05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Malay Muslim Academic Women in Dual-Career Families: Negotiating Religious and Cultural Identities and Practices

ZURAINI JAMIL OSMAN

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

PhD

University of York

Women's Studies

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Abstract

This study focuses on Malay Muslim academic women in dual-career families in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor, Malaysia. I conducted semi-structured, in-depth face-to-face interviews with ten married academic women, five single female academics and three single male academics, while ten husbands of the married women were interviewed via email. The context in which modern Malay Muslim women operate is a complex one. On the one hand, Islam and the Malay *adat* (customary law), constructed as central to the ethnic identity of Malay Muslims, prescribe specific gendered expectations for women and men in both the private and public spheres. On the other hand, the state and global competition demand that women participate in the economy as well as in broader societal contexts. I explored how my respondents strategised in both employment and family life within the boundaries of their identity as Malay Muslim women. My study emphasised central aspects of Malaysian modernisation in relation to women, namely: education, employment, marriage and family, as well as family and working responsibilities and coping strategies. I found that access to education and the acceptance of women in employment had led my participants to pursue careers. With a recognised educational and career background, they had a degree of independence within marriage and in the formation of a family. After marriage, all these women had to abide by the accepted norms of gender, accepting their secondary position within and outside the family. At the same time, they revealed the importance of support networks in terms of family members, spouses and government policies, as well as being dependent on other women's reproductive labour (*e.g.* childcare centres or domestic helpers), in helping them to balance their family and career commitments. I argue that the women had some autonomy based on their education and employment, but this remained a subordinated category. Complications arose because the women still needed to manage and negotiate their position within their identity as Malay Muslim women and the patriarchal system ingrained in their culture. While Malaysia's drive for modernisation has improved women's lives, it has not radically transformed the patriarchal order.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

UPO DONE MyTO SCAN

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

List of Contents

Abstract	2
List of Tables	8
List of Figures	9
Acknowledgements	10
Author's Declaration	13
Introduction	14
Chapter One	21
Background to the Study: Ethnic Identity, Gender and Family in Malaysia	21
Introduction	21
Malaysia's population	22
The citizenship of Malays in Malaysia: their identity as *Bumiputra* and Muslim	27
National socio-economic development and its relation to gender and the modern family	34
Women and education	43
Women and employment	47
The government's stance on marriage and the family	54
Conclusion	55
Chapter Two	58
Dual-Career Families and Working Women: a Review of the Literature	58
Introduction	58
Dual-career families and the rise of the Malaysian middle class	59
Family, marriage and gender in Malay society	63
Islamic and Malay *Adat* perspectives on gender: Constructing the position of Malay women and men in the public and private spheres	67
Women's reasons for working	72
Late marriage and fewer children	75

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Patriarchal system: The family provider, the head of household and decision-making power 79
Dealing with the private and public spheres: a global perspective 82
Work/family conflict and family/work conflict 93
Work/life balance and work/family articulation 97
Summary 106

Chapter Three 109
Methodology 109
Introduction 109
Qualitative design using semi-structured interviews 109
The location of the study 112
Sample population 115
Designing the themes and interview questions 123
The interviewing process 123
Conducting face-to-face interviews 125
Conducting email and telephone interviews 131
Issues of power relations between the researcher and the researched 137
My Position as a Researcher – Reflections of being an insider and an outsider 138
Dealing with ethical consideration and issues 142
Data analysis and writing up 146
Conclusion 151

Chapter Four 153
Factors Affecting Malay Women's Participation in the Malaysian Labour Force 153
Introduction 153
Factors influencing women's access to the paid labour force 154
i. Having the necessary academic qualification to access job opportunities 154
ii. Economic need 163
iii. Personal interest and self-satisfaction 171

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

iv. Financial responsibility towards parents 173
v. Following a role model and being a role model 176
vi. Advocating Islam 178
Reasons for choosing academia as a career 180
i. Academic qualifications meet the career requirements 181
ii. Job benefits 182
iii. Fulfilment personal interest 186
iv. Career matches women's characteristics 188
Conclusion 190

Chapter Five 191
Malay Women's Stance on Marriage and Starting a Family Life 191
Introduction 191
Respondents' perception of marriage 191
Qualities to consider when seeking a man as a husband 204
Respondents' decision making about parenthood 211
i. Early marriage 214
ii. Financial, emotional and psychological stability 214
iii. Religious and spiritual beliefs 216
iv. Career commitment 218
v. The influence of the number of siblings in family of origin 219
Conclusion 220

Chapter Six 222
Family Responsibilities and Coping Strategies of Malay Women 222
Introduction 222
Malay women's views on family responsibilities 222
Managing domestic chores 224
Respondents' responsibilities toward their children 239
Childcare arrangements 239
Being an informal home educator for children 252

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Being a financial provider for children 255
Respondents' responsibility as a wife 256
Respondents' responsibilities towards their extended family 258
Conclusion 259

Chapter Seven 262
Work Responsibilities and Coping Strategies of Malay Women 262
Introduction 262
Respondents' views on their work responsibilities 262
Supports from spouses 263
Supportive colleagues 268
Government and organisational family-friendly workplace policies and their effectiveness in improving Malay dual-career women' lives 269
Leave entitlements 270
Work arrangements 284
Personal preferences on coping strategies 288
Conclusion 295

Conclusion and Recommendations 297
Overview of the findings 297
Reflections on my PhD journey 302
Research contributions 304
i) Enriching literature on dual-career women and dual-career Families 304
ii) Practical recommendation for the government and non-governmental institutional bodies in Malaysia 306
iii) Using feminist methodology in a Malaysian context 308
Limitations and recommendation for future research studies 309

Appendices 311
Appendix A: Map of Malaysia 311
Appendix B: Article 14: Citizenship by operation of law 312

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix C: Religion of the Federation and Freedom of Religion 314
Appendix D: Name list of the universities 315
Appendix E: Academic staffs by sex and position in public universities, Malaysia 2009 316
Appendix F:Academic staffs by sex and qualification in public universities, Malaysia2009 317
Appendix G: Interview Request Letter 318
Appendix H: Interview Questions 319
Appendix I: Approval Letter to Conduct Research in Malaysia 321
Appendix J: Consent Form 323
Appendix K: Children's Qualifications 324

Bibliography 325

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

List of Tables

Table 1	The division of the Malaysian population by citizens, ethnic group and gender, 2010	26
Table 2	Gender breakdown of student enrolment in public higher learning institutions by level of study and gender, 2007/2008	47
Table 3	Married respondents by sex, age, level of education, occupation and number of children	118
Table 4	Unmarried respondents by sex, age, level of education, occupation and relationship status	118
Table 5	Distribution of female respondents by level of education, age and status	155
Table 6	Table 6: Approximate basic monthly household income (RM) for married respondents	164
Table 7	Approximate basic monthly income (RM) for single respondents of both genders	166
Table 8	Age at marriage	197
Table 9	Number of children born to married respondents and desire by single respondents	212

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

List of Figures

Figure 1	Percentaged of employed women by occupation, 2010	50
Figure 2	Location of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor	113
Figure 3	Finding interviewees: Links between the researcher and the participants	122

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chapter One

Background to the Study: Ethnic Identity, Gender and Family in Malaysia

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to contextualise the study in relation to the history and culture of Malaysia. The chapter is organised into two main sections. In the first section, a brief discussion of the background of multi-racial Malaysia is presented because it is this which has led to the construction of Malay identity. I begin with an historical overview of the Malaysian population, focusing on the arrival of various ethnicities, particularly during the era of British colonialism. I shall explore the impact of colonialisation on the existence of a pluralist society prior to and after Malaysian independence. This will be followed by a discussion of how citizenship within this pluralist Malaysian society was constructed during the colonial and post-colonial eras, and how it has given certain privileges to Malay citizens. I shall also discuss how religion and *adat* Melayu (Malay custom) have been acknowledged as symbolic elements in constructing the Malay Muslim identity. I shall emphasise the way in which the constitution defines what it means to be Malay, and how this has become the official ideology of Malay citizenship.

In the second section, I will explore the socio-cultural, political and economic landscape of Malaysia and how it relates to the official discourse on gender equality, which leads on to a discussion of the position of women in the public sphere. I shall concentrate on women's participation in education and employment and the interconnection between them, which has opened up many opportunities for women to make considerable progress in their lives. It should be noted that, although the government of Malaysia wants to be part of a modern globalised world by promoting gender equality and women's empowerment, the implementation of these aims is still somewhat limited. The discussion covers how the government is encouraging Malaysian women to be involved in employment and giving them more opportunities to enhance their own lives through various national policies and programmes, but it is also still seeking to maintain women's traditional position in the family.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Consequently, although many women have been actively participating in the paid labour force, at the same time they are also far more likely than men to be managing the household chores. Furthermore, the discussion acknowledges that the Malaysian government does not encourage a diversity of family forms as this is considered to contradict the religious and cultural norms of Malaysian society.

Malaysia's population

Malaysia[2] is made up of two main regions: Peninsular Malaysia (West Malaysia) and Malaysia Borneo (East Malaysia), and achieved its independence on 31 August 1957. On 16 September 1963, Malaysia consisted of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak. In 1965 Singapore left Malaysia, and today the country consists of thirteen states[3] and three federal territories[4] (Ruslan *et al.*, 2005; Hassan and Basri, 2005). The Malaysian population today is multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural as a consequence of the arrival of immigrants from various ethnic groups at different times throughout the centuries (Andaya and Andaya, 1982; Ruslan *et al.*, 2005; Abdullah, 2010).

Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Malaysia as a nation is based on the *Sistem Kenegaraan Melayu* ("Malay Polity"). Between the sixth and tenth centuries, the history of *Sistem Kenegaraan Melayu* began with the term *Melayu* ("Malay") or *Tanah Melayu* ("Malay Land") (Sunharalingam and Haji Ismail, 1985; Abdullah, 2010). The word *Mela*yu was originally associated with place, and it referred to the

[2] The government of Malaysia practises Parliamentary Democracy, a Federal Constitution and an Elective Monarchy. Under this system, Malaysia has a three-tier government, consisting of federal, state and local levels. *Yang DiPertuan Agong* (King of Malaysia or Supreme Head of the Federation) is the head of state and the Prime Minister is the head of the federal government. At the state government level, nine of the states have hereditary rulers called the *Sultan* or *Raja* (Ruler or King), and four states, Pulau Pinang, Melaka, Sabah and Sarawak, have a *Yang Dipertua Negeri* (Governor), who is the Head of State as appointed by *Yang DiPertuan Agong*. Each state has its own constitution, and each state government is headed by a *Menteri Besar* or *Ketua Menteri* (Chief Minister) (Saleh, 2003).

[3] The region of Peninsular Malaysia includes the states of Pulau Pinang, Negeri Sembilan, Johor, Perak, Kelantan, Selangor, Pahang, Kedah, Perlis, Terengganu and Melaka; Malaysia Borneo comprises Sabah and Sarawak (*see* Appendix A).

[4] The three Federal Territories are Labuan, Putrajaya (the seat of the Federal Government) and Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia's capital city).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Malay Archipelago (Abdullah, 2010) or the Malay world,[5] which consisted of several Malay kingdoms[6] (Fee, 2001). Only in the eleventh century did it begin to refer to an ethnic group called Malays, who were the indigenous people of the Malay World (Wariya, 2010). The term Malay as a *bangsa* ("race") was widely used during the European colonisation of the Malay world.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons for the existence of this ethnically pluralistic society and the Malays' position in Malaysia, it is necessary to look at British colonial rule in *Tanah Melayu.*[7] Several studies of the multi-ethnic population in Malaysia have stated that British colonialism had a very significant effect on the construction of Malay identity (*e.g.* Baharuddin, 2001; Cheah, 2002; Ibrahim, 2004; Wariya, 2010; Wan Husin, 2011). The Malay World was divided into two territories when the Dutch and the British signed the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, whereby Indonesia was given to the Dutch and *Tanah Melayu* to the British. After that, *Tanah Melayu* was known as the Lands of the Malays or Malaya,[8] and the term became popular among the Malay people in the 1920s in the contexts of politics and colonialism (Wan Husin, 2011).

Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Prior to the British colonisation of *Tanah Melayu*, the Malays and Orang Asli[9] were the main indigenous ethnic groups, with the Malays forming the overwhelming majority. During the Malacca Sultanate era in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, trade and religious missionary activities brought Chinese, Indians, Arabs and others to the Malay Peninsula due to

[5] The Malay World consists of Peninsular Malaysia, the east coast of Sumatra, Borneo, Indonesia, the Philippines, South Thailand and Cambodia (Purcel, 1962; Moorhead, 1963; Ryan, 1967; Andaya and Andaya, 1982).

[6] Historically, the kingdoms of Srivijaya, Majapahit and Melaka were among the original Malay polities during the golden aged of Malay civilisation (Purcel, 1962; Moorhead, 1963; Ryan, 1967; Andaya and Andaya, 1982).

[7] *Tanah Melayu* is known as Peninsular Malaysia today.

[8] During the colonisation of Malaysia by Britain in 1874, the term "Malaya" referred to three types of governance: the Unfederated Malay States, the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements (Hirschman, 1972: 486).

[9] There are three indigenous groups: Negrito, Semang Proto-Malay and Deutro-Malay, who are believed to have been the earliest inhabitants (Means, 1986; Fix, 1995; Comas *et al.*, 1998; Andaya, 2001; Adelaar, 2004). The majority of the Malay population is believed to be descended from one of these three indigenous groups (Winstedt, 1947; Ginsburg and Robert, 1958; Henderson *et al.*, 1970; Carey, 1976; Benjamin, 1985). According to Comas *et al.* (1998) and Fix (1995), the mixing through intermarriage between Proto-Malays and Siamese, Javanese, Sumatran, Indian, Thai, Arab and Chinese traders made them the ancestors of Duetro Malays, who are currently known as the Malays of the Malay Peninsula.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

its geographically important position on the major Asian trading routes.[10] These peoples did not come as invaders or large-scale migrations, but many of them gradually mingled and inter-married with the Malays (Andaya and Andaya, 1982; Chaudhuri, 1990; McCloud, 1995; Mamat, 2007; Hussin, 2008; Hatin *et al.*, 2011). During this period, the Malay people had already accepted Islam as their religion,[11] used the Malay language in communication as the *lingua Franca*, and at the same time they continued to practise the Malay *adat* (traditional custom) in their daily lives (Wariya, 2010; Baharuddin, 2001), which was long established prior to the arrival of Islam in the fifteenth century (Hanami, 2002).

The original composition of the population in Malaya changed during the period of British colonial expansion from the middle of the nineteeth century to the early decades of the twentieth. During that time, there was a substantial influx of Chinese and Indian immigrants who worked as labourers in the plantations and mining industries and brought their cultures, religions, beliefs, education and family systems with them. This substantially transformed the social landscape of Malaya. In addition, to secure economic power, the British instituted a divide-and-rule policy which resulted in the socio-economic segregation of the Malayan population and an ethnic hierarchy, with the Chinese at the top, the Indians in the middle and the Malays at the bottom (Abraham, 1997; Jomo, 2004). Both the Indians and the Chinese were wage labourers: the Chinese lived in urban areas and worked in many modern occupations whereas the Indians lived and worked on palm-oil and rubber estates. Most Malays were engaged in subsistence agriculture and were concentrated in rural areas (Arasaratnam, 1970; Hirschman and Aghajaniam, 1980). When the British introduced the classification of the Malayan population using the term "race" to refer to *bangsa*, the term "Malay" came to refer to *bangsa* rather than to a place or *kerajaan* ("kingdom"). For example,

[10] In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Malacca was established and became known as the strategic hub of an international port and trading centre. It was situated at the midpoint along the Malacca Strait, linking Malacca to countries such as India, China, the Middle East, Sumatra, Java and Indochina. These factors attracted traders from those countries to Malacca (*see* Purcel, 1962; Moorhead, 1963; Ryan, 1967; Andaya and Andaya, 1982; Chaudhuri, 1990; McCloud, 1995; Mamat, 2007; Hussin, 2008; Hatin *et al.*, 2011).

[11] During the pre-Islamic period (between the second and thirteen centuries AD), Malay society, particularly in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, is believed to have accepted the concepts of government, customs, religion and the arts brought by the civilization of India. Many aspects of Malays' lives were influenced by Hinduism (Moorhead, 1963; Ryan, 1967; Andaya and Andaya, 1982; Hatin *et al.*, 2011) but then their ways of life were replaced by Islamic civilisation, although some of them have retained the Malay culture, and have been categorised as non-Islamic elements (Andaya and Andaya, 1982; Baharuddin, 2005).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

the term *bangsa Melayu* referred to a people who "belonged to a single community, sharing a common sense of identity and destiny" (Fee, 2001: 865). Mushi Abdullah[12] used the term Malay as *bangsa* to refer to "the primary community or collective identity" distinguishing Malays from others (the Chinese and Indians), particularly in the context of discussing Malays' economic status, their residential area, as well as their anxiety that Malays might be ruled by the Chinese and Indians (Fee, 2001: 865).

The most significant impact of the British policies was that the descendants of the Chinese and Indians stayed on after the colonial period, creating the pluralist society that exists in Malaysia today (Ibrahim, 2004). After independence, the term "race" as signifying *bangsa* established by the British for identifying the three main ethnic groups (Malays, Chinese and Indians) as the citizens of *Tanah Melayu* was adopted by the post-colonial government. This plural society also came to include the tribal minorities from Sabah and Sarawak when these provinces joined with the country in 1963 (Ibrahim, 2004; Abdullah, 2010). The interpretation of the term Malay as a *bangsa*, however, continues to emphasise that *Tanah Melayu* or Malaya was the "Lands of the Malays", belonging to and originally populated by a race called Malays (Abdullah, 2010). In fact, the modern name for the country, Malaysia, also clearly maintains this idea of *Melayu* (Wariya, 2010).

The ethnic diversity of modern Malaysia has been increased by the more recent arrival of immigrant workers from other countries, particularly Indonesia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, India, Burma and the Philippines, who have been attracted by the upturn in the Malaysian economy (Kassim, 1987). Today, the Malaysian population is classified into two main categories by the Malaysian government: Malaysian citizens and non-Malaysian citizens (*see* Table 1).

[12] He is one of the most popular authors in Malaya; he lived in the Straits Settlements in the first half of the nineteenth century and worked as a languaged teacher. He was of mixed Arab and Tamil descent.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Table 1: The division of the Malaysian population by citizens, ethnic group and gender, 2010

Ethnic Group		Male	Female	Total
Malaysian citizens	*Bumiputera*	8,833,150	8,690,358	17,523,508
	• Malays	7,145,985	7,045,735	14,191,720
	• Other *Bumiputra*	1,687,165	1,644,623	3,331,788
	Chinese	3,289,411	3,103,225	6,392,636
	Indians	957,012	950.815	1,907,827
	Others	96,696	92,689	189,385
Non-Malaysian citizens		1,386,369	934,410	2,320,779
TOTAL		**14,562,638**	**13,771,497**	**28,334, 135**

Source: Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2010

Malaysian citizens were further divided into new categories: *Bumiputra*, Non-*Bumiputra* and Others (Abdullah, 2012) in everyday usage, legislation and population censuses (Frisk, 2009). This further distinction reinforced the idea that Malaysia really belongs to the Malays, thus privileging them above all other citizens. Malays and the small number of aboriginal people in Peninsular Malaysia and the native groups of Malaysia Borneo were grouped together as *Bumiputra*[13] (which literally means "the sons of the soil"), whilst the Indians and the Chinese became known as non-*Bumiputra* (Suryadinata and Siddique, 1982).[14] "Others" consist of people who are not members of any of the three main ethnic groups and a small number of people such as Eurasians, Thais and Europeans. At the time of the 2010 census, the Malaysian population was more than 28 million; Malaysian citizens constituted the vast majority and *Bumiputra* were dominant, with Malays being the largest ethnic group of *Bumiputra*. Of the minority groups, the largest were Chinese and Indians (Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2010).

In discussing Malaysian pluralist society, the history of country offers evidence that the construction of this society was not an historical accident. It was the result of various waves of

[13] Although the aborigines and natives groups were classified as *Bumiputra*, they preferred to be categorised by their individual tribes (Baharuddin, 1996). Whilst the terms *Malay* and *Bumiputra* are commonly used interchangeably in Peninsular Malaysia, the term *Bumiputra* is only applied to aboriginal ethnic groups in Malaysia Borneo. Sometimes, the terms *anak watan* and *peribumi* are also used in Malaysia to refer to these indigenous ethnic groups (Suryadinata and Siddique, 1982: 663) .

[14] I shall explain about *Bumiputra* and non-*Bumiputra* in greater detail in the discussion of Malay citizenship later on.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
immigration, the introduction of the term *bangsa* by the British during their colonial rule, and its continuation as a result of the policies of the post-colonial government (Gomez, 2000; Muis *et al.*, 2012). Since my study focuses on the Malay Muslim community, it might be helpful to describe in greater detail how Malay identity has been constructed and is popularly understood today.

The citizenship of Malays in Malaysia: their identity as *Bumiputra* and Muslim

In the Malaysian context, the issue of citizenship was first raised by the British as part of their plans to establish a Malayan Union in 1946, when they returned to Malaya after the occupation by Japan ended in 1945. The idea of a Malayan Union was seen as another threat to the Malays after the divide-and-rule policy which had led to the economic dominance of immigrants and the socio-economic distinctions between the major ethnic groups (Wariya, 2010). The British wanted to grant citizenship with equal rights to the Chinese and Indian populations without any discrimination, based on the principles of *jus soli*.[15] The Malays were anxious about the loyalty of both ethnicities to *Tanah Melayu* as they were also allowed to hold their own country's nationality. The British also planned to abolish the power of *Sultan Melayu* (Malay rulers) and to place all Malay states under one government. In addition, the extremely harsh treatment of the ethnic minorities, especially the Chinese, during the Japanese occupation had added to the tension and conflict between the Malays and other ethnic groups. As a result, the British plans were rejected by the Malays because they greatly reduced their rights as indigenous people (Zainuddin *et al.*, 2010). At the same time, some aspects of the policy were also criticised by the Indians and Chinese (Rahim *et al.*, 2013).

On the one hand, the introduction of the Malayan Union stimulated the Malays' awareness of their position as the original inhabitants and their desire for protection, while the other ethnic groups wanted to be part of Malaya as their homeland. On the other hand, the Malays and other groups had been exposed to modern political culture and this became a platform for them to campaign for Malayan independence through co-operation. This resulted in the dissolution of the Malayan Union and led to the establishment of the Constitution of the

[15] The principles of *jus soli* are based on two main criteria: the operation and the application of law. This automatically gave immigrants a right to citizenship which did not distinguish them from the Malays.

Federation of Malaya in 1948. An important part of the negotiations in formulating the Constitution of the independent Federation of Malaya was the agreement to protect the interests of Malays while not neglecting other ethnic groups (Mahdi and Mohd Fauzi, 2000; Baharuddin, 2005; Wariya, 2010; Ramli and Jamaluddin, 2011).

These negotiations resulted in "a bargain" by which those Chinese and Indians who were born before and after Independence Day were accepted as Malayan citizens[16] (Carnell, 1952; Mahdi and Mohd Fauzi, 2000; Baharuddin, 2005; Wariya, 2010; Ramli and Jamaluddin, 2011; Muis *et al.,* 2012). In return, they acknowledged *ketuanan Melayu* (Malay dominance), which gave several "special positions" to Malays, as stated in Article 153 of the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya. The privileges granted to Malays favoured them in positions, in education and government services, acknowledged Islam as the official religion, accepted the governance of *Raja-Raja Melayu* (Malay rulers) and established the Malay language as the official language (Baharuddin, 2001: 364; Rahim *et al.*, 2013: 40). This agreement was the product of a consensus between the British and the leaders of ethnically-based political parties, namely the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) and the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA). It laid the foundations for the post-independence constitution, overseeing several issues, including: ethnic relations, power sharing, citizenship and the system of state administration. All these provisions are defended by the *Yang Pertuan Agong* and therefore cannot easily be questioned (Haque, 2003).

One crucial effect of the creation of Malayan citizenship was the dichotomous classification of *Bumiputra* and non-*Bumiputra* within the pluralistic society in order to distinguish between the native community and other ethnic groups. Identifying Malays' ethnicity in term of *Bumiputra* reflects their identity as the aboriginal peoples and the largest ethnic group, who are entitled to "special rights," a status which differentiates them from non-Malay and non-indigenous people (non-*Bumiputra*) (Mahdi and Mohd Fauzi, 2000; Baharuddin, 2001; Rahim *et al.*, 2013). The term was created by the first Malaysian Prime Minister to recognise the

[16] Under the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya (1948), immigrants were granted citizenship according to the duration of their residency in Malaya. However, this condition was liberalised in 1952, when they were automatically granted citizenship by registration and naturalisation. Today, Malaysian citizenship is granted by operation of law, registration and naturalisation (Wariya, 2010, *see also* Appendix B).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Malays and indigenous people in Peninsular Malaysia who are entitled to special rights under Article 153 of the Constitution of Malaysia, without neglecting the rights of the Chinese and Indians as non-*Bumiputra*. This dichotomy has ensured that the social, economic, political and cultural interests of the Malay people were protected. After Sabah and Sarawak combined with Malaya on 16 September 1963 to form present-day Malaysia, the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia replaced the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya, with some amendments, but Article 153 remained, and was extended to the native groups in Sabah and Sarawak, who were also included in the category of *Bumiputra* (Loo, 2009).

Although, most of the time, Malaysian citizens seem to accept the provisions of the Federal Constitution, the country has not escaped ethnic conflicts. For example, after independence, the were "Race Riots" on 13 May 1969 due to the economic and political disparities between ethnicities, particularly between the *Bumiputra* (the Malays) and non-*Bumiputra* (the Chinese), in which many people died or were injured. This tragedy prompted the government of Malaysia to plan a range of integrated programmes and policies that were more tolerant to ensure that such ethnically motivated incidents did not happen again, and, so far, major conflicts have been avoided (Ramli and Jamaluddin, 2011). In spite of such plans, Malaysia is still experiencing a disparity of income between the major ethnicities as well as unemployment problems, and it is possible that these issues may lead to conflicts and tensions. Having addressed this potential for conflict between the various elements of the multi-ethnic society in Malaysia, it is important to note that Malaysian citizens are constantly reminded about all the provisions in the constitution that need to be respected and understood because it is not only a social contract, but also a supreme law, which is seen as the basis for communal harmony (Hickling, 1995; Ibrahim, 2000; Ali, 2008; Muslim and Samian, 2012).

Malaysian identities are also based on religion, culture and language. According to Geertz (1963), religion and language are crucial elements in the formation of ethnic identity and this can be clearly seen in the Malaysian case. For example, in general, all Malays are Muslims and speak Malay, almost all Chinese are Buddhists or combine Taoist and Confucian practices and speak Chinese dialects, and Indians are Hindu and speak Tamil (Lee, 1997; Haque, 2003). There are also some Indians, Chinese, and indigenous people who have converted to

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Pustaka TBainun ptbupsi

Christianity or Islam, and a minority of Malaysians who practise Sikhism or Animism (Henderson *et al.*, 1970). Malaysia also officially defines one ethnic group "the Malays" using religion (Ali, 2008). This became evident when the definition of a Malay was institutionalised in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia (Hassan, 2007). Only Malays were given the exclusive right to have their ethnicity defined in relation to their indigenous status.

According to Article 160 (2) of the Federal Constitution (2010: 168), the term *Melayu* (Malay) refers to people who adhere to and profess the Islamic faith, practise the Malay *adat* (customary law) and habitually speak the Malay language as their mother tongue (Omar, 1993; Kling, 1995; Mahdi and Mohd Fauzi, 2001). This constitutional provision therefore defines a Malay as a Malaysian citizen on the basis of religion, culture and language, which indicates that these three symbols are actually the central indicators of being Malay. This has become a core and common identity which has formed a bond of unity for Malays that did not exist among other ethnic groups in Malaysia (Henderson *et al.*, 1970; Andaya and Andaya, 1982). Although there are different dialects and cultural practices among Malays in different states in the country, under this definition, they are seen as a homogeneous group (Gomes, 1999).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah Pustaka TBainun ptbupsi

This official definition of Malayness has come to be used together with the term *Bumiputra*, and therefore the position of Malays has been strengthened to support the preferential policies (special rights) in favour of the *Bumiputra* (Brown, 2010). Frith (2010) endorsed this view, saying that, in the context of modernity, the construction of Malay identity has provided a space for the Malays to receive economic and political advantages, particularly when dealing with non-Malays and non-Muslim communities. Here, I would like to make it clear that the definition in Article 160, Clause 2, only applies to Malays in Malaysia and not to other Malay people in other Southeast Asian countries.[17]

[17] Southeast Asia is the vast maritime-riverine complex that is also known as the Malay world, which consists of 250 million Malay speakers, of whom the majority is Muslims. Malaysia is one of the countries in the Malay world or Islamic world within this region. The Malay world of Malay-speaking Muslims has been divided into components and citizens of different nation-states in Southeast Asian countries. Malay Muslim people can be seen as dominant in countries such as Indonesia, Brunei and Malaysia, and they have also become minorities in countries such as the Phillipines,Singapore, Kampuchea and Thailand (Baharuddin, 2005). Thus, the definition of people who regard themselves as Malays in other Malay World countries could be different from the definition of Malay under the Constitution of Malaysia because the term "Malay" can be configured in diverse and complex ways (for example, Malays in Singapore and Indonesia) (*see* Lim, 2004: 118; Milner, 2008: 84).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Another issue that is central to the discussion of the Malay identity based on Article 160 (2) is the idea that being Malay automatically means being a Muslim (Haque, 2003; Mouser, 2011). Several scholars have indicated that the coming of Islam had a major impact on the socio-cultural life of Malays so that the two identities became intertwined, and this then shaped the identity of Malay Muslims in most of their daily activities (Nagata, 1986; Esposito; 1987; Derichs, 1999; Hooker, 2003; Aziz and Baharuddin, 2004; Rahim, 2005; Ismail *et al.*, 2012). For instance, Nagata (1986: 37) noted that the Islamic religion is "the tone of life" and "one of the principle sources of identity of Malay Muslims," and this notion is consistent with that of Aziz and Baharuddin (2004: 351), who stated that Islam is an "ethnic identifier" for every Malay individual.

Because Islam is so closely and strongly connected to the Malays (Yaacob, 2012), the understanding of the meaning of Malay has led to the construction of an ethno-religious identity (Haque, 2003). In this regard, Islam seems to represent a religious identity only for Malays, although Islam itself is understood as a religion for the *ummah*[18] worldwide. For example, Shome (2002) noted that a Malay in Malaysia has to be a Muslim, but to be a Muslim is not necessarily be a Malay. Martinez (2006) found that more than 50% of Malaysian Malays claimed their primary identity as Muslim. Thus, because of the religious construction of Malay identity, the term "Muslim" is used interchangeably by non-Malays to refer to Malays and also by Malays when talking about themselves (Beng, 2000; Yahya, 2001; Yousif, 2004; Zaki, 2008; Abdullah, 2010; Frith, 2010). Hence, for Malaysian non-Malays, to convert to Islam is in fact to become *Melayu* (Malay) (Roff; 1980; Gullick, 1988). Among non-Malays, there is a common tendency to worry about losing their own ethnic identity when they convert to Islam (Woon, 1989; Abdullah *et al.*, 2010).

It is believed that this situation came about because the ethnicity and the religion were categorised together as a "cultural cluster" (Woon, 1989, cited in Frith, 2010: 128). Woon, who studied the Chinese Muslim Dilemma in Malaysia (1989), found that the way in which ethnicity was being coded with religion had made Chinese-Muslims "other" instead of Malay because Islam had become associated with a Malay religious identity in the Federal

[18] *Ummah* is an Arabic word that refers to all Muslims around the world. The universal nature of Islam does not limit it to any particular ethnicity but emphasises that Islam is a religion for all people.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Constitution (*see also* Roff; 1980; Gullick, 1988). It is evident that the understanding of an ethno-religious cluster exists when Malays are reluctant to associate Islam with "the-not-so-other" (Chinese Muslims) because Islam is a marker for Malays. Although they live in the era of modernity, the Malays are still conscious of their religious identity and therefore religion remains pervasive in identifying Malaysian Malays (Firth, 2010).

Another example of ethno-religious identity was demonstrated in the case of Lina Joy, a Malay woman who converted to Christianity (Brown, 2010). Although Article 3 (1) of the Federal Constitution (2010) states that Islam is the official religion, Article 11 explains that other religions can be freely practised. Yet Article 11 (4) further states that "state law and, in respect of the Federal Territories of Kuala Lumpur and Lubuan, federal law may control or restrict the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among persons professing the religion of Islam" (*see* Appendix C). This provision dictates that Muslim Malay cannot convert out of Islam, in comparison with the non-Malay/non-Muslim population, who can apply any religious practice in their lives (Houben, 2003; Aziz and Baharuddin, 2004; Baharuddin, 2005). Thus, those who are born Malay cannot change their religion because they are automatically Muslim on the basis of ethno-racial descent (Mutalib, 1990; Bari, 2005). Constitutionally, a Malaysian Malay is not considered to be Malay if they are not Muslim (Roff; 1980; Gullick, 1988). For this reason, Lina Joy's appeal to remove the word "Islam" from her identity card was rejected by a High Court judge in reference to Article 160 (2). She was born Malay and that article determined that she must remain a Malay Muslim throughout her life. According to Brown (2010), Lina Joy's status as a Malay was the main reason why she did not win her appeals.

In addition to Islam, the Malay *adat* is also a defining element of Malay identity. The term *adat* was taken from an Arabic word and it has been used to explain the concepts, rules and codes of morals and manners in the life of Malays. According to Hooker (1970, cited in Wan Husin, 2011: 132), *adat* is the "System of Law for the Malay community." It is often referred to as being synonymous with "customs" (*upacara Amal*) or "culture" (*budaya*) (Karim, 1992: 14). The Malay *adat* is most commonly applied to all aspects of social life; for example, styles of dress, rules of social interaction and etiquette, and birth and marriage ceremonies. The role

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

of *adat* is often seen as a guide to social behaviour in areas which Islamic teachings may not touch upon. Kling (1995: 4) claimed that "*adat* was reinterpreted to mean the distinctive and traditional cultural configuration of society as differentiated from purely Islamic elements." For instance, a wife is encouraged to shake hands and kiss the hands of her husband in the family as a mark of respect, a behaviour that is not found in Islamic teachings.[19] Nevertheless, Islam has played a vital role in restructuring and transforming the Malay *adat* and allows it to be practised by the Malay people as long as it does not contradict Islamic teachings (Nicolaisen, 1983). Thus, Islamic beliefs became the basis for the Malays' traditional values and, together with the Malay *adat,* have shaped the Malay way of life (Nagata, 1974a, 1974b, 1994; Kling, 1995; Omar, 1996).

Although the Malay-Islamic identification has become the most crucial symbolic element of Malaysian Malay identity, there are Malay people who do not adhere to Islamic teachings, such as by having pre-marital sexual relationships, eating while the sun is up during *Ramadhan* (the fasting month), drinking alcohol in public and /or not wearing the *tudung* (headscarf). The definition of Malay in the Federation Constitution as Muslim and practising the Malay *adat* does not mention any obligation to implement both elements of identity in the life of every Malay person. However, because religion is seen as belonging to the public domain and is considered to be a collective rather than an individual and private matter, action will be taken by the Islamic authorities against those who are caught breaking the rules of Islamic teachings, and punishment will be meted out (Fealy, 2005).

It is evident that the historical, social and cultural factors of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras, as well as the tensions, conflicts and negotiations within this multi-ethnic society, have all contributed to the ways in which the Malay identity was incorporated into the constitution. Indeed, numerous scholars have agreed that the idea and practice of Malay-Malayness in Malaysia was created by the British colonial presence (*e.g.* Baharuddin, 2001; Mahdi and Mohd Fauzi, 2001; Samah and Jawan, 2004; Hassan, 2007). Whilst the pre-independence social contract between ethnic groups ensured that the Malays' and indegenous peoples' special position as the native community is protected by the constitution of Malaysia,

[19] It is also common to see young people shake hands and kiss the hands of elderly people as a mark of respect in Malay society.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

at the same time the Indians and Chinese were free to engage in socio-economic and political activities, as well as to practise their own religions and cultures. Both indirectly and directly, this "bargain" led to the construction of the identity of Malay people as *Bumiputra* and Malay-Muslim to distinguish them from other ethnic groups under particular provisions in the constitution, and also created a national identity for Malays (Hamayotsu, 1999).

The Federal Constitution has played an important role not only in securing and maintaining the ethnic identity of Malays, but also their positions, rights and privileges, which can be seen to be implemented through government policies. As Milner (1998) and Ishak (2006) have argued, the construction of *Bumiputra* and Malayness has their own history and this is very significant in explaining how the identities were invented and contested. As will become clear, understanding the construction of the Malay identity is important in order to make sense of gender, the position of Malaysian women and the modern family in Malaysia; in particular, how these are bound by religious and cultural identities. It is also necessary to explore how socio-economic development and government policies have contributed towards increasing the number of women in employment in terms of national economic development and social empowerment.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

National socio-economic development and its relation to gender and the modern family

> Malaya under the administration of the British government pursued a conservative policy of social reform and development. Aspects of modernity emerged during this time and there was an increased awareness of the need to modernise. (Hee, 2003: 304)

Hee's (2003) explanation of Malaysia's development is clearly associated with the modernisation which began under British colonialism during the period from 1874 to 1957 and was the starting point for the post-colonial government's shaping of its own modernisation. At the same time, the colonial economic and political systems continued to exert some influence. Many third-world post-colonial countries, including Malaysia, focused on economic and social development after their independence in order to enhance the well-being of their populations (Zain, 2000; Baharuddin, 2005). Successive post-colonial

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Malaysian governments introduced a series of five-year plans, focusing particularly on the economy that pursued the aim of becoming a developed and modernised country (INTAN, 1988; Hussain, 1996).

The New Economic Policy (NEP) was launched in 1970[20] with the purpose of restructuring society and reducing the disparities between *Bumiputra* and non-*Bumiputra* as well as eradicating poverty (Stoever, 1986; Houben, 2003; Haque, 2003; Jomo, 2004). This policy was necessary because there was a socio-economic imbalance between the Malay community and the Chinese and Indians under British rule, since the Malays were mostly concentrated in rural agricultural areas and were not given the opportunity to enhance their socio-economic status[21] (Hirschman and Aghajaniam, 1980; Abraham, 1997). Indirectly, the aim of this policy was also "to raise the level of Malay participation in the modern economy" (Houben, 2003: 159). With the special privileges bestowed by the Federal Constitution, Malays were given extra advantages in employment, university enrolment, ownership of productive resources and access to bank loans and credit, as well as being encouraged to become involved in business[22] (Article 153 of the Federal Constitution) (Stoever, 1986; Houben, 2003; Shuib *et al.*, 2009). This policy has benefited the Malaysian population, particularly the rural Malay community, who have become involved in plantations and businesses, aided by the government, which has provided low-interest loans and some incentives to help them to progress (Shuib *et al.*, 2009: 97). This can be seen not only to have improved the economic situation of Malays so that they could have a better quality of life, but also to have produced a new Malay middle class (Embong, 2000; Jomo, 2004).

During the early 1980s, the progress and the structural transformation of the economy in manufacturing, the service sector, exports and employment (Ahmad, 1998; Embong, 2000) were taken as a sign that the process of modernisation had begun vigorously in Malaysia,

[20] This policy has played a major role in enhancing the lives of Malays because it further expanded the Malay special privileges in education, investment and capital ownership.
[21] In order to preserve their interests in Malaya, particularly in securing economic wealth, the British had implemented a system called "divide and rule." This system had created an imbalanced ethnic division of labour and residential areas among the Malayan population (Abraham, 1997; Jomo, 2004).
[22] For example, forestry products and fisheries.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

particularly under Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad's leadership[23] (Mamat, 2007). In 1990, he introduced the New Development Policy (NDP), alongside others,[24] which played a crucial role in developing a modern economy in Malaysia. The most popular policy was Vision 2020, and Malaysia began to achieve tremendous success in economic growth and national development,[25] after it was introduced on 28 February 1991 (Milne and Mauzy, 2002) through trade with other modern countries, particularly the United States, Japan and the Euro-zone (Khoo, 2003; Malaysia Business Forecast, 2009). However, Malaysia also faced significant economic crises in 1982 and 1997, and these forced the government to implement several other actions to handle the situation (Shuib *et al.*, 2009).

