, 2015): 412–29.

with working as a female academic. Again, Robyn Thomas carries out semi structured interviews of female academics in an "English university" but with an intention of discussing gendered notions of "appraisal" and of academic productivity wherein performance of an academic is gauged in strict standards of quantifiable outputs. Women academics struggle to create an alternative discourse of efficiency and productivity in gendered (masculine) culture of the academy.[37] This research is guided by Foucault's theoretical understandings of "discourse and disciplinary power".

Following a very similar epistemology, Teresa Rees questions the "gendered construction of scientific excellence"; where objectivity is valued and an adherence to set theoretical groundings is rewarded. She questions how and who decides what is "excellent" and what qualifies as quality work and she maintains that in so doing, gender is often ruled out; not just in terms of (gender) exclusive concepts but also in terms of constituting the subject matter of research. Her research ends in certain recommendations.[38] Apart from the functionality of gender which basically is the core subject matter of "gender and organizations", "gender in organizations" or "gendered organizations", there are theoretical functions which "gender" also serves (for example a gender analysis of any given scholarship or a textual/language analysis of a text, speech, conversation or the constitution of gender within discourses). This is not to say that the two are separate categories which stand in isolation; rather they can often be studied and explored in a parallel fashion. While the above cited literature concerns itself with the functionality of gender in organizations (military, academia, universities, to be precise), many of these also consider the constructions (constructed practices, discourses) of

---

[37]Robyn Thomas, "Gendered Cultures and Performance Appraisal: The Experience of Women Academics," *Gender, Work & Organization* 3, no. 3 (July 1, 1996): 143–55.

[38] Teresa Rees, "The Gendered Construction of Scientific Excellence," *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* (Taylor & Francis, June 2011).

gender norms within these organizations and the works that they pursue (also see Whitworth, 1994 on international institutions as being part of such "construction" processes)

This is reflected in the very initial theorization by J. Ann Tickner which broadens the horizon of our understanding towards "masculine" as juxtaposed in relation to "feminine" wherein the masculine juxtapositions form the universal, the normal. It is very interesting, however, to note that she derives the basis of these theorizations from her university experience where she observed that "they (female students) thought the male students were somehow more qualified to talk about weapons and military strategy".[39] This shaped her interest in carving out and putting right the faulty crafting of the discipline. Much of the criticism has been levied against the discipline's obsession with "high politics". While there are feminist voices insistent on broadening and widening the subject-matter base of the discipline (to incorporate women's views, their activities, to make visible what has largely been rendered invisible), there are still other feminist voices which raise the issue of "masculine codings" and hence bring their research to present de-coded versions and alternative concepts, meanings, theories which are gender inclusive. The latter is basically the assumption that whatever constitutes the subject matter of the discipline, whatever the ways in which it is approached and talked about and written about and whatever are the policy implications that emerge out of this theorizing, all stem from a dominant masculine way of thinking.[40]

---

[39]"The Growth and Future of Feminist Theories in International Relations on JSTOR."
[40]Sandra Whitworth, "Feminist Theories and International Relations," in *Feminism and International Relations* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1994), 11–38.

"National security discourses are typically part of the elite world of masculine high politics", writes Blanchard while he goes on to talk about a feminist security theory. Within the security debate or what forms the ambit of security studies in International Relations, feminists stand in line with all other critics who seek expansionism in the otherwise narrowly centred militaristic (strategic) state security.[41] The expansionist discussion popped up in the early years of the termination of the Cold War but again with 9/11 happening, a retreat and refocus on "conventional security studies" surfaced but this time with a mindfulness of structural inequalities and structural violence; which has but a very direct link with "direct violence".[42] The earlier assumptions taken up by peach researchers regarding the questions of war and peace and gender were rather incomplete and overly simplistic in associating women with peace and men with war. These were problematized by succeeding scholars; one such view describes women to have historically been part of wars (either in combat or non-combat). But what remains missing is the acknowledgement of their role, their presence and a unidirectional attribution of war time heroism (and "gendered nationalism") to men (Enloe, 1989 as cited in Runyan & Peterson, 2018).

An equally interesting problematization of such an assumption has been dealt with based on empirical data sets by Caprioli and Boyer. They study the International Crisis Behaviour (ICB) and the intensity of violence states rely upon while simultaneously considering the extent of gender equality within those states and the presence of women in key decision making roles. They find out that states with greater gender equality employ less violence in

---

[41]Lene Hansen, "Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (Taylor & Francis , 2000).
[42]Anne Sisson Runyan and V. Spike Peterson, "Gender and Global Security," in*Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium, Fourth Edition* (Taylor and Francis, 2018).

times of crises.[43] Then again, associating men with aggression and women with peace and cooperation produces images of men as perpetrators and women as victims; and such an imagination works against men who face war time sexual violence (the case of Croatia).[44] The problem is, then, not about who the victims are and who the perpetrators are but it is more about the act of violence itself and what triggers such an act (say hyper masculinity; which more than often is directed against women but less often against men as well). The acts of mass rapes in Bosnia have been taken up by Lene Hansen to present an analysis of the representations of these acts within the context of whether or not they constitute a concern of international security. Three varied representations view these mass rapes as a normal part of warfare, as a nationalist move directed to demoralize and dismantle the enemy's national pride and finally an act of patriarchal violence (directed against women by men on all sides of the conflict).[45]

Eric M. Blanchard sums up all the various contributions along different lines (mentioned above) to be adding towards a "feminist security theory" in the making. In the review, he pinpoints four stark dimensions along which such a theory is being formed: first, by asking such questions as "where are the women?" a theoretical inquiry has been undertaken into questioning the absences of women in the "security politics" and policies and the underneath functions of power in concealing women. Within this same domain of research inquiry, an attempt to turn absences into presences has also been made. Second, in terms of impacts that war, conflict, violence, structural violence and peace have on women, questions are posed

[43]Mary Caprioli and Mark A. Boyer, "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 4 (August 1, 2001): 503–18.

[44]E-International Relations, "Questions of Gender and International Relations," accessed June 10, 2020, https://www.e-ir.info/2014/06/05/questions-of-gender-and-international-relations/.

[45]Lene Hansen, "Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (Taylor & Francis , 2000).

regarding the role of the state in extending security to women (this includes well carved out critiques of "realist" thought where all that security could mean is the security of one unified actor; the state). Third, theoretical and practical implications of singularly associating women with peace have been studied with a larger consensus that there should be a balanced way of approaching this and no extreme assumptions to be made. Finally, not to undermine the complex concept and phenomenon that gender is, some scholars have raised theoretical questions surrounding "masculinities" and such a research project is helpful in uncovering the "gendered" world, politics and security.[46]

---

[46] Eric M. Blanchard, "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 4 (2003): 1289-1312.

PAKISTAN

Knowledge is from knowing and there can be many different ways of knowing; both in terms of understanding a given subject matter and in terms of how that understanding has been reached at. Fritz Machlup calls it the "double meaning" of knowledge[47] in his book where he primarily discusses knowledge as a sector of an economy (a market economy) and knowledge production as an economic activity; hence the production to include distribution/circulation as well and the knowledge possessed by an individual "knower" does not count as a knowledge produced unless it is transmitted to others. Producing knowledge is making an innovation but not all innovations qualify as "knowledge". What qualifies as knowledge can never be a simple question to answer. But this question definitely invites the global academic asymmetry to develop a pathway towards an answer and this assertion is of special weightage here since the focus of this chapter is Pakistan; which when placed in the global divide, falls on the receiving end of the equation: that is, a country in the global South, a third world country. But before coming to that specific discussion, a brief understanding of knowledge production will help setting up the wider context. Since "plurality of definitions is legitimate", there seems less utility in asking what is knowledge production and more so in posing the question that how knowledge is produced? The production of knowledge in contemporary societies is labelled as "the new production of knowledge" coming directly from the book title of Michael Gibbons et.al.

---

[47]Fritz Machlup , *Knowledge: Its Creation, Distribution and Economic Significance, Volume I Knowledge and Knowledge Production* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 28*.*

What is new about this new knowledge is that its production is driven by its applicability and problem solving potential; thereby since problems are complex, new knowledge transcends disciplinary boundaries and is flexible and moving and owing to greater social accountability, more reflexive: termed as the "mode 2" knowledge production in contrast with discipline specific "mode 1".[48] The book primarily is focused on science and technology but includes a chapter on social sciences and humanities making a clear assertion that though these branches of knowledge seem less industry and economy oriented, they actually are just as equally so given their expansion and orientation along knowledge economy model.[49] One clear example of the fading and merging of boundaries of disciplines is the introduction of sociological perspectives in International Relations – IR, thereby creating a whole new paradigm of "constructivism". The variety of variants within one single paradigm speaks volumes of how creation of knowledge in the discipline stems from different epistemological vantage points, which Markus Kornprobst believes are not completely divergent and never meeting view points, but are "over lapping horizons".[50] At the same time, this divergence compelled others to ask questions such as "Is International Relations a Discipline"?[51] But this question was asked a long while ago and ever since then, the discipline never receded but grew. However, indigenous theory building which is free from the clutches of IR as projected by the West is

---

[48] Michael Gibbons et.al, *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 3.

