

## From Patriarchy to Neopatriarchy: Experiences of Women from Pakistan

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### Abstract

*Patriarchy is not a new term. Feminist scholars have debated the notion of men exhibiting power over women in societies for decades. The purpose of this paper is to explore the form of patriarchy that is operationalized through women at the household level. Qualitative research was used to examine this phenomenon in district Rawalpindi in Pakistan. Purposive sampling was used to choose the sample consisting of seventeen cases and two FGD's. The findings highlight that patriarchy is internalized through socialization among women at early stages of their lives. Further, women are re-socialized at the hands of in-laws after marriage. This process of socialization and re-socialization maintains control and power over women. The elder women in the family facilitate this process and act like the male patriarchs. The entire process results in marginalization of women at the hands of women to support the existing power structure.*

**Key Words:** Neopatriarchy, Women, Marginalization, Qualitative Inquiry

### 1. Introduction

Patriarchy is a complex and a mystifying institution of power and control in the society. Patriarchy signifies a male dominated structure which has a long history and has existed in every society in the world. It is a political-social system that asserts that males are naturally dominating and superior to females and they have the right to suppress women and maintain their power and control. This is carried out through the internalization of norms through the process of socialization. These norms are utilized to control and exploit women. Both men and women actualize and strengthen patriarchy in the society (Hook, 2013).

Patriarchy has been historically a traditional social system, yet more recently the discourses on patriarchy are interested in how it is being perpetuated in new ways in the family through women. These new actors who support to perpetuate the patriarchal values are women who suppress other women to preserve their power & sustain patriarchy in the family. This form of power named neopatriarchy is a different and a new concept related to household power hierarchies which disadvantages women in many ways. One of the many outcomes is domestic violence due to clash of interest in the game of power and control. Neopatriarchy is a new form of governance over women in the family, which is functioned through different types of violence to suppress the woman's identity and create dependency in the family (Rehman, 2009; Sultana, 2012).

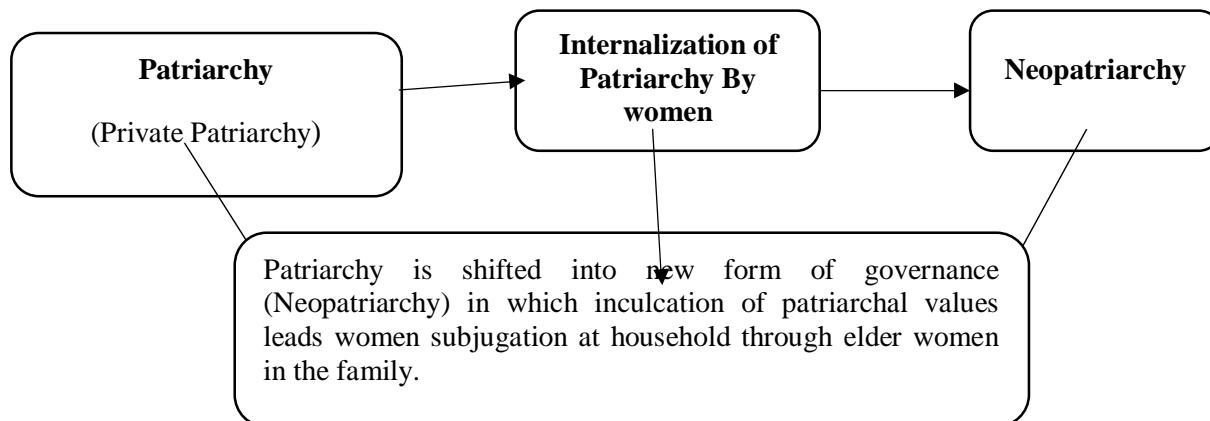
Hence, the goals of patriarchy and neo-patriarchy are similar that is to repress and subjugate women in the family. The setup of neo-patriarchy in the family creates rift between resident women and new married women in the game of governance and power control in the family. In this system resident women consider new women as a threat and hence use their power of affiliation and age to subjugate the new women in the family (Zakar, 2012). This leads to clashes of interest between native & new women at the household level (Ali & Gavino, 2007). There can be different reasons for the internalization of patriarchy among women. These can be jealousy, insecurity of status in the family, sharing love & affection, previous background of suppression by mother in law etc.