Throughout the process of economic development, particularly after the launch of the NEP, Malaysia experienced considerable socio-economic progress (Stoever 1986; Houben, 2003; Jomo, 2004), building on previous economic growth; thus it became "the most affluent nation in Asia with the exception of the city-states of Hong Kong and Singapore, Taiwan and the modern nation of Japan" (Hirschman and Aghajaniam, 1980: 32). Malaysia has also been acknowledged as one of the most rapidly developing and modern countries in South East Asia and was proclaimed by the World Bank as an "East Asian Miracle" (Khoo, 2003: 24). This economic growth led to an increase in the paid workforce, the expansion of occupational opportunities and a decrease in poverty.

Malaysia's aspiration to become a developed and modern country is influenced not only by Western and other East Asian countries, such as Taiwan and Japan, but also by its own political, social, religious and economic traditions. According to Kahn (2001), Western modernity is not fully interwoven into Malaysian modernity because it is only acceptable within the framework of a country's goals after it has been interrogated and negotiated within the local context. The Malaysian experience of modernisation can be seen as different from that of other countries in particular ways. In discussing this issue, I stress the importance of the special rights and identities ofcMalays, as well as Islam as the official state religion (Articles 3

[23] He was Malaysia's fourth Prime Minister and was also known as the "Father of Modernisation".
[24] Such as the Privatisation Policy, the Heavy Industries Policy, the Look East Policy and the idea of structuring The Multimedia Super Corridor.
[25] Malaysia has become a major source for automotive, electronic and computer parts and is also the world's leading exporter of rubber, palm oil, pepper and tropical hardwoods, and remains a net producer of crude oil.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

and 11 of the Federal Constitution). With these provisions, Malays have been able to keep their own indigenous systems of government (Neo, 2006; Thas, 2013). For instance, Islam has played an important role in Malaysia's governance, particularly after the Islamic revival of the late 1970s. Peletz (1997) stated that Islamic revivalism enhanced the activity of *dakwah* (missionary work) in order to encourage Malay people to follow Islamic values and become better Muslims. For example, the increasing incidence of wearing the *tudung* among female Muslim students and the *kopiah* ("skullcap") among male students was noticeable, and also around that time, the Malay Muslim political parties (UMNO and PAS) began to emphasise Islamic issues (Peletz, 1997; Yousif, 2004). It is therefore clear that Malaysia is striving to create its own mode of modernity by preserving traditional identities within modernity. The aim of becoming a fully developed industrialised economy by the year 2020 without sacrificing its own traditions is evident in the wording of Vision 2020 (Mamat, 2007). For example, the fourth strategic challenge in Vision 2020 is:

> The establishment of a fully moral and ethical society, whose citizens are strong in religious and spiritual values and imbued with the highest of ethical standards (Mohamad, 1991:1)

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Although there have been conflicting views about whether or not Malaysia is an Islamic state, most scholars have agreed that the country has relied on religion to shape its own idea of modernity (Nagata, 1994; Houben, 2003; Aziz and Baharuddin, 2004; Tong and Turner, 2007). Nagata (1994) stated that Malaysia is not an Islamic state, but the status of Islam as the official religion and the Islamic resurgence in general are considered to represent a new force that is intended to protect the Malay people from non-Islamic elements, which are seen as threatening them. In 2001, the fourth Prime Minister, Tun Dr Mahathir, announced that Malaysia was an Islamic state (Chong, 2005a; Tong and Turner, 2007), and he took various steps to introduce and apply Islamic values in the fields of governance, trade and the economy. For instance, a well-built system of Islamic insurance, banking and loans was introduced for all Malaysians (Houben, 2003; Tong and Turner, 2007).

What characteristics mean that Malaysia can or cannot be called an Islamic state? It is not an Islamic but a secular state in that it does not implement full Islamic Law, particularly *Shariah*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Law[26] (Camroux, 1996). At the same time, however, Malaysia could be said to be an Islamic state because Islam is the official religion[27] (Hassan and Basri, 2005). As Tong and Turner (2008) wrote:

> Malaysia is a state where secularism and Islam have to a considerable extent lived comfortably side by side since the nation came into being in 1963. It has offered an energetic, relatively moderate and harmonious model of coexistence in the world.[28] (Tong and Turner, 2008: 45)

Muslim communities across the world have experienced different cultural practices, doctrines and historical backgrounds, and this has made them heterogeneous. In the case of Malaysia, the long and complex process of Islamisation, which involved both the pre- and post-colonial periods, has led many aspects of Islamic practices to be restructured in order to suit the Malaysian environment[29] (Aziz and Baharuddin, 2004). With the government's efforts to promote Islamic values, Malaysia has come to be known as a "moderate Islamic country" compared with other Muslim countries, because its interpretation and implementation of Islam are not too rigid[30] (Pramanik, 2002; Aziz and Baharuddin, 2004; Baharuddin, 2005). For

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

[26] *Shariah* Law has only been implemented for Muslims in the areas Islamic personal and family law since the fifteen century (Camroux, 1996; Mouser, 2007). Malaysia does not apply Islamic criminal law such as *hudud* (Islamic laws noting the punishments for serious crimes ordained by Allah S.W.T.; for example, the consumption of alcohol, theft, fornication and adultery (sex outside marriage), and this may be the crucial factor determining why Malaysia cannot be called an Islamic country (Camroux, 1996). In addition, Muslims in Malaysia are also subject to civil law and this law is applied to both Muslims and non-Muslims (Mouser, 2007; Abdullah *et al.*, 2010).

[27] The perception of Malaysia as an Islamic state was due to Article 3 of the Constitution, which institutes Islam as the official religion, and Articles 11 and 12, which notes that both federal and state governments are responsible for establishing, maintaining and assisting Islamic institutions as well as providing, or assisting in providing, instruction in Islam and earning income for the purpose of Islamic needs as may be necessary (*see also* Hassan and Basri, 2005: 4; Federal Constitution, 2010: 20 and 28).

[28] Houben (2003: 159) stated that "the Malaysian government is maintaining the secular state but at the same time balancing the various streams in accordance with Islamic teachings by creating a common value system to enable organisation of the Malays". Henderson (2003: 450) claimed that "Malaysia is accepting a measure of secularization and embracing modernity in order to achieve development without ignoring Islam, and hence representing Malaysia as a moderate Islamic country that has avoided the dangers of extremism."

[29] The revival of Islamisation in Malaysia has occurred in accordance with the Malaysian modernisation project, which has been implemented within its own mould based on the requirements of political, social and economic issues (Barraclough, 1983; Houben, 2003; Turner and Tong, 2007).

[30] The "moderateness" of Islam, or political Islam, in the Malay world, is the result of its embedded diversity (Islam in the Malay world is believed to have been brought by Arab, Indian and Chinese traders and missionaries) that accommodates and, at the same time, restricts any generalised extremist tendencies (*see* Baharuddin, 2005: 171).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

instance, Malaysia has allowed women to have much more independence of action than they are permitted in "stricter" Muslim countries[31] (Idris *et al.*, 1996).

As in almost all other countries around the world, Malaysian women's potential started to be acknowledged after the declaration of International Women's Year and the recommendations of the Decade for Women (1976-1985) at the World Conference on Women organised by the United Nations and held in Mexico in 1975. The participation of women in the development of Malaysia was inspired by these conferences,[32] as well as being influenced by the socio-economic changes in the country. Women are recognised as an asset and as crucial contributors to the nation's development, and hence their participation in the public sphere can be easily seen, particularly after independence (Jones, 1981; Mohamad, 2002). One of the most crucial impacts of Malaysia's positive developments was the transformation of women's lives. Women's standard of living has risen dramatically, bringing changes in their roles and status in society (Idris *et al.*, 1996).

Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah

The government's commitments were evident with the establishment of the National Advisory Council on the Integration of Women in Development (NACIWID) in 1976, as the first organisation to be set up by the government of Malaysia to establish the universal action plans on women in national development. This was followed by the creation of the Department of Women's Affairs (HAWA)[33] in 1983, which was designed to evaluate the services offered by public and private organisations for women's benefit. Since then, Malaysian women have actively participated in the World Conference on Women. Many women's movements and organisations were established[34] in order to lobby for their rights at both international and

---

[31] Sonmez (2001), who conducted research related to Islam and tourism, stated that the misinterpretation of religious texts by Muslims in Middle Eastern countries had caused women to be barred from engaging in tourism and also other activities in public life*(see also* Henderson, 2002).

[32] Malaysian women were exposed to the global discussion on feminism during the United Nations Decade for Women and the World Conferences on Women in the mid 1970s. This brought about a rise of feminist awareness amongst them (Stivens, 2003).

[33] In the Malay languaged, HAWA is *Urusetia Hal Ehwal Wanita. HAWA* was also a secretariat to NACIWID.

[34] The raised consciousness amongst Malaysian women about their issues made them become more progressive and therefore contributed substantially to their movement's success. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the combination of women's organisations made them very proactive in giving their views and opinions, and bringing the wider issues of women's rights with other races and countries to international and national conferences. For example, during the mid 1980s, Malaysian women started to join any campaigns and discussions related to women, especially those relating to the issues of sexual assault and domestic violence. Thus, Women's Crisis Centres

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

national levels (Karim, 1981; Idris *et al.*, 1996; Stivens, 2003). As a reflection of their struggle, a National Policy on Women was enacted in 1989 (Salleh *et al.*, 2007). Women activists then produced a draft of the Women's Manifesto in 1990, the aim of which was to help political parties to engage with and become committed to women's issues in relation to "the workplace, the law, violence against women, land, the environment, domestic workers' rights, sex workers, sexual harassment, human rights and democracy" (Stivens, 2003: 131).

The establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs on 17 January 2001 was a crucial success for the women's movement as it showed that the government was committed to changing Malaysian women's status by ensuring that their participation in national development would be more effective and systematic. Because the function of this ministry has been enlarged and expanded, it was re-named twice: as the Ministry of Women and Family Development on 15 February 2001, and from 27 March 2004 it has been known as the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development. There are five agedncies under its direct jurisdiction: the Department for Women's Development (JPW), the Social Welfare Department of Malaysia (JKMM), the National Population and Family Development Board (LPPKN), the Social Institute of Malaysia (ISM) and the NAM Institute for the Empowerment of Women (NIEW).[35]

The greatest contribution to women's achievement made by this ministry was an amendment to Article 8, Clause 2, of the Federal Constitution in August 2001, to outlaw gender dicrimination (direct or indirect).[36] According to Article 8, Clause 2, this needs to be read

---

(WCC) and other women's organisations emerged under government initiatives or as NGOs in Malaysia led by middle-class women. Some of the groups represented their states, ethnic groups or status in Malaysia, such as the Sabah Women's Action Resource Group, which was established in 1987 and the Penang Women's Crisis Centre in 1985 (*see also* http://www.kpwkm.gov.my; Ariffin, 1986, 1994; Ng and Leng, 1999; Stivens, 2003; Ng *et al.*, 2006). They wrote memorandums or papers and presented them at conferences, forums and also held discussions with the relevant authorities to highlight their claims (Dancz, 1987; Nagaraja, 1995; Ariffin, 1999).

[35] Available at http://www.kpwkm.gov.my [Accessed 15 June 2010].

[36] This amendment was stated by Tun Dr Mahathir Muhammad, when he launched the campaign on "Women against Violence" on 24 July 2001 to be a sign of Malaysia's commitment to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The *Dewan Rakyat* (the House of Representatives) approved an amendment to Article 8, Clause 2, on 2 August 2001 by including the word "gender", which shows that women's rights are explicitly included in the Federal Constitution (Ministry of Women and Family Development, 2003: 26).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

together with Article 8, Clause 1 ("all persons are equal before the law and entitled to the equal protection of the law"):

> Except as expressly authorised by this constitution, there shall be no discrimination against citizens on the ground only of religion, race, descent, place of birth or ***gender*** in any law or in the appointment to any office or employment under a public authority or in the administration of any law relating to the acquisition, holding or disposition of property or the establishing or carrying on of any trade, business, profession, vocation or employment. (Federal Constitution, 2010: 24, my emphasis)

When the word "gender" was added to the constitution, it stressed that women's involvement in the process of national development should not only enhance their position and status in society but also ensure that they are not left out of Malaysian development programmes. This change was made in the legal and institutional framework in order to achieve the national development agenda. It is clear that Malaysia presents itself as a modern and progressive country, not only through its successful socio-economic growth, but also through its commitment to gender quality. The current government has continued efforts to promote women's issues and to attain gender parity, while simultanesouly highlighting the gains that woman have made. In doing so, it demonstrates its support for gender equality, by which the rights of women have become a sign of Malaysia being part of the modern world. This was emphasised by the current Prime Minister of Malaysia in his statement entitled "Progress of Women, Progress of Malaysia":[37]

> If we look at the progress we have made in Malaysia, there is no denying that a large part of it has been achieved thanks to the women of this country. Since independence, the government has recognized the role of women, which is why programmes for women have always been part of our socioeconomic development plan, in our journey to become a fully developed high-income nation. We also successfully closed the gender gap in economic

[37] This is half of the statement entitled 'Progress of Women, Progress of Malaysia', which was written and posted by Malaysia's current Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, in his personal blog website. He wrote it in conjunction with the International Women's Day celebrations in Malaysia on 8 March 2012. Available at http://1malaysia.com.my/blog/progress-of-women-progress-of-malaysia/ [Accessed 15 June 2012].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> development, 46% of Malaysian women are working today and we aim to increase this to 55% by 2015. I believe that the future will be even brighter for you. The 10th Malaysian Plan outlines key programs focusing on increasing women's participation in the workforce and the number of women in key decision-making positions, improving the provision of support for widows, single mothers and those with lower incomes, and eliminating all forms of discrimination against women. So, whether you are a girl looking at first steps or a woman looking at next steps, I urge you to seize the various opportunities made available by your government. (Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, 2012)

Although the last few decades have witnessed a great improvement in gender equality and women's rights, it is notable that some Western human rights ideals are clearly not accepted by the government of Malaysia, or by Malay society. According to Tanabe and Tanabe (2003), modern societies around the world have been formed in various ways due to their different socio-cultural backgrounds. They added that the processes of development and modernisation are linked to each other, but at the same time Asian societies have sought to retain some of their traditional values and practices, particularly in relation to gender and modernity. In discussions about these matters in Malaysia, religion, particularly Islam, remains a crucial element. Thus, the women's movement and the government of Malaysia have had to exercise caution about the issues that they try to raise in order not to violate the sanctity of the constitution, customs, cultures, religion, states and the family (Zakaria, 1980; Dancz, 1987; Nagaraja, 1995; Ariffin, 1999). This is still the case today, as is evident in a speech made by Dato' Sharizat Abdul Jalil, the Minister for Women, Family and Community Development:[38]

> How best can we move forward in terms of gender equality? Laws can certainly be passed while policies can definitely be made. However, empowering women and achieving gender equality demands more than just legal provisions and policy formulations. Thus, efforts have to be taken to ensure both de jure and de facto equality. *More importantly, positive social change must come from within. In Malaysia, we aspire to achieve gender equality without sacrificing our values and religious beliefs. Any transformation should take place*

[38] This speech was a keynote address that she gave to the 14th Malaysian Law Conference on "Gender Equality-Current Achievements and Future Challenges," (2007). Available at: http://www.malaysianbar.org.my/malaysian_law_conference_organising_committee/on_gender_equality_current_achievements_and_future_challenges.html [Accessed 6 July 2012].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *within our own mould.* (Dato' Sharizat Abdul Jalil, 2007, my emphasis)

Both of the statements I have quoted above reflect the government of Malaysia's views on gender equality and women's rights, but the second shows that gender equality is only promoted within certain limits. Although equal opportunities are given to men and women in Malaysia without discrimination, as stated in the Constitution, gender inequalities are still found to exist in political, social and economic positions. In what follows, I give a brief overview of general trends affecting women in Malaysia in order to locate Malay women as gendered subjects of modernity. I will concentrate on two key areas: education and employment. In doing so, I discuss women in general and use various statistics on Malaysian women as a whole because no statistics were found that referred only to Malay women.

Women and education

In pre-colonial times, schooling was not considered appropriate for Malay girls. Parents sent their children, particularly their sons to *sekolah umum* (public schools) and Islamic religious schools. Most parents taught their daughters skills such as weaving and cooking as a preparation for fulfilling their roles in the domestic sphere. In the 1870s, during the era of British colonial occupation, this situation did not change, although the British transformed the *sekolah umum* into government-run Malay schools and provided a free secular primary education to Malays (Chan, 1964; Henderson *et al.*, 1970; Ariffin, 1992; Baharuddin, 2005; Noor, 2006). When the British government passed a law, initially in Selangor State, requiring parents to send all children aged between seven and fourteen to school and imposing a fine if they failed to do so, only the school attendance of Malay boys improved (Chan, 1964; Special Reports on Educational Subjects, 1902). The low number of girls going to school was found not only in Malay families, but also amongst other ethnic groups, as many parents used cultural and religious reasons for not allowing their daughters to obtain a formal education. According to an official Ministry of Education publication:

> There was opposition to education for girls. Parents thought that education was unnecessary for their daughters whose rightful place was in the home. While the Malay parents feared that knowledge of

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> reading and writing might lead their daughters to indulge in writing love letters and intrigue, their Chinese counterparts considered it a waste of money to educate a daughter who would eventually get married and belong to another family. But above all it was an age of modesty and people were ruled by the tyranny of custom. Girls were not allowed to be seen in public or walk along the streets. Because of this opposition there were very few girls in schools in those days. (Cited in Hirschman, 1972: 491)

Thus, by the first decade of the twentieth century, there were only eleven schools for girls[39] with a total enrolment of 234 pupils, in Perak and Selangor. By 1938, girls' enrolment was only found to have increased at the primary school level as many of them had stopped going to secondary school due to factors such as lack of interest in continuing their schooling, failing the examination to enter secondary school, the fact that many secondary schools were located in urban areas, and the attitude of parents who wanted their daughters to help them with domestic chores (Sidin, 1994: 193; Abdullah, 2000: 376).

In Malay society, many parents preferred to send their daughters to religious schools because a religious education was one of the important characteristics ensuring that a woman would become a desirable wife (Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Musa, 2010). Therefore, Malay parents had a negative impression of formal education and they considered that it was not important for daughters (Abdullah, 1985; Musa, 2010). For instance, Roose (1963) claimed that many Malay parents stopped their daughters' education after a few years because they were afraid that they would become *anak dara tua* (a term meaning "an old virgin girl") and would not be able to find good husbands. However, Roose added that, prior to independence, the situation was different for aristocratic and middle-class Malay families, from which many daughters were sent to school because their parents were aware of the importance of education for girls. According to Gerhold (1971), these parents understood that having educated daughters would maintain their dignity and that their daughters would also secure good husbands (*see also* Ariffin, 1992; Noor, 2006).

After the end of the Second World War, the education system in Malaya was unstable. The Malays pressured the British government to replace the British education system as they

[39] Nine schools in Perak and two in Selangor (Malaysia Kita, 2011)

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah Pustaka TBainun ptbupsi
wanted to establish a national system. As a result, five proposals were introduced to develop national education during the 1950s: the Barnes Report of 1951(favoured by the Malays), the Ordinance Report of 1952 (a modification of the Barnes Report), the Fenn-Wu Report of 1951 (favoured by the Chinese and Indians), the Razak Report of 1956 (a compromise between the two previous reports) and the Rahman Talib Report of 1960. These were followed by several other reports which also contributed to the formation of the national education policy that Malaysia has today.[40] This policy gives equal opportunities in education to all children who are Malaysian citizens (Suffean, 1996; Hussin, 2008; Malaysia Kita, 2011).

Women's involvement in education was found to have increased due to several factors. Since the 1950s, particularly after independence, the country's education has undergone tremendous development, and the rapid expansion of educational opportunities for women was by far the most crucial factor for their involvement in employment (Hassan, 1998; Ahmad, 1998; Ministry of Women and Family Development, 2003). Ahmad (1998) noted that, since the 1950s, the number of girls going to school had increased, both because the government had introduced free primary education, and because the way of thinking about education had changed in the family. Parents' awareness that education would lead to a better standard of living for their children and the many occupations available to women were also reasons why the number of both boys and girls in school have increased (Malaysia, The Millennium Development Goals at 2010, 2011).

In addition, Salleh (1994) stated that the NEP (1970) had played a crucial role in improving Malay women's involvement in education because of the privileges that Malays receive under this policy. "The increase in educational facilities" provided by the government also played a part, according to Ahmad (2009: 66). She added that other factors that had influenced more women to seek higher education and engaged in the labour force were parents' educational level and the high cost of living, which created the need for a larger second income in the family. Malaysia also provides higher education through undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in public and private universities. At present, Malaysia has twenty government-

[40] *See* Malaysia - History & Background, Constitutional & Legal Foundations, Educational System - overview, Preprimary and Primary Education, Secondary Education (n.d.) <Available at http://education.stateuniversity.com/pageds/932/Malaysia.html >[Accessed 9 December 2009].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

funded universities and nearly six hundred private colleges and university colleges that enable almost 100,000 Malaysians to enter higher education annually (MMoE, 2000c).[41] Today, all parents are responsible for sending their children to three stages of schooling,[42] starting with pre-school education and running through to post-secondary education, but excluding higher education (Hussin, 2008). There is a law stating that if any parents fail to do so, they will be charged a fine not exceeding RM 5,000 or be subject to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or both.[43]

Taking all of these factors into account, all Malaysians now have the opportunity to go to school and to pursue the highest level of education without gender bias, in comparison with the period prior to 1957, when very few did. Women have the right to receive an education at any level (Jelas *et al.*, 2005; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008) and therefore the aim of implementing gender equity has almost been achieved. For instance, by 2000, the literacy rate gap between males and females had disappeared, with 97.3% female literacy and 97.2% male literacy compared with 1970 when female literacy stood at 68% and that of males at 83% (Malaysia, The Millennium Development Goals at 2010, 2011). The rates of enrolment of boys and girls at primary and secondary levels also indicate that the gender gap in educational participation at both levels has decreased (Ahmad, 2009: 66; The Millennium Development Goals at 2010, 2011: 32). Between 1990 and 2007, the gender balance in primary education remained steady with boys comprising 51.4% and girls 48.6%, whilst enrolment in secondary school stood at around 50% each for males and females (Ahmad, 2009: 66).

However, there were greater differences between boys and girls at post-secondary level (form six and matriculation), where girls began to outnumber boys. By 2007, women clearly

---

[41] This tertiary education is crucial for equipping people with the necessary skills to enable them to contribute to the country's development. *See* Malaysian Ministry of Education (MMoE) (2000c). Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia Ministry of Education, Available at <http://www.moe.gov.my/amanat2000.htm> [Accessed 9 December 2009].

[42] i) Pre-school education for children aged four to six; ii) primary education where the course of study is planned for six years but might be completed in five to seven years; this level also consists of national schools and national-type schools; iii) secondary education, which consists of lower and upper secondary and includes academic schools, technical and vocational schools and religious national schools; iv) post-secondary education, which is provided for those who have completed lower and upper secondary education (*see* also http://www.moe.gov.my/, [Accessed 9 December 2009]; Hussin, 2008).

[43] According to my observation of this Act, no parents in Malaysia have been fined. Usually, if any parents do fail to send their children to school, the government will help them by providing aid such as scholarships.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
outnumbered men at every level of higher educational qualifications except among those with PhDs (*see* Table 2).

Table 2: Gender breakdown of student enrolment in public higher learning institutions by level of study and gender, 2007/2008

Level of Study	Percentaged (%)	
	Male	Female
Diploma	41.8	58.2
First Degree	38.1	61.9
Post-Graduate Diploma	35.2	64.8
Masters	47.1	52.9
PhD	61.9	38.1

Source: Ministry of Higher Education

Despite the considerable progress which has been achieved by Malaysian women in education, gender differences are still visible in the courses of study chosen by university students. According to Karim (1990), some courses or subjects are deemed only appropriate for a particular gender because of traditional attitudes. For example, women's enrolment in technical and science subjects is still lower than men's due to stereotypes that maintain gender inequality (Ahmad, 2009). Similarly, recent studies also showed that female students preferred to choose the arts and management fields and were under-represented in the technical and science fields (Sultana and Zulkifli, 2012; Yusof *et al.*, 2012).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Women and employment

Prior to and during the colonial period, Malays were classified into two groups, the ruling elite or aristocracy and the peasantry. Elite women were not physically involved in economic activities outside the home, but they had their own independent incomes as they were involved in the business sector through intermediaries (Ariffin, 1992). In a traditional Malay peasant society in rural areas, men worked as rice farmers, smallholders or fishermen, whilst adult women engaged in economic activities outside the home, particularly in agricultural production, as well as processing and drying fish (Abdullah *et al.*, 2010). They were economically dependent on their husbands and worked as unpaid labourers with their men in

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
the rice fields and fishing villages to support their families[44] (Boserup, 1970; Milne and Mauzy, 1986; Osman, 1989; Ong, 1990). Apart from engaging with the agricultural sector, there were also some women who were involved in handcraft activities (Gullick, 1987) and also as small traders,[45] particularly Malay women on the East Coast of Peninsular Malaysia (Firth, 1966; Rudie, 1993).

Since the majority of Malay women were not educated, their involvement in the public sphere was limited (Heraty *et al.*, 1995; Abdullah, 2000a); they helped their husbands in the family economy and at the same time they managed the domestic chores (Ariffin, 1997a; Dancz, 1987). The participation of Malay women in agriculture and trading activities was made possible during this period by their belief that it was permitted by Islam and the Malay *adat* (Ariffin, 1992; Abdullah *et al.*, 2010). Nevertheless, unmarried Malay girls did not participate in these jobs as they were only trained to do household chores and to focus on marriage and family life (Wong, 1987; Heraty *et al.*, 1995).

In the early years of independence, the agricultural sector still continued to be the main source of employment for women, followed by the manufacturing and service sectors (Karim, 1981). During this period, there were still not many women working outside the home due to their lack of marketable skills and the few opportunities to work in non-agricultural sectors, lack of support from family members to work outside the traditional sector, and difficulties in seeking assistance in managing household chores and childcare (Mazumdar, 1981). However, since the 1960s, this situation has changed as more women have become involved in waged employment in the modern sectors and earn their own income. Factors such as a vibrant economy, the implementation of new policies (such as the NEP, the NDP, Vision 2020 and the Five-Year Malaysian Plan), the development of educational facilities, equal opportunities between men and women, late marriage, a reduction in fertility rates, the acceptance of women in the public sphere, advanced technologies that help women with household tasks, and the

[44] During the colonial period, in Peninsular Malaysia, women workers in the agricultural sector were paid less than men. In fact, when new technologies were introduced, only men were trained to run the machines and to organise the cooperative. However, in 1969, women's groups and trade unions which fought against unequal pay between men and women succeeded in getting equality in pay for all government employees (Ariffin, 1997, 1997).

[45] For instance, they sold flowers, food, handcrafts and retail items (Abdullah, 2000a).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
high cost of living have all influenced more women to obtain better jobs and wages than in the past (Abdullah, 1985; Ariffin *et al.*, 1996; Ariffin, 1997a, 1997b; Ahmad, 1998; Tan, 1998; Mohd Noor, 1999; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008).

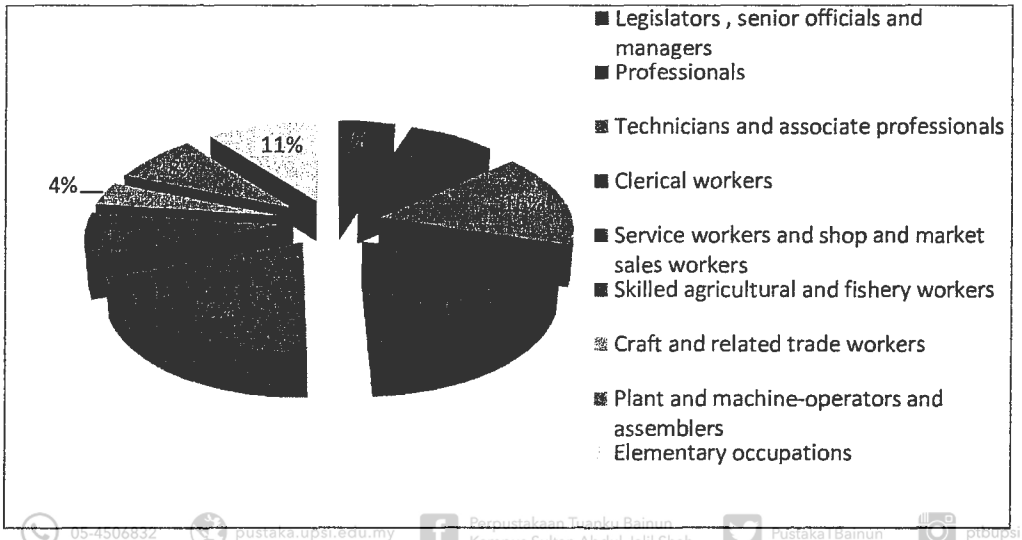
The government of Malaysia has changed from import substitution industries to export-oriented industrialisation programmes in order to generate employment for the younger generation (Mamat, 1991). Chattopadhyay (1997) noted that the launch of the NEP in 1970 was important as it opened up many job opportunities and offered economic diversification, which not only changed the pattern of women's participation in employment but also encouraged them to migrate to urban areas. For instance, in the 1980s, many young unmarried Malay women migrated from rural areas to the cities to work in the textile, electronics, food, footwear and clothing industries[46] (Ong, 1987; Ariffin, 1997; Idris *et al.*, 1996) with the expectation of improving their lives, boosting their family finances and enjoying greater individual freedom (Strange, 1981; Ariffin, 1997). There were also many families in which both the husband and wife migrated to urban areas to work (Noor, 1999b). The large-scale migration of Malay women to urban areas seeking employment increased not only the participation of indigenous people in the modern economy but also their numbers living in cities[47] (Karim, 1987, 1992; Ghazali, 2002). Consequently, both the composition of the labour market and the occupational hierarchy in the workplace were affected by these demographic shifts (Ariffin, 1997).

According to the Malaysian Department of Statistics, in 2010, the percentage of women in various occupational categories was increasing, as shown in Figure 1. Although sizeable growth in employment in all sectors had boosted the demand for women workers, they were still concentrated in particular sectors, such as unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, and men still outnumbered women in some occupations, so many of them remained in low-wage employment. Figure 1 shows that the classification of women's employment consisted of nine categories, and that 29% of women worked in occupations that require higher education

[46] Most of the factories were located in metropolitan areas: Kuala Lumpur, Pulau Pinang, Selangor and Perak (Ariffin, 1997).
[47] More than 50% of ethnic Malaysians had previously been concentrated in rural areas (*see* Ghazali, 2002).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
qualifications at least at diploma level, namely technicians and associated professionals (16%), legislators, senior officials and managers (5%) and professionals (8%).

Figure 1: Percentaged of employed women by occupation, 2010



Source: Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2010

Despite the gender imbalance, these statistics still indicate visible signs of Malaysian women's advancement. With the Malaysian Plan, projects, programmes and strategies for enhancing women's development have continued to be pursued by the government. Currently, the Tenth Malaysian Plan (2011-2015) emphasises women's participation in education and training opportunities so that they can improve their skills in the knowledge-based economy and their upward mobility in the labour market (Tenth Malaysian Plan, 2010). Thus, they are able to take advantage of education, make better choices for their lives today and become involved in the paid labour force.

With the availability of new opportunities and policies, women are experiencing great changes and many improvements in their lives. Women in Malaysia are not only achieving high levels of qualification in education, but they are also participating in "modern sector work", particularly "white-collar work" (Stivens, 2003: 358). They are also expected to become more skilled and more educated than in the past; hence, the number of women in employment will

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
continue to accelerate in the future. More women are needed to participate in modern work in order to achieve the aim of turning Malaysia into a high-income country.[48] Mathew Verghis, World Bank Lead Economist for Southeast Asia (2012) stated:

> Recent trends in Malaysia's labour market are encouraging. Unemployment has been low, more young people are receiving higher education, more women have careers, and more high-skilled jobs are being created. (Verghis, 2012)

In addition, Malaysian women are also no longer excluded from being involved at the decision-making level, particularly in the public sector, since the government of Malaysia introduced a policy on women at the decision-making level. For instance, the number of female JUSA[49] officers increased from 18.8% in 2004 to 25.8% in 2007, vice-chancellors of universities increased from 0% in 2004 to 15% in 2007, and members of local government councils (LGC) from 10.4% in 2004 to 12.4% in 2007 (Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, Malaysia, 2007). This policy seems to have encouraged a greater representation of women in management and professional positions (Ismail and Ibrahim, 2007; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008) despite the perception that Islam does not allow Malay women to occupy the top position in any organisation, and that such positions are not appropriate for them (Omar and Davidson, 2004). There is also a common belief that educated women should only participate in "feminine" occupations, for instance as nurses or teachers (Koshal *et al.*, 1998).

As in many other countries, the rapid economic growth and modernisation in Malaysia has provided the opportunity to enter the paid labour force not only to single women but also to married women with young children (Treas and Widmer, 2000; Abdullah, 2000; Ahmad, 2011; Marican *et al.*, 2011; Abdullah *et al.*, 2012). Hicks *et al.* (1983) noted that, when many educational and employment opportunities are made available to women, the number of dual-career families is likely to increase. Similarly, Hertz supported Hicks *et al.*'s (1983) statement

[48] This statement was included in 'The Malaysia Economic Monitor: Modern Jobs', which was launched on 12 April 2012 (The World Bank Group, 2012) Available at: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/2012/04/12/malaysia-to-post-steady-growth-in-2012-modern-jobs-at-core-of-transformation-into-a-high-income-country [Accessed 6 June 2012].

[49] JUSA stands for *Jawatan Utama Sektor Awam* (Public Sector Superscale)

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
by saying that "the growth of career opportunities for female college graduates have combined to make two careers in one family a more likely option" (Hertz, 1986: xii). In Malaysia, more than 44% of households were considered to be dual-income families by the late 1980s (Tey, 1994). The recent labour force statistics (Malaysia, 2010) have shown that women comprised 4,017.3 million of the employed population, and about 61% of working women were married,[50] which may also indicate that dual-career families are a common phenomenon in Malaysia (Hashim and Omar, 2004; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008).

Working women's family lives have been affected by issues such as late marriage, decreasing fertility rates, divorce and changes in conjugal roles (Yaacob Harun, 1992). According to Zaini and Rahman (2006), one of the biggest changes resulting from women's participation in the public sphere is that the gender roles in the traditional family system, in which the man is the main breadwinner and the woman is a housewife, have been challenged. Women's roles are no longer only those of daughter, mother and wife in the domestic realm, but they also have an option to participate in the paid labour force alongside men. Not only that, but men are also seen to be involved in helping their wives to run the household and raise their children. Although men's attitudes to domestic responsibilities have changed to some extent, there is still a perception in Malay Muslim patriarchal society that domestic chores and child-rearing remain women's primary responsibility (Karim, 1995; Zaini and Rahman, 2006; Noor, 2006; Abdullah, 2008; Ali, 2008; Abdullah *et al.*, 2012).

It is clear that the Malaysian government's policies have not only played a vital role in promoting women's involvement in the public sphere, but also still require women to fulfil their traditional roles in the family. As the institution of the family is still considered crucial in helping the nation to develop human capital in a modern society, the government of Malaysia has launched many campaigns and programmes to strengthen this institution, and it is clear from these that the domestic sphere is still considered a woman's responsibility. For example, a project called *Rumahku Syurgaku* ('My Home My Paradise') was introduced by the Islamic

[50]Labour force statistics, Malaysia, 2010 Availabe at http://www.statistics.gov.my/portal/download_Labour/files/BPTMS/ringkasan_perangkaan_2010.pdf [Accessed 6 October 2012].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Centre and became an annual event for Muslim families in order to develop a happy family (Hassan, 1994; Stivens, 2006).

Another example was the introduction of a pro-natalist population policy by the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, who claimed that Malaysia would be more successful with a population of 70 million (Abdullah, 1993; Leete, 1996). Clearly, women's reproductive role was needed to implement this policy, which seems to support the ideological view of women as associated with domestic tasks, children and family that is emphasised in the traditional values based on the patriarchal system, which are related to religious teachings and the Malay *adat*. Thus, many women have the experience of combining their roles at home and in the work place, and simultaneously using a variety of strategies to maintain both their traditional and modern roles.

Because my thesis will primarily focus on Malay women who work as academics (lecturers and tutors), I took into consideration the fact that academic women are among the 8% of employed women in professional occupations. Statistics issued by the Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia, show that, in 2009, the number of academics employed at twenty public universities[51] was more than 26,000, with the number of female academics standing at 13,577 compared with 13,123 male academics. The statistics also indicate that more than 2,000 of these academic women held PhDs and that more than 300 were professors, but male academics still outnumbered women in terms of PhD qualifications and senior positions (*see* Appendices E and F) (Ujang, 2009; Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia, 2009). While academic women can be seen to have the potential to hold positions as, for instance, vice chancellors of universities, they do not always achieve this. It is therefore important to explore the perceptions of academic women towards marriage and family, as well their experiences of managing their dual-career lifestyle in order to identify the strategies that women employ, as well as the challenges and barriers that they face, in reaching their full career potential and finding ways of facilitating their advancement, while at the same time not neglecting their family life.

[51] For a list of the universities, *see* Appendix D.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The government's stance on marriage and the family

In promoting the idea of family, the government of Malaysia does not accept a family based on same-sex marriage or homosexual relationships, unlike countries such as the Netherlands, Canada, Belgium, Spain and South Africa (Kukura, 2006). For instance, Chung and Beh's marriage[52] has not been recognised by the Malaysian authorities because same-sex marriage is illegal in Malaysia under the Marriage and Divorce Reform Act 1974, as stated by the Deputy Home Affairs Minister, Tan Chai Ho. This decision was also supported by the National Evangelical Christian Fellowship, which has said that only heterosexual marriage is valid in Malaysia. Malaysia's stance on this matter is made evident by the views of the fourth Prime Minister, Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamed, who stated that Malaysia does not accept the idea of unlimited freedom for individuals to form non-heterosexual families and non-heterosexual relationships because both kinds of relationships go against Malaysia's political and social values (Johnson, 2006).

There are other examples of restrictions on personal life; according to the provisions of Islamic law in Malaysia, cohabitation, sodomy, homosexual relationships, and close proximity, pregnancy and childbearing outside wedlock are forbidden under criminal law, but only Muslims who commit these offences will be tried in *Mahkamah Shariah*[53] (a *Shariah* Court) (Ismail, 2007). Malays are not permitted to have heterosexual intercourse before they have undergone a legal marriage because family and marriage are considered to be sacred and are comprehensively influenced by religious and cultural factors.

However, several studies have shown that within Malaysia and Malay Muslim society issues such as same-sex marriage and sexual intercourse prior to marriage are matters of concern and considered to be social problems for the nation (Ismail, 2001; Ramlee, 2004; Jaafar, 2005; Abdullah, 2010; Shamsudin and Ghazali, 2011; Subhi *et al.*, 2012; Jerome, 2013). For

[52] Both are Chinese Malaysians who held their marriage in Kuching, Sarawak, where they lived. Chung was born as a male and had undergone a sex-change operation. Because Malaysia does not allow gender reassignment, their marriage was declared illegal by the government according to the Marriage and Divorce Reform Act 1974, although they stated that their families had blessed their marriage (http://english.pravda.ru/news/world/14-11-2005/70585-0/)

[53] In Malaysia, *Shariah* Court and *Shariah* Law have jurisdiction in personal issues related to Muslims only because the main law was based on the common laws introduced during the British colonialisation.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
instance, Shamsudin and Ghazali (2011) asserted that a homosexual relationship/marriage is against the norms and values of Malay society as Islam is a vital element of Malay identity. Malay society follows the Islamic teachings that consider homosexuality to be abnormal behaviour and a crime, and therefore it is the most monstrous of human sins. In the case of Sufian Mohamad and Zaiton Aziz, a Malay couple, their marriage was annulled (permanent divorce) by the *Shariah* Court on the grounds that Mohd Sufian had originally been female.[54] This case strengthened the law, not only on homosexual marriage/relationships, but also sex-change operations for transsexual Muslims, which is explicitly banned by a *fatwa*[55] (Johnson, 2006).