[49] Michael Gibbons et.al, *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 90.

[50] Markus Kornprobst, "International Relations as Rhetorical Discipline: Toward (Re-)Newing Horizons," *International Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 87–108.

[51] Morton A. Kaplan, "Is International Relations a Discipline?," *The Journal of Politics* 23, no. 3 (September 29, 1961): 462–76.

still a troubling challenge for non-western scholars. Despite massive attention given to this project, starting points and basic "underpinnings" often still are "euro centric".[52]

How third world scholarship fails to be reflected in the global knowledge production is a matter third world scholars have taken up (on their own or with the assistance of scholars from the global centre, is again a matter of inquiry) with normative and emancipatory considerations; both as discursive and non-discursive formulations. Based on some extensive data, three quarters of the social sciences journals have been found to be located and originating from Europe and North America which tells that even the "massification" of research in social sciences has benefitted these two regions. While this massification can be seen as a global growth of social sciences, it is not without the cost of possibilities of leaving out local issues while highlighting some central conflicts and also raising perspectives which exclude or under represent local realities.[53] Also, since journals provide a valid entry point into the body of knowledge, we can talk about publishing. Publishing; along with its norms and standardized standards, is the space (or industry) where "exclusion" happens. Apart from language, style, content and subject matter, there are "non-discursive requirements" which work to the disadvantage of third world scholars and makes publishing (internationally and in high impact factor journals) a difficult ladder to climb. These non-discursive requirements include the "material resources" that are (and are not) at the disposal of scholars working in the periphery.[54]

Knowledge production in the world's peripheries is more than often a culture of assimilating foreign knowledge since knowledge from the "global metropole" sets the norm: "a model to

---

[52]Ching Chang Chen, "The Im/Possibility of Building Indigenous Theories in a Hegemonic Discipline: The Case of Japanese International Relations," *Asian Perspective* 36, no. 3 (2012): 463–92.

[53] Yves Gingras and SébastienMosbah-Natanson, "Where are social sciences produced," *Europe* 47, no. 43.8 (2010): 46-1.

[54]A. SURESH CANAGARAJAH, "'Nondiscursive' Requirements in Academic Publishing, Material Resources of Periphery Scholars, and the Politics of Knowledge Production," *Written Communication* 13, no. 4 (October 6, 1996): 435–72.

be imitated" (in terms of methods, theory, styling, choice of subject matter).[55] This can be an answer to why new knowledge is not produced in the peripheries. Also, social contexts where academics are less resourceful are directly linked to the conditions of knowledge production which, in turn, determine its circulation and thereby acceptance the world over. While the conditions are restraining and constraining for the periphery academics, they often accept, strategize, and adopt the use of foreign knowledge throughout their careers.[56] There is, however, still a local body of knowledge which circulates locally, though this indigenous knowledge does not appear to be making a mark internationally; again a manifestation of knowledge-power nexus. An encounter of indigenous knowledge with the widely circulated and accepted knowledge is often complex[57] but crucial for an alternate understanding/knowledge to come into existence. Even in adopting the non-native knowledge, academics engage in activism, criticize short comings, adapt and modify non nativity to suit nativity; hence negotiate with paradigms that are not of their making but whose adoption is often a necessity.[58]

Since this research seeks to investigate how gender is or is not a constitutive factor within the academic disciplinary knowledge of International Relations (and associated disciplines) in Pakistan, it is of extreme value that the discussions which surround this theme internationally are brought home. Such domestication naturally tends to reveal altered dynamics. What might be called a spectrum of indicators constituting gender norms in Pakistan does heavily rely upon and can be drawn out of an approximation of three factors: the overarching, all

---

[55]LR Medina, *Centers and Peripheries in Knowledge Production* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 3.
[56] LR Medina, *Centers and Peripheries in Knowledge Production* (New York: Routledge, 2014).
[57]SeanaMc Govern, *Education, Modern Development and Indigenous Knowledge: An Analysis of Academic Knowledge Production* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
[58]Raewyn Connell et al., "Negotiating with the North: How Southern-Tier Intellectual Workers Deal with the Global Economy of Knowledge," *The Sociological Review* 66, no. 1 (January 13, 2018): 41–57.

pervading, overbearing reality of religion and "Muslim-ness", [59] Pakistan's post-colonial reality[60] and Pakistan's social formations as being unique to all other societies; which includes the cultural engendering of the society.[61] How these gender norms are reflected within discipline specific knowledge and academic practices is the domain of discussion and analysis part of this study. At this juncture, we can turn to look into how this discipline specific knowledge is patterned in Pakistan. The culture and conditions of knowledge production (in IR) which are unique and specific to Pakistan, call for a glance at a possible evolutionary path way of the discipline in the country. This is to see how historically the discipline has changed or not changed and what the contemporary contours are.

The first specialized institute of international affairs (PIIA, Karachi) was established in 1948, just as soon as the country started off as an independent political actor while it took some ten years for the first IR university department to emerge in 1958 at Karachi University. But these two developments could not in any way ensure a rigorous development of the discipline of IR since there were little to no incentives in terms of the job market. Even when government started investing in new university departments and research institutes after the troubled environment Pakistan encountered in 1965 and later in 1971, the primary reason for students to get enrolled in this IR degree programs was to appear in competitive exams and not to further research. This set the footing of the discipline as a mere reliance on and import

---

[59] See for instance Saadia Toor, "MORAL REGULATION IN A POSTCOLONIAL NATION-STATE," *Interventions* 9, no. 2 (July 2007): 255–75.

   Julia Grünenfelder, "Discourses of Gender Identities and Gender Roles in Pakistan: Women and Non-Domestic Work in Political Representations," *Women's Studies International Forum* 40 (September 1, 2013): 68–77.

   Farida Shaheed, "Gender, Religion and the Quest for Justice in Pakistan," 2009, www.unrisd.org.

[60] See for instance Runa Das, "Colonial Legacies, Post-Colonial (in)Securities, and Gender(Ed) Representations in South Asia's Nuclear Policies," *Social Identities* 16, no. 6 (November 2010): 717–40.

[61] Azher Hameed Qamar, "Academic Research International GENDERED ASPECTS OF INFORMAL EDUCATION IN CHILDHOOD: RESEARCH REFLECTIONS FROM THE RURAL PUNJAB, PAKISTAN," 2012, www.savap.org.pkwww.journals.savap.org.pk.

of western theory and methods.[62]A recurrent theme which pops up in the works which critically speak of disciplinary knowledge is the theoretical stagnation and an overbearing "strategic discourse"[63] both of which can be attributed to the centrality of "nation state" and the subsequent notion that knowledge should only serve the purpose of "national integration".[64] Writing about the disciplines of International Relations, Peace and Conflict Studies and Strategic Studies, Pakistani authors have often situated their arguments in the broader context of origins and development of social sciences in Pakistan.[65] As with other third world countries, social sciences in Pakistan emerged and grew as an imitation and an importation of western social thought ("model-imitator paradigm").[66]

IR knowledge production in Pakistan can be analyzed at various tiers. One of them is think tanks. Think tanks have a clear policy bent since one major purpose they serve is to provide policy making institutions with brief and timely policy relevant information and analysis.[67] To produce the required policy knowledge, think tanks have formal structures and are hence "machineries of knowledge". They can also be seen as bridging the gap between academic knowledge and its applicability or streamlining academic knowledge to serve policy. To

[62]Nazir Hussain, "THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND STRATEGIC STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL SCIENCES: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN," *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 54, no. 1 (June 30, 2015): 41–51.

[63] See for instance Ahmed Waqas Waheed, "State Sovereignty and International Relations in Pakistan," *South Asia Research* 37, no. 3 (November 24, 2017): 277–95.
Sohail Inayatullah, "Imagining an Alternative Politics of Knowledge: Subverting the Hegemony of International Relations Theory in Pakistan," *Contemporary South Asia* 7, no. 1 (1998): 27–42.

[64]Sohail Inayatullah, "Imagining an Alternative Politics of Knowledge: Subverting the Hegemony of International Relations Theory in Pakistan," *Contemporary South Asia* 7, no. 1 (1998): 27–42.