The patriarchal system in Pakistan is commonly distinguished by "patrilineal" (influence of patriarchy) and patrilocal residence (the practice of women living with their husband's relatives after marriage). In Pakistan women are dependent on men in every walk of life. The male domination is internalized through a range of institutional practices which are implanted- integrated into the family and the social kin-group.

Patriarchy structures and institutionalizes the female subordination and dependency (reliance) on men in the Pakistani society (Naizi, 2012).

The current research was carried out to explore the perpetuation of patriarchy in the families through women. Some of the major questions which remain at the heart of the study include; why and how do women internalize patriarchy in the family? How power works at household level among intimate relations (i.e. mothers in law, daughters in law and sisters in law) to reinforce patriarchy?

**Fig 1 Conceptual framework**



## 2. Theoretical Framework

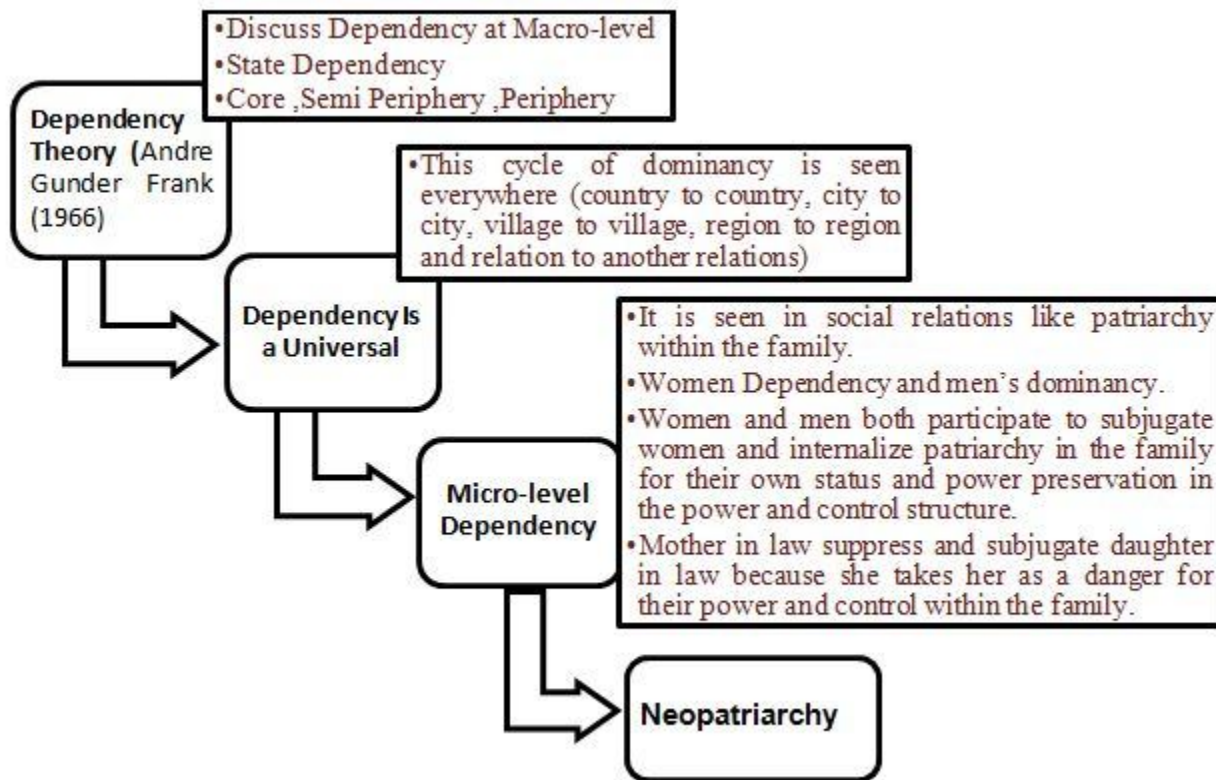
Theoretically this research is inspired from Dependency Theory of Andre Gunder Frank (1966, 2010). This theory has been used in this study to explain neopatriarchal structure in Pakistan. It is a Western economic model which is related to capitalism and the concept of state dependency. It is suitable to explore power relations in the Asian context of family structures where patriarchy prevails in a hierarchal structure. This model has been selected to explain the phenomenon of neopatriarchy because family is an organization like a state. Core relations (husband and mother in law) exploit the peripheral relations (daughter in law) in the family structure.