The judgements in the cases of Chung and Beh and of Sufian Mohamad and Zaiton Aziz directly confirmed the lack of recognition of same-sex marriage and of transgendered and transsexual Malaysians. Those "who cross dress can be charged under public indecency laws for non-Muslims, or under the Shariah Law for Muslims" and their gender on their identification cards and birth certificates cannot be changed, even if they have had sex changes (Johnson, 2006). In Iran, which is one of the largest Muslim-majority countries in the Middle-East, sex-change operations have been recognised and are legal. However, homesexual relationships are banned in Iran as it is regarded unnatural behaviour, which is clearly against religion, and it is believed that such behaviour would disrupt the social order. Thus, Iran has very repressive laws against homosexuals and because of this, a high rate of sex-change operations[56] (Barford, 2008; *see also* Afsaneh, 2011). The option of having a sex-change in order to continue in a same sex relationship is not open to Malaysian citizens.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified and explained the research context. I have presented a brief overview of the connections between Malaysia's historical background and the construction of Malay identity, which has played a vital role in understanding the position of Malays in this

[54] (http://in.reuters.com/article/2007/09/04/idINIndia-29323220070904).
[55] An opinion by Islamic scholars on matters of Islamic Law.
[56] Iran's diagnosed transsexuals by Vanessa Barford, 2008, Available at http://www.asylumlaw.org/docs/sexualminorities/IranBBC022508.pdf [Accessed 20 December 2014].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
country. The immigration of Chinese and Indians workers to Malaya during the period of British colonialism resulted in ethnic pluralism. Consequently, the Malay people opted to make some adjustments to the ethnic groups in order to ensure the protection of their rights as indigenous people. Malays' identity as *Bumiputra* has differentiated them from non-Malays (non-*Bumiputra*). At the same time, the Malay identity was also constructed through Islam and the Malay *adat*, which together are seen as defining "Malay," and hence their daily life is strongly influenced by both of these elements. The form of the social contract is seen as a vital agreement because it not only gave special privileges to Malays in specific areas and citizenship to the other ethnic groups, but it has also led to the construction of a specifically Malay identity which is protected by the Constitution of Malaysia. With the special rights given to Malays, Malaysian governance was laid down under the social contract; for instance, by stipulating Islam as the official religion and that the ruler is the *Sultan Melayu* (Malay King). Apart from the role of Malay Muslim identity, this provision gave privileges to Islam and power to Malays in politics.

This chapter then scrutinised how the success of Malaysia has demonstrated that Islam is compatible with the modernisation agenda and coexist with it. This has led Malaysia to be known as a more moderate Islamic country than many others around the world. With its status as an Islamic country, the stance of the government of Malaysia on issues of gender equality, women and the family is still limited. The government's stance and the identity of Malay citizenship in Malaysia have played a crucial role in influencing the way in which Malay society reflects the changing roles of contemporary Malaysian Malay women.

Existing research clearly indicates that the fight for gender equality has facilitated women's advancement in the socio-economic realm. The position of women in Malaysia has undergone a massive transformation since independence. The improvements in women's literacy rates, and their enrolment and achievements in all levels of education, give an indication of the benefits that they have gained from increased access to education and training, which has then led to their involvement in many sectors of employment. Women are therefore now seen as financial providers for their families, and they are no longer confined as mothers and wives as understood in the traditional gender ideology.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

However, a consideration of some general background to Malaysia's approaches to gender equality and the progress of women and the family revealed that, whilst Malaysia has modernised and transformed its economy and encouraged women to participate in employment, more women are believed to be juggling their domestic responsibilities and paid work. It appears that women cannot totally emancipate themselves from religion, from the Malay *adat* and from the government policies, which are still reinforced by the old patriarchal ideology, even though they have been transformed into modern women. Religious and cultural factors are also clearly emphasised in the fact that only a relationship or family consisting of a man and a woman who are legally married is acceptable according to Malaysian law. On the whole, the review of Malaysian's historical and cultural background given in this chapter offers a broader context for understanding the way in which Malay women and dual-career families negotiate Islamic teachings, the Malay *adat*, social conventions, and organisational and government arrangements in maintaining their image as modern women, while at the same time they are still expected to adhere to traditional values.

In the next chapter, I shall explore in more detail ideas about the family, marriage and gender. This will also include a discussion on working women and dual-career families from a global perspective and issues related to their careers and their working lives.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chapter Two

Dual-Career Families and Working Women: a Review of the Literature

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present a review of the existing literature on dual-career families and working women. I begin with the definition of a dual-career family in terms of how it is different from a dual-earner family or a dual-worker family, as well as how it can also be considered as a middle-class family. Since I am looking at Malay women in dual-career families, I shall discuss the definition of family in the context of Malay society and Malay married life, as well as how ideas of family, patterns of marriage and gender are similar to or different from those in western societies. I shall then discuss the position of Malay women in the public and domestic spheres, which have been constructed and influenced by the Islamic religion and Malay *adat*. My discussion of these issues will provide the basis for understanding the lives of women and dual-career families in Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Subsequently, drawing on existing literature from Malaysia and across the world (for example, Western, European and Asian countries), I move on to the reasons why women work and the impact of women's participation in the paid labour force on their family and work life. I shall highlight the experiences of working women and dual-career families from different countries in order to consider the similarities and differences in the ways in which they negotiate between their work and family life. I concentrate on issues such as late marriage and low fertility, the role of family provider, the head of household and decision-making power, the strategies that women use to cope with challenges while managing their domestic and career roles, and I will also identify the conflicts they face. At the same time, I shall explore how gender ideology, as well as cultural and religious factors, has influenced the strategies that they have adopted. I shall also discuss the extent to which the implementation of government and organisation policies, as well as support from family members and spouses, has helped working women to balance the demands of their work and family. I shall conclude this chapter

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
with a reflection on the critical areas of the reviewed research, and will indicate areas in which there seem to be specific gaps in the research to date.

Dual-career families and the rise of the Malaysian middle-class

Many studies in the west have been conducted on working couples and their families. These studies refer to them as dual-earner families (*e.g.* Rachlin, 1987; Barnet and Rivers, 1996; Hochshild, 1997; Winkler, 1998; Waite and Nielsen, 2001), dual-worker families (*e.g.* Hood, 1986; Rizzo, 2009) and dual-career families (*e.g.* Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1976; Gilbert, 1994; Bunker *et al.*, 1992). Some authors use the word "couples" instead of "family" when referring to these family types, for example, dual-earner couples (*e.g.* Becker and Moen, 1999; Hyde *et al.*, 1998; Bartley *et al.*, 2005; Haddock *et al.*, 2006; Brennan, 2011), dual-worker couples (*e.g.* Hiller and Philliber, 1982) and dual-career couples or marriages (*e.g.* Hertz, 1986; Bures *et al.*, 2011; Landry, 2000; Lian, 2008; Bures *et al.*, 2011).

Whilst most of the available literature on "dual-earner families" and "dual-worker families" refers to both husband and wife working outside the home, regardless of qualifications or occupations, Rapoport and Rapoport[57] (1971, 1976), Hicks *et al.* (1983) and Hertz (1986) identified a few specific characteristics of dual-career families or couples. Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) stated that the term "dual-career family" refers to a family that comprises both husband and wife as the heads of household and "both husband and wife pursue active careers and family lives" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971: 7). Hicks *et al.* (1983) and Hertz (1986) emphasised that dual-career families are those in which both husband and wife are well-educated. Apart from the type of employment, higher educational qualifications are vital for defining careers as different from jobs. Both studies emphasised the differences between career and work:

> Career is sometimes used to indicate any kind of work, but in its more precise meaning in social science it designates those types of jobs which require a high degree of commitment and which have a

[57] They were known as the pioneering scholars who first embarked on a study of the dual-career family.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> continuous developmental character. (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971: 18)

Similarly, Hertz (1986) defined careers and jobs as follows:

> Careers involve employment in which some realistic expectation of upward occupational and financial mobility is expected and available. Jobs offer limited opportunities for advancement, responsibility, and authority, are paid by the hour, and promise little significant increase in financial reward for achievement or longevity of employment. (Hertz, 1986: 5)

The existence of dual-career families is also a sign of the expansion of middle-class families. Thus, studies of dual-career couples usually define them as middle class (*e.g.* Landry, 2000; Haddock *et al.*, 2006). This is in accordance with the situation in Malaysia, where dual-career families and middle-class society are clearly associated with one another (*e.g.* Chin, 1997; Embong, 1996, 2000, 2002; Shuraishi, 2004; Chong, 2005a, 2005b). Chin (1997) defined the Malaysian middle class according to three main criteria: those who earned a "certain annual household income level between RM[58] 24,000 and RM 50,000, working in a white-collar occupation and/or having a university-level education and adopting the luxurious lifestyles" (Chin, 1997: 372). These criteria are consistent with the observations of King (2008: 75), who stated that educational level and lifestyle were the main characteristics used by many researchers to define middle-class people. The Malay middle class has existed since the colonial era in Malaysia, in the form of "the administrative middle class." However, modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation have resulted in more Malays obtaining higher educational qualifications, participating in new professional occupations and thus becoming middle class. Embong (2002) describes the Malaysian middle class as:

> Comprised of managers, professionals and administrators [they] have become very visible in Malaysian towns and cities over the last three decades, a period during which Malaysia has experienced rapid modernization, industrialization and economic growth. Members of this class work in comfortable air-conditioned offices and often in very large organizations, commute daily to work in air-conditioned cars and live mostly in suburban housing estates. As managers, professionals

[58] This refers to Ringgit Malaysia, the currency of Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> and administrators, they are playing an important role in Malaysian development and modernization. In addition, being relatively affluent, they have become an important market for various types of consumer products and have become trend setters for certain lifestyles. Being highly educated, they are expected to be important social and political forces in promoting modernisation and the growth of democracy and civil society, as well as standard-bearers for modern culture and civilization throughout Malaysia. (Embong, 2002: 1-2)

The New Economic Policy (NEP) and the New Development Policy (NDP) have played a vital role in the emergence and growth of the new Malay middle class and have also introduced Malay people to urban life, as well as to modern economic sectors[59] (Embong, 1996, 2000, 2002; Shuraishi, 2004; Chong, 2005a, 2005b). The Malaysian Malay middle-class is described as "a product of economic development, a product of the developmental state and a product of state-led educational development" resulting from these two policies (Shurashi, 2004: 16). Furthermore, the New Malays have a vision of contributing towards Malaysian development and are ready to change themselves in accordance with modernisation and globalisation. At the same time, they also adhere to traditional religious and customary values (Muhammad, 1996).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In the Malaysian context, the growing number of women participating in paid work, particularly in professional and managerial positions (*see* Chapter 1), indicates that the number of dual-career families/middle-class families has increased although there are no official statistics available to confirm this. This would accord with the findings of Saraceno (2007) and of Davidson and Burke (2011), who claimed that, women in professional and managerial positions prefer to marry men who have a similar career to themselves (*see also* Hicks *et al.*, 1983; Hertz, 1986; Chapter 1). According to Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) and Hertz (1986), women with careers were different from other women workers in terms of how they see the importance of their occupations in their lives. Women with careers did not work only for financial reasons, but they also had a vision of going further in their personal and career advancement, whilst women who had jobs rather than careers were not looking for personal or work achievement as much as for financial rewards. These authors agreed that there were

[59] Changes in the structure of the Malaysian economy, from agriculture to manufacturing, particularly in export-led industrialisation and the opportunities for tertiary education, were seen as the salient factors in the emergence of the new Malay middle class (Embong, 1996).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

similarities as well as differences between working women and career women in how they face work/family challenges and the strategies they use for managing their dual roles. They claimed that women with careers might face more challenges in meeting the demands of their careers and their families. For this reason, they found that many married women chose a job rather than a career (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Hertz, 1986).

Individuals' perceptions of marriage and family (*e.g.* Mason *et al.*, 1998; Abd Rashid *et al.*, 2006; Tokuhiro, 2010), as well as their family/work experiences (*e.g.* Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Noor and Mahudin, 2005; Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Ismail and Ibrahim, 2007; Cha and Thebaud, 2009; Bianchie and Milkie, 2010) can be influenced by differences in religious and cultural values, for example among different ethnic groups. Thus, conducting research in a different nation might lead to a better understanding of the similarities and differences in perceptions of marriage and family between women and men, as well as their experiences of managing their work and family life (Shafiro and Hammer, 2004; Bowes, 2005). There is a lack of research on the experiences of women in dual-career families which has also involved the husbands or men in Malaysia. Most of the previous studies have focused on working women in families without differentiating between the kinds of families (dual-career, dual-earners, middle-class) (*e.g.* Mahamood and Muhamad, 1987; Abdullah, 1987, 1994; Ariffin, 1992; Ariffin, 1997b; Noor, 1999a, 1999b; Ahmad *et al.*, 1999; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Noor and Mahudin, 2005; Ismail and Ibrahim, 2007; Lian, 2008; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008; Talib, 2009).

In my study, I have borrowed the definition of a dual-career family from Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) and Hertz (1986), who emphasised equivalent education (at a high level) and type of occupation as vital criteria for defining dual-career couples. In addition, particular standards of occupation, household income, educational achievement and lifestyle have been set as benchmarks for determining the middle-class group to which my respondents belong. I make it clear that my research is focused totally on Malay dual-career families, and particularly on the academic women in such families. At the same time it investigates men's (husbands and single men) perceptions of and involvement in supporting these women who have to juggle their family life with a full-time career. In order to understand more about the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
pattern of Malay family life, a discussion about the family and its relation to marriage, as well as gender in the context of Malaysian society, will be presented next.

Family, marriage and gender in Malay society

The term "family" has been widely discussed among scholars from various different perspectives and is not easy to define (Trost, 1990) because its meaning varies in different societies depending on their culture, traditions and religious and social backgrounds (Elliot, 1986; Gubrium and Holstein, 1990; Cheal, 2002). Since the late twentieth century, new conceptualisations of modern families have been widely discussed among scholars in Western countries due to modernisation and changes in the social context (Davidson *et al.*, 1996; Bogenshneider and Corbett, 2004; Jackson, 1999, 2008). Families came to be seen as unstable, diverse and fluid (Jackson, 2008). Adoptive families, cohabiting couples, single-parent families, step-families, homosexual families or couples and groups of people who live together in one household without biological kinship have all been depicted as families (Bogenshneider and Corbett, 2004; Jackson, 2008). The increase in divorce rates and the decrease in marriage rates have also contributed to diverse lifestyles. These new family structures and new types of family have, however, only been accepted by some societies in the modern world (Jackson, 2008). It is therefore important to discuss the Malay perspective on the meaning of family in comparison with the modern Western perspective.

The definition of family in the context of Malay society is ultimately based on the Islamic religion. According to Islam, a family is a group of people consisting of husband, wife and children who are bound by a marriage relationship (a nuclear family), and it also includes parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters and their children, as well as uncles and aunts with their children (the extended family)[60] (Daud, 1995; Mat, 1993; Elsaie, 2004). Marriage in Islam is an *ibadah* (worship) and a lawful sexual relationship between a man and a woman, reinforced by the rights and duties of family members (Ismail, 1991; Daud, 1995; Rahman and Noor, 1993). In *Shariah* Law, "marriage is a civil contract, and its object is to legalise sexual

[60] Although Islam does not prescribe any specific characteristics to classify the family structure, Malay society is most likely to form a nuclear family (parents and children) because usually the married children will live separately from their parents (Majid and Azahari, 1989: 24).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
intercourse and the procreation of children" (Uddin, 2002: 2) and it also involves "a whole set of mutual obligations" (Khan, 2008: 10). The importance of marriage and family is addressed in the *Quran*[61] and the *Hadis,*[62] in which there are numerous verses on marriage, family and female-male relationships:

> And Allah has made for you mates of your own nature, and made for you, out of them, sons and daughters and grandchildren, and provided for you sustenance of the best. (*Surah an-Nahl* (Chapter The Bee): 72)

> Marriage is my sunnah, whoever keeps away from it is not from me. (*Hadis* of the Prophet Muhammad *S.A.W)*[63]

Family is the basic unit in the Malay social system and is formed through a marriage between a man and a woman, with the man usually being a *teruna* (youth) and the woman an *anak dara*[64] (virgin) (Kasimin, 1993: 1). Marriage plays a crucial role in validating a family and the relationship between husband and wife because no socially recognised family can be formed without marriage (Kling, 2000: 238). Therefore, other forms of family, such as cohabiting families and homosexual families, are deemed unacceptable within Malay society (Daud, 1989; Mat, 1993; Kasimin, 1993; Kling, 2000; Elsaie, 2004). In fact, Malaysia is a strongly heteronormative society in which same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships are still illegal (Johnson, 2006; *see also* Chapter 1).

Whilst most of these definitions suggest that family members, particularly parents and children, are supposed to live together, this situation has also changed. Today, many family

---

[61] The *Quran* is the primary source for Islam, followed by the *Hadis*. The *Quran* is the holy book of Islam and was revealed by *Allah* (God) to Muhammad, who was the last of the prophets. The *Quran* is believed to be Allah's words and is written in the Arabic languaged. The *Quran* provides guidance for all Muslims' lives, not only pertaining to spiritual life but also to social, political and economic matters. Available at http://www.jannah.org/islam101/sourcesofislam.html – Sources of Islam [Accessed 15 January 2010].

[62] The *Hadis* are the reports of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings, deeds and approvals. Muslims believe that the *Hadis* are a crucial source for understanding the *Quran* and matters of jurisprudence. Available at http://www.jannah.org/islam101/sourcesofislam.html – Sources of Islam [Accessed 15 January 2010].

[63] Muhammad is known as a messenger and the last prophet of Allah in Islam. *S.A.W* is a phrase that Muslims often say after mentioning or hearing the name of Prophet Muhammad. It signifies in Arabic *Sallallahoualayhiwasallam* which in English means 'Peace be upon him'.

[64] This explains that both the man and the woman have to maintain their virginity until marriage, or at least, prior to their first marriage and this indicates that pre-marital sex is forbidden in Islam. In Muslim society, all individuals are constantly reminded not to engage in it as it is considered a sin.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
members are found living separately because of their commitments to careers, jobs and educational demands. The emergence of commuting families has also been accepted in Malay society due to the fact that they are tied to the kinship relationship through the *Faraid* Law.[65] Therefore, they are still considered to be a family and they are still bound by their roles and responsibilities (Mokhtar, 2000).

Another ideological basis of the family and inheritance is *adat*. Malay society often refers to *Adat Temenggung* and *Adat Pepatih,*[66] particularly with respect to marriage and family ceremonies, inheritance and other contexts of Malay social life (Swift, 1963; Nagata, 1974a, 1974b; Ibrahim, 1988; Pong, 1994; Kling, 1995; Harun, 2008; Juhari, 2011). Both *adat* are still important and relevant in Malay society today, although they have been altered and adapted to modern and urban life. *Adat Temenggung* refers to bilateral households and kin groups, and is practised by Malay society in every state of Malaysia except Negeri Sembilan and the northern part of Melaka, which maintain *Adat Pepatih*, which applies to matrilineal households and kin groups (Swift, 1963; Pong, 1994; Kling, 1995).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
In *Adat Temenggung*, bilateral kinship centres on a nuclear family consisting of husband, wife and their children, but it also includes an extended family that consists of family-of-origin members of both spouses (Kling, 1995). This family accords "equal importance to the mother's and the father's kin" (Pong, 1994: 140). However, the dominant power is still the husband's, and wives are expected to be the backbone of their husbands. In *Adat Pepatih*, matrilineal descent is practised and the extended family is the primary social unit. Typically this family comprises mother, daughter and the daughter's children as well as the husbands of married women. Men from the mother's side of the family are the dominant power in family decision-making. In this case, although husbands have power in their families, almost all decisions are made by the brothers of their wives (Kling, 1995), so the focus is on men as dominant similar to *Adat Temenggung*. Nevertheless, both *adat* and Islamic teachings allow

[65] *Faraid* Law is the Islamic inheritance law which is associated with all family members either from the nuclear family or the extended family.

[66] Both *adat* originated in West Sumatra and were brought by Minangkabau immigrants (Ibrahim, 1988: 150). According to Harun (2008), the Malay *adat* is divided into two: firstly, the *adat* originating from the culture of Malay social life in *Alam Melayu,* including all societies that practise the Malay *adat*. Secondly, the *adat* that originated from Minangkabau, which are *Adat Temenggung* and *Adat Pepatih* (Harun, 2008: 135-136).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
women to possess their own land and property, as well as to have economic independence to a certain degree (Noor and Mahudin, 2005).

The unequal distribution of power between men and women is a product of the social ordering of gender. The word "gender" is used in the West to distinguish between socially constructed masculinity and femininity as opposed to biological sex (Richardson and Robinson, 1994; Richardson, 2008; Jackson *et al.*, 2008). In the Malay language, "gender" is translated as *jantina*, which has a meaning very close to that of *seks* ("sex"): female or male. The English word "gender" was imported into the Malay language and is commonly used in Malaysia because the word "*seks*" is a very sensitive word to use in discussion or openly in Malay society (Hashim, 2006). Thus, the word "gender" is more accepted and is considered by researchers to be a more polite word to use when discussing issues relating to women and men (Ahmad, 1999; Jelas *et al.*, 2005; Hashim, 2006; Stivens, 2006). Hashim (2006) referred to gender as being how women and men live out their femininity and masculinity according to the needs of society and their beliefs. It is clear that gender is understood as socially constructed, which means that it is an interpretation of behaviours that are culturally associated with sex differences.

Globally, different societies allocate various roles and responsibilities among family members according to their specific beliefs and gender norms. In the Malay family, the preference for whether to have a son or a daughter may not be vey important. However, the gendered division of labour in the home is based on the influence of religious and cultural tenets (Harun, 1993, Abdullah *et al.*, 2010). When each Malay man and woman has made a decision to marry and form a family, and at the same time to have their own career, they are expected to remain responsible for fulfilling gendered roles and responsibilities. To discuss this in more detail, it is necessary to look at the position of men and women in the public and private spheres according to Islamic religion and the Malay *adat* because these two sources coexist as vital elements of gender ideology and gender division in the Malay family.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Islamic and Malay *Adat* perspectives on gender: Constructing the position of Malay women and men in the public and private spheres

From an Islamic perspective, women and men are spiritually[67] equal; each person is an individual in relation to their *Taqwa*[68] (piety) in the sight of Allah S.W.T[69] (Salleh, 1985; Hassan, 2004; Khan, 2008), who created both men and women for similar purposes in life. Hence, neither can avoid the burden of religious responsibilities, as this verse indicates:

> O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not that you may despise each other). Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things). (*Surah al-Hujurat* (Chapter The Inner Apartments): 13)

In this regard, there is no distinction between women and men pertaining in term of rewards and punishments in the Hereafter (Hassan, 2004):

Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> If any do deeds of righteousness be they male or female and have faith, they will enter heaven, and not the least injustice will be done to them (*Surah al-Nisa'* (Chapter The Women): 124)

Islam does, however, differentiate men from women in relation to social responsibilities, in which they are seen as complementary to each other (Hassan, 2004; Khan, 2008). In some respects they are seen as similar. Muslim women, like men, have been endowed with brains, hearts, reasoning power, feelings and desires; hence both of them are encouraged to participate in and contribute to the private and public spheres to enhance their lives (Salih, 1994; Marican *et al.*, 2011). The rights, roles and responsibilities of men and women in the public sphere as well as those of husbands and wives in the family are clearly within the framework of Islam (Alwi, 1996; Salleh, 2003; Hassan, 2004). For instance, Islam views education and knowledge

[67]For instance, both men and women are same in practising religious worship such as fasting, pilgrimage and daily prayers. In fact, Allah S.W.T. accepts their worship as having equal merit.

[68]This refers to values of worship performed according to the Islamic religion.

[69]*S.W.T* is often mentioned after saying 'Allah'. It means *SubhanahuWaTa'la* in Arabic and translates into English as 'The most glorified the most high'.

Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
as important and compulsory for every Muslim; hence, all men and women have the right to seek education at any level (Marican *et al.*, 2011). As the *Hadis* of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W explain, "attainment of knowledge is a must for every Muslim" (Khan, 2008), and such equality is consistent with the *Quran*: "and women shall have rights similar to the rights against them according to what is equitable" (*Surah al-Baqarah* (Chapter The Heifer): 228). Ali (1994) concluded that Muslim women are burdened with three major roles: their role as servants and vice-regents of Allah S.W.T., their role as wife and mother, and their role as employer or employee outside the house. This differs only slightly from Moser's interpretation of women's 'triple roles': "reproductive work, productive work and community managing work" (Moser, 1989: 1801).

It can be argued that Islam has not confined women to the house (Zeenah, 2008) but that it acknowledges and allows them to engage in work outside the home in the areas in which they excel in order to fulfil their own and their family's needs as well as to contribute to society and the nation (Salleh, 1985). Islam has stressed that the home is the best place for women, but that there is still a place for them in employment in order to fulfil their "*fardhu kifayah*"[70] (social obligations) (Mahzan, 1994: 113). The phenomenon of Muslim women engaging in the public sphere is actually not a new phenomenon because, throughout Islamic history, many of them have been involved in employment, such as in the textile industry, as nurses and as midwives (Marican *et al.*, 2011) and have participated in "farming, harvesting, handicrafts, business, war" (Doi, 1990, cited in Marican *et al.*, 2011: 4884) as well as in other jobs that were considered suitable for them. During the time of the Prophet and medieval Islam, Khadijah, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, was a businesswoman and she was also the boss of her workers; his other wife, Aishah, was known as one of the authorities of the *Hadis* (Rauf, 1997; Sidani, 2005; Marican *et al.*, 2011). On this evidence, Islam has never forbidden women to work outside the home if circumstances call for it (Zeenah, 2006, 2008), for instance, earning money to avoid poverty, if there is insufficient income or if the man who is the protector of the family is sick[71] (Salih, 1994). Nevertheless, Islam emphasises that

[70] In Islam, *fardhu kifayah* refers to activities in relation to society, such as helping people, gaining beneficial knowledge, or becoming involved in any employment that is not against religion or culture.

[71] As the *Hadis* of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W explains, "Allah S.W.T has permitted you to go out of your houses for genuine needs" (Salih, 1994: 17).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
household expenses are still the responsibility of the husband and father, even though their wives or daughters might have their own income. Women's income cannot be claimed by their husbands or fathers because it remains theirs (Syed, 2008).

The roles undertaken by a husband and a wife are meant to be a partnership complementing one another in ensuring that they form a better family and society (Salleh, 1985; Muhammad and Jasmi, 2006). Women should be respected and they should also consider themselves to be partners for their men, with whom they can share grief, joy and problems. To enable women to successfully fulfil their responsibilities, the leadership of the household cannot be handed over to men alone; the husband will be the main leader and his wife will be his assistant. Mutual agreement is vital in family decisions, which need the woman's involvement alongside the man's. The husband, although as leader of the family does not have absolute power (Uddin, 2000) as the *Quran* emphasises:

> Wives have rights corresponding to those which husbands have, in equitable reciprocity, though, in certain situations, men would have the final word and thus enjoy a preference. Allah is Mighty, Wise. (*Surah al-Nisa'* (Chapter Women): 229)

Women's roles as wife, mother, daughter and sister in the family indicate that they are responsible for particular obligations to others (Embong and Muhamad, 2006, Marican *et al.*, 2011). Women's primary roles and responsibilities in the family are clearly outlined and can be divided into three:

i. A wife has to obey her husband as long as it is not against the religion because the reward for this is heaven (Said, 1980; Hassan, 1993).
ii. A wife has to keep her husband's secrets and dignity, take care of herself during the absence of her husband, ask his permission to go out of the house and cover her *aurat* (body) (Daud, 1989; Besar, 1995).
iii. As a wife and a mother, a woman has to take care of her husband's and her children's well-being, bringing up their children and educating them at home (Salleh, 2003), as well as preparing food for the family and washing clothes (Daud, 1995; Halim, 1995; Ali; 1999).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Although Islam has entrusted women with a responsibility to ensure the family's well-being (al-Hamidy, 1993), they still have to fulfil their obligations as a wife toward a husband. They are always being reminded that they should not neglect their responsibilities to the family as defined by *shariah* law. For example, the consent of the husband is vital to allow the participation of married women in paid labour in order to help to supplement the family finances (Marican *et al.*, 2011). This command clearly indicates no actual equality between man and woman in Islam; although Islam regards women and men as spiritually equal, it does not regard them as fully socially equal in all respects.

In Muslim societies around the world, discussion of gender division has often highlighted the woman's role as only engaged in the private sphere and that of men as belonging in the public sphere, which has led to gender inequality. Different implementations and interpretations of Islamic teachings may have resulted in misunderstanding of gender roles among Muslim countries. This misconception made Islam seem to prohibit Muslim women from becoming involved in activities outside the home, particularly in some Muslim countries which ban women from being educated or seeking their own careers. Prior to the 1900s, most Arab women were denied their rights to education and to act in the public sphere. However, the emergence of feminist movements in the Arab countries during the first few decades of the twentieth century changed this situation. During the 1950s and 1960s, many parts of the Arab world, particularly Lebanon, Egypt and Iraq, underwent socialist revolutions which resulted in many Arab women becoming involved in social and economic development, although their numbers remained low. The strict control over women's involvement in employment and politics is still a reality in other Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, where much of the discourse about women was undertaken by traditional *ulama* (religious scholars), who tend to be conservative. For instance, the late Saudi Sheikh Abdel-Aziz Bin Baz allowed women to participate in employment and education, but separately from men. However, the topic of women has also been discussed by modernist *ulama* such as al-Gazali, who criticised the traditional view of Arab women's position in society, which he described as "certain traditions put by people and not by God" (Sidani, 2005: 504).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

As in other Muslim countries, religious and cultural factors should not be ignored when discussing the roles of men and women in Malay society. Islamic values have deeply influenced the ordering of gender in Malay families. Although Malay women are more likely to be participate in domestic tasks, opportunities for them to become involved in the work sphere are still open to them "as long as the work did not contravene cultural and religious practises" (Noor and Mahudin, 2005: 116-117). The importance of women's contribution in the process of development is evident in a famous Malay saying, which is also a reflection of Malaysia's stance on women; *Pemuda harapan bangsa, pemudi tiang negara* ("Young men are the hope of the people, but young women are the pillars of the state") (Karim, 1992: 10).

Furthermore, the position of a woman as a mother is also important. Muslim parents have been given the responsibility of raising their children with affection according to Islamic teachings because their children are "a trust" from Allah S.W.T. The parents' position is high and children are advised to show kindness to their parents, particularly to their mother, who is held in great honour.[72] If any Muslim neglects these responsibilities towards parents, he/she will be considered to be committing a sin because it is against Allah S.W.T.'s commands. Even though the father is to be obeyed and respected, a woman's status as a mother receives high acknowledgement, even coming before the father.[73] With this appreciation, women are enabled to receive great respect from their family and their children; in fact, obeying and venerating their mother promises children paradise[74] (Hassan, 2004; Khan, 2008). The Malay saying *"syurga letaknya di bawah tapak kaki ibu"* (paradise lies at the feet of the mother) has always been related to women's status as mothers in the Malay family, and it carries the meaning of "the high status granted to a mother" (Karim, 1992: 68; Ibrahim and Hassan, 2009: 398).

---

[72]This has been explained in the *Quran*:"And your Lord has decreed that you not worship except Him, and to parents, good treatment. Whether one or both of them reach old age [while] with you, say not to them [so much as], 'uff' and do not repel them but speak to them a noble word" (*Surah al-Isra'*(Chapter The Night Journey):23).

[73] This is based on the words of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W, who said: 'O Messenger of Allah! Who is the person who has the greatest right on me with regards to kindness and attention?' He replied 'Your mother'. 'Then who?' He replied 'Your mother'. 'Then who?' He replied 'Your mother'. 'Then who?' He replied 'Your father'" (cited in Hassan, 2004: 8).

[74] In this situation, for men, it still rests on their mothers even after they are married, whilst for women, it will be transferred to their husbands after they are married. The *Hadis* of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W emphasises: "Paradise lies at the feet of your mothers"(Khar., 2008: 22) and "the gates of Paradise will be widely open to welcome the woman who observes mandatory prayers and fasting in the month of Ramadhan and preserves the honour of her husband and obeys him" (Mahzan, 1994: 115-116).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Before I explore in detail the literature on how the participation of women across the world in formal economic structures has led to late marriage and low fertility, as well as how women who desire to be successful in both family and career manage their dual roles, I shall first discuss the reasons why women have entered paid employment.

Women's reasons for working

Over the past few decades, women's educational achievement has shown a steady increase and has changed their lives in almost every country because this has led more women to become involved in the paid labour market (Jones, 2007; Abdullah, 2000a, 2000b; Ochiai, 2008; Lim, 2009; Faridi *et al.*, 2009; Tokuhiro, 2010; Ahmad, 2011). In Pakistan, for example, academic qualifications were the main factor in determining women's engagement in the paid labour force. The higher the level of education possessed by these women, the more opportunities there were for them. As a result, the number of Pakistani women who are home-bound has decreased tremendously (Faridi *et al.*, 2009).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Other factors have been found to explain why in many parts of the world women have become involved in paid labour, such as changes in women's attitudes toward their roles, financial conditions, self-satisfaction and personal interests (*e.g.* Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1976; Salleh, 1985; Hertz, 1986; Salih, 1994; Department of Statistics, Singapore, 1994; Lewis, 1996; Barnet and Hyde, 2001; Ghazali, 2002; Essam, 2004; Ochiai, 2008), as well as role models such as older siblings and teachers, who also influence career decisions (Greenbank, 2009). In today's Western societies, many women, including those with young children, have entered the paid labour force and have their own incomes due to "economic need, women's desire for independence, contemporary job uncertainties and the demise of the job for life" (Lewis, 1996: 2). In 1982 and 2002, surveys carried out by the Gender Equality Bureau of the Japanese Cabinet Office showed that many women decided to work because of a change in their attitudes to the statement that "men should work outside, and women should take care of the home." The percentage of women who disagreed with the statement has increased in several countries, namely the Philippines, South Korea, Japan, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Sweden (Ochiai, 2008: 1-2). In Malaysia, nine reasons for Muslim

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
women's decision to work have been identified: "to accept the notion that working is a common thing to do, to support themselves and their dependents, to earn extra money to supplement family finances, to fulfil their parents' wishes, to enjoy working, to pursue a career and to insure against unexpected events such as the death of their husbands" (Salih, 1994: 13). Other Malaysian studies on factors that contributed to women's participation in the paid labour force as full-time employees are the impact of the New Economic Policy, wider educational and better job opportunities,[75] economic constraints and increases in life demands (Ahmad, 1998; Tan, 1998; Othman, 1998; Noor, 1991, 1999a; Ghazali, 2002; Amin and Alam, 2008; Abdullah et al., 2008; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010). Noor's (1999a) study found that the most frequent answers given by women were 'economic need' (40.8%), followed by 'interest' (27.3%), 'wanting to taste the fruits of one's labour' (8.9%), 'feeling compelled to work after investing so much time and money in education' (8.7%) and 'to contribute to society' (4.3%). To be more specific, 31.4% of her female Malay respondents preferred to work in full-time paid employment and two main reasons were noted as their purpose for working, namely: 'economic need' (42.4%) and 'interest' (26.5%) (Noor, 1999a: 131).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Among these factors, economic need has had a major influence on female participation in paid labour across the world. In Singapore, women in dual-career families decided to work because they wanted to share the family's financial burden. The high cost of living, particularly in big cities and towns due to the impact of modernisation, has meant that both husband and wife must have incomes in order to meet their family's needs (Department of Statistics, Singapore, 1994). The additional income generated by working wives benefited their families not only by reducing financial problems but also by reducing the strain on the sole-breadwinner husbands. In fact, for some families, the wife's salary had a positive effect on marital quality (Lewis, 1996, 2001; Barnet and Hyde, 2001; Ochiai, 2008). Muslim men in Egypt allowed their women to work outside the home in order to contribute to the family finances (Essam, 2004), and it is also the most popular reason for Malay women working in Malaysia (Tan, 1998; Othman, 1998; Noor, 1991, 1999a; Ghazali, 2002; Amin and Alam, 2008; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010). The majority of Malay wives believed that their husbands preferred them to work in paid full-time employment to contribute to the family finances (Noor, 1999a: 131).

[75] See also Chapters One and Two about the New Economic Policy (NEP) and the modernisation of Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The incomes of married working women, whether they were from working-class or urban middle-class households were needed to meet basic expenditure as their husbands' incomes were insufficient (Othman, 1998). Malay women thus gained the opportunity to become independent wage earners and their contribution to the family finances was seen as crucial, but they are still considered to be "the economic backbone to the husband" (Mashral and Ahmad, 2010: 175). All these studies concluded that women seek work for financial independence and a better life for their families by supplementing the family income.

Filial obligations towards parents, which are important in many countries have also influenced women to have their own income (Embong, 2002; Sultany *et al.*, 2008; Valk and Schans, 2008; Wong, 2009; Nalletamby, 2010; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010; Chen and Hosoc, 2011). In Hong Kong, children with the highest level of education and income are more likely and more able to provide financing for their parents (Koo and Wong, 2009). A recent study conducted by Jackson *et al.* (2013) found that most of the young Hong Kong women in their study considered that a monthly financial contribution to their parents was their responsibility, something that was not felt by British daughters. Similarly, fulfilling filial obligations is the basic family commitment of the younger generation following the patrilineal system and Confucian teachings in China. Sons were traditionally the primary financial provider, while the daughters and daughters-in-law were more likely to provide emotional support and assistance in daily domestic chores, but now daughters also give financial help to their parents (Koo and Wong, 2009; Wong, 2009).

In Malaysia, the majority of career women today are found to be juggling multiple roles, including as a care-giver to ageding parents. This is a normal situation because it is a general traditional responsibility of the adult children of all Malaysian ethnicities to provide care and financial support for their elderly parents (Mashral and Ahmad, 2010). In fact, daughters are seen as more responsible and reliable contributors to their family's finances than their brothers (Ong, 1987; Othman, 1998). In Malay society, honouring, caring for, obeying and helping parents are the noble attitudes that need to be practised in the worship of Allah S.W.T. (Hassan, 2004; Khan, 2008).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
One factor that was not mentioned in any studies that I have found on other Western and East Asian societies is the role of religion in encouraging women to work. Different religious beliefs and practices not only bring along with them different perceptions of gender roles and the division of labour within a family but also influence Muslim women's decisions to participate in the labour force (Lehrer, 1995, cited in Amin and Alam, 2008). Amin (2004) stated that religion has a "significant influence on human behaviour" and he linked this with his observation that the Muslim women in his study were participating in paid employment (Amin, 2004: 2379). His study showed that the belief that Muslim women are more likely to stay at home than go out to work is wrong. This suggests that religious motivation does influence and encouraged Muslim women to work because they want to "express *shukur* (gratitude) to Allah S.W.T for endowing them with the extra intellectual abilities and skills" (Salleh, 1985: 10).

Late marriage and fewer children

Studies in many parts of the world have revealed that some contemporary men and women today have a negative attitude towards marriage and the family (*e.g.* Anderson *et al.*, 1987; Mason *et al.*, 1998; Holdsworth and Elliot, 2001; Rutherford *et al*, 2001; Goldstein and Kenny, 2001; Ta, 2003; Bogenshneider and Corbett, 2004; Abd Rashid *et al.*, 2006; Popenoe, 2008; Koo and Wong, 2009; Tokuhiro, 2010). A comparative study conducted by Mason *et al.* (1998) found that married women in Japan held more negative views about their marriages than married women in the United States, whilst single Japanese women had more negative attitudes towards marriage than single Japanese men and single American women. Although some young Japanese women thought that marriage and family would bring little happiness to their lives, and were therefore uninterested in the idea of marriage and family, it was also reported that marriage was still the norm in Japanese society; many Japanese still believed in the institution of marriage and family (the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research 2007, cited in Tokuhiro, 2010). In the U.S.A, women who chose a career rather than a job often rejected the idea of marriage (Goldstein and Kenny, 2001). In some Western countries, where cohabitation has become increasingly acceptable, this was seen as one of the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
reasons why the younger generations rejected the idea of marriage and decided to remain single, or to postpone marriage (Popenoe, 2008; Bogenshneider and Corbett, 2004).

The retreat from marriage has been associated with economic and educational development in Western countries. The increasing number of women and men with higher academic qualifications, through which they have an independent income, as well as the high cost of living in urban areas, were two major factors that supported their decision to remain single (Mason *et al.*, 1998; Holdsworth and Elliot, 2001; Retherford *et al.*, 2001; Goldstein and Kenny, 2001; Bogenshneider and Corbett, 2004; Popenoe, 2008). Similar patterns have been reported in many Asian countries over the past two decades (Anderson *et al.*, 1987; Ta, 2003; Abd Rashid *et al.*, 2006; Jones, 2007; Koo and Wong, 2009; Tokuhiro, 2010). In Japan, "the changing patterns of modern lifestyles and attitudes towards marriage, personal obligation, and ambition" are associated with *bankoka* or postponement of marriage among Japanese people (Tokuhiro, 2010: 2; *see also* Rutherford *et al.*, 2001). Japanese women with higher academic attainments tend to delay marriage and only support the idea of a marriage that maintains independence and autonomy between husbands and wives rather than the husband dominating the family (Tokuhiro, 2010). This situation is also experienced by young women and academic women in Hong Kong (Chang and Wong, 2005, cited in Koo and Wong, 2009: 18).