[65] See for instance Inayatullah, Rubina Saigol, and Pervez Tahir, *Social Sciences in Pakistan: A Profile* (Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences, 2005).
    Shafik H. Hashmi, *The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences Pakistan, 2001).

[66]Shireen M. Mazari and Ayaz Naseem, "The Development of Defence and Strategic Studies as a Social Science Discipline in Pakistan," in *The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan,* ed. S.H. Hashmi (Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences, 2001), 183-191.

[67]Mahmood Ahmad and Muhammad Ayub Jan, "Diversity of Information Sources: An Evaluation of Global Think Tanks Knowledge Construct," *Research Evaluation* 28, no. 3 (July 1, 2019): 273–78.

consider this tier of knowledge production is very useful because as historical unfolding has it, much of the research in Pakistan in social sciences has been and is still being produced not within universities but within think tanks.[68]This becomes pretty evident also from the IR journals; most of them are published by think tanks and fewer originate from university departments; for instance for the purpose of this research, the researcher assembled a list of female contributors to HEC recognized X and Y category journals of International Relations (over a time frame of five years, further detail is contained in the next chapter on Methodology). In so doing, it could be clearly seen that only one journal out of the total seven comes out of a university department; that is Journal of European Studies from University of Karachi. The remaining six (IPRI Journal, Policy Perspectives, Journal of Strategic Studies, NDU Journal, Margalla Papers and Pakistan Horizon) are based in think tanks; where NDU Journal and Margalla Papers are a publication of ISSRA which operates as an independent research body/think tank. To say that think tanks in Pakistan are complicit before the state's shadow might seem a generalized view; but in fact this view has been evidenced in literature through historical analysis[69] as well as through the hierarchy; which is to say that the three top IR specific think tanks (which produce X category journals) are headed by ex military men and ex bureaucrats; hence, conformity with "state preferences" comes all too naturally.[70] Thereafter, the structure of this tier of knowledge production seems

---

[68]Arif Naveed and Abid Q Suleri, "Making 'Impact Factor' Impactful: Universities, Think Tanks and Policy Research in Pakistan," Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad, 2015.

[69] For one such detailed historical narrative, one might consult Jayati Srivastava's paper on think tanks in South Asia in which the author has under taken country specific analyses as well and has factually spoken of the origins of major think tanks in Pakistan; proving that many emerged as international donor collaborations, while others as collaborations between the government and international agencies, while still others set up by urban elites including military men and bureaucrats.
Jayati Srivastava, "Think Tanks in South Asia Analysing the Knowledge-Power Interface," 2011, www.odi.org.uk.

[70]Ahmed W. Waheed, "Knowledge Production and Circulation in Pakistani International Relations," in *Constructing "Pakistan" through Knowledge Production in International Relations and Area Studies* (Springer Singapore, 2020), 139–60.

to be such which impedes rather than encourage and initiate critical inquiry and needless to say, this certainly has implications for "Gender" specific critical inquiry.

Having started the discussion of tiers of knowledge production and knowledge economy with think tanks appears to be the right direction to start with; because all other tiers appear to be tied to it in a cobweb. For example, if the position and contribution of academics and scholars in knowledge creation is placed in the hierarchy, we discover that lesser publications (journals) coming out of IR departments in universities imply lesser autonomy for academics and lesser autonomy implies impediments in taking up and initiating research that they would otherwise want to take up. Given the HEC's publishing requirements and given the rocky path way towards international publishing, academics are left with the limited choice of publishing in journals which are based in think tanks primarily.[71] Now, publishing in think tanks' associated journals necessitates that one writes on a subject which is of interest to the organization and here again the centrality of "strategic discourse" (and to add, Indian-centric security discourse) is further reinforced and reproduced.

While undertaking a search on Google scholar using the search words "International Relations in Pakistan", a list of topics has been made, which gives a good idea of the discussions surrounding Pakistan in the discipline of International Relations. Though this list is in no way a direct measure of how the discipline is conducted in Pakistan, but it certainly reveals the shadow of IR internationally on IR domestically. The key topics turn out to be: bilateral relations (Pakistan viz a viz India, US, Afghanistan, CARs, Iran, Russia and China), South Asian regional dynamics, trilateral relations (Pakistan-China-India, Pakistan in the

---

[71] For a detail of HEC's publishing policy/requirements and how quantity of research becomes a looming shadow over quality, see the chapter "Knowledge Production and Circulation in Pakistani International Relations" of book "Constructing 'Pakistan' through Knowledge Production in International Relations and Area Studies".
Ahmed W. Waheed, "Knowledge Production and Circulation in Pakistani International Relations," in *Constructing "Pakistan" through Knowledge Production in International Relations and Area Studies* (Springer Singapore, 2020), 139–60.

triad of US-China-India), development perspectives (Northern Pakistan focused), historical discussions (especially Cold War times), International Law perspectives, CPEC, foreign aid, sectarianism, terrorism, militancy, Pak army, military coup, civil military relations, foreign direct investment, nuclear weapons, foreign policy and within ten search pages, one article on domestic violence. This list is not exhaustive but it covers a wide range of topics and themes normally and generally written about.

METHODOLOGY

This chapter is an account of all the methods employed to operationalize the research plan and is also an attempt to justify why certain methods were preferred over the others. Various methodological choices are available when a research project is planned. Which methods are adopted and which are not adopted is determined by many different factors. How the research process is carried out (in social sciences) has a lot to do with a researcher's view of the social world and social reality; hence the notions of ontology and epistemology.[72] Such considerations surfaced again and again when an initial survey of feminist literature (since work on Gender in International Relations has primarily been taken up by feminist scholars) was carried out. Authors pointed repeatedly that since their view of social world stems from the belief that it is hierarchically formulated with feminine as subordinate and masculine as powerful, they have to break out of the established social scientific way of doing research[73]; hence a need for methodological innovation.[74] This current study can and cannot be termed as

---

[72] Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods Fourth Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

[73] See for instance Juanita Elias and Stephanie Kuttner, "2000 BISA Gender and International Relations Working Group Workshop: Methodologies in Feminist Research," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3, no. 2 (2001): 284–87, J. Ann Tickner, "What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (March 1, 2005): 1–22, J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (December 1, 1997): 611–32, Lene Hansen, "Ontologies, epistemologies, methodologies," in *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations,* ed. Laura J. Shepherd (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 17-27.

[74] A very comprehensive account of the innovations that have been brought about by feminist scholars in terms of methodology in the discipline of IR can be found in the book "Feminist Methodologies for International Relations". The book not just contains a discussion of feminist methodology but also provides research instances where scholars employed innovative methods (a narration by the scholars themselves). Brooke A. Ackerly, Maria Stern and Jacqui True, *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

a feminist research; as for the former, the subject of inquiry makes it so and also the fact that the respondents are women and their views serve as data for this research. For the latter, the interviewing procedure and process deviates from preferred feminist methods[75]; the section dedicated to interviews will further elaborate on that. Following is a section wise detail of research methods:

4.1. RESEARCH STRATEGY

A simple distinction of research strategy is made on the basis of quantifiable (numerical, measurable) and non-quantifiable (words with associated meanings) data collection and analysis. But there is more to this simplistic distinction. These two strategies are a representation of two different types of "intellectual goals" where qualitative accounts for interpretivism as the way of knowing and "subjectivism/constructivism" as justification for being.[76] Also, the divide between qualitative and quantitative has been problematized, raising questions on the "representativeness of the data" and its "adequacy" in terms of being fully representative of the observation[77] which triggered the researcher's interest in the first place. The current study has relied on interview responses to serve as data and interview questions have been so framed (discussed in detail in the interview section) that they invite insights

---

Also, J. Ann Tickner has also repeatedly highlighted the methodological innovations brought about by feminist IR by referring to specific research works and their take of methodology. One of her works which speaks of the subject is hence cited;

J. Ann Tickner, "Gendering a Discipline: Some Feminist Methodological Contributions to International Relations," *Signs* (The University of Chicago Press , June 19, 2005).

[75] In the book "Social Research Methods" cited above, the author terms qualitative interviewing to be more in line with feminist research; and in particular feminist researcher's preference for in-depth, semi structured and unstructured interviews in which the relationship of hierarchy between the interviewer and the interviewee is dismantled and the interviewer does not affect and control the narrative of the interviewee.

Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods Fourth Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 491.

[76] Siti Fatimah Bahari, "QUALITATIVE VERSUS QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH STRATEGIES QUALITATIVE VERSUS QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH STRATEGIES: CONTRASTING EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS," *Sains Humanika*, vol. 52, April 15, 2010.