According to this model the world is based on the hierarchal structure. Every dominant state exploits the weaker state and creates dependency through different tactics. This cycle of dominancy is seen everywhere (country to country, city to city, village to village, region to region and relation to other relations). In this study we have applied this concept of dependency and attempted to construct a new model of the family to explain the phenomenon of neopatriarchy.

The Pakistani families are structured in the form of power and control hierarchy where the male is the main figure. When a marriage is planned, it is considered as family contract not personal. When a new woman enters a family after marriage, the native women become superior and authoritative and consider the new women as a threat to their ultimate power and also share love and affection of their son. These feelings of insecurity and the fear of dependency compel elder women to repress and subjugate their daughters in law to secure their power and position in the family. Hence, the native women exploit the new women to sustain their status in the family.

The precautionary measures to secure power and control structure leads to the dependency of daughters in law and clash between household women (mothers/sisters in law and daughters in law). The entire game of power/control and fear of dependency creates new form of patriarchy which is governed by women to protect their position and control over family members especially sons and brothers. Hence, patriarchy is shifted to neopatriarchy which is operated by women to secure their own position in private spheres such as family. This paper argues that the entire cycle of dependency is not seen just in states and countries it also exists in close intimate relations. The empirical data from District Rawalpindi in Pakistan will help to illustrate this phenomenon.

Figure: 2



### 3. Literature Review

Patriarchy is the most pervasive and powerful force of the traditional and modernized societies. Patriarchy is “a system of social structures and practices in which men oppress, exploit and control women” (Walby, 1996, p. 21). Patriarchy is infused and reinforced in the society through different social structures. This system is beefed up by societal and cultural norms, religious teachings and portrayals of gender roles in media. Patriarchy is seen at all levels of the society, e.g., family, community and social level. There are numerous social structures of patriarchy which hold the foundation of this power and control system (Walby, 1990; Isran & Isran, 2012; Rawat, 2014; Sultana, 2012). These social structures are household/family, state, employment (workplace), violence against women’s sexuality and cultural institutions. These structures reinforce patriarchy and infuse the roots of patriarchy at all levels (Walby, 1990).

According to Walby (1996) patriarchy is the social state in which men use their power to control women in the public and private domains of the society. According to Lerner (1989) patriarchy was brought up and actualized at a particular time period in the world history with the help of many complicated actions and procedures involving different (demographic, ecological, cultural, and historical) factors which transform the lifestyles of people. Lerner (1986, 1989) believes that patriarchy is the demonstration and internalization of male dominance over women and children in the family. She explains patriarchy from public to private domain where male dominance is institutionalized through social structures. The history of the emergence of patriarchy is too long and can be traced to hunting and gathering societies. Patriarchy is not a static phenomenon; it transforms and is modified over a time period through different mediums. The ultimate purpose of patriarchy is men’s domination and women's subjugation from traditional to modern societies. Patriarchy creates gender inequalities from the beginning of human history.

#### *Domains of Patriarchy*

Walby (1990) differentiates patriarchy in two subdivisions (public and private). Private patriarchy exists at household level, which directs women’s oppression in the family and public patriarchy is based on the market place.