In Malaysia, the ideas of marriage and family are on the decline among the younger generations as many of them believe that they are no longer important. Men refuse to marry young and plan to marry in their thirties, while the number of women opting for late marriage has increased slowly because of social changes and the increased status that they have achieved (Abd Rashid *et al.*, 2006). Late marriage is more common among professional women compared to non-professionals (Anderson *et al.*, 1987). Many highly educated Malay, Chinese and Indian women have preferred to focus on their careers, and thus they have either decided to postpone marriage or opted to remain single (Ta, 2003). It was reported that the mean age at first marriage was 25.3 years in 2009 compared to 23 years old in the 1980s (DOS, Social Statistic Bulletin, 2010).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Women who are exposed to the public sphere have become more autonomous not only in gaining higher education and participating in paid employment, but also in seeking a marriage partner. However, they face more difficulties in finding a suitable marriage partner who has a similar educational background than do men. This was another reason why women, particularly professional women, tended to delay marriage or remain single (Mason *et al.*, 1998; Ta, 2003; Abd Rashid *et al.*, 2006; Jones, 2007; Tokuhiro, 2010). In Japan, educated women face problems finding educated men with good careers as husbands (Shirahase, 2008 cited in Tokuhiro, 2009: 4). Consequently, many Japanese women have postponed marriage because of their desire to find the right person to marry, whilst Japanese men were more concerned with the age of marriage (Tokuhiro, 2010).

The other aspect of family life that has been widely discussed in numerous studies as being linked to women's participation in the paid labour force and late marriage is delayed parenthood, resulting in a decline in fertility rates. For some married career women, starting a family shortly after marriage becomes the next important thing to do, whilst others may decide to remain childless or delay starting a family in order to achieve their career goals (Ecivit *et al.*, 2003; Hakim, 2006; Jones, 2007; Koo and Wong, 2009). In Britain, some women in high-status professions and managerial positions remain childless in order to minimise problems with their work/life balance (Hakim, 2000, 2004, cited in Hakim, 2006: 283). One study in Turkey, which has a majority Muslim population, revealed that professional Turkish women who worked in computer programming occupations mostly opted for a single child or preferred to remain childless (Ecivit *et al.*, 2003).

During the last decades of the twentieth century, the changes in marriage trends played a considerable role in accelerating declining fertility in some Asian countries. It has been reported that Japan, Hong Kong and South Korea are the most affected countries, facing the lowest fertility rates (Jones, 2007). The new generation of young, educated women in Hong Kong not only delayed marriage but also refused to have many children and some of them decided to remain childless (Chan and Wong, 2009 cited in Koo and Wong, 2009). In addition, many of these women preferred to marry and have children after the age of 30 (Koo

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
and Wong, 2009). Their study indicated that 22% of married couples aged 30 to 40 were childless, 41% had one child and 31% had two children.

Delayed marriage and people opting to remain single are also associated with declining fertility rates among Malaysian communities (Mat and Omar, 2002; Tey *et al.*, 2011). The most recent mean family size in Malaysia is reported as 4.5 in 2008, which shows a slight decrease compared to 6 in the 1980s (Malaysia, Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, 2010). Several studies have been conducted on the differential fertility rates of the three major groups: Malays, Chinese and Indians (*e.g.* Hirschman, 1986; Leete, 1996; Arshart and Tey, 1988; Ying, 1992; Tan, 1994; Tey, 1994; Tey and Tan, 1994; Ghani, 2006). Chinese and Indian women aged 20 to 49 who had ever been married were likely to have fewer children that their Malay counterparts (Arshart and Tey, 1988). The desire to have more children amongst Malays was about twice as high as amongst Chinese and Indians in Peninsular Malaysia. Rural Malay women have more children than their counterparts in urban areas (Tey and Tan, 1994). Having a larger family in Malay society was in line with the pronatalist Malaysian population policy[76] proposed by the former Prime Minister, Tun Sri Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, in September 1982 and the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism, which caused a decline in the use of modern contraceptive methods among Malays (Leete, 1996). The recent 2010 census indicated that *Bumiputra* fertility rates were still higher than those of their counterparts, at 2.8 children per woman, followed by Indians with 2.1 and Chinese with 1.8 (Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2011). Therefore, the available literature indicates that having more children is generally accepted in Malay society.

Social and psychological factors were taken into account by both Malay and non-Malay women as reasons for wanting more children. The majority stated that they wanted to have

[76] Leete (1996) added that, following this pro-natalist population policy, it is believed that Malaysia will be more successful with a population of 70 million, and this goal is expected to be reached within 115 to 120 years. The purpose of this policy is not onlyto build the foundations for economic development but also to produce a diligent, disciplined and productive population. In regard to this policy, Malaysian married couples are not restricted to having only a specific number of children. Although they are free to plan their families under the National Policy, the implementation of this policy is monitored and evaluated by the Family Development Programme. Many programmes have been implemented in relation to educational activities and family counselling involving issues such as marriage, childcare and parenting. As a result, National Family Day is celebrated every year on 11 November. This is to educate, create and consolidate public awareness regarding the importance of the family institution in Malaysia. (*see also* http://pmr.penerangan.gov.my/index.php/maklumat-kenegaraan/239-dasar-kependudukan-malaysia-ke-arah-70-juta-penduduk.html

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
more children because they "enjoyed bringing up children (92% Malays and 88% non-Malays), provided companionship for other siblings (92% Malays and 89% non-Malays) and the children could bring couples closer (96% Malays and 69% non-Malays)" (Khor, 1990: 468-469). In addition, changes in fertility patterns among Malays, Chinese and Indians were also associated with socio-economic differences, namely: education, female employment, family income, urbanisation, modernisation and infant mortality (Ying, 1992).

Although some working women have decided to remain single, others want to start their family lives and at the same time retain their careers. These women need to negotiate with their partners and to develop coping strategies to ensure that their own needs are met and they are still able to meet the needs of their families and their careers. They not only have to deal with the challenges of integrating family and work life but they also need to ensure that their tranditional identity as Malay women remains. The decision also seems to indicate, in particular, that many women accept their dual roles and try to balance them. It is therefore of interest to know how these women deal with their dual roles and to consider the effect that this may have on their identities.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Patriarchal system: The family provider, the head of household and decision-making power

The traditional patriarchal system, which upholds men's power and social status in relation to marriage, inheritance, work and family decision-making, is culturally and socially derived, and its consequences for gender inequality have been widely debated in many countries (*e.g.* Karim, 1987, 992; Kandiyoti, 1988; Brownridge, 2002; Walby, 2003; Sultana, 2010; Juhari *et al.*, 2012). Walby (2003) argues that differing forms of patriarchal or gender regimes exist according to differing social structures and practices which set particular norms in particular societies. Age, class, ethnicity and region are also factors that influence gender relations within any gender regime. Women use a variety of strategies to bargain with these systems in order to make them visible, not only in the private sphere but also in the public sphere (Kandiyoti, 1988).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The patriarchal ordering of the private sphere has often been related to the traditional division of labour at home between wife as homemaker and husband as breadwinner. In societies that have undergone a rapid transformation from traditional to postmodern conditions, the changes have had only a little impact on patriarchal family systems. Early western studies on couples in dual-career families found that men were still classified as the primary economic provider even though their wives contributed more than or the same amount as their husbands to the family finances (Spaede, 1994; Loscco, 1997; Potuchek, 1997) and the perception of the husband as the main family breadwinner still continues today (Brennan *et al.*, 2001; Raley *et al.*, 2006; Dema-Moreno and Diaz-Marinez, 2010). Other studies have shown that men's position as primary breadwinner has also given them greater decision-making power in their family, although their working wives do have a voice in family matters, because couples in dual-career families tended to be more egalitarian in decision-making. So the traditional gender roles still persist, with men making decisions on major matters and women more usually making decisions on domestic management (Fox and Murry, 2000; Roger and Amato, 2000; Bartley *et al.*, 2005: Demo-Moreno, 2009).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

As Juhari *et al.* (2012: 3) note: "culturally Malay families have always been patriarchal." Most Malays practise a patriarchal system which stresses the man's position in the family as discussed in relation to *Adat Temenggung* and *Adat Pepatih*. Rural Malays are more likely to emphasise the importance of male power in the family, but the patriarchal system undermines women's status in both traditional and modern Malay regions (Karim, 1987). Women have always been the responsibility of their parents and family (particularly the father and brother) until this responsibility is transferred to their husband when they marry. They are led by their husbands after marriage and very often they compromise in many situations for the sake of their family (Zakaria, 1980; Osman, 1989). Under this system, if a woman becomes widowed or divorced, the responsibility should revert back to both father and brother. Socio-cultural factors continue to shape gender roles, where the existence of gender inequality is associated with women's roles as mothers and wives (Hashim, 2006). It is a common assumption in Malay society that the husband is the main breadwinner, decision-maker and head of the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
household who takes care of the family physically and emotionally,[77] whilst the wife is his assistant (Shah, 2010). Abdullah (1987) noted that 90% of female respondents agreed that men were the head of household and the main breadwinner, therefore they had primary authority in family decision-making, and only 10% said that both husband and wife can be the head of household. Thus, traditional roles have given Malay men authority in family decision-making (Ariffin, 1997; Noor, 1999; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Sharif, 2002; Noor and Mahudin, 2005; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010).

The Malay family can be considered as lying between the patriarchal and democratic systems (Karim, 1992; Rudie, 1995; *Encyclopaedia of History and Malay Culture*, 1999). Malay couples have the opportunity to practise a degree of egalitarianism compared with more strongly patrilineal societies elsewhere in Asia (Karim, 1992; Rudie, 1995). Although the husband's dominant position in the family persists, and the wife and children are subject to the authority of the husband and father, the wife is not totally denied influence in the family; she is a manager in the household and her position in decision-making pertaining to family matters cannot be ignored by her husband (*Encyclopaedia of History and Malay Culture*, 1999). When the traditional breadwinning patterns of Malay families changed, men's decision-making power became less absolute because Malay women who worked outside the house had increased self-confidence and became more independent. These women believed that they were advisors to their husbands; their voice was heard in decision-making which was often based on a discussion between the couples before the final decision was made by their husbands (Abdullah, 1987; Osman, 1989; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Sharif, 2002). As Noor and Mahudin (2005: 116-117) stated the husband's decisions were achieved through "deliberation and agreement with their wives."

Men and women, however, are expected to have different commitments to work and family, which shows that men are still dominant. Although Malay husbands and wives in urban households, both low-income and high-income, claimed that they had equal power in making decisions for their families, the mothers' power was found to be more influential in almost all

[77] Islam divides these responsibilities into two: material responsibility and spiritual responsibility. The father has to ensure that he provides enough money for his children's needs, such as education, housing, food and other requirements.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
the routine household decisions (Arrifin, 1986; Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987; Osman, 1989; Karim, 1992; Harun, 1993; Sharif, 2002; Noor and Mahudin, 2005). Women were involved in much more than just making decision about grocery shopping and seeing to the needs of children, such as clothes and food. Decision-making, however, was still seen as being the man's responsibility and included their children's education, household welfare, solving family crises and being financial providers (Abdullah, 1987; Osman, 1989; Noor and Mahudin, 2005).

Malay husbands and wives are still bound by religious and cultural rules, under which they need to make sure that wives are not dominant over their husbands as this is still not accepted from the perspective of Malay society (Harun, 1993). Women's roles as mothers and wives are still maintained and they are often portrayed as secondary to and standing behind their husbands. It is not surprising to see that men are still heads of households and the main breadwinners, and dominate financial decisions because Malay society will look down on any man who disregards or fails to fulfil these responsibilities (Ariffin, 1986; *Encyclopedia of History and Malay Culture*, 1995; Noor, 1999a, 1999b; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010).

Dealing with the private and public spheres: a global perspective

A study of modernisation and women in several countries in East and South East Asia found that the process of modernisation "was accompanied by the birth of the modern family" (Ochiai, 2008: 157). This originally led to what Ochiai (2008) called the "housewifization" of women, but later in many countries led to a partial de-housewifization as more women entered paid work. There are some contemporary women, particularly those with young children in Western , Eastern and South East Asian countries who decide to leave their full-time careers and stay at home as they cannot manage to do both very well, and "housewifization" still remains in these societies (Ochiai, 2008: 1-2; *see also* Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007). Some Chinese working women became full-time housewives in order to fulfil their domestic responsibilities, particularly childcare, and thus they were still seen as more responsible for their domestic sphere than Chinese men (Ochiai, 2008). For similar reasons, many women in Malaysia have stopped working because they want to care for their small children as well as to

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
spend more time with their families (Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010). In addition, women will generally sacrifice their careers and personal needs in order to follow their husbands' future path, especially if the woman's career contributes less to the family income. Husbands have more say when it comes to a major family decision, such as migrating and in such a case wives would often become followers (Spitze, 1984; Cooke, 2001; Wei, 2011).

Women who decide to marry and have a family life have had to develop strategies to cope with and organise their family and work responsibilities efficiently; for example, by changing their working hours from full-time to part-time, postponing their career advancement, placing limits on their working hours, and reversing their priorities to focus on their families rather than their careers, particularly after having children (Farber, 1996; Pocock, 2001; Baker, 2001; Lewis, 2001; McCulloch and Dex, 2001; Crompton, 2006; Bowes, 2005; Hakim, 2006; Cinamon, 2006; Cooke, 2007; Bosch *et al.*, 2010; Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010). Many women in Britain (McCulloch and Dex, 2001; Crompton, 2006) and in Malaysia (Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010) stopped working full-time or limited their career goals, and preferred flexible working arrangements. All these women sacrificed their careers (at least temporarily) in order to focus on their family's happiness.

One strategy used when both husbands and wives are involved in the paid labour force is to share the household labour with other people. Obtaining practical assistance from husbands has resulted in more men sharing household tasks than before, particularly in dual-career families, in which spouses share household work more equally than other couples. Men's participation in domestic chores "represent[s] the elimination of gender-based role specialisation and male power associated with patriarchy" (Gilbert, 1994:101). In Britain, the amount of men's involvement in the private sphere increased steadily between the 1960s and the 1990s (Sullivan, 2006). Men whose wives earn their own income have made greater adjustments in their attitudes and become involved in household tasks because their wives contribute to the family income (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976; Gilbert, 1994; Brewater and Padavic, 2000; Sullivan, 2006; Cha and Thebaud, 2009). There is a negotiation between husband and wife about how best to practise their roles and responsibilities to conform with their modern lifestyle, but commitments to the family continue to be largely the responsibility

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
of women alone. Although women expected to share the household duties with their husbands or partners, they found this difficult to achieve in reality (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1976; Hertz, 1986; Parasuraman *et al.*, 1993; Becker and Moen, 1999; Da, 2004; Bartley *et al.*, 2005; Ezzeden and Ritchey, 2008). Thus, inequality in the everyday activities of husbands and wives still remains (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976; Moen, 1992; Ochiai, 2008; Ueno, 2009; Tokuhiro, 2010).

Husbands' involvement in domestic chores was reported to have increased although, paradoxically, at the same time, men in dual-career families tended to spend more time at work in order to limit their time at home, which indicated little improvement in men's domestic participation. Several studies in the West and in Asian countries have confirmed that husbands were helping their wives with domestic chores, but the degree of their involvement varied and they were still only "helping" (*see e.g.* Hochschild and Manchung, 1989; Gilbert, 1994; Coltrane, 2000, 2004; Lewis, 2001; OECD Factbook, 2003; Jacobs and Winslow, 2004; Da, 2004; Ochiai, 2008; Grady and McCarthy, 2008; Copur *et al.*, 2010). Women face challenges in managing their "double shift" (Hochschild and Manchung, 1989) and they often organise their time to allow for unexpected things that might occur in the family, which suggests that women are more engaged in household duties than men (Coltrane, 2000, 2004). Lewis (2001) revealed that young married or cohabiting men (in heterosexual relationships) claimed that they were committed and would spend more time with their families, but they faced problems in balancing their time and left most of the domestic tasks to their wives or partners. It was also discovered that working Turkish husbands and wives with higher education were more likely to share the domestic tasks than families that still adhered to traditional roles, but the men agreed that their wives did more than they did (Copur *et al.*, 2010). A study on married female professors in South Korea found that they were still expected to continue to fulfil traditional gender roles simultaneously with their career responsibilities (Park and Liao, 2000). In contrast, a study on Shanghai's men in Sydney is the only research I have found indicating that men were participating in family work and did more than their working wives as this was normal in Shanghai society. In fact, fathers played a more important role in helping their children with schoolwork than mothers and this was admitted by the Shanghai women (Da, 2004).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
of women alone. Although women expected to share the household duties with their husbands or partners, they found this difficult to achieve in reality (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1976; Hertz, 1986; Parasuraman *et al.*, 1993; Becker and Moen, 1999; Da, 2004; Bartley *et al.*, 2005; Ezzeden and Ritchey, 2008). Thus, inequality in the everyday activities of husbands and wives still remains (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976; Moen, 1992; Ochiai, 2008; Ueno, 2009; Tokuhiro, 2010).

Husbands' involvement in domestic chores was reported to have increased although, paradoxically, at the same time, men in dual-career families tended to spend more time at work in order to limit their time at home, which indicated little improvement in men's domestic participation. Several studies in the West and in Asian countries have confirmed that husbands were helping their wives with domestic chores, but the degree of their involvement varied and they were still only "helping" (*see e.g.* Hochschild and Manchung, 1989; Gilbert, 1994; Coltrane, 2000, 2004; Lewis, 2001; OECD Factbook, 2003; Jacobs and Winslow, 2004; Da, 2004; Ochiai, 2008; Grady and McCarthy, 2008; Copur *et al.*, 2010). Women face challenges in managing their "double shift" (Hochschild and Manchung, 1989) and they often organise their time to allow for unexpected things that might occur in the family, which suggests that women are more engaged in household duties than men (Coltrane, 2000, 2004). Lewis (2001) revealed that young married or cohabiting men (in heterosexual relationships) claimed that they were committed and would spend more time with their families, but they faced problems in balancing their time and left most of the domestic tasks to their wives or partners. It was also discovered that working Turkish husbands and wives with higher education were more likely to share the domestic tasks than families that still adhered to traditional roles, but the men agreed that their wives did more than they did (Copur *et al.*, 2010). A study on married female professors in South Korea found that they were still expected to continue to fulfil traditional gender roles simultaneously with their career responsibilities (Park and Liao, 2000). In contrast, a study on Shanghai's men in Sydney is the only research I have found indicating that men were participating in family work and did more than their working wives as this was normal in Shanghai society. In fact, fathers played a more important role in helping their children with schoolwork than mothers and this was admitted by the Shanghai women (Da, 2004).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In Malay society, the division of labour at home is inextricably linked with the role differentation between husbands and wives and seems to alter only a little when both husband and wife work. Malay women have been given opportunities in employment in terms of promotion and encouragedment, but their lives are still circumscribed by cultural and religious norms. It is well documented that Malay men's involvement in domestic chores is still lower than that of women due to the patriarchal system (*e.g.* Arrifin, 1986; Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987; Osman, 1989; Karim, 1992; Abdullah, 1987, 1994; Harun, 1993; Kling, 1995; Noor, 1999a, 1999b; Hosain *et al.*, 2005; Noor and Mahudin, 2005; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008; Sultana and Noor, 2011; Bakar, 2012). Professional women in Malay middle-class, dual-career families stated that they did obtain assistance from their husbands, eldest children, relatives, maids or temporary helpers,[78] but they were still the ones who performed more domestic tasks. This happened because these women wanted to perform the primary household tasks and at the same time maintain the traditional perception of themselves as women (Abdullah, 1987, 1994; Mahmood and Muhammad, 1987; Omar, 2003; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008; Bakar, 2012). Malay husbands who assisted their wives often faced negative sanctions from their relatives and friends (Abdullah, 1987). Masculinity is still strongly defended in Malay society, so men are rarely seen to do women's domestic tasks and women are expected to manage their roles well (Swift, 1965; Othman, 1972; Abdullah, 1985; Osman, 1989; Carsten, 1989; Ong, 1990; Raja Mamat, 1991).

Although Malay women have made some adjustments and accommodations between their situation and social beliefs, they still hold strongly to their roles in the family and are happy to be obedient wives. They need to possess particular qualities to be a good and righteous wife and mother. When they act according to Islamic teachings and please their husbands and children, they will gain the blessings of Allah S.W.T.[79] They believe that a woman will not be a good mother and wife if she abandons her primary responsibilities in the family. This perception still remains strong among Malay women even though their status and position

[78] Temporary helpers refers to people who come to the house to do the majority of the house cleaning on a daily, weekly or monthly basis.

[79] The Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. stresses in one of his *Hadith*: 'When a woman observes the five times of prayers, fasts during Ramadhan, preserves her chastity and obeys her husband, she may enter Paradise by any gate she wishes.'

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
have changed (Harun, 1993; Hassan, 1998; Shah, 2010). Thus, Malay women accept the notion that their duty is to take care of the family and claim not to mind doing the domestic chores on their own (Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Hashim and Omar, 2004).

Some studies have focused on the type of domestic chores that men in dual-career families choose to do. One of them is the contribution of men to childcare, which is reported to have increased in Western countries (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976; Jacobs and Winslow, 2004; Suvillian *et al.*, 2008; Ezzedeen and Ritchey, 2009; Yeung *et al.*, 2011), as well as in Malaysia (Mahmood and Muhammad, 1987; Abdullah, 1987, 1994; Noor, 1999a, 1999b; Hossain *et al.*, 2005). However, the evidence shows that mothers were still the primary caregivers, and the amount of time they spent in childcare duties was more than the fathers. The studies in Malaysia had at least answered the question about women as mothers in Asian countries posed by Ochiai *et al.* (2008):

> The caretaking role was at the centre of women's role in modern societies in the West. We would ask, as Asia goes through its own process of modernization, whether the primacy of the mothering role for women is being emphasized in the same way. (Ochiai *et al.*, 2008: 3)

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Malay men are more likely to help their wives by paying bills, taking care of the car or taking their children to hospital, than to help with cooking, ironing, washing and laundry because they assumed that those jobs are only for women (Mahmood and Muhammad, 1987). Hashim and Omar (2004) stated that 86% of the fathers in Malay middle-class families enjoyed playing with their children and this was the most frequent task undertaken by Malay fathers, followed by grocery shopping and taking their children to and from school. The distribution of work might be related to the way Malay women have been trained for their roles and responsibilities in the family, with a focus on household chores, whilst men related to social activities outside the home from an early age[80] (Othman, 1972; Abdullah, 1985; Osman, 1989; Carsten, 1989; Ong, 1990; Raja Mamat, 1991). However, the method of teaching household chores to younger generations may be changing. Ghazali (2002) found that Malay families in

[80]Papanek (1990) also stated that many children in Third World countries have been taught about rights, the differences between men and women and gender equality at an early aged.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
suburban villageds in her study, where both spouses were working, had involved their children in the productive and re-productive roles of both men and women, both directly and indirectly. These differences are likely to be due to the socio-economic changes in the modern era which the respondents were experiencing compared with the generations studied in earlier research. A recent study found that fathers spent more time with their children in various activities. Their more "open and accepting" attitude provided a comfortable environment for both fathers and children to share in activities. Fathers with fewer children can devote more of their time to each child; they were found to be participating in shaping and educating "the character, morality, spirituality and intellectual development of their children" (Juhari *et al.*, 2012: 15).

One of the roles practised by Malay parents, which has often been regarded as an important responsibility is that of an "informal educator" for their children at home. Many parents spent less time with their children once they started formal schooling, and fathers were much less often involved in educating their children about the values of Islam and Malay culture than mothers (Abdullah, 1987, 1988). Malay parents who live in urban areas are not only concerned about academic education[81] for their children but also religious education. The majority of these parents teach their children the basic tenets of Islam from a young age until they reached puberty (Embong, 2002). Embong found that Malay parents emphasise the importance of delivering Islamic teachings to their children in order to avoid "moral crises," which are seen as very prevalent in modern times.

However, several studies in both Western countries and Malaysia have found that men's participation in domestic chores lessens their wives' burden to some extent and helps them to enhance their career development and success (*e.g.* Beutell and Greenhaus, 1983; Ruderman *et al.*, 2002; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Komarraju, 2006; Marcinkus *et al.*, 2007; Ezzedeen and Ritchey, 2008; Bures *et al.*, 2011; Juhari *et al.*, 2012). For instance, Ezzeden and Ritchey (2008) found that husbands' support had been rated as the second most cited category of

[81] I do find that it is important to explain here about the school curriculum in Malaysia. The curriculums of both primary and secondary schools offer religious knowledge (basically known as Islamic Religious Education) and worldly knowledge (basically known as academic education). All pupils in both secondary and primary schools will take worldly education, whereas Islamic Religious Education is only for Muslim pupils; non-Muslim pupils will take the subject of Moral Education (Kamal, 1994). Therefore, when Malay parents talked about their children's education, they could not avoid providing both kinds of knowledge.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
spousal support by executive women in their study. In contrast, a study conducted by Natdoo and Jano (2003) on South African female managers in dual-career couples found that these women faced conflict in their career progression as they had not received support from their husbands in performing household duties.

Given that support from their husbands is limited, working women depend on other people to help them deal with the domestic chores and childcare (Park and Liao, 2000; Ochiai *et al.*, 2008; Wallace and Young, 2008; Ezzedeen and Ricthey, 2008). In a South Korean study, 70% of the research respondents (married female professors) preferred to receive assistance from non-family members rather than their husbands when dealing with their childcare tasks and domestic chores (Park and Liao, 2000). Wallace and Young (2008) identified out-sourcing of caring and household tasks as a strategy used by working women; for example, through using babysitters, take-away food outlets, laundry services, live-in domestic helpers and housekeepers.

Finding "satisfactory child care" was important for working women in Southern California in order to make sure that their children were well cared for while they maintained their career (Grant-Vallone and Ensher, 2011: 343). The preferred "childcare network" varies from country to country depending on the historical background, cultures and customs, places of living, formal policies and the experience of modernisation (Ochiai *et al.*, 2008). In a study of six Asian countries (China, Thailand, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan), different types of childcare support were used by families with employed mothers: families who relied on themselves (as fathers and mothers), on relatives (such as grandparents), on institutions and facilities (private or public) and on domestic workers (Ochiai *et al.*, 2008). Support from the extended family, particularly in child rearing by the grandparents, is important in much of Chinese society (Zhan and Montgomery, 2003).

Receiving assistance, whether from family members or from an "outsider"[82] or "other people"[83] is also a strategy adopted by working women in Malaysia in managing their child

[82] This refers to grandparents, helpers, maids and nurseries. In this study, 'outsider' is used interchangeably with the phrase 'other people'.
[83] This refers to grandparents, helpers, maids and nurseries.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
care (Abdullah, 1985, 1987; Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987; Ahmad *et al.*, 1999; Hashim and Omar, 2004). Abdullah (1987: 82) found that only 25% of her respondents sent their children to grandparents or other family members, whereas 75% preferred to transfer their child care duties to maids, babysitters and childcare centres. These women felt more secure in sending their pre-school children to daycare centres and they found this was the best way for them because they were operated by professionals. Ahmad *et al.* (1999) discovered in their study that sharing the caregiver role with babysitters and neighbours was the first choice of working women in Malaysia, at 52.4%, followed by relatives 22%, 2.5% childcare centre and mother, 2.1% domestic helpers and 20.5% self-managed. In Kedah,[84] the emergence of nurseries and daycare centres was the determining factor influencing women who had children under the aged of six to remain in the paid labour force (Eam *et al.*, 2003).

Many Malay women who work in urban areas cannot share childcare with family members because of geographical mobility, which causes them to live apart from their extended family (Abdullah, 1985, 1987). 68% of Malaysian households were nuclear families in 2008 compared to 55% in the 1980s, indicating a corresponding decline in extended families in Malay society. Consequently, working women today cannot expect assistance from family members such as grandmothers, mothers and other relatives in the same way as it is practised in the traditional Malay family. To deal with this challenge, they have to depend on other institutions, such as domestic helpers and daycare centres.

Using domestic workers to provide household services at home is the most popular option, particularly amongst the middle-class and upper-class households in several Western and Asian countries (for example, Chin, 1997; Yeoh and Huang, 1998; Lutz, 2002). The resurgence of paid domestic work in Western European households is related to the fact that "professional working women today need help in coping with the double burden of family care and career" (Lutz, 2002: 90-91). In Singapore, where women have been part of the labour force since the 1960s, the demand for domestic workers has increased and having them at home to fulfil domestic commitments has become an alternative solution for working women

[84] One of the states in Peninsular Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
to alleviate their household task burden (Yeoh and Huang, 1998), and this strategy is also used by Taiwanese women[85] (Cheng, 2003).

In Malaysia, hiring domestic servants to fulfil the demand for household labour is very common, particularly in "middle-class society" (Chin, 1997: 353) and "upper-class households" (Kassim, 1987: 277) because of the availability of cheap labour provided by women from poorer countries, for instance, Indonesia and the Philippines. Some Malay husbands who earned high salaries rarely helped their wives as they could afford to employ a full-time, live-in maid or a part-time helper to do the domestic chores (Abdullah, 1987). Interestingly, Chin found that having maids at home was desirable not only to perform domestic chores, but also because "foreign servants are items purchased to symbolize status" (Chin, 1997: 356). For example, two of Chin's respondents preferred to have live-in maids to take care of their children rather than sending them to "private crèches or childcare centres" for reasons of status. For them, the latter would be "low status and demeaning" for their families (*ibid.*: 372-373).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Apart from taking care of children, the maids also helped with other household duties such as "bathing young children, cooking meals, cleaning bathrooms, washing and ironing clothes", as respondents did not receive any assistance from their husbands. Three of Chin's respondents (one Malay woman and two Chinese women) claimed that this happened because of the Asian mentality which presumes that men cannot and should not do household work. These women described men's function at home as only to "sit back and *goyang kaki* (literally translated as "shaking legs"), and this term is used in the Malay languaged to connote laziness)" (*ibid.*: 373).Whilst middle-class couples in Malaysia hired maids to take care of their children and help them with household chores, in contrast, middle-class families in Thailand and Singapore were more likely to hire a live-in maid or a live-out maid to help them with the household work, but not for child care. These families preferred the grandparents to take care of their children because they felt that bringing up children is not suitable work for maids. They were also afraid of the possibility that child abuse could be perpetrated by maids (Ochiai, 2008).

[85] Cheng (2003) also found that Taiwanese employers hired maid from the Philippines and Indonesia because they are much cheaper than local people.

Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
When household tasks are transferred to domestic workers, dealing with them is often considered a wife's responsibility in order to confirm that the work is done satisfactorily (Hochschild, 1989; Chin, 1997; Cheng, 2003). Husbands preferred their wives[86] to talk to maids about the household duties and they only participated in "the process of hiring and evaluating the performance of their maids" (Chin, 1997: 357). Cheng's Taiwanese study (2003) also found that wives managed the domestic workers. The wives claimed that "authority and control" were needed when dealing with the domestic workers in order to make sure that the "household tasks should be done" (Cheng, 2003: 182). For instance, two wives gave their maids detailed instructions on how each chore should be accomplished, and one couple provided a list of tasks that the helper needed to complete during each day while they were at work. All the tasks that the helper performed had to be written in a notebook and the couple checked it when they came home (*ibid.*). Both of these studies make it clear that although domestic workers were hired to do the household chores, women were still responsible for ensuring that the work came up to their standards. As Cheng (2003) emphasised, women have to observe and ensure that their home environment is well-organised, even after they have transferred the household tasks to domestic workers (Cheng, 2003: 183).

These findings emphasised that the division of labour at home was still determined by gender, with women maintaining their responsibility for household management and doing more domestic chores than men. This clearly indicates that women's position in regard to domestic chores and care for the family has not really changed even though their economic positions have improved. This is still happening because men avoid sharing domestic chores and they always assume that women's primary responsibilities are connected with childcare, care of the elderly and domestic chores. Another reason is that women themselves are still attempting to perform all the household duties as they consider those tasks to be their responsibility, even though their attitude to paid work and housework have changed (*e.g.* Omar and Davidson, 2001; Omar, 2003; Park and Liao, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Stier and Lewin-Epstein, 2007). Whether women do the housework alone, share it or transfer it to other people, it could be concluded that household tasks are still under women's supervision and they are still seen as

[86] In Chin's (1997) study, wives are also referrerd to as female employers.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

When household tasks are transferred to domestic workers, dealing with them is often considered a wife's responsibility in order to confirm that the work is done satisfactorily (Hochschild, 1989; Chin, 1997; Cheng, 2003). Husbands preferred their wives[86] to talk to maids about the household duties and they only participated in "the process of hiring and evaluating the performance of their maids" (Chin, 1997: 357). Cheng's Taiwanese study (2003) also found that wives managed the domestic workers. The wives claimed that "authority and control" were needed when dealing with the domestic workers in order to make sure that the "household tasks should be done" (Cheng, 2003: 182). For instance, two wives gave their maids detailed instructions on how each chore should be accomplished, and one couple provided a list of tasks that the helper needed to complete during each day while they were at work. All the tasks that the helper performed had to be written in a notebook and the couple checked it when they came home (*ibid.*). Both of these studies make it clear that although domestic workers were hired to do the household chores, women were still responsible for ensuring that the work came up to their standards. As Cheng (2003) emphasised, women have to observe and ensure that their home environment is well-organised, even after they have transferred the household tasks to domestic workers (Cheng, 2003: 183).

These findings emphasised that the division of labour at home was still determined by gender, with women maintaining their responsibility for household management and doing more domestic chores than men. This clearly indicates that women's position in regard to domestic chores and care for the family has not really changed even though their economic positions have improved. This is still happening because men avoid sharing domestic chores and they always assume that women's primary responsibilities are connected with childcare, care of the elderly and domestic chores. Another reason is that women themselves are still attempting to perform all the household duties as they consider those tasks to be their responsibility, even though their attitude to paid work and housework have changed (*e.g.* Omar and Davidson, 2001; Omar, 2003; Park and Liao, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Stier and Lewin-Epstein, 2007). Whether women do the housework alone, share it or transfer it to other people, it could be concluded that household tasks are still under women's supervision and they are still seen as

[86] In Chin's (1997) study, wives are also referrerd to as female employers.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
primary caregivers for their families, and this is ongoing, although family arrangements have changed, as Gilbert (1994) wrote:

> Role sharing in the private lives of heterosexual partners represents the elimination of gender-based role specialization and male power associated with patriarchy. Because dual-career marriages still exist within a larger world of gender inequity, it is not yet possible for the role-sharing dual-career family to emerge as a normative societal marital pattern. (Gilbert, 1994: 101)

Women who do not have domestic helpers need to find ways of coping with "the second shift."[87] For example, women set aside quality time in order to arrange all the home activities and domestic chores and divide chores into categories so that they can fulfil them according to schedules on a daily, weekly or monthly basis (Hochschild,1997). These strategies were also used by Malay professional women, where some chores, such as ironing, cleaning and grocery shopping are done weekly or monthly whilst most women did the cooking daily, especially for breakfast and dinner, but rarely for lunch during the working week (Abdullah, 1985, 1987; Hashim and Omar, 2004).

Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

As well as subdividing labour at home, sharing domestic chores and doing the chores according to set schedules, modern appliances[88]and technological advances have also played a crucial role in helping Malay professional women to ease the burden of their household duties (Abdullah, 1987; Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987; Ghazali, 2002). The emergence of new technologies due to modernisation and urbanisation has changed women's perceptions of having new technologies at home, not only as a status symbol or lifestyle choice but as necessary to help them with the domestic chores (Ghazali, 2002).

In brief, the availability of various strategies has enabled married career women to continue with their careers even after childbearing. Although the family practices of working women and their partners have helped them to deal with their commitment to work and family roles,

[87] According to Hochschild (1997), in a study in America, 'the first shift' is 'at the workplace', 'the second shift' is 'at home', and 'the third shift' refers to 'time work'. These shifts have been discussed in the issues of work-family arrangements faced by working couples.

[88] They mentioned that washing machines and gas cookers were among the modern technologies that made their work easier and saved time while they were dealing with their dual roles.

PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
they cannot avoid facing problems and challenges. Thus, both working men and women may experience conflict between work and family roles because those who have to juggle multiple roles are more likely to experience incompatible demands.

Work/family conflict and family/work conflict

Research on working women and dual-career families has focused on both work/family conflict and family/work conflict because the relationships between family and work are bi-directional. These conflicts refer to work demands interfering with family life (work/family conflict) and family demands interfering with work life (family/work conflict). Such conflicts are expected to occur when participation in one role interferes with the demands of the other role in some respect because of divided attention between work and family (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus and Pasuraman, 1999; Burke, 1988; Adams *et al.*, 1996; Frye and Breaugh, 2004; Judge *et al.*, 2006; Baker, 2010; Wayne *et al.*, 2013). Most studies have provided empirical evidence that the impact of the conflicts in either direction between work and family is varied and related to negative emotions such as stress, burnout, guilt and depression (*e.g.* Bacharach *et al.*, 1991; MacEwen and Barling, 1994; Thomas and Ganster, 1995; Frone, 2000; Lambert *et al.*, 2002; Judge *et al.*, 2006) and also related to the quality of job satisfaction, marital satisfaction and life satisfaction (*e.g.* Adams *et al.*, 1996; Carlson *et al.*, 2000; Ruderman *et al.*, 2002; Greenhaus *et al.*, 2003; Frye and Breaugh, 2004).

The evidence from various studies indicates that the experience of work/family conflict and family/work conflict is gendered (*e.g.* Duxbury and Higgins, 1991; McEwen and Barling, 1994; Parasuraman *et al.*, 1996; Coltraine, 2000; Cinamon and Rich, 2002; Rhodes; 2002; Frisco and William, 2003; Elloy and Smith, 2004; Ford *et al.*, 2007; Gaio and Cardoso, 2008; Geist, 2009). Although these studies revealed that both men and women face conflicts, the findings show that employed women are always more affected by role-conflict than men when both partners within a couple are working because of women's domestic and family responsibilities (Frone, 2003; Cinamon and Rich, 2002). This is also because women had difficulty in deciding whether to be wives and mothers or career women as they are burdened with multi-tasking roles (Frisco and William, 2003).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The sources of conflict between work and family roles are related to time management, in which someone who devotes time to fulfilling one role fails to meet the demands of the other (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Frone *et al*, 1991; Greenhaus *et al*., 1997; Coltrane, 2000; Frye and Breaugh, 2004; Judge *et al*., 2006; Ford *et al*., 2007; Geist, 2009). Time management is a key problem contributing to role conflict for career women because the long hours which they are expected to spend in the workplace by most modern organisations automatically reduces the number of hours they can devote to their family at home (Coltrane, 2000; Swanberg, 2004; Gaio and Cardoso, 2008; Geist, 2009). Women who had limited time and energy to perform both their roles faced work/family conflict as they were found to some extent to be affected by overload, which then led to depression, life stress, work/family tension, and family and work dissatisfaction (Frone *et al*., 1991; Greenhaus *et al*., 1997; Pocock *et al*., 2007). Other studies have revealed that insufficient time to focus on both roles and sets of responsibility is believed to be a crucial factor contributing to conflict for full-time working couples, particularly in terms of relationships with their spouses and children (Jacobs and Winslow, 2004; Barnett, 2006; Doherty and Manfredi, 2006; Allan *et al*., 2007; Ford *et al*., 2007). Difficulty in managing time was found to be the most frequent reason leading to work/family conflict among Malay women, and meant that they allowed themselves limited time for leisure or for themselves in order to devote more time to their family and work responsibilities. Only some of them felt that they were successful in fulfilling both their family and work responsibilities (Bakar, 1996; Ahmad, 1999a; Noor, 1999a, 1999b; Omar, 2003; Salleh, 2003; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Komarraju, 2006).