[77] Jaan Valsiner, "Data as Representations: Contextualizing Qualitative and Quantitative Research Strategies," *Social Science Information* 39, no. 1 (March 30, 2000): 99–113.

from respondents instead of mere black and white responses. To exercise minimal control over the respondents (which is characteristic of a qualitative strategy and more so of a feminist qualitative interviewing), the understanding of the questions was left to them so that their response can be as embedded with multitudes as they choose. The adequacy and efficacy of choosing interviews as data source will be justified here on but for now, the form of data (words having meanings which are subject to change and interpretation) and the way of analyzing and discussing the data (primarily interpretation) make this research a qualitative study.

4.2. SELECTION OF RELEVANT SITE(S) AND SUBJECTS:

SITE: Journals

Since this study started off with an interest in exploring the dynamics of local (Pakistani) disciplinary (the discipline being IR and its associated sub fields) knowledge with a particular focus on how the presence or absence of Gender (as subject matter, as a frame of reference, as a meta-theory, as male viz a viz female representation, as gender neutral or gender sensitive concepts, as publishing practices and norms) is woven within it, the most relevant site where the disciplinary knowledge produce is located was pinpointed as the subject specific (category of IR) journals. The specification of site in this case was only relevant to picking up subjects. Given this, once the final sample (of subjects) was picked up, it was realized that there could have been numerous other sites which could be just as relevant. For example, the subject sample consisted primarily of women academics serving as faculty members in universities across the country; which led the researcher to believe that yet another possible choice of relevant site could have been universities (IR and associated disciplines' departments, to be specific). Having said that, the justification for the selection of journals as the relevant site comes from the research questions which are:

1) Is IR knowledge production in Pakistan gender exclusive?

2) Are voices and views of female academics in the field sufficiently represented?

3) Do female academics in the field engage in radical transformation through their academic work?

These questions make it clear that the study is keen towards the research that helps a discipline to develop and evolve and choosing university departments would have limited the scope of the study; since they are teaching institutes. Moreover, with journals as the selected site, this study encountered female academics and scholars who are directly contributing to "R & D".

SUBJECTS: Female/women contributors/authors
The broader research questions as mentioned above and the fact that the study bears a feminist bearing called for female contributors in journals to be picked up as relevant subjects (the next section elaborates on the sample journals as well as sample subjects). This selection allows them (women scholars) to speak on an issue that concerns them; while simultaneously enriching the study for having them to speak on their position in the academy and on how they see their academic contributions.

4.3. SAMPLING

Sampling in the current study had to be carried out at two levels; at the level of the site and then at the level of the subjects. First, a journals' sample was drawn out and from that, the sample population of subjects and then subsequently subjects' sample was carved out. If the name sample 1 and sample 2 is given to these respectively, for sample 1, HEC recognized X and Y category journals of IR published over the last five years (2015-2019, both years included) were picked. Now, sample population of subjects consisted of all women

contributors in the sample 1, which turned out to be more than 180 in number. This list was then subject to stratified sampling aiming to separate PhDs from non PhDs. A stratified sample of 50 PhDs women academics was the outcome. From this stratified sample, a random sample of odd numbers was picked to finally serve as sample 2.

4.4. COLLECTION OF RELEVANT DATA

Data was collected through qualitative interviews;

Interviews

"Interviews are a staple method used in qualitative research."[78] The interviews in this study comprised of four focused and very purposive questions in line with the broader research questions. They are reproduced here as;

1) How do you see the knowledge production in Pakistan in the discipline of International Relations in terms of gender?

2) Do you feel and think that current IR intellectual production in Pakistan represents women's worldview or do you think IR should be re-structured to become more gender inclusive?

3) How much do you think your voice and concern as a woman scholar has actually been represented?

4) Do you feel your intellectual contribution was mere restating and reinforcing the existing intellectual norms?

---

[78] Shannon M Oltmann, "Qualitative Interviews: A Methodological Discussion of the Interviewer and Respondent Contexts," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 17, May 21, 2016.

Now, usually in qualitative interviewing, which entails a semi structure (where a researcher just frames an outline (a guide) of the themes that he/she would want to bring up over the course of interview) or an absence of structure altogether (for example in the case of recording life narratives or career narratives) the researcher is present at the time of the interview and a face to face encounter takes place. The reason for framing the above interview questions not as a guide but as self serving complete questions is grounded in the fact that the interviewer-interviewee encounter did not take place as it normally does. The constraints, thence, are elaborated in the following section.

Procedure and process of interviews:

The respondents were initially engaged through electronic mail; this stage included asking for permission and consent to be part of the study. Once the respondents would reply and extend permission, they were sent questions through the same mode. Some of the respondents submitted their response in written through email. In view of others not replying, the researcher would send follow up emails and also broadened the options mentioning that an interview can be arranged through any mode the respondent is more comfortable with. With this, some respondents preferred recording their responses as voice notes on "watsapp", some preferred phone calls while still others preferred official meeting platforms such as "zoom". The responses sent as voice notes were transcribed while others were first recorded and later transcribed. Conducting interviews through telephone in qualitative research is undermined on accounts that "contextual" and "non verbal" data is lost this way. [79] This holds equally true for relying on other electronic means as well.

---

[79] Gina Novick, "Is There a Bias against Telephone Interviews in Qualitative Research?," *Research in Nursing and Health* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, August 1, 2008).

Limitations and constraints:

This study has been conducted during a time when movement was restricted owing to a global pandemic. This scenario limited the options of conducting interviews. Interviews which could otherwise be direct interactions between the researcher and the respondents had to be shifted to electronic means. These electronic encounters were not very reassuring; in terms that not all respondents made themselves available through these modes of communication. Also, the interviews which could otherwise be a marked exchange of discussion remained just limited to the researcher sending questions and the respondents answering them (most of the times in the absence of the researcher, while at rare instances in the virtual presence of the researcher)

As for the interviews conducted through "zoom" or phone calls, the researcher at some instances would deviate from the set questions and interfere to extract more clarity on some position but this interference used to be kept to a minimum since the researcher has to keep the same standard for all respondents and interference was not an option in case of email responses or responses recorded as voice notes.

4.5. INTERPRETATION OF DATA/ANALYSIS OF DATA

When analysing interviews as data, there are three broad phases of the process; which entail reducing and breaking down the data as a first step, re-organizing the data as a second step and representing it as the final step.[80] Reducing the data is the pioneer key step since this reduction means that clusters of textual data are turned into "meaningful categories".[81] Accordingly, for an analysis of interviews in this study, a themes based approach has been employed. The interview responses have been read and re-read closely so that recurrences,

---

[80] Kathryn Roulston, "Analysing Interviews," in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis,* ed. Uwe Flick (Sage, 2013), 297-312.

[81] Bjarte Folkestad, "Analysing Interview Data Possibilities and Challenges," *EUROSPHERE Working Paper Series (EWP)*, December 1, 2008.

repetitions, takes, missing points (which might have been spoken off by some respondents and not the others) are evidently separated to serve as a frame work of themes and sub themes. This data derived frame work has then been applied to further the discussion.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

This section is dedicated to a discussion of the interview responses that were recorded; the discussion is supplemented by analyzing the data (interviews) with focus on how it answers the research questions. The discussion is based on the themes that presented themselves on reading and re-reading and further close reading of the interviews. The analysis is based on the prior relevant knowledge of the researcher (that which is gained over the course of this research and while conducting a review of the literature) and interpretation. Based on the three research questions, this section is divided in three parts: the first part expands on the exclusivity/inclusivity of disciplinary scholarship in terms of gender, the second part deals with the extent of incorporation, inclusion and representation of women academics through their work and the final part is about the positionality of women academics; wherein it is explored how they align the sense of self and the academic role that they are in.

5.1. DISCIPLINARY SCHOLARSHIP VIZ A VIZ GENDER:

In posing the questions, the understanding and interpretation of the term "gender" was left solely at respondents' discretion so that the responses may be just as diverse to enrich the analysis. As a consequence, responding to the question on how they see the knowledge creation in IR and associated disciplines in Pakistan in terms of gender, some respondents commented on the relative participation and presence of men and women in these disciplines, others became more specific on the content and subject matters and theoretical formations in

these disciplines, while still others were critical of the very idea of having a "culture of knowledge production in Pakistan". But what turned out to be a recurrent and very apparent mentioning was a "knowledge gap" that respondents pointed at. While recognizing that around the world, organized knowledge and debates exist around feminist perspectives of IR, they also recognized that in Pakistan there is "hardly any scholarship" in this domain and the debates surrounding this perspective are also missing. Highlighting this gap, one respondent drew attention towards "the topics and questions of research papers and thesis" while maintaining that there is a pre-dominant "bias towards issues of real politik". Another respondent made almost a similar argument that "the academia in Pakistan" in the discipline of IR is working largely within the constraints of realist or liberalist theoretical paradigms; and few engage with critical theories and "even fewer use feminist approaches".