### ***Public Patriarchy***

Heimer (2000) describes public patriarchy as controlling and limiting the power of females as compared to males. Public patriarchy directs women's suppression at the economic level and workplace. In this form of patriarchy employment and state are most dominating social structures which entail women's suppression. The institutions which play important role in the establishment of public patriarchy are state, government, religious places (churches, mosques and temples etc.) and employment. These social institutions infuse patriarchy in society by prevailing the gender inequality in their status, position, power and control within the society. In public patriarchy, women are allowed to take employment, but they are suppressed by gender inequalities in the position of power, education, promotion, job requirement and salary. These differences drive gender disparities in education and employment, and female poverty (Atwell, 2002; Walby, 1990).

### ***Private Patriarchy***

Private patriarchy directs women's subjugation within the family through gender inequalities and specified gender roles. Males are labelled as heads of their families because of their breadwinning role which delegates them the power to control the women in their families. Walby (1990, p. 24) describes that household/family is the most influencing patriarchal structure in the private domain. Household and family social structure focuses on the women's roles and natural gender segregation between male and female in the family where the male is considered as breadwinner and female as a homemaker.

The division of roles makes the women subordinate and dependent on male, socially, culturally and economically so patriarchy makes men more powerful in the family and this system provides site for women's subjugation in the family. Employment, state, sexuality, violence, and culture are the less dominating social structures in the private patriarchy. Women are restricted to home and perform their household tasks. They are relegated and submitted to men in the family because they hold the position of power and control over economic resources (Parker & Reckdenwald, 2008, p.9).

### ***Forms of Patriarchy***

Isran and Isran (2012) narrate the Walby's notion of social structure which rejects both social and biological determinism. These ideas are widely seen and practiced in the South Asian region where patriarchal structures build and strengthen in the space of social relation which supports male dominance over women in the society. They give two forms of patriarchy including classical patriarchy (male is dominated and women is suppressed) and bargaining of patriarchy (co-operation and conflict) that prevails in different regions of the world especially in south Asia.

### ***Classical Patriarchy***

Classical patriarchy is usually based on extended family structure where the senior men (fathers) remain head of the families followed by senior women. Senior men deal with the public affairs (outside of the family) and senior women deal with the private (inside the family) domain of the house. When a new woman gets married and enters her husband's family. She is subservient of her husband, senior male and female of the family. Her status is not secured and upgraded till the birth of a son. The son is the most precious and critical resource of a woman, which secures her position and power in the family.

The senior woman (mother in law) suppresses her daughter in law because she had experienced subjugation and deprivation of freedom as a young bride. So the control and authority chain shifts over time and generation to generation in the patriarchal families. The factors which increase the liberty and independence of women in the family are women's age, residence to near parent's family and family structure in the context of Pakistan (Vlassoff, 1992; Sathar & Kazi, 2000 cited in Isran & Isran, 2012). Women in old age have maximum chances of mobilization, more approach to family resources and have a high opportunity of decision-making within the house as compared to younger women. Women married and living near the parent's families have a greater chance of support and security by their parents in case of any conflict.

### ***Patriarchal Bargaining***

Kandiyoti (1988) has given a concept of patriarchal bargain. It is a plan (tactic) in which a woman prefers to conform and preserve patriarchal norms, accepting gender roles that overall suppress women but raising her own power and choices. Kibria (1990) defined patriarchal bargain as the ways through which both male and female arrange and accommodate the set patterns of rules and determine and limit the gender roles (relations). This term is also used by different researchers as a second form of patriarchy which is complex and based on cooperation and conflict.

### ***Role of Intimate Relations in Patriarchy***

Patriarchy gives power and control to males over females by subjugating them culturally and socially. Patriarchy is created and sustained through social norms, values, tradition and social segregation of gender roles which is infused in the family through the lifelong process of socialization (Johnson, 2005). Parker and Reckdenwald (2008) described that patriarchy is constituted in the society through family in the private domain where a male holds responsibility of his family so he has the authority and power to control the family. According to Lerner (1986) family plays an important role to transmit the patriarchal norms and values to the next generation.