The fact that not many organisations offer flexible working hours to employees has been found to be another factor which reduces work and family satisfaction, as well as causing female workers to leave their jobs (Smith and Secombe, 1998; Kinnunen and Muano, 1998; Taylor, 2002; Pocock *et al*., 2007; Atkinson and Hall, 2009). A sample of working women in Finland agreed that full-time jobs and poor relations with managers were two factors that contributed to their work/family conflict as women were also being burdened with many domestic chores and child-care responsibilities (Kinnunen and Muano, 1998). As domestic tasks are commonly an issue associated with gender inequality, this not only affected the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The sources of conflict between work and family roles are related to time management, in which someone who devotes time to fulfilling one role fails to meet the demands of the other (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Frone *et al*, 1991; Greenhaus *et al*., 1997; Coltrane, 2000; Frye and Breaugh, 2004; Judge *et al*., 2006; Ford *et al*., 2007; Geist, 2009). Time management is a key problem contributing to role conflict for career women because the long hours which they are expected to spend in the workplace by most modern organisations automatically reduces the number of hours they can devote to their family at home (Coltrane, 2000; Swanberg, 2004; Gaio and Cardoso, 2008; Geist, 2009). Women who had limited time and energy to perform both their roles faced work/family conflict as they were found to some extent to be affected by overload, which then led to depression, life stress, work/family tension, and family and work dissatisfaction (Frone *et al*., 1991; Greenhaus *et al*., 1997; Pocock *et al*., 2007). Other studies have revealed that insufficient time to focus on both roles and sets of responsibility is believed to be a crucial factor contributing to conflict for full-time working couples, particularly in terms of relationships with their spouses and children (Jacobs and Winslow, 2004; Barnett, 2006; Doherty and Manfredi, 2006; Allan *et al*., 2007; Ford *et al*., 2007). Difficulty in managing time was found to be the most frequent reason leading to work/family conflict among Malay women, and meant that they allowed themselves limited time for leisure or for themselves in order to devote more time to their family and work responsibilities. Only some of them felt that they were successful in fulfilling both their family and work responsibilities (Bakar, 1996; Ahmad, 1999a; Noor, 1999a, 1999b; Omar, 2003; Salleh, 2003; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Komarraju, 2006).

The fact that not many organisations offer flexible working hours to employees has been found to be another factor which reduces work and family satisfaction, as well as causing female workers to leave their jobs (Smith and Secombe, 1998; Kinnunen and Muano, 1998; Taylor, 2002; Pocock *et al*., 2007; Atkinson and Hall, 2009). A sample of working women in Finland agreed that full-time jobs and poor relations with managers were two factors that contributed to their work/family conflict as women were also being burdened with many domestic chores and child-care responsibilities (Kinnunen and Muano, 1998). As domestic tasks are commonly an issue associated with gender inequality, this not only affected the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
relationship between husbands and wives but also their individual well-being (Frisco and William, 2003).

In other studies, childcare responsibilities generated family/work conflict, primarily for married couples who had young children, or who had several children as they demanded more of their parents' time (Pleck *et al.*, 1980; Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981; Grandey and Cordeiro, 2002; Frye and Breaugh, 2004; Byron, 2005). These couples may be expected to be more likely to experience stress and overload than couples without children (Ford *et al.*, 2007). Other authors also highlighted that mothers typically faced more conflicts than fathers because they spend more time with their children in order to fulfil the expectations of motherhood (Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Wallace and Young, 2008).

It has been reported that Malay women can feel guilty and stressed, and can think that it is not a good decision to transfer the care of their children to other people as they feel that they should fulfil this heavy responsibility themselves; these women seem to accept that they cannot play their roles perfectly because they cannot be with their children during working hours (Abdullah (1985, 1987; Hashim and Omar, 2004). Such conflicts may be particularly difficult for Malay women as the available literature indicates that having many children is generally accepted in Malay society because children are considered to be gifts, and assets from God (*e.g.* Hirschman and Aghajaniam, 1980; Leete, 1996; Arshart and Tey, 1988; Ying, 1992; Tey and Tan, 1994; Hashim and Omar, 2004).

Some couples choose to become "commuter couples" although the lifestyle of such couples was one of the vital factors that contributed to strain and stress (Rhodes, 2002; Neault and Pickerell, 2005). Commuting families consist of husbands and wives who are committed to their career enhancement and employment even though these commitments have forced them to live separately in different geographical locations (Bunker *et al.*, 1992). When couples lived apart, both partners faced some negative experiences while they tried to manage their dual commitments (Bunker *et al.*, 1992; Rhodes, 2002; Neault and Pickerell, 2005; Holmes, 2006). These couples experience long-distance relationships in which they spend at least four nights a week apart. Long distance relationships among contemporary dual-career couples were

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
making them live apart not only in the short term but also for "longer periods on a regular basis", which required them to maintain two residences. This not only required a sufficient income but also, in certain circumstances, obliged them to deal with multiple commitments and make sacrifices (for example, their feelings) (Holmes, 2006: 1-2). In addition, job mobility creates problems for children's education, and social networking in general, and may lead to one of the partners in a dual-career marriage having to make sacrifices for the other, for instance their career advancement. It is usually the women who do so; women often follow their husbands and this disadvantages their career prospects (Buchell, 2000; Grady and McCarthy, 2008; Golsch, 2012).

Studies on Malay working women have produced mixed results regarding the impact of work/family conflict and family/work conflict on their career and family performance (Bakar, 1996; Ahmad, 1999; Noor, 1999; Omar, 2003; Salleh, 2003; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Othman., 2006; Komarraju, 2006). The traditional gendered division of domestic chores poses a dilemma for Malay women in heterosexual marriages/working couples who want to be good and dedicated mothers and wives, but are also expected to pursue their own careers and do well. They claimed that this was the most challenging experience when dealing with their dual roles. Due to the fact that Malay working women often see themselves as the ones who have to do all the household chores, they experience various levels of both work/family conflict and family/work conflict. This also happens because Malay men are still reluctant to accept sharing domestic tasks equally, although they support their wives in working for extra income. For example, married Malay women who worked in a university in Selangor have experienced job stress because their husbands were less involved in helping them do the domestic chores (Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987). They stated that it was a normal situation in Malay families to see husbands refusing to handle household tasks because of the traditional belief that these tasks were women's responsibility. Most working mothers claimed that they faced challenges in performing their dual roles as they tried to fulfil both sets of commitments, particularly when their husbands still held to the traditional gender ideology (Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987; Sultana and Noor, 2011). In other studies, Malay women who worked as nurses in the Selangor area (Noor, 1999) and in Malaysian public universities (Salleh, 2003) felt that their dual roles were a burden, which led them to feel guilty when they failed to fulfil

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
their domestic tasks efficiently. They further agreed that their work/family conflict was largely related to their workload that had indirectly affected their career performance. Another study of 116 dual-career staff members at three universities in Malaysia found that they agreed that they had less work satisfaction if their family obligations interfered with work responsibilities (Komarraju, 2006).

The issue of conflict has led to studies in a number of countries on how the impact of the strategies used by working women and couples in managing their dual roles might enhance (or work against) work/life balance. The focus of these studies is not only on women but has extended to men, who also have obligations to their children and to other family members.

Work/life balance and work/family articulation

The issue of work/life balance have arisen because managing home and work obligations is becoming more challenging particularly for dual-career couples and working women. Work-life balance is a concept that has emerged in relation to strategies for reducing work/family conflict for employed people with the aim that they can split their energy and time effectively between personal life and work, thus increasing satisfaction. The degree of work/life balance that can be achieved and individual ways of attempting to achieve it vary with government and organisational policies as well as between families and individuals. Nevertheless, for dual-career couples and working women, the issue of work/life balance is important for their well-being and satisfaction at home, at work and in their lives as a whole. Achieving work-life balance is also about giving an opportunity to married working women to access employment and to remain employed (*e.g.* Thomas and Ganster, 1995; Allen, 2001;sGolden, 2001; Bjorneberg, 2002; Allen, 2002; Ruderman *et al.*, 2002; Powell and Graves, 2003; McDonald *et al.*, 2005; Bowes, 2005; Komarraju, 2006; Haddock *et al.*, 2006; Marcinkus *et al.*, 2007; Salleh *et al.*, 2007; Gregory and Milner, 2009; Ezzedeen and Ritchey, 2009; Ahmad and Omar, 2010; Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010; Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010; Bures *et al.*, 2011; Ahmad, 2011; Marican *et al.*, 2011; Silva, 2012).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The existing literature on work/life balance also deals with family-friendly policies developed and implemented by organisations and government (*e.g.* Bjorneberg, 2002; Golden, 2001; Allen, 2002; Anderson *et al.*, 2002; Felstead *et al.*, 2002; Powell and Graves, 2003; McDonald *et al.*, 2005; Bowes, 2005; Haddock *et al.*, 2006; Gregory and Milner, 2009) or support from work colleagues and family members (*e.g.* Kaufmann and Beehr, 1989; Beehr and McGrath,1992; Thomas and Ganster, 1995; Allen, 2001), including supportive spouses (e.g. Beutell and Greenhaus, 1983; Ruderman *et al.*, 2002; Marcinkus *et al.*, 2007; Ezzedeen and Ritchey, 2009; Bures *et al.*, 2011). Several Malaysian studies have found that Malaysian women receive support and encouragement from spouses (Komarraju, 2006). In addition, employers who provide family-friendly policies or establish a supportive work environment for employees are seen as vital to help employees, particularly married women, to be more committed and to focus on work whilst also keeping their home lives manageable (*e.g.* Salleh *et al.*, 2007; Ahmad and Omar, 2010; Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010; Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010; Ahmad, 2011; Marican *et al.*, 2011; Silva, 2012).

Specific family-friendly workplace policies are designed "to minimize the impact of work on family life and they include a variety of leave for maternity and paternity, sickness, emergencies and compassionate reasons, career breaks and extended leave, rostered days off, working-time arrangement such as part-time and flexible working hours" (Hartin, 1994, cited in Ahmad, 2007: 135; *see also* Lewis, 2001; Golden, 2001; Hill *et al.*, 2004; Bowes, 2005; Allan *et al.*, 2006; Sheridan, 2004; Cinamon, 2006; Hakim, 2006; Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010). Workplace policies also include career planning and training, childcare facilities (Powell and Graves, 2003) and "non-traditional schedules, professional or job autonomy, working at home, as well as supportive supervisors and firm boundaries around work and companies that understand that need" (Haddock *et al.*, 2006: 216). These policies have been recognised as supporting dual-earner couples and they are recommended to married working women to help in addressing problems in their workplace or at home which they consider to be challenges to enhancing their careers and obtaining promotion. The availability of these policies has been found to contribute to job satisfaction, greater commitment, enhanced gender equality and reduced work/life conflicts, including better home and career management (Powell and Graves, 2003; Haddock *et al.*, 2006). It has been noted that

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
employees of organisations that provide family support experienced less work/family conflict than those who worked in less supportive organisations (Allen, 2001). Marican *et al.* (2011) suggested that "work-family enrichment"[89] is possible when supportive employers provide policies and regulations that can help balance employees' roles at home and in the workplace in the Malay family. Muslim working women in this study agreed that such work policies had positive effects on their well-being as they could manage both roles more efficiently.

Flexible working hours have been introduced by governments or private organisations as part of the agenda of family-friendly policies, particularly for working women, because the demands of long working hours have been found to have affected their personal lives and family time (Becker and Moen, 1999). Unpredictable problems as work (such as meeting deadlines, dealing with crises and solving unexpected problems) that require employees in senior-level jobs to work overtime make these positions "less attractive" to female employees, who found that they interfered with family life (Hakim, 2006: 283). Therefore, flexible working has been identified as the most popular policy for working women and couples in dual-career marriages as it allows individuals to organise time demands at work, including during unexpected situations (Golden, 2001; Bowes, 2005; Haddock *et al.*, 2006; Hakim, 2006).

In Malaysia, the introduction of flexible working hours under the Employment Act of 1955 (amended in 1998), specifically in government organisations, has helped civil servants to manage their time (Omar, 2003). For example, all government employees have the option of "staggered working hours," under which they have the choice of three flexible work periods with different start and end times, such as from 7.30 am until 4.30 pm, from 8.00 am until 5.00 pm or from 8.30 am until 5.30 pm. It was found that this system contributed to higher productivity among government employees, and therefore the Malaysian government decided to implement staggered working hours nationwide. The government has also encouraged the private sector to implement a similar system (Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010). Studies have revealed that more female employees show an interest in working flexi-time than male employees because many married women leave their careers when they cannot achieve a

[89] There is a positive impact when work and family roles can tolerate and support each other. This is the opposite of "work/family conflict," which occurs when the dual roles cannot be managed efficiently.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
work/life balance and do not have flexibility in the workplace (Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010; Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010: 87). Older educated women who earned a higher income and young women in the age group 30-39-years who had childcare responsibilities were found to be most interested in the flexible policy offered at their workplace (Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010). In addition, those who were academics in the Kuala Lumpur area confirmed that the flexi-time policy made their organisation a "truly family-friendly company" (Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010: 49). The importance of flexi-time in helping women to remain at work is noted by Frederico Gil Sander[90] (2012): "Malaysia's labour markets are reasonably flexible but can be modernized by protecting workers, not jobs, and by promoting flexible work arrangements to attract women back to the labour force."

Apart from flexi-time, the introduction of the five-day working week has also contributed to a positive working environment for women and couples. In 2005, the government of Malaysia first introduced the "Implementation of Five Working Days a Week"[91] policy for all civil servants. According to Datuk Sri Sharizat Abdul Jalil, the Minister of Women, Family and Community Development, "a national five-day week would make Saturday leisure equal to Sunday; and would give millions of Malaysians an additional day to bond with their children" (Datuk Sri Sharizat Abdul Jalil, in Ramachandran, 2008: 163). This statement reflects one of the objectives of the policy, which was to encourage a positive relationship amongst family members:

> 'to improve productivity and service delivery as well as to promote a culture of continuous learning and personal development throughout life. *Implementations will also provide an opportunity for civil servants to spend more time with family* and encourage the industry of tourism as well as to optimise the operation time between departments at federal and state levels' (Service Circular Number 13 Year 2005, Government of Malaysia: 1, my emphasis)

[90] Available at: http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/people/frederico-gil-sander [Accessed 20 December 2010].
[91] Before 2005, all government departments and almost all private companies in Malaysia implemented a six-day working week for their employees. All employees worked from Monday (7.30/8.00/8.30 am - 4.30/5.00/5.30pm) to Saturday (8.30am – 1.00pm). After 2005, the five-day working week was introduced for civil servants, and this policy has also been followed by parts of the private sector.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Many organisations and government bodies have introduced a parental leave policy for both parents, recognising that parenthood is a sharing of responsibility between mother and father (Taskula, 2000; Pylkkanen and Smith, 2004; Adema and Whiteford, 2008). These policies have enabled fathers to increase their involvement in the care of their new-borns and are seen as important in many European countries, especially in Iceland and Sweden (Pylkkanen and Smith, 2004). In Finland, 60% of fathers have taken short paternity leave of between 6 and 18 workdays, whilst a few fathers took longer parental leave of more than seven months, or used childcare leave for taking care of their wives and new-borns. Those fathers who took paternal leave were "often young and educated, and they work as white-collar employees in the public sector" (Taskula, 2000: 5).

Since 1998, every female employee of the Malaysian Federal Public Service[92] has been entitled to maternity leave for a period of 60 days from the date of delivery (Service Circular Number 2, 1998). Under Service Circular Number 5 (2009), they are also entitled to apply for this leave earlier, at any time within fourteen days of the expected delivery date. In order to improve women's position in the labour market, starting in October 2010, female employees have become eligible for 90 days of paid maternity leave or an extension for a further 90 days of unpaid leave for each birth (Service Circular Number 14, 2010), while retaining the entitlements granted under Service Circular Number 5 (2009). Women who work in the private sector are only eligible for 60 days of paid maternity leave. Since 1 January 2003, husbands have been entitled to paternity leave for a period of seven days commencing at the birth of a child (Service Circular Number 9, 2002). According to all these circulars, both husbands and wives are entitled to maternity and paternity leave on a total of five occasions during their tenure, with full salary during the leave entitlement period.[93] This provision has been criticised because it limits working women to having no more than five children, but no further action has been taken by the government. Nevertheless, the positive effects have been

[92] The service circular was provided by the Public Service Department of Malaysia. I shall not discuss the service circular for the private sector in Malaysia as they have their own policies and rules.

[93] Details about the provisions for female employees are stated in Service Circular Number 14, 2010 (Maternity Leave Facilities for Public Service Officers, Government of Malaysia), available at *www.jpa.gov.my/docs/pp/2010/14/pp142010.pdf* - . Tthe details of paternity leave are explained in Service Circular Number 9, 2002 (Paternity Leave Facilities for Public Service Officers, Government of Malaysia) at http://www.jpa.gov.my/pekeliling/pp02/bil09/pp0902.pdf. Another provision for women in employment can also be found in Laws of Malaysia, Act 265, Employment Act 1955. Available athttp://www.malaysia.gov.my.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
visible since these policies were introduced; an earlier study found that the maternity and paternity leave policies allowed working mothers and their husbands to allocate time to the care of their new-borns (Karim, 1992; Omar, 2003), and a recent study discovered that more than 56% of female respondents agreed that they were satisfied with the leave entitlements offered by their organisations and employers (Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010: 49).

Childcare arrangements are essential if women are to engage in paid labour as reported in previous studies (*e.g.* Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010; Lim, 2009; Ochiai, 2008; Hock, 2007; Arrifin *et al.*, 1996; Abdullah, 1993; Karim, 1992). The inadequancy of public childcare centres was one of the major factors influencing women in contemporary Asian societies to be housewives (Ochiai, 2008). It was also discovered that the difficulty in accessing good childcare arrangements had contributed to the decline in fertility amongst working women in developed industrialised countries (Lim, 2009). In Malaysia, the introduction of a new pro-natalist population policy might exacerbate the burden of the dual roles faced by working women, especially poor women, if the provision of childcare centres could not be improved (Abdullah, 1993). It was noted that many women failed to return to work after maternity leave, due to the very strict working hours, because they could not arrange good childcare (Arrifin *et al.*, 1996; Hock, 2007).

Childcare centres in Malaysia need to adhere to special regulations and meet minimum standards,[94] because "childcare is seen as custodian care by government and parents" (Chiam, 2008: 31). The importance of childcare centres in helping working women has gained much recognition from the government (Chiam, 2008; Ahmad, 2007; Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010). The Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development has allocated a budget for providing childcare facilities at most workplaces, especially in the government sector. The "Permata Negara Child Care Centre" was introduced and launched by the wife of the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia[95] in 2007 "in order to enhance the quality of institutional childcare by promoting and developing early childhood education and care"

[94] In Malaysia, to operate any childcare centre, provisions must be met that include minimal standards and regulations under the Child Care Centre Act 1984, Law of Malaysia (Chiam, 2008).

[95] When she launched this programme, she was the wife of the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia and since then her husband has become Prime Minister.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
particularly for children under five years old (Chiam, 2008: 37). This childcare centre provides a uniform curriculum and qualified educators to operate it. The government of Malaysia has also approved a provision for tax deductions for employers in order to establish childcare centres near the workplace (Abdullah *et al.*, 2008). It has been shown that having a high-quality childcare centre in the workplace helped junior physicians (Ahmad, 2011) and academic women (Subramaniam and Selvaratnam,[96] 2010) to cope with their childcare problems more effectively.

Both foreign and local policy makers have tried to formulate effective policies to overcome family/work tensions. Family-friendly policies are seen as not only reconciling women's dual role efficiently but also as having the potential to promote an optimal balance between the two spheres. Consequently, both employees and employers receive significant benefits from such policies. It has been found that family-friendly policies not only enable female employees to handle family responsibilities more easily, but also improve performance and productivity for the organisations (Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010; Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010; Ahmad, 2007; Nadeem and Hendry, 2003). However, there is still room for improvement in the family-friendly policies of most countries, due to lack of implementation, especially in private-sector organisations, and the fact that the focus remains primarily on women. Gregory and Milner (2009) argued that new organisational practices and strongly gendered organisations, as well as national cultures, pose challenges, although at some points they have helped employees to improve their work/life balance. It is necessary to offer collective rights to back up individual choices because the adaptive strategies for achieving a work/life balance are still limited. For example, the introduction of family-friendly policies has failed to increase gender equality because these policies, although they are designed to allow an individual to combine work and family life, are more focused on women than men. Undeniably, they have improved women's position, but they have not increased men's participation in the home, for instance in childcare arrangements or in domestic chores (Hook, 2006; Stier and Lewin-Epstein, 2007).

[96] In their studies, academic women from various public and private universities represented 16% of the female respondents.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Similarly, Subramanian and Selvaratnam (2010) emphasised that family-friendly policies seem purposely designed to help working women rather than men to manage their dual roles in Malaysia. The implementation of family-friendly policies in Malaysia is still at an early staged and cannot be expanded widely for several reasons. Firstly, having childcare centres close to all workplaces cannot be achieved due to financial constraints, although the government has provided a special grant to help employers and organisations to establish such centres (Ahmad, 2007; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008). Moreover, facilities such as childcare centres have been provided more widely in the government sector as they receive a grant, but are less prevalent in the private sector due to the high cost of setting up and operating them (Ahmad, 2007). Secondly, although the government encourages women, particularly married women, to participate in the flexible working hours schemes and part-time work, neither of these policies is extensively implemented in all organisations and not many employers recognise them (Abdullah *et al.*, 2008). It was also discovered that not all female employees in Malaysia were entitled to maternity leave. For instance, women with higher education and a good income, full-time employees, professionals and women in clerical occupations were more likely to receive maternity leave than women who worked in manufacturing or service occupations with low levels of education and income (Bernasek and Gallaway, 1997).

Emotional sustenance within the family which plays a role in life satisfaction has also been found to be associated with work/life balance (Adam *et al.*, 1996). It has been suggested that husbands who have a pro-feminist attitude may be able to provide emotional support for their wives, and that such support will enhance marital well-being as well as the quality of family and working life (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1983). Several other studies on dual-career couples have acknowledged the importance of social support, especially the role of spousal support, in avoiding conflict between work and family roles (*e.g.* Harun, 1993; Smith, 1992; Lindsey, 1997; Baker, 2001; Xu and Lai, 2002; Ruderman *et al.*, 2002; Ghazali, 2002; Aryee *et al.*, 2005; Ezzedeen and Ritchey, 2008; Bures *et al.*, 2011). The collaboration and companionship provided in a dual-career marriage have the potential to reduce stress, thus contributing significantly to a greater degree of happiness and marital satisfaction (Smith, 1992; Ruderman *et al.*, 2002) as well as enhancing job satisfaction (Bures *et al.*, 2011).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

One factor in work/life balance that has only been found in Malaysia is the acceptance of cultural and religious values pertaining to Malay women as housewives and Malay men as breadwinners, which is believed to have made women feel less stressed while carrying out domestic chores. Employed Malay women experienced less work/life conflict when they were more religious, because they emphasised that religion was a means of creating positive self-satisfaction and avoiding distress, which leads to a sense of well-being (Noor, 1999a, 1999b; Noor and Mahudin, 2005; Noor, 2008).

The family environment (such as assistance from partners, children, other family members and other people) and the non-family environment (such as governmental and organisational policies) that have been discussed here seek to promote such a balance but do not necessarily mean that everyone achieves it. Some researchers are dissatisfied with the term "work/life balance," arguing that it may not imply an equal weight being given to work activities and family obligations. Furthermore, work/life balance is an outcome to be striven for rather than a continuous process or something readily achievable (Hochschild, 2003; Urgenson and Yeandle, 2005; Gambles, Lewis and Rapoport, 2006; Crompton 2006; Gregory and Milner, 2009). Some prefer to use term the "work/family articulation" when discussing the integration of work and home life (Crompton, 2006; Morgan, 2011), thus, work/life balance is a contested term (Gregory and Milner, 2009).

Morgan (2011) notes that "work/life balance" is an aspiration and an aim; thus, he proposes the term "articulation" to avoid the problems that he identifies with the concept of work/life balance. Work/family articulation is a broader term that could include degrees of balance and/or conflict but is meant to encompass the variety of ways in which work life and family life impact on each other (good and bad). This concept fits with his conceptualisation of family practices. According to Morgan (2011), family practices "are not just individual practices but represent courses of action undertaken in relation to family others" (Morgan, 2011: 156). He focuses on what "family" means to individuals rather than accepting a given definition of family. He is concerned with understanding how people "do" family and the meanings that they attach to their family practices. In discussing work/family articulation in relation to family practices, Morgan (2011) points out that working time is no longer

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
synonymous with the time spent in the work place in today's era of globalisation. Work-time may also be used to communicate with family members. Advanced technologies (such as mobile phones and laptops) that are used as work tools may also be used to develope a connection between family members during working time/space. Thus, family practices can be continued during the journey to work and in the work place. In addition, couples and parents can sometimes spend commuting time together or with their children. On the other hand, work can be brought home and thus impinge on family time. The time that is spent together by family members, according to Morgan (2011: 156) has provided "particular sets of family practices," associated with the articulation of work and family.

The family practices of working women and dual-career couples vary and demonstrate that choices are not equally distributed (Crompton, 2006). The differences in the process of articulation of work and family between one couple and another might also have different impacts on their life satisfaction (Morgan, 2011).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature on working women and dual-career couples, particularly in relation to women's commitments to their family and their careers. Many countries have witnessed a significant rise in the number of women entering the paid labour force, hence working women and career couples are often the subject of study by researchers worldwide, including Malaysia. Previous studies indicate that the emergence of dual-career and middle-class families is due to more educated women working. Different reasons were given for why they work, the most popular being helping to support their family. The notion of men as breadwinners and women as full-time housewives has become outdated; hence, employed women now manage their responsibilities differently from those in families with a more traditional structure of male breadwinner and female homemaker. Not only has the family structure changed and the division of labour at home been renegotiated between the husband and wife, but also some contemporary women and men tend to delay marriage and they want to have fewer children or none at all. For those who do want to marry and have children, various strategies, whether within the family (such as assistance from spouses,

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
children, other family members and other people), from outside the family (such as governmental and organisational policies) or particular sets of family practices have been suggested to help working women and dual-career couples to deal with their dual roles according to their situations.

Discussion about ideas of marriage, family, gender and the division of labour at home across several countries have shown both similarities and differences between other societies and Malay society. The discussion in this chapter confirms that cultural and religious tenets are still deeply embedded in Malay gender relations and in the dual-career life-style. Wives in Malay families have not escaped responsibility for domestic chores and they are rarely regarded as the main family breadwinner. Malay women are still being burdened with domestic tasks in order to ensure that their homes run smoothly even if they have someone to help them to do so; however, and the government provides policies to assist them. Men's attitudes towards household tasks have changed, but they are still less involved in domestic chores than their wives. No matter what level of education they have and what the location of their home (rural or urban) may be, Malay men and women still assume that domestic chores are primarily women's responsibility, following the traditional gender ideology. This shows that the patriarchal system, under which men dominant and women are subordinate within the family, still prevails in modern Malay society.

Although there is a robust body of literature on working women that deals with their family and work responsibilities in Malaysia, there has, to date, been no empirical research directly exploring the experiences and perceptions of Malay Muslim academic women in dual-career families. This research fills that gap by exploring issues such as the desire to become career women, the decision to marry and establish a family with children, experiences of family and work responsibilities and the coping strategies adopted, as well as their awareness of the family-friendly workplace policies provided by the government of Malaysia and private employers. Related to this, it is also necessary to carry out a study on Malay Muslim academic women in dual-career families, focusing on the related issues and investigating whether and how elements of Islam and the Malay adat are still ingrained and continue to play a crucial role in the everyday lives of Malaysian Malay women in the modern world. This study will

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

also involve an exploration of the experiences and perceptions of men in order to gain another perspective on the dual-career lifestyle. Thus, conducting a literature review on this topic has allowed me to identify the gap between my research and other studies. In the next chapter, I will explain how I conducted my research and I shall introduce the women and men whom I interviewed.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chapter Three

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological approach that I have employed in this study. I put forward a justification for adopting feminist principles in conducting qualitative research and for using in-depth interviews as the main tool to gather data from the respondents. I then explain the setting of the fieldwork and how the respondents were recruited. I also present the ethical issues, the process of interviewing couples and single people, the problems I faced and how I overcame them during the fieldwork. Next, I discuss the power relations between the researcher and the respondents, followed by a consideration of my position as both an insider and an outsider. Finally, the approach taken to data analysis and the writing-up process is presented.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Qualitative design using semi-structured interviews

I was interested in conducting research on Malay Muslim academic women in dual-career families, but also sought the stories of their husbands and single men. The aims of my research were to explore the experiences and perceptions of women who were living in, or planning to form, a dual-career family, and how they were negotiating their (actual and potential) dual roles. I wanted to find out why they desire to become career women, as well as questioning them on their stance on marriage and family life. I also set out to investigate the strategies that these women adopted in order to negotiate their family and work responsibilities, and at the same time to find out whether their religious and cultural identities influence their marriage and family life. I also want to find out whether they were aware or not of any government policies that assisted them in managing their dual roles. To explore these matters, I decided to involve men because I wanted to know how men's participation in the women's lives enabled these women to continue to follow both their family life and career. Using feminist principles to conduct a study on the experiences and perceptions of Malay Muslim academic women and

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
their dual-career families that also involves men talk about their lives has allowed me to identify the gap between my research and other studies. My research is needed because it is pertinent to women's development, particularly in the area of negotiating their dual roles in order to improve and enhance their lives at home and in the workplace.

This study adopts an interpretive approach to the study of Malay Muslim academic women in dual-career families. According to Bryman (2008), the interpretive paradigm involves the concern to understand individuals' subjective experiences and how respondents make meaning out of a situation or phenomenon (Merriam, 2001). The main goal of the interpretivist is to understand the meaning of a social situation from the point of view of those who live with it. The inquirer must interpret the event, understand the process of meaning construction and reveal the meanings that are embodied in people's actions (Schwandt, 1998). Interpretivists reject the assumptions made by positivists regarding the nature of human beings and ways of knowing about social phenomena. Meanings for the interpretivists are not static. They are constantly being created, changed, modified and developed through interaction. Interpretations are based on what human beings know of the objects and/or people with whom they are interacting (Wallace and Wolf, 1999). Therefore, the analysis in this study reflects my attempt to make sense of the respondents' interview data. By conducting a qualitative study, I gain an understanding of the complexities, the varied perspectives and experiences of the research respondents in regard to career, marriage, family and managing family and work responsibilities.

I have located my study within a feminist methodological tradition that focuses on women's lives as a priority (Ling and Man, 2001; Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002). As feminist epistemology emphasises gender-sensitive knowledge and my research involves both women and men[97] as participants, gender issues were analysed through the lived experiences of my respondents. Thompson (1992) suggests that both qualitative and quantitative methods in feminist methodology have their own strengths and can generate data when connected with the three fundamental aspects of research methodology, namely: agenda, epistemology and ethics. Thompson has also identified two feminist agendas in family studies: "research on women and

[97] I shall discuss in detail the reason why I decided to involve men in my study in the discussion about recruiting study respondents later on in this chapter.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
research for women" (Thompson, 1992: 4). These agendas have two different aims: a) "research on women is to document and correct for sexism" and b) "research for women is consciously aimed at emancipating women and enhancing their lives." Thompson (1992) further explained that research for women is designed to link women's personal experiences in their families to the broader social context in order to create opportunities to make their voices heard.

According to Bryman (2008), qualitative research methodology allows "women's voices to be heard; and the emancipatory goals of feminism to be realised" (Bryman, 2008: 396). Feminist researchers are more likely to use qualitative methodology than quantitative in order to gain information about the richness and complexity of women's life experiences, stories and behaviour (Strauss and Corbin, 1999), such as "hidden, ambiguous, and contradictory aspects of gender relationships in the family" (Thompson, 1992: 6), through which their experiences can be connected to a broader discussion about other contexts of women's lives (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002). For this reason, this method was used in the present study to discover the meanings that women and dual-career families attach to their personal and professional experiences of the public and private spheres.

Hesse-Biber (2007) suggests that the interview is the best way to comprehend a respondent's world in depth. The strength of the interview lies in the question and answer process between the interviewer and interviewee as it is "interactional in nature because there is an exchange or sharing of roles, feelings, beliefs and information such as data, fact and opinion" (Muthiah, 2008: 19, citing Steward and Cash, 2003). To build the conversation, unstructured and semi-structured interviews are the types that have most often been used within a feminist research framework (Bryman, 2008; Letherby, 2003).

My decision to retain the feminist agendas of research on women and for women in my study was strongly influenced by the descriptions of the agendas identified by Thompson (1992) and the strengths of the qualitative method. Thus, I have utilised a qualitative semi-structured interview to gather primary data. Since my research needs the respondents to share their experiences, feelings, opinions, perceptions, views and expectations, I adopted this method of

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
research for three reasons. Firstly, a semi-structured qualitative interview offers flexibility and autonomy. For example, I can put new questions to my respondents in order to gain a more detailed explanation and information during the interview process so that it can cover all the issues related to my research topic, unlike survey methods, which usually contain fixed-choice questions (Silverman, 2000). The second reason was that this method allows the respondents to answer the interview questions freely and/or to talk about themselves using their own words (Bryman, 2004; Rubin and Rubin, 2005), through a two-way conversation which I could not obtain from a questionnaire (Walonick, 1993; Mason, 1999). Thirdly, it is difficult for a qualitative project to deal with a large numbers of respondents (Silverman, 2000), and therefore this method is well suited to my research, which focuses on a small sample. Small samples are the norm in qualitative research in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of respondents' stories (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

The semi-structured interview was used not only for eliciting an in-depth understanding of respondents' experiences, but also because it enables the researcher to gain more private information from respondents, particularly if it relates to personal issues (Oakley, 1981; Hennink et al., 1999; Hesse-Biber, 2007), and to comprehend the personal understanding and interpretation from the respondents' standpoints (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005; Gerson and Horowitz, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). In my study, I carried out interviews with married and single Malay Muslim academics and the husbands of the married women.

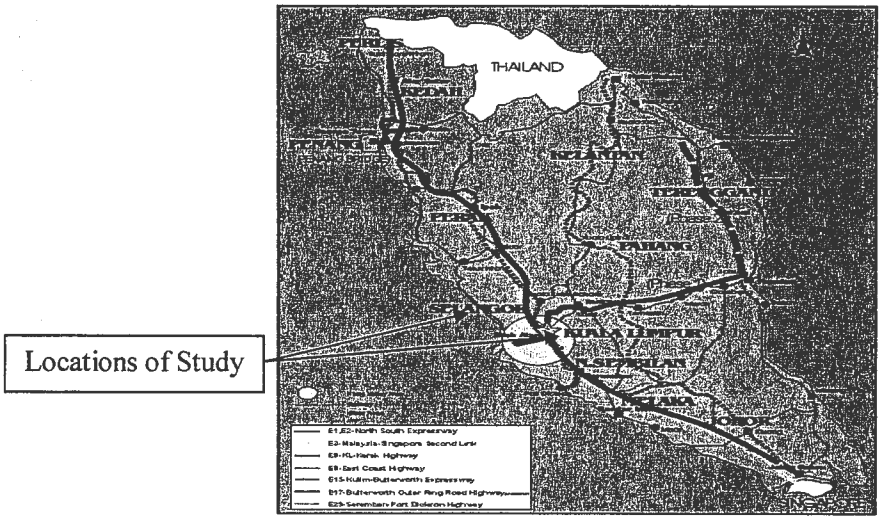
The location of the study

I was granted ethical clearance to conduct the research from the Centre for Women's Studies' Ethics Committee, University of York. The fieldwork was done in my home country, Malaysia, from November 2010 to January 2011, and in York, United Kingdom (UK), in February 2011. Fifteen of the face-to-face interviews were undertaken in two areas of Peninsular Malaysia: the territory of Kuala Lumpur and the state of Selangor (*see* Figure 2) and three were carried out at the University of York, UK.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Figure 2: Location of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor



Source: www.llmnet.gov.my/.../map peninsular.aspx, accessed 9 January, 2010.

The three interviews conducted at the University of York, involved Malaysian students who were on study leave and studying at the university, but work at public universities in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. When I chose these locations, I considered economic structures, the majority population, job and educational opportunities, big cities and differences in social stratification. These two urban areas not only represent the most modern and metropolitan cities, but also contain many higher educational institutions, as well as having Malays as the biggest ethnic group. This Malay ethnic group also includes many young urban educated middle-class women and men, as well as dual-career families.

Since the Federation of Malaya achieved its independence in 1957 and the formation of Malaysia in 1963, Kuala Lumpur has grown continuously as a developed and modern city. With the rapid, aggressive and effective development pursued by Malaysian leaders, it has thus become the largest and most important city in Malaysia. Today, Kuala Lumpur is not only the national capital, but also a centre for various service industries, which provide many opportunities for Malaysians in the sectors of administration, economics, culture and the arts, business, tourism, communications, education and transportation (Milne and Mauzy, 2002). In addition to this, Kuala Lumpur has been rated as an alpha world city and the only global city

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
in Malaysia (The Globalization and World Life Study Group (GaWC)).[98] Kuala Lumpur's population was estimated at 1,674,621 in 2010. Malays were the largest population, with 679,236 followed by Chinese with 655,413, Indians with 156,316, other *Bumiputra* at 17,494, others 9,539 and non-Malaysian citizens 156,623 (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2010).

Selangor is located on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia between the federal territories of Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya. Shah Alam is the state capital; and there are also five other large cities in Selangor: Petaling Jaya, Subang Jaya, Klang, Cheras and Ampang Jaya. Selangor is the most developed and richest state in Malaysia due to its geographical location near Kuala Lumpur. Like Kuala Lumpur, Selangor also offers many advantages and opportunities to its people in such areas as economics, education, employment, tourism, transportation and business.[99] Selangor has a population of 5,462,141, which is the highest population among the thirteen states of Malaysia. Malays are the predominant group, with 2,814,597, then Chinese with 1,441,774, Indians with 679,130, other *Bumiputra* at 62,657, others 42,163 and non-Malaysian citizens 421,820 (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2010).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
There are three public universities in Kuala Lumpur: the University of Malaya (established in 1905), the International Islamic University of Malaysia (established in 1983) and the National Defence University of Malaysia (established in 2006). There are also two branches of public universities: the International Campus of the University of Technology Malaysia and the Medical Faculty of the National University of Malaysia.[100] In the state of Selangor, three public universities have been established: the National University of Malaysia (established in 1970), the MARA University of Technology (established in 1999) and Putra University, Malaysia (established in 1971)[101] (Ujang, 2009). All married women and unmarried respondents work in public universities. The identity of each of the universities has been disguised in order to preserve the anonymity of my respondents. I identified the universities by the letters A and B (in Kuala Lumpur) and F, G and H (in Selangor).

---

[98] Availabe at http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2008t.html [Accessed 10 January 2010].
[99] Availabe at http://www.selangor.gov.my/main.php[Accessed 10 January 2010].
[100] The main campus of University of Technology Malaysia is in the state of Johor, while the main campus of the National University of Malaysia is in the state of Selangor.
[101] See also a list of public universities in Malaysia. Available at http://www.etawau.com/edu/IndexUniversityGovernment.htm [Accessed 10 January 2010].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Sample population

Numerous feminists have suggested that women should carry out research on women and use "woman-to-woman interviews" as the best method to "provide an accurate reflection of women's lives" (Hurtado and Steward, 1997: 297, cited in Archer, 2002: 109). For instance, most earlier Western studies on domestic activities have focused on women and have paid much less attention to men's participation in household tasks (*e.g.* Oakley, 1975; Covermen, 1985; Glazer, 1980; Greeken and Gove, 1993); this is also the case in Malaysia (*e.g.* Noor, 1997, Sultana, 2013). According to Letherby (2003) and Seymour *et al.* (1995), the reason for only involving women was because it could be considered that women know better about matters relating to domestic activities. It also could be said to be because of the traditional patriarchal ideology which reinforces the division of labour between the sexes. The primary roles for women were connected with household tasks, home and the family and these tasks have received less appreciation or reward, while men's primary role was in paid labour (Oakley, 1975; Noor, 1999; Valentine, 1999; Coltrane and Adams, 2001; Hossain, 2013; Sultana and Mohd Zulkefli, 2012).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

On the other hand, a number of authors have emphasised that studies on domestic work cannot rely only on women's perceptions but also need to involve other members of the household, particularly men (Wallman, 1984; Milburn, 1995; Wheelock and Oughton, 1996; Letherby, 2003). Involving men enables a researcher to reveal the negotiation of household relationships, and to provide a broader understanding of gender relations in a domestic context (Wallman, 1984; Milburn, 1995; Wheelock and Oughton, 1996). The importance of involving men in women's studies is also explained by Letherby (2003), who states that an understanding of what is in the man's mind; men's experiences are also needed in order to obtain a full understanding of what has been experienced by women in their lives. Thus, several studies about men and domestic chores have been conducted, particularly as more women have become involved in waged labour (*e.g.* Noor, 1999; Coltrane and Adams, 2001; Singleton and Maher, 2004; Van Hoof, 2011; Hossain, 2013). For these reasons, I decided to involve Malay men in this study because I was interested in exploring not only the women's professional and family experiences, but also how men talk about women's lives and their involvement in

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
negotiating women's position at home and in the workplace. I also wanted to uncover the factors influencing these men's participation or lack of it in household tasks, as well as whether or how much the domestic division of labour is changing due to their involvement.