It was also revealed that "gender or feminist analysis is considered more as social issues" and also that gender discussions pop up in Pakistan usually and normally when there is some incident of "maltreatment" subjected towards woman/women. A respondent furthered this assertion by sharing some findings from a research work of one of her students in which it was discovered that gender related content could be found in sociology journals but "there was almost no representation of gender issues" in political science and IR journals. A similar view came up when one of the respondents recorded her informed knowledge that she has not seen feminist perspective to be "represented in what is being published from Pakistan, not so far". Still others labelled this gap in knowledge production as a "far far cry" and as a "space" which is "yet to be created" since "gender is not at all integrated" in these disciplines and "gender perspective at the periphery of the main discipline"; or for that matter, "there has been very little gender focused work done" and the knowledge being produced "rarely" touching upon "the themes and issues of gender in IR". A possible interpretation of this gap

in knowledge (knowledge; which can also be substituted here as texts and textual contents that make these disciplines) which was brought to light by almost all the interviewees comes from discourse studies or discourse analysis. While "gender" is a lesser found occurrence in texts, it indicates an "absence", a "silence", a "suppression" and "exclusion".

In discourse analysis, these four are attributed to ideological underpinnings; wherein an "absence" is an absence "possibly for ideological reasons" and one way an absence can be traced is by doing a comparison of texts and such a comparison is evident when the respondents told the researcher that internationally, there are systematic discussions and bodies of knowledge on feminism and IR or gender in IR which are missing in Pakistan. Moreover, "silence" represents a power which does the silencing and suppression and exclusion are the non-representation or lesser representation of a social actor's agency within a social and cultural context[82] (in this case, women). In the data, there are hints towards some ideology at work when the respondents particularly referred to patriarchal influence and male dominance in the field in general and in knowledge production in particular while one respondent clearly said that: "Its basically an ideology of power, not male female issue as such". Yet another subtle reference to patriarchal ideology in the discipline of IR can be found in the comment: "In most cases, women have also internalized patriarchal norms and values so they tend to reinforce the realist or neo-liberal ideals."

The penetrability of such an ideology was hinted at by other interviewees as well, for example "political discourses are considered men's domain". This view of discourses being a

---

[82] For an account of these terms and concepts, see the book;
Paul Baker and SibonileEllege, *Key Terms in Discourse Analysis* (London, New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011).

work of "men" also came to the fore when the vice versa relationship of theory and practice was talked over in terms of decision making powers and dynamics; such as the view that women are invisible in IR scholarship because they are absent or not sufficiently present in "international institutions of decision making". An interviewee informed that dominance of men in decision making sets a perception that "these international relations are conducted by men". She continued that while there are few women prime ministers as well as few women in key decision making roles around the world, in her understanding "those are just designations" which are not understood "from gender perspective". In the context of women in decision making, the researcher was told that the proficiency and efficiency of women leaders during Covid-19 pandemic is something which has just made a mark and made news in the "journalistic area" and still remains a far-fetched matter in scholarly work. Since the interview questions were not designed in a way as to invite discussion and views on discourses and workings of ideology, there are only indirect references to these; for example: "…people in academia are particularly averse towards 'feminists'".

Now, an interviewee who was critical of the notion of knowledge production in the sense that in case of Pakistan, most of the knowledge is coming from West and "we seldom get to come across new knowledge" here in Pakistan, sounded hopeful in terms of the participation, presence of women scholars and academics and named prominent Islamabad based female scholars who are doing remarkably in various roles: "They are producing knowledge through book publications, they are producing knowledge by producing high impact factor research articles, they are imparting knowledge through teaching at universities and they are even heading the university departments". But, her response only considered "gender" in terms of women being there and she acknowledged that there is an overall imbalance where the percentage of women compared to men is low but participation and contribution of women is

applaudable. Here again an interviewee referring to her student's research thesis reaffirmed the overall imbalance as: "In terms of female participation, there were female scholars who were represented but again you can see that was not the same as men." In this perspective of gender inclusivity or exclusivity to be determined by the presence or absence of women in the academic community, it seems that there is less of clarity; which might also be seen as a not so informed understanding.

Apart from the afore mentioned response, the researcher was even informed that female academics mostly occupy visiting faculty positions and hence are not in charge and also that "mostly men teach" these disciplines; which definitely contradicts the view presented above where the interviewee says that women are not just teaching but are heading university departments as well. Also, one respondent said that the "participation of women in knowledge production is very low; almost non-existent"; which might easily imply that women academics are there but they are not contributing. But, it might also imply that their views are not incorporated in the knowledge produce the way they (female scholars) would want them to be incorporated (this is further elaborated in the next section). As for the former, this corollary becomes a little hard to swallow since the sample population for the purpose of this research consisted in the female contributors to HEC recognized X and Y categories journals over the last five years (2015-2019); and assembling the list, there were over more than 180 women contributors. As for the latter, the interviewee's intention becomes clear in the later part of her response where she maintains that universities are just as male dominated as is the society and with men running the "IR departments in various universities", women voices are sidelined; hence low participation. While the dominance of men can be seen as a "reproduction of social inequality" in academia, it is also worth noting

that the observation of the previous respondent regarding females heading the departments is just as equally valid.

In the perspective of women participation, presence and contribution in the academia of IR and associated disciplines, the researcher was also told that over the last ten years, there are women in the field and they are doing work "specifically pertaining to gender and related issues". An interesting problematization surfaces when an interviewee said: "there is a need for more women to come into the field and participate, there is a need for them to contribute through research and policy formulation and have their views and voices heard." This postulation by virtue of the language use gives an impression that it is on women to come forward on their own. With this, it comes in clash with the view-points which uphold that all pervasive constraints imposed by (patriarchal) structure bar the participation and contribution of female academics and hinder their voices from being heard. Similarly, also consider the language of the comments: "they (women academics) should be encouraged to incorporate womanly perspectives on international issues", "there should be more space given to women researchers", "special space … should be reserved for them in international publications"! In contrast to the language of the previously mentioned comment which causes one to assume that women have to make space in the academia for themselves, these comments make one believe that someone else needs to create that space for them.

Two questions arise here: who will mellow down the limitations imposed by structure and is it solely on women to highlight the feminist space in disciplinary scholarship? As for the latter, from most of the responses it appears that it is a "yes" to this question (consider for example; "it will incorporate I think a lot of endeavour and a lot of effort on the part of

women to project themselves and stand for their rights"). However, one response stated otherwise: "there is a dire need of contribution by female scholars and male alike on how women see the international relations impacting their lives and what contributions they make to the field of international relations." As of the structural constraints, they were highlighted particularly by one respondent in terms of pedagogy of these disciplines; which will be elaborated in the next section. Until this point of the discussion, the "knowledge gap" reveals exclusivity of disciplinary scholarship in terms of gender. The participation, presence and contribution of female academics do not clearly reveal what side of inclusivity, exclusivity spectrum it falls on. But, a lot becomes clear when respondents were asked if they think IR should be reviewed, revisited, revised as a discipline to become more gender inclusive. All of the respondents stated clearly that they think IR (and associated disciplines) needs to be formulated along gender inclusive lines.

Two dominant patterns emerged when respondents spoke of the need for gender inclusivity in the disciplines; an integration of the national with the global and a broadening of the scope of inclusivity. For the former, some respondents spoke of gender inclusivity in IR not just needed in Pakistan, but world over as well: "that IR should be restructured in Pakistan as well and all over the world", "not just in Pakistan, internationally too women participation and women perspective needs to be highlighted", "overall, women's worldview is hardly visible in the discipline of International Relations (IR) and the situation is same in Pakistan". While previously, there was recognition that worldwide there are established feminist perspectives which are missing in Pakistan, here these respondents have domesticated the demands worldwide of revisiting the discipline for the sake of gender inclusivity. This can be further explicated as in terms of having feminist IR scholarship, Pakistan stands as opposed to the "global" since gender focused theoretical grounds have not been laid down. So in Pakistan

we do not have the foundational work done but the academics acknowledge gender inclusivity to be required. Here, the relevance of not having indigenous knowledge also comes to the fore to which one respondent referred as "hardly any indigenous groundbreaking "theoretical" formulation" while speaking of Pakistan.

Bringing to light the need for gender inclusivity, one respondent widened the scope of inclusivity saying that restructuring of the discipline requires including other marginalized sections, voices and perspectives as well; apart from gender. Still other responses which prove that disciplinary scholarship as well as the disciplines are gender exclusive and hence need to be reviewed and revisited to incorporate gender were recorded as: "field of IR in Pakistan needs to be revamped to make it more gender-inclusive and to attract more women in this field", "certainly, IR is a multidisciplinary subject and it should be gender inclusive", "the field of IR without being inclusive cannot offer holistic view towards policy making or anything like crisis management or problem solving nor it can contribute innovatively to the national discourse if the factor of inclusivity is missing", "It goes without saying that IR should be revamped …… to make it more inclusive and all encompassing", "definitely (emphasis here) IR needs to be reviewed and restructured in Pakistan", "needs to be more gender inclusive."