### ***Neopatriarchy***

The term neo-patriarchy was first time used by Hisham Sharabi in 1988 in his book. Neopatriarchy means “new form of governance”. He used this term to explain the relationship between modernity and patriarchy in the context of the Arab world. He further discussed the stages of patriarchy from historical and structural standpoint in the Arab world. Polder and Wells (2004) and Berendt (2010) described that patriarchy is not a fixed (static) phenomenon because it recreates (reinvents) itself after a time period in the space of capitalism and cultural or social settings of the society. Religious beliefs support the functioning of patriarchy which helps patriarchy to reinvent itself in a modified form that is neopatriarchy.

Patriarchy is shifted to neopatriarchy through historical and structural development of the society. This new form of patriarchy has an ultimate purpose to suppress and repress the women at household level. It is a distorted form of traditional patriarchy which is based on male domination in the family. Neopatriarchy is operated through women, but men have the supreme authority not women at household level. Neopatriarchy is the new form of power and control structure which is guided by women, but supervised by men in the family.

## ***4. Methodology***

This research paper is part of a larger study exploring neopatriarchy in Rawalpindi District in Pakistan specifically looking at domestic violence which is an outgrowth of patriarchy. Qualitative methodology was used to explore the phenomenon of neopatriarchy in this research. Purposive sampling was used to choose the sample consisting of seventeen case studied and two FGD's. The population comprised of both literate and illiterate married men and women. The age limit of participants was 17-46 years. The reason for selection of both male and female informants was to explore and understand the reality behind the patriarchy, neopatriarchy and role of men/women in the household power and control structure. In this paper we use the data from the female interviews and the FGDs. In-depth interview method was utilized to unravel the hidden reality behind the sustenance of patriarchy. Interview guide was employed to investigate this household power and control structure that transforms patriarchy into neopatriarchy.

The interview guide was translated into native language (Urdu and Punjabi) before commencing the fieldwork and checked in the pretesting phase. The pre-testing involved three in-depth interviews and one FGD and it helped to test the reliability of the interview guide. It was flexible and fully probed to explore the phenomenon of neopatriarchy in the family. On the basis of the result of pre-testing, certain changes were incorporated into interview guide. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the field data. An inductive approach was employed to address the gap in previous studies. Initially a survey was done before conducting the qualitative interviews to locate the cases of violence in the District Rawalpindi.

## ***5. Evidences of Neo-Patriarchy from the Field***

Patriarchy as a system is promoted and supported by women and men equally, yet men gain more honour and rewards from the system (Hook, 2013). Men and women both are socialized according to the patriarchal values in the society. Women are the main functionaries for the continuation of patriarchy in the family.

Women play an important role in perpetuating and sustaining patriarchy. The native women (mothers and sisters in law) internalize and strengthen patriarchy through exploiting /stifling of new woman (bride) for the sustenance of their ultimate monopolistic power in the family because they cannot share their monopolistic power, affection and love of their blood relation. The first part of the following section will address how women internalize patriarchy. The second part will discuss the measures taken to keep control over younger women. But first a brief account of the women will be given in the light of the initial survey carried out at the onset of this research process.

The total population of the selected area was 3500 and it comprised of 577 families, 56% females and 44% males were present in the area of study. The most prevalent family system was a joint family. The majority (59%) of the informants were between the ages 16 – 25, 18% were between the ages 26 – 35 and 12% were between ages 36 – 45. The majority were literate only 11% were illiterate. 30% were graduates 12% masters, 12% matriculation. In terms of profession 41% were teachers, 18% dress makers, 12% were involved in private jobs. 24% of the women were housewives among whom 12% were also involved in farming, and 6% were doctors. Regarding jobs of the women's husbands, 35% were government employees, 23% were out of country, and 12% each worked in the private sector, were labours and had private jobs. The majority lived in joint families and had 3 – 6 children. The majority 59% has been married for 6 – 10 years. 12% had been married for 1 to 5 years.