Initially, I aimed to recruit only married Malay Muslim academic women and their husbands in dual-career families. Subsequently, I decided to also seek the perspectives of single people, and therefore I have also involved unmarried academics of both sexes. As a result, I recruited married Malay academic women and their husbands, and unmarried Malay academics of both sexes. In order to identify potential respondents for the study, I used purposive sampling (Bryman, 2004), which is a technique to select participants who fulfil criteria according to the purposes of a researcher (Trochim, 2006).

One important criterion for the female respondents in this study was that they must work as academics in public universities in Malaysia because I wanted to explore their experiences of being female academics, while at the same time dealing with their households. Lecturers and tutors in the public universities typically have six main duties: teaching and learning; publishing (books, journal articles, conference papers, etc.); professional consultation (private or government sectors); research; administration; and community service. The job also requires them to attend in-house courses, undertake continuous professional development and further their education at master's and doctorate (PhD) levels. I thought that their experiences would be an interesting topic because this is the only career that requires female employees to further their education to the master's or doctorate level. As academics, it is compulsory for them to pursue their education so that they can meet the requirements to be a lecturer or a tutor.

I selected only married couples, both of whom are at least diploma holders, to meet the definition of dual-career families established by Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) and Hertz (1986) (see Chapter Two), in which the wives worked as academics at public universities in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor areas while the husbands worked in any professional occupation. I also limited the aged range as I assumed that, between the ages of 24 and 40 years old, my respondents would tend to face more challenges while they attempt to balance their dual roles

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
as parents of young children and academics who are still at the early stageds of their careers. This reason is similar to that given in a study conducted by Ahmad (2011: 514), who recruited married female physicians aged 40 or under as she assumed that physicians tend to experience more work-family conflict due to a greater work burden at this staged of their careers. Single (never married) academics of either sex were recruited who were in the same age group and from the same universities as the married women. All the married respondents, except one couple, had bought their own home, while the single respondents were living either with friends in a rented house or with their parents. All were Malays and therefore Muslims. Although I chose Malay Muslims as research respondents, I did not stipulate that they must be religious people, who also adhere to the Malay adat. However, all respondents in this study could be considered to adherence closely to Islamic teachings and the Malay adat. I recognised their religious identification based on their self-characterisation; for instance, all female respondents wore the *tudung* (hijab or veil to cover the head), and respondents reported praying five times a day and fasting during the month of Ramadhan.[102] In addition, all of them chose to dress modestly and used some words of Arabic in our conversations during the interviews. The level of religious affiliation and the manner of dress of all the respondents indicated that they were visibly identifiable as Muslim and this certainly affected their individual experiences. Thus, the stories provided by the respondents suggest important insights about people who, through a process of introspection and social interaction, consciously decided to identify as members of the faith. The rationale for limiting the sample was to choose people who backgrounds were like mine and therefore people whose lives I would be able to fully understand and to make the project manageable.

The characteristics of the married couples in terms of age, level of education, occupation and number of children are shown in Table 3. The age range of married women was 27 to 40 and that of their husbands 30 to 40. All the women were master's holders except Emilia, who had a PhD, while only two husbands had obtained a master's degree and the rest were bachelor's holders. All the husbands worked as professionals except two who had their own businesses. All the couples except Maria and her husband had children.

[102] Two of the five fundamental pillars of Islam

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Table 3: Married respondents by sex, age, level of education, occupation and number of children

No	Pseudonym (wife)	Age	Education	Occupation	Pseudonym (husband)	Husband's Occupation	Husband's Age	Husband's Level of Education	Number of Children
1	Emilia	31	PhD	Lecturer	Emir	Engineer	32	Degree	2
2	Basariah	32	Master**	Lecturer	Basir	Teacher	32	Degree	2
3	Rashidah	37	Master	Lecturer	Rosli	Engineer	37	Degree	4
4	Halimah	35	Master	Lecturer	Hadi	Lecturer	38	Master	6
5	Arena	35	Master**	Lecturer	Ali	Government Officer	35	Degree	4
6	Mashitah	37	Master**	Lecturer	Malik	Businessman	37	Degree	3
7	Yusrina	37	Master	Lecturer	Yasir	Government Officer	35	Master	2
8	Umaira	31	Master**	Lecturer	Uzair	Site supervisor*	30	Degree	2
9	Maria	27	Master**	Lecturer	Mikael	Businessman	31	Degree	0
10	Shakila	40	Master**	Lecturer	Shahrum	Engineer*	40	Degree	3

**They were studying for their PhD when the interviews were carried out.
*Occupation before they came to York.

The characteristics of single respondents are shown in Table 4. The women's ages were between 24 and 29 while the men were all 28 or 29. All of them were master's holders except Naimah, and all of them were lecturers except Amalina, Naimah and Junaidi, who were tutors. Of these single respondents, two were engaged to be married.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Table 4: Unmarried respondents by sex, age, level of education, occupation and relationship status

No	Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Level of Education	Occupation	Relationship Status
1	Amalina	Female	25	Master	Tutor	Single**
2	Bahijah	Female	29	Master*	Lecturer	Single
3	Irdina	Female	27	Master*	Lecturer	Engaged
4	Naimah	Female	26	Bachelor	Tutor	Engaged
5	Mazniah	Female	24	Master	Lecturer	Single
6	Umar	Male	29	Master	Lecturer	Single**
7	Junaidi	Male	28	Master*	Tutor	Single**
8	Zarief	Male	29	Master	Lecturer	Single

*They were studying for their PhD when the interviews were carried out.
** They mentioned that they had already found someone special to marry when the interviews were carried out.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The large number of academics in universities in the territory of Kuala Lumpur and the state of Selangor[103] created a large pool of potential respondents. However, the findings are based on only a small sample of Malay academic women and their husbands and single academics.

Recruiting the research respondents was a challenging task, although I am a lecturer at one of the public universities in Malaysia. The respondents whom I planned to recruit for this study do not work at my workplace. I took the first step towards identifying and recruiting potential respondents through my friendship networks. The initial target of this study was to interview ten married couples, ten single males and ten single females.

I started by contacting my friendship networks of both married and unmarried people by mobile phone,[104] asking to interview them after I had briefly explained what my research was about and the respondents I needed. During the telephone conversations, all of them responded positively and asked me to email the details of my research so that they would have some information and an early picture of my study. Therefore, I emailed a brief summary of my research, along with a formal invitation letter to participate (*see* Appendix G), which included the main objective and criteria for recruitment, as well as a consent form that explained how the interviews would be conducted. During this process, I found that depending only on my friendship networks would not give me the number of respondents that I desired.

Thus, at the same time, I decided to enlarge my group of respondents using snowball sampling to link me to other potential other respondents. Snowball sampling is a method whereby "the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others" and it is "useful to identify respondents in cases when there is no accessible sampling frame for the population from which the sample can be taken" (Bryman, 2008: 184; *see also* O'Reily, 2005). I asked people in my friendship networks whether they knew or could find any other people who were

[103] In 2009, according to statistics collected by the Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia, there were 1,978 female academic staff at the public universities in the territory of Kuala Lumpur and 6,586 in the state of Selangor (see Appendices H and I).

[104] I had their mobile phone numbers before I went to York, UK to further my study. As I had kept their numbers, I did not face any problems in contacting them, particularly when I decided to recruit them as my research respondents.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
eligible, suitable and willing to contribute to the research, as well as those who might be different from them. Hence, by emailing the information to my friendship networks, it was easier for them to circulate the details to people who might match my study's requirements.

After a week, several people from my friendship networks replied to my email and agreed to participate, and gave me a few names of people who might be interested in becoming involved in my study. In accessing the husbands, I used their wives as intermediaries.[105] Using this method, I recruited ten married women and their husbands, three single men and five single women before I went back to Malaysia to do the fieldwork. It seemed that I had achieved the target for married respondents, but not for the single ones. My unmarried friends promised that they would try to find more respondents by the time I arrived in Malaysia.

I faced a problem, however, with some of the married women when I went back to Malaysia and began to confirm the interviews. At this point, there were ten of them; five were my friends and another five women had been contacted through snowballing. I thought that all those I had contacted had already agreed to participate in my research and that I had been highly successful in recruiting respondents before the interviews began. But, my assumption turned out to be wrong when three women cancelled their appointments at the last minute. Of the ten married women who had initially agreed, I managed to interview only seven. These women were open in sharing their life stories because they found the research topic interesting and very close to their lives as academics, as well as understanding the purpose of the research. These factors influenced their willingness to participate in this study.

The situation was different for the three married women, who refused to be interviewed after agreeing and setting up the appointment with me. One of them cancelled because she realised that her husband did not match the criteria. The other two cancelled because they said my research topic was too sensitive. These women were the only ones who asked me to send the questions before the interview was held. After they had received the questions, they told me that they felt embarrassed to share details about family matters with the public and strangers. Although I told them that their identities would not be revealed, they still refused to be

[105] I will discuss in detail the husbands' involvement as research respondents later on in this chapter.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
interviewed. I should have expected this because research about people's personal experiences or their private lives can be seen as involving sensitive issues that some people do not like to discuss openly (Renzetti and Lee, 1993). Their refusals became a problem for me because I needed to find other married women to replace them, and at the same time to find more single respondents. Another problem that arose was interviewing their husbands. Although the husbands had agreed to participate in my study, I was told by these women that I could only do email interviews with them, which was not my initial plan (I will discuss this matter in detail later in this chapter).

Although the number of respondents required was small, recruitment proved more difficult than I had anticipated. I tried other ways to recruit respondents, such as using various contacts, but this was unsuccessful. In this situation, I was aware that, when people are unwilling to participate in my research, their privacy should be respected because both ethically and practically it is essential to find respondents who really are willing to be interviewed so that they can talk freely and honestly (Miller and Bell, 2002; McNeil and Chapman, 2005; Habibis, 2006). By the time my fieldwork in Malaysia ended, I had interviewed seven married couples and eight single people. Clearly, the number of respondents was not as many as I had planned.

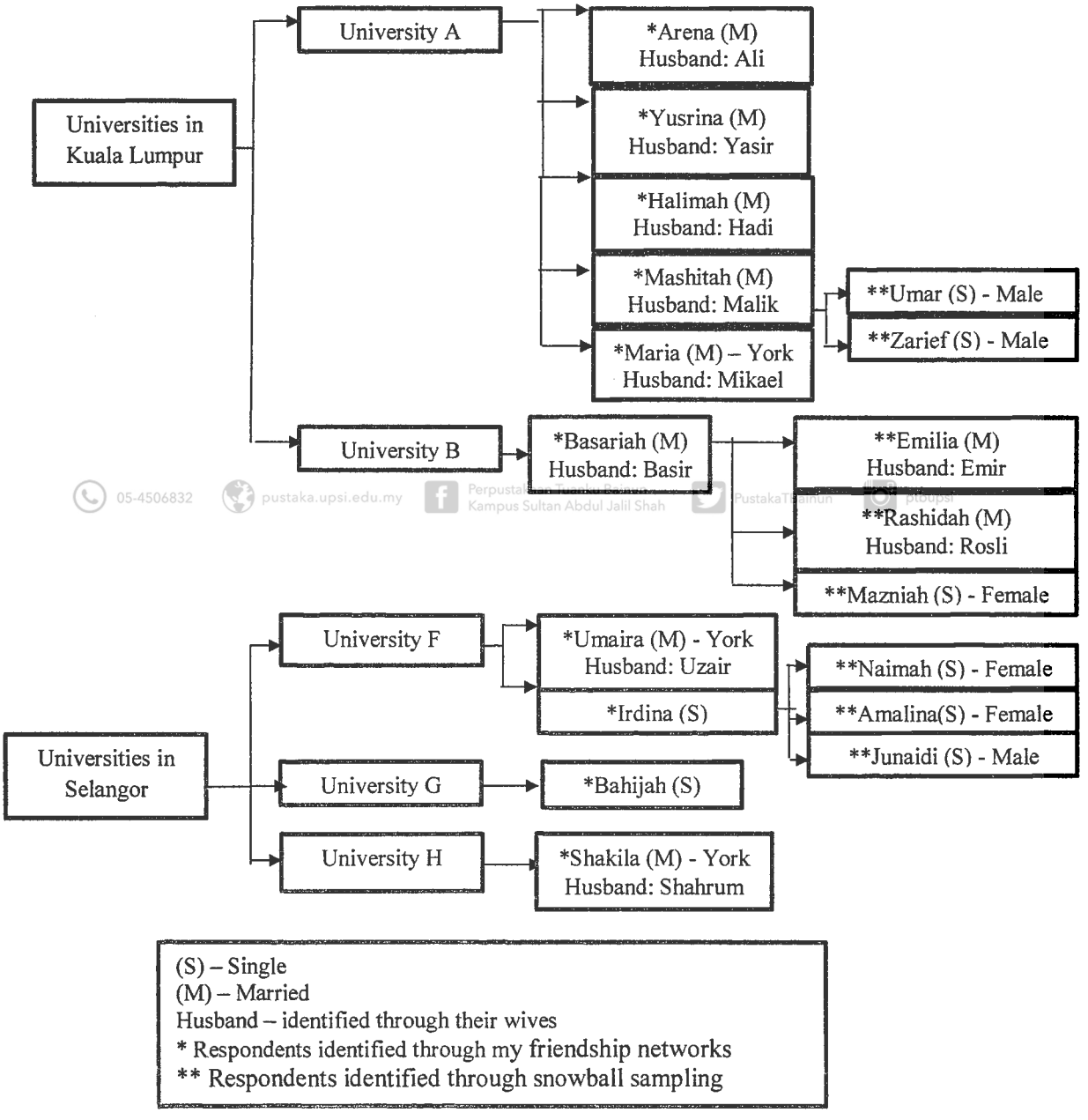
When I returned to York from Malaysia, I decided to find other respondents among Malaysians studying in the UK, who fulfilled my recruitment criteria. This was suggested by my supervisor. I then contacted a few Malaysian students who were studying at the University of York, UK, to ask if they were willing to participate in my study. I managed to interview three married Malay PhD students who were studying at York, all of whom work at the public universities in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. Recruiting them proved to be very positive benefits as it gave me the opportunity to explore the different experiences faced by these women, and particularly their husbands (*e.g.* the impact of their decision to follow their wives to the UK). Like the husbands in Malaysia, I recruited all the husbands in York through their wives. Overall, although I faced some problems during the recruiting process, I managed to interview ten married couples. I could not, however, find any new single respondents, so the number remained at only eight. In all, respondents were recruited in three ways: identified by

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

me from my own networks, introduced by my friendship networks using the snowballing technique or, in the case of husbands, introductions by their wives (*see* Figure 3).

Figure 3: Finding interviewees: Links between the researcher and the participants



05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Designing the themes and interview questions

Before I started my fieldwork, I identified themes and developed interview questions. Preparing both of these helped me to have a better understanding of the topics that I wanted to ask my respondents. I designed open-ended semi-structured questions that led people through the stages of their life course. The themes and interview questions were structured slightly differently for married women, married men, single women and single men but covered the same themes: family background, education and career, decisions/aspirations to marry and have a family, how they managed or planned to manage a dual-career lifestyle and their awareness of and opinions about policies supporting working women and dual-career families (*see* Appendix H). All the interview questions were drafted in English and approved by my supervisor before being translated into Malay, enabling me to conduct the interviews either in English or Malay, depending on each respondent's preference.

The interviewing process

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Initially I wanted to conduct in-depth interviews with all the respondents in my study. I planned to conduct one-to-one interviews with the single respondents, while for the married couples; I preferred them to choose whether to do a joint interview or talk to me separately. However, I only managed to conduct one-to-one interviews with the married women and the single respondents of both sexes, and did not succeed in conducting either joint interviews with couples or separate face-to-face interviews with the husbands.

According to a number of writers, interviewing couples within the field of family studies can be done either jointly or separately (Allan, 1980; Hertz, 1995; Sandelowski *et al.*, 1992; Gillis and Davis, 1992; Hertz, 1995; Valentine, 1999; Taylor and Vocht, 2011). The ways in which couples share their experiences in these different kinds of interviews might give different stories to a researcher. For instance, a joint interview may encourage the individuals to share personal history (Allan, 1980), understandings and meanings which can be described as "one shared narrative" (Taylor and Vocht, 2011: 1577); in addition, the couples may also negotiate and construct their narrative during the interview (Valentine, 1999). This interview might

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
reduce conflict between the couples (Hertz, 1995) and it offers researchers the opportunity to understand couples' collective perspectives (Gillis and Davis, 1992). The disadvantage of using this interview strategy is that individuals may not express their views, thoughts and feelings freely, particularly on sensitive issues (Valentine, 1999; Letherby, 2003; Taylor and Vocht, 2011). Separate interviews give more opportunity to express and disclose individuals' feelings, views, thoughts and experiences, which might provide non-identical or distinct answers, as compared to couples in a joint interview (Taylor and Vocht, 2011). For example, a study on domestic chores found that men may overstate their participation in household tasks, while women may underestimate their husband's support, and in addition one spouse might emphasise that they practice egalitarianism but the other might not (Hertz, 1995; Lee and Waite, 2005). I considered that my research questions might be sensitive for some individuals to talk about in the presence of their partners, while others might not.[106] Thus, I offered them a choice of how they would like to share their stories and to express things. However, the plan to conduct face-to-face joint or separate interviews with the married couples had to be changed when a problem arose, so that I only conducted face-to-face interviews with the wives, but email interviews with the husbands.

I expressed my intention to do joint or separate interviews when I began to discuss the place and time for interviewing with the married women in Malaysia.[107] However, none of the wives could make a decision at that time. They promised to talk to their husbands about these matters and to contact me to confirm their decision. Valentine (1999) notes that the limitation of finding a suitable time is one of the factors that contributes to the difficulty of arranging a joint interview with household members. I also faced this problem while trying to set up both types of interviews with the married respondents. When these women contacted me, they told me that they had decided to do the interviews at their office during office hours; therefore, it would be difficult to arrange joint interviews because their husbands worked in different places. In fact, they told me that it would be also difficult to do separate face-to-face interviews with their husbands or a joint interview after working hours as these men often

[106] I came to understand about this matter when three of my respondents cancelled their participation, as I have explained in the discussion on recruiting research respondents.

[107] I did not mention whether I wanted to conduct a joint interview or a separate interview with these couples in the invitation letter.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
arrived home late and had a busy schedule. To solve the problem, four of the wives suggested an email interview as an alternative and this was agreed by the couples. As a number of researchers have used email or web-based interviews as a primary tool for conducting qualitative research (*e.g.* James and Busher; 2006, 2007; Mann and Stewart, 2000; McCoyd and Kerson, 2011), I decided to agree to their suggestions. From this point on, I offered other wives this option and all of them and their husbands preferred email interviews, including the couples in the UK. In brief, the empirical data were gathered using two different ways of interviewing. I conducted 18 face-to-face interviews (10 married women, 5 single women and 3 single men) and interviewed the 10 husbands of the married women via email.

Conducting face-to-face interviews

Selecting a clean and safe environment, as well as a place that was easily accessible for the interviewees was my top priority in order to ensure that the respondents would feel comfortable and able to respond freely during the interviewing process (Denscombe, 2003). In my study, all the face-to-face interviews whether in the UK or Malaysia were conducted between the interviewer and the interviewees alone. All the interviews in Malaysia were carried out in my respondents' workplaces either in their own office or in a meeting room, except for one who arranged her interview in the mosque because it was more convenient. This is keeping with Letherby's (2003) assertion that "doing research in a respondent's own space will usually make them feel more in control" (Letherby, 2003: 108-109). Those who suggested their offices as the interview location felt that this place would be more comfortable and easier than their home because they would not have their children around them. On my side, it was not too difficult for me to go to their offices because I am familiar with such places. In addition, the location where I stayed during the fieldwork process was also situated in the same area.

For the interviews at the University of York, UK, I suggested using my office because, as a PhD student at the Centre for Women's Studies, I had been provided with a room, sharing with one officemate. All three women agreed to this and said that it was the best place as they felt that they might become distracted if we did it at their homes, which I found similar to the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
reasons given by my respondents in Malaysia. I also discussed with my officemate the feasibility of conducting the interviews in our office, and she agreed to vacate the room while I was doing so.

The working hours of respondents in Malaysia are flexible, and therefore all of my respondents agreed to be interviewed during office hours, which are 8.30 am until 5.00 pm. In addition, at the time, the universities in Malaysia were having their term break in November and December, which made it much easier to set the times for interviewing because my respondents were not teaching. For this reason also, I ensured that the interviews were finished before the new term started. However, I faced few problems because some of the married respondents had planned holidays with their families during the long school holiday that coincided with the term break. It is common in Malaysia for parents to take a long period of leave from work to spend with their children during the school holidays. Nevertheless, I managed to re-schedule the time with them as soon as they had returned from their holiday. I had finished my interviewing in Malaysia by the middle of January 2011.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Interviews with my respondents at the University of York were carried out in February 2011 when I returned from Malaysia. I did not face any problems in scheduling the interviews with these respondents because they were not working; however, I still considered their busy schedules as PhD students. Therefore, I offered them the opportunity to set the time, as I had asked my respondents in Malaysia to do. All my respondents preferred to meet in the morning; therefore, all the interviews were conducted at 10.00 am in my office.

I conducted the interviews in the Malay language. Sharing the same language was one of the factors that helped me as an insider to minimise any problems that emerged during the conversations with my respondents. However, they were also free to choose either English or Malay for the interview. All respondents preferred to use Malay as the primary language; but some of the interviews were held bilingually (in a mixture of English and Malay) as this is common in everyday conversation in Malaysia. I found that this practice not only made the interviews go well, but also enriched my understanding of my respondents' stories. All interviews were translated into English for the purpose of writing up the thesis.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Although I recruited the married and single women, along with the single men, either through my friendship networks or by using snowballing technique, it was still important to start the face-to-face interview by developing trust and good rapport with them. This is because my study required them to share some of their personal experiences (*e.g.* family responsibilities, men's participation in household tasks), which might be sensitive. Thus, I began all the interviews with a brief introduction about myself as a PhD student and explained that the purpose of doing the interview was to gather primary data for my PhD. I also explained in detail about the information that I needed from them according to the themes and interview questions for each group. I then asked their permission to record the conversation, and reassured them about confidentiality[108] before they decided to sign the consent form.[109] Using this strategy not only helped them to understand the process of interviewing but also helped to build trust, rapport and confidence between the interviewer and interviewees.

I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews in a conversational way, but it was different from everyday conversation because it was more detailed, more focused and more in depth. Hesse-Biber (2007) states that, although she had a set of interview questions as a guideline and an agenda while conducting her research, she was still open to her respondents to talk and allowed herself to interrupt freely and spontaneously if necessary during the interview. Following Hesse-Biber's (2007) strategy, I also carried theme outlines and the interview guide with me, but at the same time, I allowed my respondents to express their feelings and to bring up any topics that they wanted to talk about in their own way. Nevertheless, as a researcher, it was important for me to have some control over the answers given by my respondents in order to avoid having a conversation with no agenda (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Hesse-Biber, 2007). I also had to be an active listener to ensure that all my respondents were asked about the same set of themes and questions within each group (*see* Appendix H).

My interviews usually started with a few questions covering general information about my respondents, such as their backgrounds. The purpose of asking simple questions at the

[108] I had also explained these matters earlier, by phoning them and emailing to them the formal invitation letter during the process of recruiting my study respondents.

[109] I discuss the details of the the confidentiality agreement later, under the topic of ethical issues and considerations in this chapter.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
beginning of the interview was to provide another way of building trust and good relationships between us in order to avoid any uncomfortable feelings during the interview process. After a short conversation, the discussion turned to focus on the topic of the study. I only used simple words rather than technical terms so that they could understand and respond to the questions easily. I also asked more direct questions when I needed clarification or more elaboration on what they had said, particularly from those who gave short answers and then stopped talking.[110] Furthermore, I did not always ask the questions in the same order because I wanted the conversation to flow naturally; I often re-arranged the order of the questions according to my respondents' answers.[111]

In addition, while doing the interview, the interviewer needs to aware of the importance of keeping silent and not interrupting the respondents while they are speaking, as pointed out by Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005). For my study, I presented myself as an interested interviewer and tried to minimise interruptions during the interviews. Mostly, throughout the interviews, I responded with simple words such as *"all right, oh! I see, OK and yes" so* as to not only encourage my respondents to talk more and to give them more opportunity to elaborate upon their answers, but also to show my respect for them. I also prepared myself to be ready for any changes in the topics that might be sparked by their answers or any new topic they brought up during the interview process that might be relevant. For instance, issues regarding childcare centres that were highlighted by my respondents were worth discussing in detail (*see* Chapters Five and Six).

Being flexible gave my respondents the opportunity to talk freely about their stories, experiences, feelings, views, expectations, opinions and perceptions. In this way, I was able to capture their unique experiences. For instance, they did not hesitate to answer questions about their views on being married women or the reason why they were still single, the number of children they desired, their criteria for choosing a marriage partner and how they had met their husbands/fiancés, as well as activities that they shared/will share with their spouses (*see*

[110]For instance, some of my respondents talked a lot on certain topics and only gave short answers about others.
[111] Some of my respondents gave answers to questions that I had intended to ask later or sometimes the answers given were mixed between the questions. Therefore, to ensure all issues were covered, I had to re-arrange the order of the questions and always referred back to my list of questions during the interviews.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chapters Six and Seven). Nevertheless, they responded to the questions differently. Many of them laughed when these questions were asked as they found it was more amusing than sensitive, while several of them took it seriously. In contrast, all of them were more serious when answering questions pertaining to the work and family responsibilities that place a burden on women's shoulders, men's participation in domestic chores and strategies that helped women to reconcile their dual roles. During the interviews, none of them were reluctant to answer any of the questions, although I had assumed that some people might be sensitive.[112]

Cotteril (1992) found that some of her female respondents did not feel free to talk about their stories with her as a stranger, but my experiences with my female respondents were different. The relationship I had already built up with ten of my female respondents (*see* Figure 3) before they participated in my study made the process of obtaining information easier. Our relationships were established through friendship while we were course-mates on a master's degree (Arena, Halimah), schoolmates in high school (Yusrina, Mashitah), PhD students at the University of York (Maria, Umaira, Shakila) or whem we met at conferences (Basariah, Bahijah, Irdina). However, I do not have a close friendship with their families, and therefore I did not know very much about their family lives. As we do not live and work in the same area, we rarely meet each other and we only sometimes made contact through mobile phone or email. They were willing to share details of their personal lives because we were friends and have the same career. Although the depth of my friendships with them varied, "the pre-existing friendship" with my respondents helped to make the interviews successful. For example, one of my respondents told me: "I will help you to answer your questions, no worries, you are my friend." In addition, my position as a stranger to the respondents who were friends of friends also did not create a barrier to having a good relationship and conversation during the interviews. In fact, our relationships continued after I finished my fieldwork as we have kept in touch through phone and via internet communication such as "Facebook." The relationship of "stranger" has become a "transition to friendship" between me and my respondents, a situation that did not happen to Cotteril when she conducted her interviews (Cotteril, 1992).

[112] I considered some of the topics and questions to be sensitive because this point had been raised by the three married women who had cancelled their participation in this study.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In terms of age, career, education and postgraduate status, only one of my female respondents was older than me,[113] while the others were of a similar age or younger. Most of them were master's holders, lecturers or postgraduate students (*see* Tables 3 and 4). However, we established a good rapport during the interviews. Cotteril (1992: 600) found that characteristics she shared with her participants, such as being a "locally born, married woman who lives and works in the area where the study took place, and has a regional accent" played an important role in establishing rapport. Similarly, I found that our careers, relationships, shared religious convictions and cultural values, as well as my status as a postgraduate student[114] eased the interviewing process. I was aware that I was researching topics on which both I and my respondents held strong views. This insider knowledge was reflected in which I asked the research questions. When I asked the respondents to clarify answers, the depth of my background knowledge was obvious. Because of my close links with their careers experiences and religious beliefs, I had the advantage of insider knowledge, which reduced the distance between us as interviewee and interviewer.

I felt some anxiety about interviewing men in case I would not able to talk to them about women's lives and also the men's role in it. Arendell (1997) claims that she found herself in a "paradoxical position" when she interviewed male respondents because she was a woman and "most men were critical of women, at least in some areas" (Arendell, 1997: 347). Initially, I also thought in the same way; however, the responses I received did not show any bias against me as a female researcher. They talked relatively openly about matters relating to women, family and career, as well as men's participation in helping these women to negotiate with their dual roles. They seemed open-minded, as most of them were very supportive of women's dual roles. However, in certain circumstances, I found that they still adhered to the cultural ideology of Malay patriarchal society in terms of the roles of women and men. Overall, their answers have offered great insights to the study, which I explain in the discussion chapters below.

[113] I was 37 years old when conducting the interviews

[114] These three factors were often mentioned by my respondents as they tried to participate as much as they could to ensure that I obtained the information that I wanted for my research.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Most interviews lasted between ninety minutes and two hours, and one took two and a half hours. After each interview was finished, I thanked the interviewee for their time and expressed my appreciation for their willingness to participate in this study by giving each of them a small gift (a London fridge magnet and a box of Twinings tea). According to Thompson (2008), giving gifts to participants is not only a way of expressing appreciation for their cooperation in the study, but it may also increase the power imbalance between the interviewer and the interviewees. As a Malay, I am influenced by the Malay culture of giving gifts, in the Malay proverb known as *buah tangan* (souvenir), to a person we meet or visit, particularly when we come back from abroad. As they knew that I was studying in the UK, giving them"something from the UK" was culturally appropriate. I also found that this has resulted in my relationships with my respondents continuing, particularly with those who were introduced by my friends.

Most of my respondents expressed concern about whether their answers were what I needed. They even told me that I could contact them again freely either through by mobile phone or via email if I still needed any further information. Generally, I obtained useful information because the respondents were very supportive in answering the interview questions, and therefore all the face-to-face interviews went well.

Conducting email and telephone interviews

Daly (1982) suggests that a researcher can rely on women to persuade men to become involved as participants in domestic studies. In this study, negotiating with the wives in order to arrange the interviews resulted in me only being able to conduct separate interviews with the husbands, and only via email. Initially, I was frustrated with this decision and very anxious about whether this alternative method would be able to provide the rich data that I wanted to gain from the husbands.' In fact, conducting email interviews was a new experience for me as a researcher. However, in the circumstances this was the only way to collect information from the husbands as their situations made them unavailable for face-to-face meetings.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

James and Busher (2006, 406) in their study found that email interviews "offer us the opportunity to interview participants individually, necessary for exploring their discrete views of their developing professional identities and life stories in a variety of different macro and organisational cultures." Like James and Busher, my winterviewees and I all work in professional occupations which gave us ready "to access to email and [they/we] were familiar with using it in their/our professional lives"[115] (James and Busher, 2006: 405; James and Busher, 2007: 104). I was also aware of the methodological issues raised by the use of this method, as discussed by a number of researchers (Man and Stewart, 2000; James and Busher, 2006, 2007). It may be difficult to be assured that all participants in email interviews give fully informed concern (LaRossa *et al,* 1981, cited in Valentine, 1999: 68). In my study, the husbands were informed by their wives about the consent form before I sent it to them. I did not ask the husbands to volunteer; whether or not to participate was really their own decision as in the case of James and Busher's study (2007) and ethically I had to accept it.[116]

Once the wives had told me that their husbands were willing to participate in this study and would cooperate in an email interview, I emailed the husbands the interview question sheets, the invitation letter and the consent form via their wives' emails addresses during the last week of January 2011. In the email, I explained the purpose of my study and their rights, as I had done with the respondents during the face-to-face interviews, including the ethical procedures for formality. All the interview questions were written in Malay and I used the same questions that I had drafted previously for the planned face-to-face interviews. To ensure that these men were well informed about the study, I asked them to contact me via email and mobile phone if they required any clarification.

While conducting the email interviews, I realised that I also needed to gain the husbands' trust because we had never met before and we would not meet each other during the interview process. However, the shared acquaintance with the wives that I and the husbands had, created a comfortable online space for us and enabled the husbands to share their stories. In addition, when I contacted some of the husbands for further information, whether via email or by

[115]This reason was given to me by the wives when "they" decided that their husbands would use an email interview as an alternative approach.
[116] I also have explained the ethical issues elsewhere in this chapter.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
phone, we established more trust. This is evident through the feedback given by the husbands when I asked them to elaborate upon certain topics which needed to be clarified. The advantage of this method in gaining trust was also discussed by James and Busher (2007) and Mann and Stewart (2000), who argue that, even in an online interview, a mutual trust relationship can be built between interviewer and interviewee. Mann and Stewart (2000) explain it in this way:

> This kind of relationship can make it easier for a longer-term commitment to the interview to be maintained, but also makes it easier for the researchers to go back to their interviewees for further information or reflections, something that is difficult to do with the face-to-face personal interview. (Mann and Stewart, 2000, cited in Bryman, 2008: 642)

One issue that emerges when conducting online interviews is the way in which researchers send the interview questions; this can either be all the questions at once or regularly, a few at a time. When questions are sent all at once, there is a possibility that respondents will answer only the questions that interest them and, therefore, sending questions bit by bit is considered to be more reliable (Bryman, 2008: 642). I sent all the questions as a form so that they could answer directly onto the form and send it back to me. Although I sent all the questions together, they did not give the responses all at one time, but I was still able to gain the husbands' answers. We were in contact regularly via email if I did not hear from them, or if I found that the answers did not cover the aims of the study. For example, I sent an email to Halimah's husband in order to gain a further explanation pertaining to his opinion about his involvement in the household tasks. He replied to my email and elaborated upon his answer, giving me useful information. When conducting the email interviews, I did not have to set location or fixed time as I did in conducting the face-to-face interviews. However, it is still important to set a time limit so that the interviewer will receive the data (McCoyd and Kerson, 2011). I did set a specific deadline for them to send back their answers, which was in March 2011. The length of time given allowed the husbands to answer the interview questions at their convenience.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

One concern I had about using the wife's email address to send the question forms was whether or not the answers given came entirely from the husbands' thoughts because we "had no visual evidence," as in a face-to-face interview. It would have been difficult to confirm whether the online identity was the husband's, the wife's or that of other person (Chen and Hinton, 1999; James and Busher, 2006).

I considered that my conversations with the husbands did not fully happen in an "online environment/online conversation" as other researchers did in their studies (*see* James and Busher, 2007; McCyod and Kerson, 2011), because the husbands delivered their answers by writing them in the spaces below each of the questions that I had provided in the interview question form, wich as a Word Document. I allowed them to construct and direct their own narratives when they answered the questions. This gave the husbands an opportunity to give an accurate presentation of their stories. With the time duration given to them, they could think and re-think what they wanted to write. In this situation, I checked their answers and when I found that they had highlighted some interesting issues, I followed the new direction of their narratives to obtain further information (*e.g.* their involvement in household tasks, the issues of unpaid and paid leave). However, this limitation brought other problems to my attention; for example, their answers might have been influenced by discussions with their wives and knowledge of what their wives had already told me. This creates suspicion, as it is hardly ever the case in separate interviews with couples. Nevertheless, I had been given the husbands' contact numbers by their wives in case I needed further information; this helped in ensuring that the husbands were the individuals who participated. For instance, when I contacted two husbands by phone to obtain further explanations about their written answers, as I explained before, they shared how they had realised that the opportunity to answer the question had permitted them to think about their sacrifices as husbands when they decided to quit their jobs in Malaysia in order to support their wives' careers. I found that contacting them again developed the husbands' reflexivity with their answers and improved the authenticity of the data (James and Busher, 2007). Thus, it has also helped me to develop a greater understanding of the issues related to the husbands that I wanted to explore.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

I used telephone interviews only for certain respondents and questions in order to complement the information from the email interviews. I did call some of the husbands for further explanations, particularly about the new issues that they had raised in their written answers. For instance, I found that the issues of unpaid and paid leave were interesting to discuss further in the cases of two husbands who had followed their wives to York; contacting them by telephone helped me to understand more about their stories (*see* Chapter Seven). In addition, advanced technology helped me to reduce the cost of phone calls as I used a 'VoipBuster' programme via the internet to call them. With this program, I received a free call service to call all landline numbers in Malaysia and I had to pay only €0.035 (£0.03) per minute to mobile phones. Thus, most of the phone calls I made in Malaysia were free because I used the landline numbers, while in the UK, I contacted them via their mobile phones.

James and Busher (2007: 104) claim that they could not do the telephone interviewing in one of their studies because of "the different time zones between participants and researcher," which made it difficult to find a suitable time for conversations. As I also encountered different time zones[117] in my study, conducting the telephone interviews required me to set the time for a phone call, which I managed to do. Before I made the call, I sent them an email and texted a messaged to their mobile number and informed them of the time and date. Once we agreed, I called them according to Malaysian and UK time. Most of the calls I made to Malaysia were at 8.30 pm (Malaysian time) and 12.30 pm (UK time), which was after they had arrived home from their workplace. The UK calls were made between 5.00 amd 7.00 pm.

I was also concerned that I might not receive good quality data from telephone interviewing, since this method has a tendency to generate a short answers (Arksey and Knight, 1999; James and Busher, 2007). Bryman (2008: 457) discusses the disadvantages of using this method by stating that telephone interviewing "is unlikely to work well with very long interviews." Taking these issues into consideration, my telephone interviews went well because they were only used to supplement those email questions that needed more detailed explanation or clarification; hence, they did not take a long time and also did not cover all of the questions.

[117] The difference between time zones was eight hours with Malaysia ahead of UK time.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

All their answers during the telephone call were written in my notebook so that I would not lose any important data. As with the data gathered in face-to-face interviews, the answers given by these husbands were checked to ensure they had covered all the themes.

Using a qualitative, semi-structured interview either face-to-face, via email or by telephone has many advantages, but this method also has its limitations. In general, the ability of this method to gain fully honest and truthful answers from respondents is debatable because what people say might not always be in line with what they do (Dingwall, 1997; Silverman, 1997). According to Mason (2002), this method has also been questioned in relation to the capability of the respondents to remember certain experiences and/or incidents. Ruanne (2005) states that this interviewing method may result in a researcher receiving only positive accounts rather than negative ones. In my situation, for instance, it could be possible that the married respondents only portrayed their cooperation when dealing with household management, while concealing their failure to contribute to dealing with domestic chores. It is also possible that some of my respondents exaggerated their joy and happiness about fulfilling their roles both at home and in the workplace while concealing their frustration, stress and tiredness. Furthermore, husbands and wives may have discussed their responses with each other before I interviewed the husbands as I used their wives' email addresses to send the interview questions. As I did not ask any of my respondents about these matters, it could be possible that both husbands and wives wanted to present themselves to me as good, indeed perfect Muslims when they responded to the interview questions. However, as an "outsider", I have to accept all the data given as being a reliable source of what is happening in the family, since the respondents themselves know best about their own lives. Thus, the data were very useful in elaborating upon the dynamics that occur in their experiences, which may not be possible to clarify quantitatively.

To deal with the disadvantages of using the qualitative interview method in my study, I tried to gain the trust of my respondents at the beginning of the interviewing process. I found this to be crucial in order to ensure that my respondents felt comfortable and to enable them to answer the interview questions honestly and truthfully. According to Ellis and Berger (2003), sharing similar experiences and thoughts will also encourage respondents to share their stories.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

For instance, I shared my position as a lecturer when I sought my respondents' experiences about their workload demands, which resulted in them sharing information about their feelings as academics. In addition, informing the respondents about the ethical issues, particularly the assurance of confidentiality before the interviews began, also contributed to their willingness to share their personal and public lives in this study.

Issues of power relations between the researcher and the researched

During the field work, the existence of power relations between the researcher and the researched is complicated as it manifests in various ways. It can influence the process of data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2008). According to Cotterill (2002), earlier feminist researchers saw the researcher as powerful and the researched as powerless. In contrast, the power balance between me and my respondents shifted during the interview process. For instance, I faced a difficult situation when three of my married contacts in Malaysia cancelled their participation because they did not want to share their personal lives with someone they saw as a stranger, although initially they had agreed to participate.[118] I felt myself to be powerless because I could not convince them, although I explained that I could ensure that the anonymity and confidentiality of respondents would be protected.