5.2. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ACADEMICS:

Representation of women academics in terms of their presence has already been discussed in the previous section. Also, it is important to mention that "representation" here does not mean how women academics are portrayed. Instead, the scope of this section has more to do with

the representation via incorporation of their voices, their views through their work; since for an academic to be heard, it is her/his work which buys her/him a representation. While there certainly is an overlap with the previous section (as the "representation" under discussion relates very much to gender inclusivity, exclusivity), but what makes this section unique is the fact that here the focus is on the personal (or professional, in parlance) experience of the respondents and what they have to say about how well or how not well they were able to earn a representation and thereby, be heard. Two themes (picked up from the data) will be specifically discussed here: one relates to pedagogy of IR and associated disciplines in Pakistan. How these disciplines are taught, in turn, determines who and what is sufficiently represented and who and what is left out. The other theme relates to structural constraints; (one of which is pedagogy itself) structure not being global or international but national.

Consider for example this response: "I am only heard up to class level. You could say that my ideas, teaching and suggestions are only for students in classroom. I think acknowledging women's views can sometimes be a matter of men's dignity in Pakistan." This response throws light at a social, cultural reality which when penetrates academia (which is again situated in that same social, cultural setting) causes a hindrance in the way of a woman academic's voice to be heard and acknowledged; hence a structural constraint. Also consider these two responses: "The departments and think tanks in field of IR in Pakistan are still not very welcoming towards intellectual contribution through gender perspective and at many times, my personal feminist opinions have been challenged by men at these places" and "….I don't feel represented when people in academia are particularly averse towards 'feminists' and subtly directs women to toe the line". The averseness and the unwelcoming attitude of the academia in general towards gender and feminist positions are a hindrance in the way of women academic's feminist views to be heard and represented; yet another structural

constraint but not one completely independent of the afore mentioned socially, culturally driven limitation/constraint (in fact, the two are very much related).

How views of women academics are often not registered or represented is evident from these further comments: "some female scholars appear authoritative in political discourses, yet their political ideas can hardly influence policymakers", "It would not be wrong to say that intellectual production in IR is not the reflection of women's mind except Critical Theory i.e. "Feminism" and "women world view of IR in Pakistan is off course non-existent". This was an account of non-incorporation of views, voices and opinions of female academics but not all of the respondents shared this view. One of the respondents recorded her response as; "I have been able to conduct research and supervise important topics on gender and radicalization and women and politics in Pakistan." This gives an impression that her ability to undertake the said research is a proof of representation of her voice, her concern through her work. Similarly, another respondent said: "… I wouldn't say that I felt rejected or side-lined as a 'woman scholar'. My gender was not a hindrance in voicing my concerns and opinions." But the same respondent also spoke of a general dislike for feminists in the academia in the later part of her answer which has already been referred above. Similarly, speaking of her personal experience, an interviewee expressed contentment that she was provided "platforms to voice…opinions successfully". But she also spoke of her experiences where she was discouraged and have had to face resistance owing to her feminist leaning. To put this in some context, the observation picked up by MM Pereira in her book that feminist scholarship is not seen and accepted as "proper knowledge"; labelled as lacking objectivity and being "too political" [83]resonates with the interviewee's experience.

---

[83] Maria Do Mar Pereira, *Power, knowledge and feminist scholarship: An ethnography of academia* (Oxon: Routledge, 2017).

One of the respondents informed that her voice has been moderately and sufficiently represented. Still another respondent with special reference to her teaching career told the researcher that she feels "a little bit contended" and is happy that in her university, she "can come up with any sort of courses" and her approach is such that she integrates gender and designs outlines in the said fashion. This does clearly indicate that being in a teaching position, she feels well represented. Since publishing is a key part of climbing up the academic ladder and something which gives an audible voice to an academic, one of the interviewees mentioned that she did not face problems being a woman scholar when she wanted to publish her work. However, in international publishing, she faced problems being a scholar from the South. Speaking particularly of her job position (being on a teaching position in a university in Lahore), she said that being a woman in academia "…you have to make sure that you are being heard, not taken lightly". This latter part of her response indicates towards the possibility of not being heard, not being taken seriously as a woman scholar.

Before moving on to the pedagogical discussion, one response is worth discussing. The interviewee came up with the view that being a woman in academia does not hinder one's possibilities; indeed it is the kind of work that you come up with which earns you representation: "unless you come up with sound arguments supported by logical thinking, there are fewer chances for you to be registered. Initially, I too had to face instances where my views or input with regards to certain matters they were questioned for their rationality." She further added: "women view is not being intentionally over powered or being suppressed by the men, instead it is the fewer number of women on the scene hence lesser reflection of

women intellectual within the field of IR as compared to men." About her own experience, she mentioned: "I do believe that I have been and I am being as well represented as one would aspire to be" and about women in academia in general, she recorded her opinion as: "…they are being respected and also being fully heard and acknowledged." This response somehow puts gender out of the equation while reinstating that the only currency for being heard is logical, rational, sound argumentation and work.

Pedagogical references were particularly made by two of the respondents. One of them was very keen and convinced that to talk about gender in IR and associated subjects is to talk about how these disciplines are taught. She was specifically critical of the course outlines where, in her opinion, "gender is a rarity to be mentioned". In teaching in general, she was of the opinion that critical thinking is not encouraged and particular subject matters are labelled as taboo and hence left out. While voices and views of female academics are not necessarily feminist voices and views, but in most cases gender grounded space is highlighted by women and when this space is missing from course outlines, it implies a non representation of scholarly works by women. Moreover, how teaching and evaluation practices block and discourage female students (who in later part of their careers might become a part of the academic community) from employing non-mainstream perspectives was highlighted by the other respondent: "Many a times, when a female (students especially) makes analysis through her lens and perspective, the work is subjected to lots of criticism by men (supervisors, external supervisors and other professionals) who have a masculine point of view. Therefore, the work is often discredited and becomes victim to mansplaining." She also shared her experience where she was offered to teach a "Gender and IR" course and was told not to teach feminism in that course and just to keep the scope limited to development perspectives and women empowerment.

To conclude this section, it is worthwhile to see that the relation of incorporation and representation of voices and views of female academics in IR (and associated disciplines) in Pakistan flows from the analysis made in the previous section on gender exclusivity of these disciplines in Pakistan. Given the exclusive nature of these disciplines, it becomes of value to analyse whether the women working in these disciplines in Pakistan get to have their agency represented. The discussion above reveals that often the female academics are satisfied with their incorporation but speaking more generally, they express resentment surrounding the acknowledgement and representation of female academics' voices; hence the next section takes up the discussion on how the sense of self of these women academics interferes with their academic roles and scholarly work.

POSITIONALITY OF WOMEN ACADEMICS:

Positionality is the social and political context that creates your identity in terms of race, class, gender, sexuality and ability status. Positionality also describes how your identity influences and potentially biases, your understanding of and outlook on the world.[84]

While "positionality" might be looked at in numerous other ways, the reason for picking up and founding the analysis on this above mentioned notion of positionality is that this defining of the term is relevant to the meta topic under discussion; that is gender. As becomes clear, positionality is about identifying yourself within a social, political setting (self image) and is

---

[84]https://www.dictionary.com/e/gender-sexuality/positionality/#:~:text=Positionality%20is%20the%20social%20and,and%20outlook%20on%20the%20world.

also about how that identification shapes your view of the world. The idea that women tend to see and experience things differently (and hence there is something known as the women world view) appears now and then in a variety of contexts; especially in the contexualization (contexts being war and peace) of the concept of security One of the respondents, though, called it as more of a "generalization" ("I'm not sure whether women World View is one thing") and something which is not fully applicable at all times; admitting at the same time that well versed studies exist which support this assertion. Still, from this idea, it stems that when women assume different job positions or decision making roles, they face contradictory expectations to be fulfilled. One set of expectations linked to their "agency" and the subsequent "gender role", the other to "communion" and the subsequent "leader role"[85] (or for that matter, any given job's role).