### **5.1. Internalization of Patriarchy**

#### **5.1.1. Role of Mother in the Inculcation of Patriarchy**

The family plays an important role to fortify patriarchal ideology through the process of socialization (Sharma, 2007). The narratives of the informants in this study indicate that mothers trained their daughters to be submissive, fragile and good home managers. It was explained to them that their duty was to serve the men in the family. It was observed by the researchers that gender segregation started from the early age in which parents taught specific roles to their male and female children. Boys were trained to be strong, superior, good planners, decision makers and not to express their feelings openly. Girls were trained that they were delicate, soft, obedient, and respectful.

The majority of the informants reported that they had faced discrimination in their childhood and they practised the same. For example an informant named Zomia explained that her mother openly gave preference to her brother. Shafaq and Aimen shared their experience related to socialization of children according to patriarchal culture in the following way.

*My mother believes that girls have temporary stay in the family. When we were young she always gave preference to my brother. (Shafaq, 10 Nov, 2014)*

*When I returned from school along with my brother my mother ordered me to take care of my brother's school bag and to serve him food. I was asked to eat afterwards. (Aimen, 10 Nov, 2014)*

This attitude of mothers is very common in the Pakistani society and was reported by the majority of informants in this study. The logic behind this attitude was believed to be the fact that girls are married off to other families while sons are the ones who would support them during old age. The data shows that one reason for the mothers to prioritize sons was because the family's status is upgraded because of the number of sons they have. The women reported that they felt strong upon becoming mothers of male children. Mothers unconsciously and consciously created gender difference among their children. Hence, mother played an important role in the creation of gender differences through the process of socialization.

#### **5.1.2. Role of Mothers in Law in the Internalization of Patriarchy**

The data shows that after marriage the mother in law plays an important role in re-socialization of a woman according to the set patterns of patriarchal structure. This type of socialization is not much different from what she had experienced in her parent's home. It was reported that the new process of socialization makes the new woman realize that her status in the family is low and she is second citizen of this territory, so this second grade citizen has no rights to live her own life. The rules and regulation are enforced upon her and she always follows the instructions of her husband and his family without questioning. This is clear from the following excerpt.

*My mother in law advised me to obey my husband. I was told that my husband is my identity and so I should compromise to live with him under any circumstances. (FGD Participant on 10 Dec, 2014)*

This demonstrate that patriarchy is not just perpetuated at women's parents' house in the process of socialization in which she learns that as a woman she is a temporary member of the family. It is also maintained in the process of re-socialization after marriage in her husband's family through her mother in law and sisters in law. (Davaseeli, 2012).The informants shared their experiences of how they had been taught lessons of compromise by the in laws. One participant who did not have very good relations with her husband shared her experience in the following way.

*My mother in law and sister in law constantly kept telling me that I should not fight with my husband and tolerate his maltreatment silently, otherwise my marriage can break and the society will blame me for this. They advised me to compromise.* (Laraib, 20 Nov, 2014)

The excerpt indicates that at the time of conflict women took men's side and considered them right without looking at the other side of the story. It is the woman who is taught to be silent and to compromise at the larger interest of the family. The above discussion clearly demonstrates that the first and foremost reason for the suppression of women at the hand of women is largely the patriarchal structure of the society which accepts and promotes the subjugation of women especially after marriage. The second reason which too is closely linked to the previous one is the desire to preserve control and power. This will be discussed in the following section.

## **5.2. The Power and Control Game**

The discussion so far demonstrated the training of women in a patriarchal set up both by the parents and the in laws. This raises question regarding the significance of such training? Why is it so important that women should be submissive? That they should compromise? Our interpretation of the women's stories in this research illustrates that it is all about power and control. If women are not trained to be submissive they will resist and male dominancy will no longer prevail. So in a patriarchal set up men desire to keep their control and they take the support of other women to be able to sustain this control over women. Following are some of the ways in which this power and control game works in the society.