I also always tried to balance my power relationship with my respondents, while conducting the fieldwork. For instance, although I had power as a researcher, I offered my respondents the opportunity to set the time and place, during the face-to-face interviewing process. This balanced power was helpful in gaining the confidence of my respondents so that they felt comfortable talking about their stories. Some of my female respondents were recruited from my friendship networks. Interviewing friends presented challenges in its own right, particularly for questions that were highly personal, such as how the female married respondents spent their time with their husbands. Fortunately, they were comfortable answering the personal questions because they understood their role as part of my research.

[118] After they had read the interview questions that I sent to them as they requested.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

When dealing with the husbands, I showed my respect by asking their wives to be my intermediaries to set up the interviews. However, as a single female researcher and a single Malay woman, the unbalanced power can be seen in this situation because I could not set up the husbands' interviews directly. Having to agree to email rather than face-to-face interviews also reduced my power over the process. Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002: 158) state that "the researcher and the researched may agree or differ on a range of factors that impinge on the possibilities of interaction." In my situation, I had to agree to a method of interview that was not ideal in order to proceed with the interviews at all.

I was also concerned about my power as a researcher while I conducted the email interviews, particularly around how I could control the process of interviewing. I had less power to control the husbands to immediately respond to the interview questions, although I did set a time duration for the husbands to answer and send back the form to me. In this situation, it seems that the husbands were able to exert control over the interview process because they were able to send their responses depending on how fast they answered the questions. To deal with my anxiety that they might delay or not answer at all, I contacted them via email a few times in order to remind them about it. I found that this approach helped us to balance our power, particularly when the husbands replied and thanked me for reminding them. As in James and Busher's study (2006), this situation indicated that the husbands actually realised the researcher's power to control the process of this study, in which they had been invited to participate. In my study, I did not have to extend the duration of the email interview with the husbands, as all of them had successfully returned the form by the time that I had set.

My Position as a Researcher – Reflections on being an insider and an outsider

I consider myself to be both an insider and an outsider in this study. I was an insider because I had a few similar points of identity with the respondents in groups, particularly the women; for example, we practise the same religion and culture, have obtained a higher educational qualification and have similar careers. My age was also within the range that I had set for respondents of 24 to 40. It is crucial for me to look at my social position in the the context of how my respondents might be influenced by it, as well as how this affected the relationship

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
between us. For example, I had the advantage of "insider knowledge" about marriage in Malay society, which could link me to them in that they saw me as another woman with same beliefs about marriage. I became an outsider because I was exposed to and influenced by Western education. Being a PhD student at the Centre for Women's Studies in the UK allowed me to look at their experiences from different perspectives. I was also an outsider to my married respondents and to my male respondents.

Being born into a Malay Muslim middle-class family, I am bound by the practices and teachings of the Islamic religion and the Malay adat (customary law) as stated in Article 160, Clause 2, of the Federal Constitution (2010: 168, see Chapter 1). All my siblings and I were taught to obey religious teachings and Malay culture/values from an early age. For example, saying the prayers five times a day from the age of seven, and always being reminded to be well-mannered and respectful, particularly to elderly people. Therefore, as a Muslim, I understood the rationale of the idea that a family must be formed through marriage when my respondents mentioned the relationship between marriage and family as Islam prohibits pre-marital sex and cohabitation. However, as an insider, I realised that some answers that they gave me prevented me from asking in more detail. For example, issues arround accepting cohabitation as an alternative way for a woman and a man to live together as they have more freedom to determine their lives.

Another example was when some of my married and unmarried respondents shared their concerns about the issues of late marriage, the label of *anak dara tua* (literally translated as an old virgin girl) and the notion of *jodoh* (a soul-mate who will be sent by Allah S.W.T. so that the day of marriage will come at a perfect time, which only Allah S.W.T. knows; *see* Chapter Five). I could understand their feelings and make sense of the reality of their lived experiences as I had also faced a similar experience. Thus, these two examples indicate that having certain similarities in culture helped me to "generate meaningful data" due to accessing and sharing the "understandings and cultural knowledge" (Archer, 2002: 110).

My identity as an insider has also helped me to understand my respondents' work experience. I work as a lecturer at one of the public universities in Peninsular Malaysia, and therefore I

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

have a similar career to my female respondents. Although we were not in the same workplace, I found that sharing a similar experience in certain circumstances offered another way to build rapport between us, particularly when my respondents felt reluctant to share some of their stories with a stranger (Oakley, 1981). As an insider, when I shared my own experiences with my respondents through my follow-up answers, this seemed to make them eager to share their stories in more detail. This made the conversation easier and I could ensure that important data would not be missed. For instance, one of my respondents gave answers which acknowledged that I knew her field of work when I tried to explore her perception of the work burden as an academic:

> *Interviewer: Do you mind telling me in what way you think handling your work responsibility is considered a challenge for you?*
> *Interviewee 2:* ***I have a few main responsibilities, teaching, publishing papers, research, like you, I also do the same things.***
> *Interviewer: Yes! I did that as well, it's our job requirements.*
> *Interviewee 2:* ***I agree. It's challenging, right?***
> *Interviewer: Indeed, I felt the same way too.*
> *Interviewee 2: Yeah! I realised these workloads, but I don't want to see them as negative challenges. [Then she continued explaining how she looks at the challenges of the workload.]*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Furthermore, sharing similar experiences can also avoid the danger of my respondents creating a distance that would cause them to refuse to see me as being in their category. However, I let them fully express their stories without asking leading questions that would show me to be prompting them or to confirm my own position. In doing so, I only contributed to the conversation if they asked for confirmation or guidance associated with the interview questions. Oakley (1981) asserts that a good relationship between the researcher and the researched can be built up by sharing identities and stories and that this sharing can also ameliorate the researcher's power and authority over respondents.

Being an insider as a lecturer also helped me to gain the agreement of the husbands to participate in this study. For example, all my married respondents mentioned that their husbands knew about the importance of my research and the reason why I had to do it because

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
they understood their wives' job descriptions as academics. This was evident when they agreed to participate in the email interviews, although they were busy with their schedules.

On the other hand, my position as a researcher and an outsider made me dominant because I knew more about my research topic than my respondents. Their lack of detailed knowledge about this study meant that this position helped me to encourage them to talk about certain issues. For example, none of respondents had heard the term "family-friendly policy" and they asked me to explain the meaning. I did so, which resulted in my respondents talking more about the policies that they considered to have helped them to reconcile their dual roles. In fact, they also gave suggestions about how to improve some of the policies (*e.g.* childcare and leave entitlements, *see* Chapter Seven).

I consider that I was also an outsider in my study when the married respondents talked about the strategies they used in order to maintain their careers and family life. My position as a single woman meant that my life was different from that of my female married respondents, most of whom had children. Thus, my identity as an outsider has made me think about the real lives of my married respondents and their choice of strategies when dealing with their dual roles. This enabled me to better understand my respondents' standpoints regarding the negotiation between their work and family responsibilities. Moreover, being an outsider to my male respondents helped to enhance my knowledge of contemporary Malay Muslim men's participation in the lives of Malay Muslim women. While most of the husbands were participating in domestic chores and supporting their wives' careers, my identity as a feminist researcher allowed me to make a comparison between men's contributions to the careers and family success of women within Malay society and those in other societies in many countries around the world.

To conclude, feminist researchers have their own reasons for asserting that it is easier or harder to gain data as an insider rather than an outsider or vice versa (Hesse-Biber, 2007). In reviewing my position as both an insider and an outsider, the ways in which I negotiated with both statuses helped me to gather research data. For instance, I consider my position as a lecturer and a middle-class Malay Muslim woman to be as an advantage that has helped me to

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
obtain information, particularly from the female respondents, to which an outsider may not be able to gain access (Weiss, 1994). I found that being an insider helped me to understand my respondents' stories and to generate the data I collected easily. The literature review, my career experiences and my personal background were the crucial tools that helped to enhance my capabilities as a researcher and to obtain a deeper understanding of the topics in this study. Nonetheless, at the same time, positioning myself as an outsider was also important in helping me to analyse certain useful data in a more critical and professional manner. Being an "outsider" help me to interpret, understand and represent the data gathered from what the respondents told me during the interviews because they knew more than I did about their stories.

Dealing with ethical consideration and issues

I am aware of my responsibility to conduct ethical research in order to ensure that this empirical study would do no harm to my respondents and also to protect myself as a researcher (Habibis, 2006). Since I was asking my respondents to share their personal experiences with me, they needed to be addressed with respect. Furthermore, my study is not only focused on women's stories about negotiating their roles at home and in their careers, but on other stories as well. For instance, I was interested to learn about their views and feelings on marriage, family and their changes of role, their views on academic life as a career option, the participation of men in the decisions made by these women pertaining to their roles at home and in the workplace, as well as men's involvement in domestic tasks. These issues also connect with respondents' experiences of traditionalism and modernity. Thus, while I was framing the questions, it was important for me to avoid any questions that sounded threatening or judgmental. With this in mind, I always reminded myself to be extra alert and cautious about the ethical issues while I was conducting the research (Renzetti and Lee, 1993). Thus, the ethical principles demanded that I should handle my respondents' identity, data and final analysis carefully and respectfully (Bryman, 2004; Crano and Brewer, 2002).

In addition, this study also involved their identity as Malay Muslims and their family life in a patriarchal system (*see* Chapters One and Two). In regard to this matter, my position as an

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
individual Malay Muslim and at the same time as a researcher has helped me to be more aware of which issues might be sensitive because I had prior knowledge about the importance of the social, cultural and religious context and also the patriarchal system that influences the lives of the Malay people. For instance, I respected their opinions about marriage and family, in which they linked these topics with Islam and the Malay *adat,* because this situation is common in Malay society (*see* Chapters Five and Six).

For the above reasons, prior going back to Malaysia to conduct the empirical study, I managed to seek an approval letter from the Research Promotion and Co-Ordination Committee, Economic Planning Unit (EPU), Prime Minister's Department to undertake the research in Malaysia (*see* Appendix I). It is a must for all the Malaysian PhD researchers to apply for such an approval letter from the government of Malaysia. To obtain this letter, I sent a few documents[119] to them via email, as evidence that I was a researcher and a PhD student. In addition, I filled in an online form from their website. After waiting for three weeks, I received the approval letter, which said that I needed to comply with the regulations stipulated by the agedncies with which I was dealing in the conduct of my research. When I arrived in Malaysia and before I proceeded with the field-work, I collected a Research Pass[120] provided by the EPU. I found this pass to be a crucial identification card and very useful for recognising a researcher because the concept of "who you know" is very much predominant in the context of Malaysian society (Sloane, 1999). I showed this card to all the face-to-face interview respondents before the interviews started, and I found that all of them understood my position and credibility during the fieldwork. Besides seeking a letter of permission for the empirical study from my own country, I was also granted ethical clearance to conduct the research from the Centre for Women's Studies' Ethics Committee, University of York.

McNeil and Chapman (2005) state that the researcher should inform the participants in a study about the research activity and the ways in which the data will be used so that they can make the decision about whether or not to take part in the study. According to Kvale and Brinkmann

[119] *E.g.* a supporting letter from my supervisor, a research grant chart, an offer letter from the University of York, UK and an offer letter from the Government of Malaysia (my scholarship).
[120] Unfortunately I did not take a photo of this card and it had to be returned to the office after I finished the fieldwork.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
(2009: 70), giving respondents a consent letter is important because it contains not only the objectives of the study, but also a warranty of confidentiality to secure their privacy, and also permission to withdraw from participating in the interview. Following these suggestions and the university's ethics requirements, I informed my respondents about the objectives of the study in a formal invitation letter (*see* Appendix G), and explained the ethical procedures and moral principles in conducting the fieldwork on the consent form (*see* Appendix J) I emailed these materials early on, while recruiting the study respondents, because they requested the information so that they would have "an early picture" of my study.[121] I also provided my contact details (an email address and a mobile phone number) on the invitation letter and the consent form so that they could contact me if they required any further information or wanted to confirm what the study was all about.

On the day of the face-to-face interviews, I once again explained all the information verbally in order to ensure that all my interviewees fully understood the ethical procedures, the topics I would focus on in the study and what they could expect during the interview (Creswell, 2003) before it began. I also requested their permission to record our conversation to ensure that nothing was missed during the interview session[122] (*see* Denscombe, 2003: 175). I explained that the reason for recording was because it was impossible for me to memorise everything and to capture all the conversation. Thus, I used a portable MP4 player because it was small and easy to carry to record all the discussions. I then mentioned their right to withdraw from the study or to withdraw their opinions that they did not have to respond to all of the questions during the interview process, and that they could stop the recording at any time if they wanted to do so before the interview ended. I also assured them that their identity would be concealed in order to protect their anonymity. I informed my respondents that all information and typed transcripts of the interviews would only be seen by me and my supervisor; hence, they would be kept confidential and secure. I told them that I would use pseudonyms instead of their real names and I would safeguard their interests during writing up of the data collection, although I

[121] I have explained these matters in detail in the discussion on recruiting the respondents.
[122] Although I recorded the interviews, I always kept a small notebook with me so that I could jot down any new and interesting ideas or issues that might be raised, not only during the interview but also during casual chatting with my respondents after the formal interview was finished.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
would use their stories in the study. I also disguised the names of the universities where these women work.

After all this information had been explained to my respondents, I gave them the consent form to read, and at the same time I also asked them to think again carefully about whether or not they were willing to be interviewed before they signed it (Miller and Bell, 2002; Habibis, 2006). As a result of this explanation, I established that my respondents understood the objectives of my study and the importance of the consent letter and the tape-recorder. I anticipated that it would not be difficult for them to understand all the information because they were well-educated and also due to the nature of their careers as academics. This is evident when all of them were willing to sign the consent form without asking any further questions about the reasons for it. I followed similar procedures with the email interviews. I emailed information about how the email interview would be conducted and the ethical procedures to the respondents without meeting them to re-explain it and I also did not directly watch them signing the consent form. I asked them to read the consent form carefully before they agreed to participate, and that they could ask me if they had any further questions. Some of them chose to send back the scanned consent form with their signatures, while others replied by email stating that they understood the informed consent. I considered that replying to my email and returning their answers to the interview questions together with the consent form was enough to show the husbands' willingness to participate in this study. According to McNeil and Chapman (2005), the assurance of respondents' confidentiality is believed to encourage them to share more about their private and personal experiences. In my study, all the interviewees gave open and free answers to all the questions.

In addition, I was also aware of the ethical considerations when interviewing husbands by telephone. I showed respect for them by setting the time and day for phone calls only after they had finished their office hours. I also let their wives know about the phone calls when I arranged the times to avoid any misunderstanding between myself and their wives. In both situations, as a Muslim living in Malay society, I considered this to be necessary as it is a practise in Islamic teaching and Malay culture so that no negative assumptions will exist about my relationship with either husband or wife.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Furthermore, how the data are store and share is important from the perspective of ethical research (Creswell, 2003). For this study, all the recorded information and the written documents (*e.g.* the interview transcripts) were put into a folder system on my computer and laptop and these were then protected under a password. These "soft copy documents" were named according to the folder that represented all the interviewees using a pseudonym.[123] All the printed/hard copy documents and the consent forms were kept with the paper files in my office.

The email interview required my respondents to write their answers in the spaces that I had provided below each interview question. Thus, they had to send these forms back to me via email. To protect the credibility and authenticity of the email interview data, I followed the steps used by McCoyd and Kerson (2011) in their studies. I checked my email daily and as soon as I received their emails with the answer forms, I immediately downloaded and kept them in a folder system on my computer or laptop by naming each of the folders using a pseudonym. All the answer forms were printed out for analysis and were kept with the paper files in my office, as I had kept the data from the face-to face interviews. To safeguard the confidentiality of these emails, all the original emails were deleted and re-deleted from the "bin folder" once I had finished downloading the data onto my computer or laptop. In addition, when my computer and laptop were not in use, I always made sure that they were kept offline for additional protection of the data and to avoid hacking.

Data analysis and writing up

The process of transcription for the face-to-face interview data started after all the interviews were finished. According to Creswell (2003) and Denscombe (2003), this process is a crucial phase of qualitative data analysis as it puts the data into an organised form. According to Vulliamy (1990: 66), transcribing research data from one language to another can directly affect the data. Thus, I chose to do all the transcribing first, followed by translation, because I found that it was not as easy as I had thought to do the transcribing and translating

[123] I used the same pseudonym to address my respondents in the thesis.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

simultaneously.[124] I transcribed the data in Malay as all the interviews were conducted in this language.[125] By doing it this way, I found it easy to understand every single word and piece of information mentioned by my respondents.

I started the process of transcribing by listening repeatedly to the recorded interviews because transcription needed to be done carefully with the extensive data. This was to ensure that all the verbal data could be reproduced accurately to reflect what was said by the respondents (Du Bois *et al.*, 1993). I found that the listening process allowed me another chance to assess all my respondents' stories, to note what I had missed or was unaware of during the interviews, to ponder, reflect, understand and analyse the different reasons behind their stories. Transcribing the data thus gave me ample time to recall all the stories and helped me to keep them in mind. Transcription is a vital part of any research because it helps the researcher to get closer to the data (Birbili, 2000).

Transcribing not only requires much effort and time, but it can also create various problems for the researcher (Denscombe, 2003). I tried to include all the information given by my respondents, but it is a common experience among qualitative interviewers that while doing the transcribing, they find that some of the data gathered is not relevant or useful to their study (Bryman, 2008: 455). Many researchers ignore or delete certain words (*e.g.* pauses and ers) that emerge during the interview in order to ensure that the data is understandable (Standing, 1998). In this situation, Bryman (2008) states that this is acceptable for researchers to transcribe only the portion of the interviews that is useful and relevant to the topic of study after the interviews have been listened to a few times. As a researcher, I have an advantage in having the final power to interpret my respondents' stories, although I found that separating the relevant from the irrelevant data was not an easy task. Following Bryman's (2008) suggestion, I listened to all the taped interviews more than twice. During the process, I immediately jotted down any important information that was worth quoting and left out irrelevant passages, and I also did some editing when it was necessary. For example, I ignored details about the places where two of my respondents had been on a holiday because I did not

[124] This is because the transcription and translation process involved two languages.

[125] Although I mentioned that some interviews were also conducted bilingually (using a mixture of English and Malay), the main language used was still Malay.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

consider it to be an important topic to be discussed in this study. Another example was when one of my respondents explained how she met her husband; she also shared information about her previous relationship with another man, which I left out as I found that it was not relevant. In addition, I also transformed the data into complete sentences and added punctuation if necessary while doing the transcribing, when my respondents used sentences that were not structured properly, in order to make the data readable. In addition, I used brackets to indicate laughter by my respondents.

Another problem arose when I realised that the transcripts were not well-organised after I had finished the process of transcription. Mason (2002: 150) states that "a semi-structured interview transcript made from an audio-recording is likely to be much less ordered. It may be disorganised, eclectic, incoherent in places, and may or may not take the form of a sequential narrative." To deal with this problem, I underlined selected quotations following the four main themes that I had already constructed earlier as a guideline (*see* Appendix H). I considered this process to be a preliminary analysis of my data. I analysed and sorted each piece of data in order to identify any other issues that had been highlighted by my respondents, and this was how I constructed the various sub-themes. For example, I highlighted the advantages and importance of having childcare centres in the workplace as one of the sub-themes in the discussion on the strategies used by my respondents to reconcile their childcare responsibilities with their careers. Another example was when two husbands shared their views about unpaid and paid leave, which were not provided by their employers and I thought that this issue was interesting enough to be discussed in detail. During this process, coding was important and useful to separate the data into groups and types (Bryman, 2008), which I have used as the basis for analysis. In this way, reading the transcripts many times was important not only to ensure that any interesting and useful data were extracted but also because I was able to gain a better understanding of my respondents' stories. The process was not easy, but I managed to put all the data into the forms, which made it readable and organised into a logical sequence. This made the process of translation and the detailed analysis of the data easier for me.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The email and phone interviews were much easier to handle. One of the advantages of conducting an email interview was that I did not have to do any tedious transcription because the interview answers were already "in written text" (McCoyd and Kerson, 2011: 397). I had organised the questions on a form in logical order; hence, all the husbands answered the questions using the same form. This approach gave the husbands a period of time to clean up their own answers and I did not have to modify their answers "by deciding which verbal ties and stuttering to remove" (McCoyd and Kerson, 2011: 397). I also did not have to transcribe the answers given by the husbands through phone interviews because I wrote the answers down straight away during the conversation. This was easy to do because it only involved a few questions. However, as with the data collected in face-to-face interviews, I read their answers several times and did some editing only when needed to tidy up their unstructured answers so that the data became more understandable.

I started doing the translation after I had finished all the other processes, as explained above. This stage needs to be given an in-depth focus because the interpreting of language and culture is considered crucial in qualitative research. I had conducted all the interviews in Malay, and therefore I had no problems in understanding my respondents' stories as Malay is my mother tongue. However, as an international student for whom English is not my first language, translating the data from Malay into English was one of the hardest stages in my study because I needed to ensure that their stories would be delivered appropriately. As this study involved two different languages and cultural contexts, it is difficult to literally translate meaning from one language to another. Thus, great consideration and careful thought need to be given to the data during the process of translation and interpretation in order to avoid distortion (Twinn, 1997; Esposito, 2001). I did not use a professional certified translator as suggested by Esposito (2001) because the language and culture that my respondents and I shared helped to minimise the distortion of data. Nevertheless, according to Patton (2002), problems of understanding can also arise even among people who speak the same language during this process. To deal with this problem, I always kept the original meaning and at the same time I used an appropriate form of English while ensuring that the original meaning of the information was retained during the translation process. It was also necessary to obtain conceptual equivalence or comparability of meaning (Birbili, 2000). During the process of translation, I used the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Oxford Advanced Learner's English-Malay Dictionary and also the internet-installed dictionary to help make the translations as accurate as possible. As well as using a dictionary, I frequently asked for help from my friends who are good at English and the proofreader of this thesis during the translation process. The final checking was done by my supervisor to verify and guarantee the translated data that would be used in the analysis chapters.

I sometimes found it hard to find a word-for-word translation or to structure the sentences accurately. For example, when my female respondents told me about the position of the mother in the Malay family, they mentioned the proverb *syurga itu di bawah tapak kaki ibu*. I found that there was no appropriate English proverb to use in the translation, so I translated it word for word as "paradise lies at the feet of your mothers." However, I still found that the meaning was not clear; hence, I decided to explain it further using footnotes. I described this proverb as illustrating the high status of the mother. Another example is where some Arabic words have been incorporated into the Malay language; for example *taqwa* (piety). I had to use footnotes to explain that this word refers to values of worship performed according to the Islamic religion. In some cases, I retained the word as it was, particularly nouns, for instance the customary *adat,* which are the *Adat Temenggung* and *Adat Pepatih*.

Once the process of transcription and translation was finished, I started to analyse the interview transcripts. Orna and Stevens (1995: 162) describe this staged as "transforming knowledge into written information." Many qualitative researchers have found that they were not able to write up all their data, and therefore they had to be selective and only choose the most relevant data that related to the aims and research questions of the study (Bryman, 2008: 666-667). I looked at each interview thoroughly, and then I cut and pasted only selected data that correlated with the aim of the study under the relevant themes. I then chose some quotes from my respondents which I used later in the discussion chapters.

Overall, four major themes, each with their own sub-themes, emerged during the analysis process (Orna and Stevens, 1995). I presented the data in four different chapters, with each major theme representing the title of one individual chapter, supported by suitable sub-themes.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The four themes are: factors affecting Malay Muslim women's participation in the Malaysian labour force, their stance on marriage and family life, family and work responsibilities and coping strategies. The discussion of all four major themes also involved the stories of husbands, single males and single female respondents.

As this stage is "the actual writing of the final product" (Orna and Stevens, 1995: 162), I was aware of not only representing the findings but also searching for suitable literature to support them so that I can convince my readers. Convincing readers is important for the credibility and significance of the findings and conclusions (Bryman, 2008). During the process of analysing my data and the writing-up, I realised that I had obtained similar views and ideas about certain issues and questions from the the majority of the respondents. One of the important similarities was that my respondents consistently talked about Islamic teachings and the Malay *adat* as guidelines in their daily lives although I did not specify anything in the criteria for recruiting respondents about whether they are practising Islam and the Malay *adat* or not.[126] I therefore decided to use Islam and the Malay *adat* as a way to make sense of my respondents' stories, but at the same time I also used previous studies conducted by researchers in Malaysia and other countries to strengthen my discussion.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodology that guided my study. The qualitative method allowed me to obtain rich stories about the experiences and perceptions of Malay Muslim academic women regarding career, marriage, family, and the ways in which they are managing their family and work responsibilities. The methodological approach that I employed was designed to fill an empirical gap which was identified through the literature review. I have also explained the ethical research practice that I needed to follow during the interviewing process. I detailed the challenges that I faced during the research process and how I overcame them. While doing the transcribing, translating and analysis, I always tried to be sincere and do justice to every aspect of my respondents' accounts during the interviews. With the experience that I gained while doing the fieldwork, I have learned how to conduct successful fieldwork

[126] See the section on identifying and recruiting the study respondents.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

and have developed in my role as a researcher. Each chapter draws primarily on the accounts of married women, but also makes use of the stories told by husbands and unmarried academics as necessary. I will begin in the next chapter by discussing the experiences of the female respondents around accessing education, which has led them to become career women and choose academia as their career option.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chapter Four

Factors Affecting Malay Women's Participation in the Malaysian Labour Force

Introduction

Women are no longer seen as being only associated with domestic chores. Perceptions have changed, respect for women has grown, and their presence in the public sphere has been accepted in societies around the world, including Malaysia (*see* Chapters One and Two). According to Noor (1999a; 2006), efforts undertaken in accordance with the Malaysian Plan[127] have provided many opportunities for women to participate in national development, particularly through their careers and expertise. My respondents had constructed themselves in contrast to traditional Malay gender roles in the family, which stipulate that women's role is only to take care of the family and the household and men's role is to earn money for the family. Thus, there is a tendency for my respondents to accept working women in their lives, and at the same time women do indeed have the desire to work.

In order to present a detailed discussion of my respondents' decision making about their careers, this chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section is a discussion of factors influencing women's participation in the paid labour force. It was discovered that the main factor influencing their decision to work was because they had the academic qualifications to access job opportunities. When I explore this issue, a closer analysis revealed that parents' socioeconomic status and educational background had been responsible for their positive attitude, particularly that of the fathers towards the education of their daughters. Women in this study asserted that the positive attitude of their parents had been a starting point that had opened up the opportunity for them to obtain academic qualifications and to engage in the formal economy. The support from husbands (married respondents) and boyfriends/ fiance's (single respondents) also contributed to women's decision to work. It is important to establish who supported them and in what ways in order to understand how this support has influenced their attitudes towards work and their decisions in this area. I also

[127] The plans for women are available at http://www.kpwkm.gov.my and a brief summary of women's achievements in Malaysia given in Chapter One.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
acknowledge and discuss other critical influencing factors, such as: economic requirements, financial responsibilities towards parents, personal interest and self-satisfaction, following a role model and being a role model, and the Islamic religion, in order to provide a more holistic representation of the respondents' participation in the labour force. In the second section, I present a discussion on why these women chose academia as their career. In exploring their experiences, freedom, access and opportunities in education and employment as expressed by these women, I discovered that they are still being subjected to religious rules and Malay cultural norms. I therefore begin this chapter with a discussion of the factors that potentially influenced my female respondents' decision to work.

Factors influencing women's access to the paid labour force

Similar to the findings of previous research (*see* Chapters One and Two), this study also found that women did have a desire to work and their decision to do so was affected by several factors. I categorised these into six themes: having the necessary academic qualifications to access job opportunities, economic need, financial responsibility towards parents, personal interest and self-satisfaction, following a role model and being a role model, and adherence to the Islamic religion.

i. Having the necessary academic qualifications to access job opportunities

Women have progressed considerably in terms of education over the past few decades. They have benefited from this opportunity to obtain academic qualifications, which has led to a growing number of educated women entering the workforce (Noor, 1999a, 2006; Jones, 2007; Abdullah, 2000a; Lim, 2009; Ahmad, 2011). All fifteen female respondents had finished their education to university level and had obtained at least a master's degree as their highest qualification; one already had her PhD, as shown in Table 5. With good educational qualifications, these women stated that it was easier for them to determine their future and to access job opportunities than it was for Malay women prior to Malaysian independence, as explained in previous studies (*see* Chapters One and Two). This answer was given consistently when they talked about their choices to become career women rather than full-time

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

housewives. For instance, Emilia (aged 31; married) states that she had planned to obtain good academic qualifications and to have her own career since she was at school: "*I have been exposed to education since I was small; I went to school and then pursued my studies at university. I want to have my own career because I have the qualifications.*" She also showed her self-awareness about the reason why she should work and not become a full-time housewife when she described herself as a modern woman, who lived in a modern era: "*I am now living in a modern era. I never thought that I wanted to be a full-time housewife after I finished my studies. I always thought that I wanted to work and have my own career with the qualifications I have.*" Another respondent, Umaira (aged 31; married) also mentioned that she wanted to be exposed to the public sphere rather than stay at home because she had the academic qualifications. Her description of herself as an "ambitious person" who "cannot do only one thing at a time," as well as her mention of a "young age" clearly indicates her eagerness to become involved in a good career. In addition, her attitudes signalled her identities and her reluctance to be a housewife:

> *I'm an ambitious person and I'm not someone who wants to do only one thing at a time. I can't be a full-time housewife because I don't think I can do the same things every day. I want to be a career woman and with my qualifications I can get a good job. I'm still young and I don't want to miss out* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

Table 5: Distribution of female respondents by level of education, age and status

No	Pseudonym	Age	Level of Education	Status
1	Emilia	31	PhD	Married
2	Basariah	32	Master**	Married
3	Rashidah	37	Master	Married
4	Halimah	35	Master	Married
5	Arena	35	Master**	Married
6	Mashitah	37	Master**	Married
7	Yusrina	37	Master	Married
8	Umaira	31	Master**	Married
9	Maria	27	Master**	Married
10	Shakila	40	Master**	Married
11	Amalina	25	Master	Single
12	Bahijah	29	Master**	Single
13	Irdina	27	Master**	Engaged
14	Naimah	24	Master	Single
15	Mazniah	26	Bachelor*	Engaged

**They were doing their PhD when the interviews were carried out.
*She was doing her Master's degree when the interview was carried out.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The respondents stated that their awareness of the importance of having an education and the factors directing them into modern occupations included familial influences. In Chapter 1, I discussed some of the issues related to negative attitudes of Malay parents towards education and the schooling of their daughters, particularly prior to independence. These issues are likely to be reasons for poor access to schooling for girls in Malay society. Religious and cultural issues were the main factors influencing the parents' perceptions of and attitudes towards their daughters' education. However, these perceptions and attitudes have gradually changed since various educational policies, such as free and compulsory education was enacted during British colonial rule and since Malaysia achieved its independence and began to promote women's education. Parents became far more tolerant towards their daughters' education due to the revolution in education in Malaysia (*see* Chapter One). I do not intend to restate that discussion here; rather, I explain how my respondents experienced a similar situation, in which their parents, who were then living in an era of independence, also became aware of the importance of sending their daughters to school. The female respondents claimed that the positive attitudes shown by their parents towards schooling were a starting point. These attitudes then became the impetus for them to pursue their studies at the highest level of education to enable them to have more choices in life. Their accounts indicated that the traditional Malay patriarchal system no longer prevented daughters from obtaining an education, but the authority of men (specifically the father) was still seen as important in allowing their daughters to access formal education. The mothers were as much in favour of education for their daughters as the fathers. The attitudes of both fathers and mothers showed that they did not have a narrow mentality about their daughters' education:

> *When my parents sent my siblings and me to school, I knew that my father and mother wanted us to get a better education. For me, it was a good start in my life and I had the opportunity to get an education, the same as my brothers* (Basariah, aged 32: married).

> *My parents always reminded their sons and daughters about the importance of education in our lives. My father, for example, never fails to encourage me to study hard. I feel that having the opportunity to go to school has led me to gain a good educational background and at the same time it has made my life much better* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The socioeconomic status and characteristics of a family have long been known to be major determinants of children's educational enrolment and achievement in both developing and developed countries (Mingat, 2007; Filho, 2008). Previous research has also identified that parents' involvement is the strongest factor in contributing to their children's educational achievement (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003; Fantuzzo *et al.*, 2004; Reynolds and Clements, 2005; Rogers *et al.*, 2009). In my study, the growing awareness of the importance of a daughter's education was influenced by the parents' socioeconomic status and educational backgrounds, which gives an overall idea about parents' attitudes and involvement in their daughters' access to learning. Challenges and conflicts that emerged between the family environment, such as parents' educational level, occupation, social class and income, and the practices of Malay traditional culture and religious prescriptions were also expressed by my respondents and this provided a clear understanding of their desire to acquire an education for enable better career in the future. My respondents came from a variety of social levels, ranging from poor rural to wealthier urban areas, as indicated by their parents' educational background, social class, occupation and income (*see* Appendix N). All parents, whether from "average-class families," "not from wealthy families" or "middle-class families"[128] were optimistic when undertaking the planning of their children's future education. They were of the opinion that education would enable their children to have a better career, income and life in the future. According to the respondents, these factors made their parents value the education of their daughters and act positively to attain it, while at the same time they had been taught about the importance of education for themselves.

There were differences between the "average-class families", the "not from wealthy families" and the "middle-class families" in the reasons why parents wanted their children to excel in education. While the respondents from the "average-class families," and the "not from wealthy families" who make up the majority in this study, stated that their parents did not want them to experience a hard life. Those who came from "middle-class families" explained that their

[128] The classification of the social status of parents was undertaken according to the explanations given by respondents when they talked about their families. The term "middle class" reffered to those who work as teachers or bank officers or lecturers, as Arena described the people in the place where she grew up. Rashidah, Bahijah and Basariah used the term "average class family" and "not coming from a wealthy family" to describe their families' incomes as well as their place of residence during their childhood. In this chapter, I therefore used these terms, following the description given by the respondents in discussing how social status influenced their lives.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

parents wanted them to maintain their family stability, such as in finances and social status. For example, Maria (aged 27; married; from a middle-class family) said that: "*My parents always supported and encouraged me to do well in my studies. My mother always said that although our family has already had a better life, my siblings and I still need to study hard so that we can continue to have a better life in the future.*" In contrast, Halimah remembered her parents' advice about getting a good education in order to change their family life: *"They always reminded us not to be like them because they did not have the chance to get a good education due to various factors during their childhood"* (Halimah, aged 35; married; from an average-class family).

Many western researchers in the discipline of sociology have used Bourdieu's concept of capital in studying how class and gender are interrelated with educational achievement, particularly for women (Skeggs, 2004; Reay, 1997, 2004). When discussing education and class, Reay (2004) states that different forms of capital, such as economic, social and cultural capital cannot be isolated from one another because they are in relation to working-class women and middle-class women. In my study, the ways in which these parents provided for their children in terms of the economic and cultural capital that was available to them are different. For instance, two of my respondents, who mentioned that they were from "average-class families" and "not from wealthy families," respectively, experienced a similarly hard situation in gaining education during their schooldays. They had to adjust their desire to learn and go to school with limited money. Although their parents' low socioeconomic status and their father's position in the job market could only provide a little economic support to cover the basic needs of schooling, the fathers made an effort to provide for their children's material needs and to invest in their education. Basariah and Yusrina shared their experiences of gaining an education within the tight budget provided by their parents:

> *We were not from a rich family. When I saw my father willing to allocate some money for education, I knew he wanted his children to have a good education. Therefore, he didn't mind providing money to make sure we got the best education. He did everything in whatever situation just to send me and my siblings to school. One thing I remember, he sent his children to a school that provided a hostel for students in our rural area when we were at secondary school so that we could have*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *a cosy environment to study. He paid the hostel fees monthly and provided things such as uniforms and shoes, and sometimes he tried to visit us at the hostel. I didn't get any extra teaching except at school because he could not afford to send us to the tuition centre* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *I do not come from a wealthy family and my family only lived in a small village. My parents only provided me and my siblings with the basic needs to go to school, such as school uniform, shoes, books and stationery. I never went to a tuition centre or other extra paid classes. I only had my school teachers to help me in my studies* (Yusrina, aged 38; married).

In contrast, Irdina and Naimah, for instance, who were from middle-class families, told me a different story. They claimed that their academic achievement had been greatly influenced by their parents' economic ability, which had been invested in their children's education. They and their siblings were sent to school in urban areas; they attended extra classes at tuition centres and received extra exercise books for revision at home. Naimah (aged 26; single female) explained: "*My parents sometimes bought extra exercise books for me so that I could do extra exercises at home. I also had a tuition class after my school hours.*" Similarly, Irdina (aged 27; single female) said: *"My father sent me to a tuition centre so that I could get extra teaching instead of only at school, especially when I had to sit for a crucial exam."*

In terms of cultural capital, both Arena and Emilia, who were from "middle-class families," mentioned that they were exposed to a good learning environment at home from their fathers, who were a lecturer and a teacher, respectively. This was something not experienced by those who came from "average-class families" or "not from wealthy families." Arena stated that she was encouraged to read various kinds of books by her father during her childhood because he was a reader himself. She added that this might be one of the reasons why she was aware of the benefits of education for herself. Directly, this indicates the importance of a father's role in promoting education to their daughters:

> *My father, who was a teacher, was very focused on his children's education, whether academic or religious. He always encouraged us [she and her siblings] to read any types of educational books because his hobby was reading books. He*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *bought quite a lot of types of books to encourage us to love reading as a hobby like him. He wanted us, both his sons and me as the only daughter, to study hard and achieve our own visions and aims so that we could get a good job and have a good life in the future. I believe this helped me succeed in my education* (Arena, aged 35; married).

Emilia (aged 32; married) emphasised that her interest in becoming an educated person was largely stemmed from her father's spirit. In fact, her father encouraged her to become a lecturer and pursue her studies up to PhD level, following in his footsteps: "*My father wanted me to be a lecturer like him, and my parents hope I can pursue my studies up to doctoral level. Living in a house with an educated father, who is a lecturer has exposed me to a career as an academic.*"

The situation was different for my respondents who were from "average-class families" or "not from wealthy families" because their parents were unable to provide cultural support. Due to their parents' lack of good educational backgrounds, this group of respondents had to struggle on their own; for example, when doing schoolwork or revision at home. Giving regular advice, motivation and reminders was the best way for their parents to show support for their daughter's education. Basariah and Halimah expressed their views about their parents' situation:

> *My father didn't have a good educational background, and neither did my mother. They could not teach my siblings and me even to help us with our schoolwork because they didn't have the knowledge. I can say that my siblings and I practised independent learning and we asked our teacher at school if we didn't understand* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *My parents always encouraged and supported us [she and her siblings] in our studies when we were small and until we went to university. They did tell us that they couldn't teach us due to their lack of education, and the only thing they could do was provide motivation for us to study hard* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

Like Basariah and Halimah, Yusrina added that seeing uneducated Malay parents who had caused their children to remainum educated like them was a common situation among the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Malay community in her hometown, which is located in a rural area. This scenario illustrates that parents and living conditions can affect a community in shaping their perceptions and attitudes towards children's education. However, she stated that this scenario did not influence her own uneducated parents to have a negative mentality towards the education of their children. Although she said that her awareness of the importance of education and the necessity to have a good career stemmed from her own efforts, she still emphasised that, without her parents' support, her interest in education would not have developed:

> *I came from a village where the majority of residents were Malays. Most of them are farmers and non-professionals. Almost none of the villagers were very aware of education. For myself, the consciousness of the importance of education was my own. My parents never got involved in helping me with my studies but they did support me to do better in my education* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

From the discussion above, it can be said that my respondents' parents had ensured a worthwhile education for their children, and that daughters had obtained equality in formal educational opportunities alongside sons. The respondents further stressed this equality when they stated that their parents had not insisted on any of their children pursuing their studies up to the highest level (*e.g.* university or college) as they realised that some of their children were unable to do well in studying and could only complete secondary-level schooling. According to them, this approach gave both sons and daughters the opportunity to decide their own future. As a result, the freedom of choice given to daughters has meant that most or all of the daughters in the respondents' families had completed their studies at a superior educational level and were more outstanding than the sons (*see* Appendix N). Rashidah claimed that the approach of giving freedom to daughters in her family had allowed one of her sisters to pursue her studies abroad, all the daughters had finished their studies at degree level, and she was now pursuing studies a PhD:

> *My parents didn't mind where we [she and her siblings] wanted to further our studies or what level of education we wanted to achieve. Thus, all the daughters obtained a qualification in higher education and one of us is an overseas graduate. It all depended on our determination to reach as high a level as we could* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Another reason given by two respondents as to why the sons' educational achievements were different from those of the daughters was the different approaches used in bringing up sons and daughters in the respondent's family. Both sons and daughters were bound by a set of rules from Islamic teachings and the Malay *adat* by parents, and adhering to the rules was compulsory, but sons tended to have more privileges than daughters. Arena and Rashidah realised that one thing differentiating them and their brothers during childhood, which had contributed to their educational achievement, was a rule about going out after school hours. Their brothers could go out after school more freely than them. Arena and Rashidah said that they had to ask for permission to go out and had only been allowed to do so for a limited time, which indicated that the ways in which traditional Malay parents brought up their children still remained in the hands of their families[129] (Ariffin, 1992; Sidin, 1994; Abdullah, 2000b; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Noor, 2006). Although they felt that the rule was unfair, they believed that the rule that the requirement to stay at home and spend more time indoors caused them to be more studious, which explained their success in education. They shared their stories:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *When I was small, I was not free to go out like my brothers. I stayed at a hostel during my schooling and when I came back to my house during the school holidays, I was advised by my parents to stay at home rather than go out. They did allow me to go out and meet my friends but not as freely as my brothers. I was unsatisfied with the rule, but now I realise that when I stayed at home, I did my revision and I could focus on my studies, which I found was good for me* (Arena, aged 35; married).