An acknowledgement (by women, themselves) of gender exclusivity in IR and associated disciplines (reflected as a knowledge gap, as evidenced in the first section) somehow pushes one to believe that while women do the job, they are mindful of what needs to be done; hence an engagement in activism and radical transformation through their work. But is it always the case? If not, what determines the ways in which women academics in Pakistan align their sense of self (their agency) with their work? In the scope of this research, this question was posed before the respondents (who happen to be serving in various academic roles and are associated with different institutions) as: Do you feel your intellectual contribution was mere restating and reinforcing the existing intellectual norms? Now here, there was a mixed response when the respondents were asked about their own academic/scholarly work. In some cases, the researcher even observed a sense of unease when this question was posed and

---

[85] Wei Zheng, Ronit Kark, and Alyson L. Meister, "Paradox versus Dilemma Mindset: A Theory of How Women Leaders Navigate the Tensions between Agency and Communion," *Leadership Quarterly* 29, no. 5 (October 1, 2018): 584–96.

also observed some responses to be generic rather than the respondent to be speaking specifically of their own work. While at the same time, other responses were confident and contained within them a sense of pride and achievement at under taking and accomplishing critical work; maintaining that they have been able to break the constraints and restraints and have been able to bring in new findings, new perspectives hence new knowledge.

An interviewee mentioned her thesis work on "Swedish feminist foreign policy" calling it as "one aspect" of her "academic career" she is "most proud of". But even in the celebration of this achievement, she was reminded of the "peer pressure" which she had to face regarding such a choice of topic. This "peer pressure" is an indication towards one such factor which might determine why female academics do not and cannot always take up radical scholarly work. Similarly, another response contained an account of how successfully the respondent integrated gender in her study on "youth bulges" in "conflict-ridden territories": Palestine and Kashmir; whereas the general trend is that "youth" is often taken up as a gender-neutral category. Yet another respondent sounded all clear narrating that being a "critical peace study scholar", she is someone "who is questioning the existing structures" and as for gender specifically, she has supervised gender focused research works. Similarly, a respondent maintained that she would "not exactly agree to" the point that her work was just a reinforcement of norms; since she has worked on "challenging" topics and have come across new findings.

Others informed that there is generally a trend of simply following the norms and operating within them; highlighting that "in order to be heard and taken seriously","women IR writers often take similar tone" as their male counterparts and that "a smaller proportion of women

view International Relations and produce knowledge from a feminist point of view." Two of them also highlighted the overarching constraint that exists in the form of absence of "open society" or a culture of critical thinking. One of the respondents said that how can we talk about any sort of "intellectualism" when we do not encourage critical thinking. Her focus was on pedagogy and such a pedagogy which hinders critical thinking by imposing restrictions and labelling taboos (as discussed in the previous section). One of the respondents was of the view that gender issues are a separate thing and while you do your academic work in the field of International Relations, you cannot incorporate gender since gender approach is relevant only when dealing with a gender issue. This response is of critical importance; since it reveals a hurdle in the way of integrating gender in IR. This hurdle pertains to a lack of understanding of what gender is and it is very much a reinforcement of the thought that IR and its knowledge produce is gender neutral; while a good deal of discussion above tells otherwise.

Another problematization in the context of positionality is brought forward in the response of one of the interviewees when she said: "… we are writing more in gender neutral ways as we recognize ourselves as researchers first". This is representative of one view of positionality among women academics; that they see themselves not as women but as scholars or academics. It implies that engaging in radical work is less of an option here since they are separating their gender identity from their academic role. A contrasting view pops up with one respondent maintaining that there is no such thing as gender neutrality; being gender neutral is to ignore that "gender is an important dimension" and to think that it is not something worth considering and worth talking about. Hence, as of positionality, there is engagement in transformative work, there is non-engagement and a practice of engaging in

the usual, there is denial of any need of integrating gender in IR and there is gender neutrality.

CONCLUSION

Picking up on the specific academic site of International Relations and associated disciplines in Pakistan, this research study tried to look closely into how the gender identity of female/women academics, and the agency associated with that identity, works to grant or to dispossess them of inclusion and representation in the academic community that they are a part of. It also tried to draw a picture of how women academics, themselves, navigate their agency and their academic roles. While academia is so characterized by rationality and objectivity and while established feminist projections (existing in an organized manner in IR and associated subjects) inform the academics of the need for subject-driven, normative, transformative, activism-based academic roles, it was of interest to study how Pakistani female academics in the said disciplines balance themselves accordingly. It was not surprising to discover that female academics are aware of the existence of feminist perspectives the world over. With the knowledge of existence of such bodies of knowledges, Pakistani female academics recognize the absences of such a knowledge base here in Pakistan. They speak of the need of having gender integrated scholarship and curricula (since majority are in teaching positions). But interestingly, they do not speak of any need of having indigenously produced, socially and culturally suited and situated feminist theories of IR. Some of them feel sidelined and marginalized yet others feel fully acknowledged. There certainly are no quantifiable outcomes and no views expressed in black and white, but a gap in knowledge is convincingly drawn out of the views of female academics. How far they, themselves, are ready to undertake the project of filling the gap remains largely undetermined, because often the views surface as a mere reproduction of what is commonly and generally known.

Ahmad, Mahmood, and Muhammad Ayub Jan. "Diversity of Information Sources: An Evaluation of Global Think Tanks Knowledge Construct." *Research Evaluation* 28, no. 3 (July 1, 2019): 273–78. https://doi.org/10.1093/RESEVAL/RVZ011.

Ann Tickner, J. "Gendering a Discipline: Some Feminist Methodological Contributions to International Relations." *Signs*. The University of Chicago Press , June 19, 2005. https://doi.org/10.1086/428416.

Ashe, Fidelma. "Gendering War and Peace." *Men and Masculinities* 15, no. 3 (August 23, 2012): 230–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X12442636.

Baker, Paul, and Sibonile Ellege. *Key Terms in Discourse Analysis.* London, New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011.

Blanchard, Eric M. "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory." *Signs*. University of Chicago Press, 2003. https://doi.org/10.1086/368328.

Bull, Hedley. "The Theory of International Politics, 1919–1969 (1972)." In *International Theory*, 181–211. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1995. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-23773-9_8.

CANAGARAJAH, A. SURESH. "'Nondiscursive' Requirements in Academic Publishing, Material Resources of Periphery Scholars, and the Politics of Knowledge Production." *Written Communication* 13, no. 4 (October 6, 1996): 435–72. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741088396013004001.

Caprioli, Mary, and Mark A. Boyer. "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 4 (August 1, 2001): 503–18. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002701045004005.

Carver, Terrell. "Gender and International Relations." *International Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (June 1, 2003): 287–302. https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.5020221.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. "The Constructive Turn in International Relations Theory." *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (January 1998): 324–48. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0043887100008133.

Chen, Ching Chang. "The Im/Possibility of Building Indigenous Theories in a Hegemonic Discipline: The Case of Japanese International Relations." *Asian Perspective* 36, no. 3 (2012): 463–92. https://doi.org/10.1353/apr.2012.0018.

Connell, Raewyn, Rebecca Pearse, Fran Collyer, João Marcelo Maia, and Robert Morrell. "Negotiating with the North: How Southern-Tier Intellectual Workers Deal with the Global Economy of Knowledge." *The Sociological Review* 66, no. 1 (January 13, 2018): 41–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026117705038.

Das, Runa. "Colonial Legacies, Post-Colonial (in)Securities, and Gender(Ed) Representations in South Asia's Nuclear Policies." *Social Identities* 16, no. 6 (November 2010): 717–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2010.524780.

David, Miriam E. "Diversity, Gender and Widening Participation in Global Higher Education: A Feminist Perspective." *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 19, no. 1 (March 2009): 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/09620210903057590.

Elias, Juanita, and Stephanie Kuttner. "2000 BISA Gender and International Relations Working Group Workshop: Methodologies in Feminist Research." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3,

no. 2 (2001): 284–87. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740110053074.

Fatimah Bahari, Siti. "QUALITATIVE VERSUS QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH STRATEGIES QUALITATIVE VERSUS QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH STRATEGIES: CONTRASTING EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS." *Sains Humanika*. Vol. 52, April 15, 2010. https://doi.org/10.11113/SH.V52N1.256.

Finch Weinstein, Sarah. "CONSTRUCTED SERVICE : GENDERED DISCOURSES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES MILITARY." University of St Andrews, November 30, 2013. http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/.

Fletcher, Catherine, Rebecca Boden, Julie Kent, and Julie Tinson. "Performing Women: The Gendered Dimensions of the UK New Research Economy." *Gender, Work and Organization* 14, no. 5 (September 2007): 433–53. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2007.00359.x.

Folkestad, Bjarte. "Analysing Interview Data Possibilities and Challenges." *EUROSPHERE Working Paper Series (EWP)*, December 1, 2008. https://ideas.repec.org/p/erp/ewpxxx/p0037.html.