### **5.2.1. Restricted Mobility**

Research demonstrates that the mothers in law enforced restrictions on their daughters in law in case of mobility in the public space including visit parents and for employment purpose among others. It has been reported that women encounter social isolation due to such type of restrictions leading to psychological problems (Hassan, 1995, 1999; Jahan, 1994).

The informants of this study were of the view that women's mobility was also restricted and they were not allowed even to visit their families. They required permission from a chain of family members like father in law, mother in law, brother in law and husband to visit neighbours, parents and friends. Women's parents no longer had the right to interfere in the personal matters of their daughter. Kianat shared her experience regarding this issue.

*My mother in law becomes unhappy whenever I want to visit my family. She makes different excuses to restrict my visits. I am also restricted to visit my neighbours and friends.* (Kianat, 12 Nov, 2014)

The excerpt indicates that the mothers in law used different tactics to maintain their control over women. When they failed they sought the support of other men in the house like their sons and husbands.

### **5.2.2. Inter Personal Freedom of Women**

Hassan (1995, 1999) and Sharma (2007) have identified that the mother in law suppresses the daughter in law financially and socially to secure her own position in family. The data from this study shows that a woman is not permitted to use household things without the consent of her mother in law and husband. She does not even have permission to use items from her own dowry that she brings from her parent's house. It was reported that mostly mothers in law felt threatened if their daughters in law used anything without their permission.

According to the informants this was because the mothers in law felt that their respect and importance in the family may reduce if the younger women took over. They desired to retain their authority and control over all household matters. Women reported to have no personal life after marriage. They were treated as servants not as family members.

Following is how Kianat expressed her experiences.

*I asked my mother in law if I could use the new tea set for guests but she did not allow me to use it. She told me that she was the sole authority in the house to make decisions and run the house. I felt very low because my best friend had visited me for the first time after marriage. I had to borrow crockery from the neighbours. (Kianat, 12 Nov, 2014)*

The above excerpt clearly speaks about the different ways and means used by the elder women to maintain their control over the younger ones.

### **5.2.3. Lack of Control over Household Income and Decisions**

Research has demonstrated that since newlywed women are often considered second class members they have no control over decision making (Sharma, 2007). It was reported in this research that mostly mothers in law suppressed their daughters in law in the beginning of marital life because they felt threatened. One way to maintain control was to make the women financially insecure and to keep them out of decision making process in the family. For doing this they took over the salary of their sons.

Aimen's words are being quoted here to explain this reality:

*My mother in law takes over the entire salary of my husband at the beginning of the month. She would scold me whenever I need something for myself and ask for money. Once I brought dresses for myself and my daughters on the occasion of Eid and my mother in law was annoyed with me that I had brought these dresses without her permission. (Aimen, 21 Nov, 2014)*

The excerpt shows the elder women demanded complete submission from the daughters in laws.

### **5.2.4. Suppression of Women's Abilities and Intellectual Power and Growth**

The data illustrates that not only were the actions of younger women controlled by elder women but their abilities and intellectual power and growth were also controlled. The younger women were restricted to avail the opportunities for advancement before and after their marriage. Women were suppressed because they were considered weak and subjugated. They were considered machines for providing services to all. Before marriage women served their parents family and after marriage their husband's family. Sana shared her experiences about her higher education and employment.

*My mother in law was against my further studies at university level though my husband had given permission. She took away my documents so that I may not be able to apply. When I shared this event with my husband he did not believe me and took his mother side. (Sana, Nov 11, 2014)*

This excerpt indicates that men also supported their mothers in reinforcing authority and control in the house. This shows that women were physically, emotionally and intellectually suppressed because of the insecurity of the elder women (Hassan, 1995, 1999; Nissen, 2011).

### **5.2.5. Role of Women in Power and Control Game**

The entire philosophy behind patriarchy is power and control. The data from this study illustrate the ways and means through which this control was reinforced. The findings show that the internalization of patriarchy by the women though their training at parents home and later at husband's home makes women submissive and obedient. This in turn gives power and control to men over women. While the control over women in the natal family starts rights from the birth of a girl child it is reshaped after marriage.

One of the informants in this study Wafa who was a doctor shared her experience related to this power and control retaining phenomenon. She explained that before her marriage on the occasion of *rasan-e-hina* (a ritual before the marriage ceremony) she visited her patient in hospital. Her in-laws were disappointed and angry at this act. The following is what Wafa's sisters in law said to Wafa's husband.

*You are a slave of your wife (Zan Mureed). What will you do when she comes into our house after marriage, she will definitely suppress you. (Wafa, interview, Nov 25, 2014)*

Clearly her husband's family felt threatened because of her confidence to take initiative without the approval of the family. Though the marriage had not taken place but the family expected complete submission. The state of power thrives through direct and indirect agency that transfers this governing activity in social system with the help of different mediums. So patriarchy (governing activity) is not directly exercised by men. It is indirectly executed and practiced by women in the society. The exercise of power becomes a social system when power moves from being direct medium to indirect medium. So women serve as a tool against women.



### 5.2.6. Role of Husband in the Power and Control Game

The data shows that husbands too played important role in the power and control game at the household level. This is largely because men are the ultimate patriarchs and they guide other women to act in patriarchal ways. One participant recalled the first day of her marriage and explained that in the very first communication she had with her husband she was instructed to be obedient to his parents and to take care of their needs. Kianat quoted her husband's words as follows.

*My parents are special to me so you must take care of them and should not misbehave in any situation. These are the acts that would make your existence possible in his house.* (Kianat, 12 Nov, 2014)

The excerpts show that men play important role in the household power and control before and after the marriage. Men give lessons of obedience and compromise to the women right from the start of marital life giving the message that they are subordinate to the husband and his family. It was universally accepted by the women that their obedience and compromising attitude guaranteed peaceful life with the family. This means that women were tolerating the suppression for their own existence.

## 6. Conclusion and Recommendations

Previous researches (Ali, 2007; Babar, 2007; Ghani, 2014; Hassan, 1999; Isran & Isran, 2012; Jahan, 1994) have used feminist perspective to explain patriarchy and women's subjugation. In this paper we used a new model of dependency by Frank (1996, 2010) to explain the phenomenon of patriarchy and how it is affecting women lives. The paper highlighted women's social and economic dependency through a new form of patriarchy which is known as neopatriarchy. Clearly, younger women (daughters in law) are subjugated through other women (mothers in law and/or sisters in law) to preserve their status in the family. The dependency model given at the beginning helped us to think of the family as a state. The core relations (husband and mother in law) exploit the peripheral relations (daughters in law) in the family structure. This new theory of patriarchy describes women's suppression/subjugation by their husbands and their family members like mothers in law and sisters in law. The current research explored that patriarchy is the system of power and control which prevails through different means and ways. It has deep roots which cannot easily be pulled out from the society because patriarchy is supported by traditional cultural and social norms and values. Women play an important role in the inculcation of patriarchy in a new form "neopatriarchy" in the family.

To dismantle patriarchy in Pakistan it is recommended that initiatives need to be taken both by men and women. The traditional patriarchal structure and practices of women's subjugation should be changed through family who gives the first lesson of dominance and subjugation in the childhood. Women should be encouraged to take initiatives to lessen their worries instead of encouraging them to compromise. In this regards all stakeholders should work together. NGO's can play important role to provide awareness about women's right. Religious leaders can also play their role by providing proper guidance to the masses. Last but not the least opportunities should be given to women to attain higher education in order to be able to gain self-realization about their agency and their role in the society.

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