Grünenfelder, Julia. "Discourses of Gender Identities and Gender Roles in Pakistan: Women and Non-Domestic Work in Political Representations." *Women's Studies International Forum* 40 (September 1, 2013): 68–77. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2013.05.007.

Hameed Qamar, Azher. "Academic Research International GENDERED ASPECTS OF INFORMAL EDUCATION IN CHILDHOOD: RESEARCH REFLECTIONS FROM THE RURAL PUNJAB, PAKISTAN," 2012. www.savap.org.pkwww.journals.savap.org.pk.

Hansen, Lene. "Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. Taylor & Francis , 2000. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740010019848.

Hussain, Nazir. "THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND STRATEGIC STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL SCIENCES: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN." *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 54, no. 1 (June 30, 2015): 41–51. https://doi.org/10.46568/jssh.v54i1.161.

Inayatullah, Sohail. "Imagining an Alternative Politics of Knowledge: Subverting the Hegemony of International Relations Theory in Pakistan." *Contemporary South Asia* 7, no. 1 (1998): 27–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/09584939808719828.

Kaplan, Morton A. "Is International Relations a Discipline?" *The Journal of Politics* 23, no. 3 (September 29, 1961): 462–76. https://doi.org/10.2307/2127101.

Katila, Saija, and Susan Meriläinen. "A Serious Researcher or Just Another Nice Girl?: Doing Gender in a Male-Dominated Scientific Community." *Gender, Work & Organization* 6, no. 3 (July 16, 1999): 163–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0432.00079.

Keohane, Robert O. "Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between International Relations and Feminist Theory." *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (March 1, 1998): 193–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/0020-8833.00076.

Kesteloo, A.J. "Gendered Discourses and Practices on Gender in Military Operations: The Interpretation and Implementation of a Gender Perspective in the ISAF Operation by the Accounts of Dutch Military Gender Advisers," September 22, 2015.

"Knowledge: Its Creation, Distribution and Economic Significance, Volume I ... - Fritz Machlup - Google Books." Accessed July 26, 2020. https://books.google.com.pk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=DtT_AwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=fritz+machlup&ots=biRwgCroe6&sig=QOPQwd-

HKyP1kDWQEOFRe0Adags&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=fritz machlup&f=false.

Kornprobst, Markus. "International Relations as Rhetorical Discipline: Toward (Re-)Newing Horizons." *International Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 87–108. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2008.01826.x.

Naveed, Arif, and Abid Q Suleri. "Making 'Impact Factor' Impactful: Universities, Think Tanks and Policy Research in Pakistan Distribution of Multi-Dimensional Poverty in Pakistan View Project Making 'Impact Factor' Impactful: Universities, Think Tanks and Policy Research in Pakistan Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad Contents Acronyms Acknowledgments," 2015. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.2409.3847.

Novick, Gina. "Is There a Bias against Telephone Interviews in Qualitative Research?" *Research in Nursing and Health*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, August 1, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1002/nur.20259.

O' Hagan, Clare, Pat O'Connor, Eva Sophia Myers, Liv Baisner, Georgi Apostolov, Irina Topuzova, Gulsun Saglamer, Mine G. Tan, and Hülya Çağlayan. "Perpetuating Academic Capitalism and Maintaining Gender Orders through Career Practices in STEM in Universities." *Critical Studies in Education* 60, no. 2 (April 3, 2019): 205–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2016.1238403.

Oltmann, Shannon M. "Qualitative Interviews: A Methodological Discussion of the Interviewer and Respondent Contexts." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*. Vol. 17, May 21, 2016. http://www.qualitative-research.net/.

Pereira, Maria Do Mar. *Power, Knoeledge and Feminist Scholarship: An Ethnography of Academia.* Oxon: Routledge, 2017.

Puechguirbal, Nadine. "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents." *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (April 2010): 172–87. https://doi.org/10.1080/13533311003625068.

Rees, Teresa. "The Gendered Construction of Scientific Excellence." *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*. Taylor & Francis, June 2011. https://doi.org/10.1179/030801811X13013181961437.

Relations, E-International. "Questions of Gender and International Relations." Accessed June 10, 2020. https://www.e-ir.info/2014/06/05/questions-of-gender-and-international-relations/.

———. "The 'Great Debates' in International Relations Theory Written by IJ Benneyworth." Accessed May 10, 2020. https://www.e-ir.info/2011/05/20/the-'great-debates'-in-international-relations-theory/.

Rhoads, Robert A., and Diane Yu Gu. "A Gendered Point of View on the Challenges of Women Academics in The People's Republic of China." *Higher Education* 63, no. 6 (June 15, 2012): 733–50. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-011-9474-3.

Runyan, Anne Sisson, and V. Spike Peterson. *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium, Fourth Edition*. *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium, Fourth Edition*. Taylor and Francis, 2018. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429493782.

Sasson-Levy, Orna. "Research on Gender and the Military in Israel: From a Gendered Organization to Inequality Regimes." *Israel Studies Review* 26, no. 2 (December 21, 2011). https://doi.org/10.3167/isr.2011.260205.

Shaheed, Farida. "Gender, Religion and the Quest for Justice in Pakistan," 2009. www.unrisd.org.

Smith, Steve. "The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science?" *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2, no. 3 (October 1, 2000): 374–402.

https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856x.00042.

———. "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations: 'Hegemonic Country, Hegemonic Discipline.'" *International Studies Review* 4, no. 2 (September 1, 2002): 67–85. https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00255.

Srivastava, Jayati. "Think Tanks in South Asia Analysing the Knowledge-Power Interface," 2011. www.odi.org.uk.

Taber, Nancy. "Intersecting Discourses of Militarism: Military and Academic Gendered Organizations." *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 34, no. 2 (March 4, 2015): 230–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2014.988188.

"The Growth and Future of Feminist Theories in International Relations on JSTOR." Accessed June 4, 2020. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24590520?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

Thomas, Robyn. "Gendered Cultures and Performance Appraisal: The Experience of Women Academics." *Gender, Work & Organization* 3, no. 3 (July 1, 1996): 143–55. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.1996.tb00055.x.

Tickner, J. Ann. "What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions." *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (March 1, 2005): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-8833.2005.00332.x.

———. "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (December 1, 1997): 611–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2478.00060.

Toor, Saadia. "MORAL REGULATION IN A POSTCOLONIAL NATION-STATE." *Interventions* 9, no. 2 (July 2007): 255–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698010701409186.

Tsouroufli, Maria. "Playing It Right?': Gendered Performances of Professional Respectability and ' Authenticity' in Greek Academia." *Journal of International Women's Studies*. Vol. 19, 2018. http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiwsAvailableat:http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol19/iss6/4.

Valsiner, Jaan. "Data as Representations: Contextualizing Qualitative and Quantitative Research Strategies." *Social Science Information* 39, no. 1 (March 30, 2000): 99–113. https://doi.org/10.1177/053901800039001006.

"Vlasta Jalušič * Stretching and Bending the Meanings of Gender in Equality Policies 1," n.d.

Waever, Ole. "The {Sociology} of a {Not} {So} {International} {Discipline}: {American} and {European} {Developments} in {International} {Relations}." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (October 1998): 687–727. https://doi.org/10.2307/2601355.

Waheed, Ahmed W., and Ahmed W. Waheed. "Knowledge Production and Circulation in Pakistani International Relations." In *Constructing "Pakistan" through Knowledge Production in International Relations and Area Studies*, 139–60. Springer Singapore, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-0742-7_5.

Waheed, Ahmed Waqas. "State Sovereignty and International Relations in Pakistan." *South Asia Research* 37, no. 3 (November 24, 2017): 277–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/0262728017725624.

Wallace, Janice, and Dawn Wallin. "'The Voice inside Herself': Transforming Gendered Academic Identities in Educational Administration." *Gender and Education* 27, no. 4 (June 7, 2015): 412–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2015.1019838.

Whitworth, Sandra, and Sandra Whitworth. "Feminist Theories and International Relations." In

Feminism and International Relations, 11–38. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1994. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-23572-8_2.

Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.

Wibben, Annick T R. "Feminist International Relations: Old Debates and New Directions Feminist International Relations: Old Debates and New Directions Rockefeller Humanities Fellow Human Security NCRW and CUNY Graduate Center." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* X, no. 2 (2004).

Woodward, Rachel, and Claire Duncanson. "Gendered Divisions of Military Labour in the British Armed Forces." *Defence Studies*. Routledge, July 2, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1080/14702436.2016.1180958.

Zheng, Wei, Ronit Kark, and Alyson L. Meister. "Paradox versus Dilemma Mindset: A Theory of How Women Leaders Navigate the Tensions between Agency and Communion." *Leadership Quarterly* 29, no. 5 (October 1, 2018): 584–96. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2018.04.001.