> *Every time when we daughters wanted to go out with our friends after school, we hardly ever got permission. My father was really strict about the rules, especially for his daughters. We could not go out easily and could not come back late at night. However, my brother was a little bit different. He let my brother go out after school and my brother got more freedom than us as daughters. My brother sometimes came back late when he went out with his friends. I personally felt my father was unfair about the rules. The daughters usually would do the household chores and spend our time doing school homework when we didn't go out. Anyway, now I realise that I'm better than my brother in studies. It might be because my sister*

[129] A detailed discussion on Malay parental responsibilities in the upbringing of their children is presented in Chapters One and Two.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *and I stayed at home and have (had) more time to focus on our studies* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

Some respondents said that the differences between the sons' and the daughters' educational achievements in their family were due to gender attitudes. Basariah (aged 32; married) said that daughters in her family were more successful in education than sons because they had "outstanding and diligent" attitudes. Another reason given by Bahijah (aged 29; single female) as to why her brother did not go to university was because he was "naughty" and never focused on his studies. Rashidah and Mazniah claimed that their brothers were more interested in working than furthering their studies and that was considered a reason why daughters' educational achievements were better than those of the sons in their families:

> *My brother, you know as a boy, he didnt want to go on with his studies anymore after he finished Form 5 at secondary school because he wanted to work. So, my parents did not push him and they still gave him moral support in whatever he wanted to do* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *My brother said that he would only study to degree level because he wanted to work. I think "sons' mentality" is that they always want to work rather than study* (Mazniah; aged 24; single female).

ii. Economic need

Economic need was one of the main reasons why more women, including the majority of my respondents, have become involved in the paid labour force rather than being at home in Malaysia, compared to a few decades back (Salleh, 1985; Salih, 1994; Noor, 1999a, 2008; Amin and Alam, 2008; Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, 2014). They worked and lived in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur areas, two highly populated and urbanised areas in Peninsular Malaysia (*see* Chapter Three), which required them to work because living in these areas is very costly. All the married female respondents, except Maria and Shakila,[130] explicitly mentioned that their husbands' basic monthly incomes were insufficient to support their family finances. Whether their husbands' incomes were higher

[130] Both of them work, but not to help their husbands with the family finances, as I will discuss later.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

(*e.g.* Emilia, Rashidah, Arena, Mashitah, Yusrina) or lower (*e.g.* Basariah, Halimah, Umaira) than the wives' incomes, these women clearly stated that they needed to continue working and have their own careers in order to strengthen their family's finances (*see* Table 6).

Table 6: Approximate basic monthly household income (RM) for married respondents

Name		Basic Monthly Income	
Wife	**Husband**	**Wife**	**Husband**
Emilia	Emir	RM4,000 (£800)	RM8,000 (£1,600)
Basariah	Basir	RM4,300 (£860)	RM3,400 (£680)
Rashidah	Rosli	RM6,000 (£1,200)	RM8,000 (£1,600)
Halimah	Hadi	RM4,500 (£900)	RM4,000 (£800)
Arena	Ali	RM4,500 (£900)	RM5,900 (£1,180)
Mashitah	Malik	RM2,800 (£560)	RM3,000 (£600)
Yusrina	Yasir	RM4,000 (£800)	RM6,500 (1,300)
Umaira	Uzair	RM3,000 (£600)	RM2,500 (£500)
Maria	Mikael	RM2,900 (£580)	RM5,000 (£1,000)
Shakila	Shahrum	RM3,500 (£700)	RM6,000 (£1,200)

Referring to their basic monthly household income, as shown in Table 6, Halimah and Rashidah described the condition of their family expenses, which required them to work. They were aware that the increases in life demands and the high cost of living, including daily expenses such as renting or buying a house, paying tolls, children's educational fees and bills, meant that they did not have enough if they only depended on their husbands as breadwinners to support the family. To address these issues, they claimed that they could contribute to their family's financial stability, as well as can also fulfilling their personal needs, with a good career and good income:

> *We [she and her husband] live in Selangor and work in Kuala Lumpur where the cost of living is very high and everything is expensive in both areas. We have to pay so many bills. For example, I have to pay toll because I use the highway to go to my workplace as it is the easiest and fastest way to get there. We also have to settle the electricity, phone, house and car bills and sometimes we face unpredictable bills that need to be settled. We really need strong finances to pay all the bills and I help my husband to ease his burden as the main breadwinner* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

> *My husband and I have settled down in one of the big cities in Selangor, and the cost of living in this area is considered quite*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *high. Therefore, I decided to work and become a career woman although I am married. One of the reasons I made the decision to work was because of the increases in life demands. We have decided that both of us need to work so that we can strengthen our family finances* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

Halimah added another reason why she needed to work after getting married. Her husband believes that her earning capacity is a guarantee of a comfortable life should any misfortune befall him in the future. Her career is important in supporting the well-being of her family if something happens to her husband or her parents. Thus, if she is working and earning her own income, she can continue her life with her children independently. She pointed out:

> *One of the reasons why my husband and I agreed that both of us, especially me, need to work after we get married is because we're afraid something bad will happen to him. He thought that, if I work, it's a guarantee for the future, especially if anything bad happened to him. It's like a preparation for me so that I can survive with the children* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The single female respondents identifed economic need as a major factor in why they wanted to continue working after they were married, similar to the married respondents. They believed that their own basic monthly income, which was between £540 and £700, would help to supplement their family finances, as shown in Table 7. The need for assistance with the finances from their wives was also stated by the male respondents as they realised their salary was insufficient for their family's expenses, as shown in Table 7. For this reason also, they said that they wanted to marry a working woman when they described the criteria for their future wives.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Table 7: Approximate basic monthly income (RM) for single respondents of both genders

Pseudonym	Income
Mazniah (F)	RM3,500 (£700)
Bahijah (F)	RM3,100 (£620)
Amalina (F)	RM2,800 (£560)
Naimah (F)	RM2,800 (£560)
Irdina (F)	RM2,700 (£540)
Umar (M)	RM2,800 (£560)
Junaidi (M)	RM2,500 (£500)
Zarief (M)	RM3,100 (£620)

(F) – Female (M) – Male

Naimah told me that her fiancé had decided to marry her because he wanted to have a career wife who could help him to maintain their family finances. Naimah and her fiancé, who were planning their marriage ceremony for the following year, had thought that she should continue working because family finances would not be enough if only her fiancé worked, as they would live separately after getting married. In their situation, the expenses would be increased as they would have to pay for all their needs in duplicate before they could live together. For this reason, it was important for her to have her own income:

> *I have decided with my fiancé that I will continue working once we're married because of the increase in life demands. Both of us agreed that, if only he works, it will not be enough to maintain our family finances. Therefore, if I work, I can help him to maintain our finances* (Naimah, aged 26: single female).

The need for assistance with the finances from a wife, as described by Naimah about her fiancé's opinion, was also asserted by the single male respondents. These men had realised that if only one person worked as the breadwinner in the family, the income would not be sufficient to meet their family expenses (*see* Table 7). For this reason, they wanted their future wives to continue working and have their own career after they got married. Junaidi and Umar expressed their feelings about marrying a working woman, and they clearly described one central criterion of their future wives:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *Living in Kuala Lumpur, everything is expensive. So, in terms of financial support, I need my future wife to work after we get married because we decided to settle down in Kuala Lumpur. I don't think I would be able to be the only breadwinner in my family. Personally I would like my wife to be a working woman* (Junaidi, aged 28; single male).

> *In this era of modernisation and globalisation, people's lifestyles have changed and are different compared to a few decades back. From my observation, the high cost of living, especially in a big city like Kuala Lumpur, has resulted in both husband and wife needing to work. Men would not be able to maintain the family finances alone, even though their incomes are RM2, 000 (£500) or more. I would prefer to have a working wife so that she can help me to support our family as I also don't think that my salary is sufficient to maintain the family finances* (Umar, aged 29; single male).

Certainly, statements from both female and male interviewees support the notion that the traditional breadwinning trends in Malay families, with the husband as the breadwinner and wife as a full-time housewife, no longer represent the dominant cultural norm in today's Malay family (Abdullah, 2000a, 2000b; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010; *see also* Chapters One and Two). All the female respondents claimed that either their husbands or their future husbands were more open-minded and preferred to have working wives rather than stay-at-home wives. This indicated that women's decision to work and to have their own career was because they desired to become career women, and at the same time the men's perceptions and expectations of women with careers has changed. The male respondents accepted the fact that their wives' roles were not only to give emotional support and do the domestic chores but also to help them with the family finances. Thus, it is not surprising to see both husbands and wives working and in my study they both acknowledged the importance of sharing the role of breadwinner. However, based on the Malay *adat* and the religious context in Malaysia, men are still regarded as the heads of households and the main breadwinners in the family are still the husbands. The man plays an important role in his family and his main responsibilities include providing material, spiritual and security needs for his family (Othman, 1989; Daud, 1995; Harun, 1993; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008; Syed, 2008). In my study, this was reflected in the data through the phrases "to help" and "to supplement," which were utilised by both women and men to describe women's willingness to work and men's acceptance of working women. This

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
demonstrated that the traditional main breadwinner model still strongly influences the division of labour between men and women withinin Malay society. The female respondents acknowledged the man's role as the main breadwinner and the male respondents understood their responsibilities to be those of the main breadwinners in their families. In line with other studies (Othman, 1989; Harun, 1993; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010), all respondents, regardless of gender, tended to see Malay working women as only the economic backbone to their husbands even though some of them earned more (*see* Table 6).

It is also worth noting here that the construction of the man's responsibility as the main economic provider through Islamic teachings also appeared in the interviews with two married couples. The husbands stated that they had to fulfil this responsibility because it is one of the characteristics of being a good husband, as clearly stated in Islam and often expected by Malay society. Yasir (aged 35, married), the husband of Yusrina, shared his perception about his role as a breadwinner: '*I am still the main breadwinner in my family and I will never neglect my responsibilities because it is a trust which I need to fulfil and it is also what my religion asks me to do in order to be a good husband.*' Rashidah (aged 37; married) explained that her husband's view (Rosli, aged 37; married) and her own understanding about the role of the breadwinner in her family are based on religion, thus her husbands need to carry out his responsibility properly as it is a criterion of a good husband and it will also be judged in the world hereafter:

> *Although my husband needs my help to support him in our family finances, he knows that he still remains as the main breadwinner in my family. I think he has done very well as our family main breadwinner. It is important for him to do well because we believe Allah will judge what we do in the hereafter* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

Here, Yasir, Rashidah and Rosli grounded the responsibility for being the main economic provider in religious duty by receiving *"pahala"* (reward), in opposition to what the non-Muslims do. It can be said that their strong ethno-religious belief was revealed in the division of labour at home, which saw the role of husband and wife as more obligation-driven because

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
of their religious beliefs. In addition, Islam can be seen to rationalise a married couple's responsibility and to guide them in fulfilling their numerous family roles.

The acceptance of both husband and wife working among the respondents indicates that the decision to become dual-career couples was based on a "mutual decision." My study showed that the respondents practised a degree of egalitarianism in decision-making power and the organisation of their family can be seen as lying between the patriarchal and democratic systems, which acknowledged that it was a common situation among today's Malay family, as outlined in Chapter Two (*e.g.* Karim, 1992; Rudie, 1995; *Encyclopaedia of History and Malay Culture*, 1999). However, the influence of the Malay *adat* and Islamic teaching relating to the relationship between men and women remained as significant as in the past, as can be seen when respondents talked about this gender issue in making decisions in their nuclear family. This can be clearly seen when the female respondents claimed that their career decisions were made based on a discussion with their partners (husbands, fiances or special boyfriends). This is an indication that their voices have been heard and men's decision-making power has become less absolute, but they still needed their husband's permission to continue with their career when they got married. The responses from these women seemed to show that their choice to work was dependent upon their husband's agreement. This is similar to findings in related studies on the Malay family and Malay couples in that a discussion on decision-making power between husband and wife would end with the final decision being made by husbands (Abdullah, 1987; Osman, 1989; Karim, 1992; 1995; Rudie, 1995; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Sharif, 2002; Noor and Mahudin, 2005).

Seeking their husband's permission was vital for Malay women because they stated that one of their responsibilities as a wife is to obey their husbands; this attitude exists in the Islamic religion and is practised by Malay families. The obligation to obey a husband is always followed by a wife unless the husband tells the wife to do something sinful (Abdullah, 1987; Osman, 1989; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Sharif, 2002; Noor and Mahudin, 2005). In my study, there was a recognition of men's authority in that the majority of the women highlighted the same term *pahala* (reward), that they believed they would acquire, as well as being granted s*yurga* (heaven) in the hereafter for obeying their husbands. They constructed the concept of

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

pahala and this concept needs to be understood from the point of view that it is Allah's reward to those who do good and right things, as predetermined by Allah S.W.T. Thus, Muslims always search for *pahala* in their lives as it is important for their relationship with Allah S.W.T. For example, Rashidah (aged 37; married) explained that she had asked her husband's permission when they made the decision for her to become a career wife in order to gain *pahala*: "*My husband gave me permission to work and I personally think that as a wife to him, it is important to gain his permission as he is my husband. I don't want to become a disrespectful wife because I won't get pahala.*" Umaira (aged 31; married) shared the same thought about the husband's permission and its relation with *pahala* and *syurga*. She said: "*My husband's permission was one of the reasons why I am still working now. It is important because Islam teaches me to seek my husband's blessing as I believe I have been promised pahala and syurga.*"

The importance of seeking their husbands' permission in order to continue working was also highlighted by the husbands and one single male respondent. I found that they directly demonstrated the absolute authority of husbands over their wives when they responded to the question about marrying career women. This can be seen from the terms they used, such as: "to allow," "needs my permission" and "ask for permission." This clearly indicates gendered culture or gender roles that contribute to the gendered division of labour at home, as observed in the family decision-making process. Umar (aged 29; single male) explained how his authority as a husband was important in giving permission to his future wife to continue her career: "*I want my future wife to become a career woman and as her husband I will allow her to work after we get married.*" Similarly, two husbands, Rosli and Hadi, expressed their stance about giving permission for their wives to be involved as a second breadwinner in their family and revealed their assumption that Malay women already know about this Islamic principle:

> *I wanted my wife to continue working. As her husband I allow her to do so and I don't mind marrying a career woman. I know she needs my permission so that she can continue working, not only to help me but because she also wanted to have her own income (Rosli, aged 37; Rashidah's husband).*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *My wife was a housewife when we got married. After two years, she got a job and she asked me for permission. As a Malay woman and a Muslim, I think she understands the reason why she needs to get her husband's permission, as other Malay women and Muslims also do. I allow her to be a career woman as she also can help me with our finances (Hadi, aged 38; Halimah's husband).*

Another way in which two of my married female respondents explained the necessity for them to work when both husband and wife realised that a one-income family was insufficient was by admitting that they would be willing to be full-time housewives if their husbands were rich. They told me about their daydreams of staying at home to take care of their families while their husbands provided everything for the family needed. Basariah (aged, 32; married) said: *"I would prefer to be a stay-at-home mother and wife and not to be working if my husband was a rich man."* Similarly, Mashitah (aged 37; married) pointed out: "*My husband's salary is not enough for our family, so I still need to work to help him. If I had a choice, I'd want to be a stay-at-home mother and wife, but my husband is not a rich enough man to meet all our family's needs [laugh].*" In this sense, I found that both of them accepted their position as homemakers and their husbands as the family breadwinners. They also seemed strongly in support of the notion that the husband is the breadwinner and the wife only engages in domestic chores, which is in line with other studies that have portrayed Malay families as practising a traditional patriarchal system (Karim, 1993, 1995; Hashim, 2006; Juhari *et al.*, 2009; Juhari, 2011).

iii. Personal interest and self-satisfaction

Shakila and Maria shared a different story from the other female respondents because they had no other reason for being career women except that they liked their jobs very much and enjoyed their careers, which matched their interests. Thus, for both of them, personal interest and self-satisfaction were viewed as a priority when deciding whether or not to work. This is similar to a number of studies which found that personal interest, self-satisfaction and fulfilling career goals were other socially related reasons why women work (Salleh, 1985; Hertz, 1986; Salih, 1994; Lewis, 1996; Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, 2014). According to Shakila and Maria, having husbands who could solely

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

support their families was an advantage because they had the choice of being career women or not. This account refers to a sense of individuality, and it is evidence to suggest that women have a degree of autonomy over their own decisions, even in context where the reality is that they still need to follow the traditional family structure. Their accounts also indicated their understanding that a husband should be the main breadwinner for his family. They said:

> *When I decided to work, I think it was more for my own self-satisfaction. My husband doesn't mind my decision because he said he can support the family if I don't work. So, the decision to become a career woman was more because the career I chose was related to my interests. I like to do things that suit my interests because I will feel happy and enjoy doing it. I don't think I want to work because of life demands or other reasons at this moment; what I can say is that it was more about self-satisfaction* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

> *I told my husband that I wanted to work and have my own career because I like to do it. My husband accepted the decision because he felt it was unfair to ask me to quit my career and stay at home to manage our family. He can afford to support the family but as long as I want to continue my career, I can continue with it. He doesn't mind giving his support and his permission* (Maria, aged 27; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

On the other hand, Yusrina, who grew up in an "averagedclass familiy" or "not from a wealthy family" mentioned that the educational qualifications, career and income that she had were really helpful in achieving her aims of enjoying a good life and enhancing her family status. Embong (2002: 100) asserts that having "an asset ownership as lifestyles indicator was related to the new Malay middle-class lifestyle and culture." Having cars, houses, advanced and expensive technology, property and assets are considered to be vital indicators of one's wealth and living standards and also one's lifestyle and social standing. In Yusrina's case, she helps her husband with her own income to meet basic expenditure such as paying for a car, a house and providing good education for their children, like other Malay middle-class and elite families. She told me that having such material assets was important as lifestyle indicators and she considered it to be common to have them in Malay society in this modern era. She expressed her self-satisfaction about having managed to improve the quality of her family's life when she realised that she did not need to feel embarrassed about her family's condition or face any internal conflicts because her family had achieved a better standard of living,

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

particularly in terms of material needs. She added that the material assets were important, not only as an indicator, but also because they could facilitate her family life. She said:

> *I have a good job, good qualifications and I also get a good income which helps to enhance the quality of my family's life. You know, when you live in today's era, everybody has their own property like cars, houses and other things. The majority of modern Malay families own those things. When I work, I help my husband to meet our needs so that we don't get left behind. If I can provide all these things, it brings happiness to my family and satisfaction to me* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

iv. Financial responsibility towards parents

Existing research has indicated that children are aware of their responsibility to care for their parents. The attitudes of filial responsibility towards parents have been widely accepted and practised by children, including daughters, as dictated by society in many countries (Embong, 2002; Eriksen and Gerstel, 2002; Sultany *et al.*, 2008; Valk and Schans, 2008; Wong, 2009; Nalletamby, 2010; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010; Chen and Hosoc, 2011; Jackson *et al.*, 2013). Although a daughter's responsibility towards elderly family members has often been related to a duty of care, they were also found to be responsible for providing financial support to their parents (Embong, 2002; Eriksen and Gerstel, 2002; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010; Jackson *et al.*, 2011). Consistent with these studies, filial responsibility related to finances was highlighted by the majority of female respondents, particularly those who came from "average-class families" or "not from wealthy families." In this section, I have emphasised only financial support as this was closely related to the reason why my female respondents became involved in the paid labour force, whereas other filial responsibilities are discussed in subsequent chapters. According to the respondents, financial support considered to be the daughter's responsibility and they were giving a monthly allowance to their parents, especially when the latter were old, because their parents did not have any other means of living. Due to this responsibility, these women preferred to earn their own income so that they did not have to seek financial aid from their husbands to give to parents, as they were well aware that their husbands' salaries were insufficient to meet these needs. Bahijah and Yusrina explained:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I want to be a career woman because I want to repay my parents and make them happy after they struggled to raise me since I was an infant. My parents were not wealthy, so when I work, I can give money to them. For this reason, I still want to work although I will get married in the future* (Bahijah, aged 29; single female).

> *Both my husband and I are supporting our parents financially now because we did not come from a wealthy family. At the same time, we also have to pay all the monthly bills. Thus, my husband and I thought that we both have to work and I also prefer to work so that I can provide my family with money without using his money* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

Filial responsibility is practised by many societies, particularly in Asia, and is also derived from their own culture and religion (*see* Chapter Two). It is therefore not surprising that filial responsibility was an important reason for the majority of female respondents in this study as one way to profess and practise Islamic teachings and the Malay traditional values, as they believe that obeying one's parents is a noble attitude. They emphasised that their desire to be able to help their parents with finances could also be seen as one way for them to become "a good daughter," as expected by their religion and Malay society. They were obviously referring to religion and Malay values that encourage them to help their parents, as they believed that if any Muslim neglects their responsibilities towards their parents they will be considered to be committing a sin because it is against Allah S.W.T.'s commands, as explained in Chapter Two. For instance, Bahijah and Mashitah shared a similar belief that, as Malay Muslims, they would acquire a good life in this world and hereafter if they took care of their parents. Implementing this attitude was also related to their parents' blessings, which were crucial for their lives. They did not want to become *anak derhaka* (rebellious children) as they wanted to be good daughters. The particular concept of *anak derhaka* that was constructed by the interviewees was one in which Muslims have a firm belief in God's punishment. According to these women, being *anak derhaka* was a dreadful attitude that needed to be avoided by Malay Muslims.

> *I believe that this responsibility, which is doing good things for parents, is highly encouraged by the Islamic religion and it's a common attitude that has been practised in Malay society. Giving*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *them some money is one good thing to do. I also believe that I will be blessed by Allah S.W.T. in this world and hereafter because I do good things for my parents. As a Muslim, I believe in it and I don't want to become anak derhaka* (Bahijah, aged 29; single female).

> *I know that, as a child, one of the great practices in Islam is taking care of and doing good things for my parents. I believe that, by doing so, I will have a good life in this world and hereafter. I want to be a good daughter to them because abandoning them is not a good attitude. From my salary, I give money to them, to show my appreciation* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

Mashitah went on to say:

> *I want to give my parents money although they never asked me to do so. My parents really took care of me during my childhood and I think it's my time to repay them. I don't want to ask for my husband's money. When I work, I can have my own income and I can use it freely. I feel satisfied with my own income and I don't want to be a woman who always depends on her husband* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Here Mashitah expressed her stance in providing money for her parents even though they had not requested financial support. Her statements about giving money to her parents from her own income because it was her obligation depicted the idea that she has been a good daughter. In fact, she expected that the money she gave would show her appreciation to her parents for bringing her up. In addition, she was proud of herself because she did not always have to depend on her husband in terms of finances as she was also a financially independent person.

As can be seen from the accounts above, the respondents considered that filial responsibility was another acceptable major reason for them to continue working, with the permission of their husbands, after they were maried. I have included a discussion about the strong influence of religiosity and adherence to the Malay *adat* because it is important to understand their attitudes towards their parents.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

v. Following a role model and being a role model

Role models are considered to be a form of social capital that can influence a respondent's career decisions (Almquist and Angrist, 1971; Greenbank, 2009). Although the term "role model" is not always clear, Gauntlett defines this term according to popularly understood words: "someone to look up to" and "someone to base your character, values or aspiration upon" Gauntlett (2008: 1). In Greenbank's (2009) study, sources of role models were family members, particularly older siblings, teachers and people surrounding them. Similarly, in my study, the respondents highlighted role models who had influenced their career aspirations. Rashidah, Umaira and Amalina explained how their mothers, friends and neighbours had motivated them to become career-oriented and successful women in both public and private spheres:

> *I live in a residential area where almost all of my neighbours are lecturers. So they have inspired me to continue and do better in my career. I look at this situation as a challenge to my career and my life. So, to achieve my aims, I need to pursue my career* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

> *My mother was a career woman and most of my friends also have their own careers. They are successful in their lives. Because I was surrounded by people who have their own careers, I also wanted my own career. I'd like to be a successful person like them and I don't want to become a full-time housewife* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

> *In my family, my mother and my sister are also career women. So, I want to be like them and don't want to just stay at home. That's why I decided to become a career woman instead of a full-time housewife. I looked at both of them as my inspiration* (Amalina, aged 25; single female).

In these statements, it is evident that being surrounded by women who had good careers influenced and shaped them and indeed from their point of view had inspired them to follow in the role models' footsteps. For Umaira and Amalina, their experience of living in the same house with educated married women had indirectly exposed them not only to what it was like to have their own career but also to the ways in which the role model managed her life as

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

professional employee, mother and wife effectively,[131] and thus they believed that they too could succeed. Their determination clearly showed that they were confident abour succeeding in both marriage and career as they could see people around them who had successfully coped with both.

On the other hand, the idea of being an inspiration to someone else was also one of the dominat and influential factors that had led my respondents to become career women and have good careers. They particularly hoped to influence their children. Yusrina and Umaira explained that they might have helped their children and relatives to develop their careers when they positioned themselves as a role model. Both of them shared a similar hope that their status would inspire people who were close to them in the future:

> *With my career and the higher educational qualification I've achieved, I've now provided motivation for my children and my relatives, especially my cousins. Some of my cousins told me that they wanted to be like me and I thought my role was important to encourage them to become successful in their lives. I'm not from a wealthy family, so having a good career is kind of my contribution to seeing that my relatives and children will have a better life in the future* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

> *I want to have my own career so that at the same time I can be a role model to my children. I hope my children will succeed in their education and their lives when they see me become a successful mother and an employee* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

Although Yusrina and Umaira did not need to force their children and relatives or continuously persuade them, their intention was to fulfil the obligation of helping them with their future planning. They mentioned that they had decided to become lecturers because it was a professional career that was highly regarded in Malaysia and they wanted to be an inspiration to other family members. They expected that their relatives and children would have good careers and have a brighter future similar to them. Umaira, for example, held high expectations of ensuring her children's success in education, as described. She also

[131] The strategies that were used by their mothers, which they also followed, will be discussed in the following chapters.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

demonstrated the prominent role of her occupation and academic qualifications in the construction of her identity in order to enhance her status to be a successful-mother and wife.

vi. Advocating Islam

Lehrer (1995) argues that different religious beliefs and practices not only bring different perceptions of gender roles and the division of labour within a family but also influence women's decisions about whether or not to participate in the labour force. Amin (2004) argues that the belief that Muslim women are more likely to stay at home than go out to work is wrong. His study found that both married and single Malay women were more likely to join the paid labour force than to stay at home, particularly those who lived in urban areas (*see also* Amin and Alam, 2008). Amin has linked the influence of religion to the decision made by Malay women in his study to participate in paid employment; thus, he found that religion had a "asignificant influence on human behaviour" (Amin, 2004: 2379). In Malaysia, the ways in which Malay practise their religiosity are distinctive when compared to other ethnicities, such as the Indians and Chinese (Abdullah and Lim, 2001; Fontaine and Richardson, 2005), because religious beliefs and Malay cultural values are closely linked with their daily activities (Abdul Malik and Ismail, 1996). In my study, the respondents also highlighted the role of Islam in influencing their decisions to participate in the labour market. Two female respondents justified their participation in the public sphere by using their knowledge of Islam, which recognises women's contributions in the public sphere (*see also* Chapter Two). Bahijah (aged 29; single female) emphasised that her decision to work was based on her understanding of women's contribution to the country as written in the holy book (Al-Quran) and as stated by Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. She said: *"As a Muslim, I know that my religion never ignores women's participation in the public sphere. Everything that women can or cannot do is already noted in Al-Quran and al-Hadith."* Moreover, as illustrated by Bahijah, I found that having a career is associated with morality, a positive Islamic value. She asserts that sharing her expertise with her country, society and religion demonstrates that she is a good Malaysian citizen, a Malay woman and a Muslim. She explains: *"I want to be a career woman so that I can play my part as a good woman, who contributes something to my country, society and religion through my career."*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Mashitah (aged 37; married) shared a similar opinion to Bahijah, and she anticipated that, as a career woman, this was how she could fulfil her responsibility as it is mandated by Islam. She mentioned: "*I have a good job and I think, as a woman, my contribution is also needed, not only for my country but also for my religion and society.*" She expressed her Islamic faith by asserting that the contribution she made was obligatory. She remarked that she has done "the right thing" because she believes that Islam encourages all kinds of work that promote one's livelihood as long as there is no indecency or wrong doing involved. She stated: *"I know that what I'm doing now is encouraged by my religion and I just have to follow the Islamic guidelines so that I won't do anything that goes against my religion."*

Two single male respondents also responded positively to the presence of women in the public sphere and, as demonstrated in the interviewees' answers, there are clear statements indicating that they linked their opinions to Islam and the Malay *adat*. They draw on their understanding of gender roles in religious codes and cultural norms that frame Malay women as "contributors" to the public sphere. Both of them mentioned that they would not prevent their future wives from working as they acknowledged women's capabilities. Thus, they believed that qualified women can contribute their skills to their society, religion and country just as men do, as noted in the context of Islamic teaching. They stated:

> *I want my future wife to be a career woman because I think she should utilise her qualifications so that she can enhance her quality of life. I don't want her to waste her knowledge. Moreover, I know that the Islamic religion encourageds women to participate in activities that bring benefits to the country, society and religion, just same as men do* (Junaidi, aged 28; single).

> *My future wife has a good full-time job now and I want her to continue being a career woman even after we get married. I want her not only to contribute her skills at home with our family but she can also contribute her ideas to others in the public arena. I believe that what she does now is encouraged by our religion and Malay culture* (Umar, aged 29; single).

Umar added that ensuring women's participation in employment was in accordance with religious and cultural codes because it was permissible for a woman to work as long as a number of conditions were met. As a husband-to-be, he asserted that it would be his

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

responsibility to determine that, in doing her job, she was following the principles of the Islamic religion and Malay *adat.* He said: *"I just need to make sure that her actions do not go against what has been noted in Islamic teachings or our culture (the Malay adat)."*

Statements by Bahijah, Mashitah, Junaidi and Umar demonstrated that Islamic and Malay values have been used to justify the importance of women engaging in the public sphere. These were consistent with past research findings (*see* Chapter Two). Their statements were related to many verses in the *Quran*, which discuss Muslim women and their roles in the public sphere. One of these verses, *Surah al-Ahzab* (Chapter The Confederates: 35), explains that Islam has stated that men and women are no different from each other in carrying out their duties and responsibilities as these are considered to be part of their religious practise in their daily lives. Both men and women are encouraged to perform their roles as individuals, as members of a family and as members of society by participating in any activity as long as it does not go against Islamic teachings. Women's participation and contributions to the economic, social and political development of the religion, country and society are needed, and give them opportunities to share their skills with others. Women are already becoming more empowered and are exercising their ability to do the same things as men. In my study, working women are gaining greater acceptance and recognition than women in the past, as can also be seen in the existing literature on Malaysia (Noor, 1999a, 2002, 2008; Arif and Abu Bakar, 2004; Ismail and Ibrahim, 2008; Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, 2007; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008).

In the following section, I move on to outlining why women choose academia as their career option by discussing the various reasons that they gave. In doing so, I have highlighted the criteria and benefits of this occupation, as well as the women's personal needs from their own perspectives.

Reasons for choosing academia as a career

According to Ginzberg *et al.* (1951), there are many factors that people take into consideration before deciding on their career. For example, they will evaluate different aspects of

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

themselves, such as their abilities, qualifications, talents and personality in relation to the profession they have chosen. In my study, the female respondents highlighted several reasons why they chose to be academics, which I have classified into four themes: academic qualifications meet the career requirements, job benefits, fulfilment of personal interest and career matches women's characteristics.

i. Academic qualifications meet the career requirements

In Malaysia, as well as having a master's degree as a minimum qualification, obtaining a doctoral degree has also been required in order to become an academic in almost all public universities since the late 1980s (Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia, 2011). As a result, a significant number of women who fulfilled the requirements entered academic positions. Growing numbers of women entering the teaching field in universities and obtaining doctoral degrees can also be seen in many other countries around the world, particularly because considerable changes have occurred in women's educational qualifications over the last few decades (Pritchard, 2007; Townsend, 2009; Faridi et al., 2009; Baker, 2010). In this study, 13 out of 15 female respondents had obtained a master's degree and nine of them were pursuing PhD at local or overseas universities at the time this research was carried out. Two more respondents held a bachelor's degree and a PhD, respectively. Having qualifications that matched the job requirements played an important role in influencing the respondents' career choice. Yusrina (aged 37; married) stated: "*I decided to apply for this position after I finished my master's degree. I knew that with my master's degree, I would have the opportunity to work as a lecturer.*" Another respondent, Shakila (aged 40; married) explained that the idea of being a lecturer had been a childhood dream: "*I don't want to be a teacher but I have loved teaching since I was small, so I then continued my studies at one of the universities for a master's degree so that I can be a lecturer.*" These statements indicate that their academic qualifications have enabled the respondents to become lecturers as they possess the required qualifications, as specified by the higher educational institutions in Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

ii. Job benefits

According to Bell (2001), people will always seek a job that can give them the best benefits, particularly jobs that can match their "personal endowments," "constraints" and "preferences" (Bell, 2001: 131). It is generally accepted that women in many countries often try to choose an occupation that can allow them time to spend with their family while simultaneously being able to focus on their work (Ecivit *et al.*, 2003; Kazim *et al.*, 2007). For example, many women in Turkey became involved in computer programming occupations, especially in the public sector, because employers offered several advantages, such as "social benefits" and "higher job security" for their employees (Ecivit *et al.*, 2003). More specifically, Ecivit *et al.*'s study (2003) found that many married Turkish women chose computer programming occupations because allowed them space to manage their work and family simultaneously. Another study, carried out by Kazim *et al.* (2007), found that Pakistani women who had qualifications in computing had a number of occupational choices, but decided to become lecturers because of the "job flexibility" offered by academia. They also felt that the work burden in academia was less onerous compared to that in corporate organisations. Therefore, being an academic gives Pakistani women more time to focus on their families and homes. Both studies clearly stated that when women have the options of deciding which career is the best for them based on their qualifications, they will usually choose one that allows them to balance their time between family and work.

In my study, all the female respondents also emphasised "preferences," "constraints" and "job flexibility" when they decided to take up a career in academia. For example, two of my married female respondents found that an academic career offered better benefits than the ones in industrial organisations where they had worked before. Both of them also agreed that, although being an academic had its own work burden that needed to be completed more easily than in previous career. Emilia, who used to work in industry-based companies, and Umaira, who had the option to work in industrial and corporate companies, chose to be lecturers and to continue working after they got married because they found that this occupation was less burdensome and offered them more time to spend with their families. Umaira stated:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *My qualification is in computer science, so I had two options, whether I wanted to work in industrial companies or corporate companies. I knew that if I chose one of these jobs as my career, they would demand that I spend most of my time in the office. I also knew that I would be very busy and might always work outside office hours and need to travel a lot. I think I would have spent less time with my family because I'm very ambitious in my work. Hence, I chose to be an academic because I know that I can still spend time with my family and my kids* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

Emilia described her life as being more manageable now and said that she felt happier than when she was in her previous job. Her happiness about her new career was clearly shown through in her shining face and laughter when she talked about it during the interview. In fact, she told me that she had never regretted her decision because it was the right career choice given that she wanted to be with her family. She explained:

> *Before I worked as a lecturer, I was an engineer in one of the factories in the Selangor area. Then, I changed my career and became involved in academia. I feel very comfortable with my career now [laughs] because I can spend more time with my family, especially with my children* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Both women added that they did not have to worry that they might neglect their career responsibilities in order to focus on their families because they could still enhance their careers. Emilia (aged 31; married) explained that she had obtained her master's degree after she had her first baby and finished her PhD when she had two children, at the same time as her husband was doing his master's degree. Umaira (aged 31; married) said, "*I achieved my aims in my career and at the same time I enjoyed time with my family [laughs]. You know, I got my master's degree after getting married and now I have two kids and I'm doing my PhD.*"

Like the Pakistani women, who mentioned "job flexibility" in Kazim *et al.*'s study (2007), all of my female respondents talked about the flexible working hours offered in academia. They preferred to work as academics because they were not tied down to a fixed schedule. The flexible working hours enabled them to divide their time between family and work more efficiently. It is obvious to say that they preferred to choose an occupation that offered flexi-

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

time as they still needed to cope with family responsibilities, particularly relating to their children, and I found this to be the most important reason. It is widely recognised that, within families, the person who is more clearly specialised in looking after children, handling domestic tasks and taking care of the elderly is usually a woman. This work has always been viewed as a traditional female role and responsibility and it still remains so, although nowadays many women have their own careers and are no longer full-time housewives (Tan, 1998; Chisholm; 1999; Noor, 2006; Mashral and Ahmad, 2010). The statements made by Rashidah and Umaira drew on their understanding of their traditional gender role at home and they considered that they could not ignore these responsibilities. They commented as follows:

> *I like the flexible working hours that have been implemented in this occupation and it's suitable for women. I don't think being a lecturer has been a great burden, although I'm already married and have children. I can manage my time well, especially for my children* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

> *Yeah! Because of the working hours I think, you know, the working hours of academics are more flexible than in other professional occupations. I would rather choose jobs that offer flexible working hours than fixed hours so that I can spend more time with my children. This was important for me when I decided to be a career mother* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

To confirm that working in academia was the best career choice for them, Amalina and Emilia compared their own flexible working hours, which were nevertheless bounded with those of their friends who work in hospitals, banks or factories. They felt that system with completely non-fixed working hours, particularly one that needed them to stay in the workplace until late into the evening, affected their family life. Their account of the non-fixed working hour system also indirectly showed that, from their perspective, this system was not suitable for women. They said:

> *I like my flexible working hours. Although it's flexible, the working hours are still fixed too. I mean I have to be in the office at any time between 8.00 am to 5.00 pm. If I were a doctor like some of my friends, the working hours would always be changing and I would always be on call. I prefer the working hours that I have now* (Amalina, aged 25; single).

05-4506832 Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I couldn't get this kind of opportunity if I worked in a factory or in a bank. I can see it's difficult for my friends who work in the factories or banks because, for example, they have to check the production time, and they don't really have fixed working hours. I think being a lecturer is much easier. I have flexible hours but fixed hours at the same time too, which is managedable* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

For the same reasons as Amalina and Emilia, Bahijah, who is still single, has also decided to continue her career if she gets married and has her own children one day, due to the benefits of the flexible working hours offered in academia. She said:

> *I like this job because I don't have to tie myself down with fixed working hours. I don't have to come at 8.00 am and leave the office at 5.00pm. My working hours are flexible and I think this is good for me, especially if I have my own family* (Bahijah, aged 29; single female).

Umaira highlighted divorce as an issue faced by some of her friends who work in other professional occupations that have uncompromising work demands. Her friends faced problems in balancing their roles as housewives and career women and these had led to family break-ups and divorces. Several studies have found that women's participation in paid employment is one of the reasons for divorce. According to David and Moore (1996), in the United States, one of the main causes of divorce during the 1970s, '80s and '90s was women's involvement in the workforce. In Malaysia, news about Muslim divorces issued by all the local newspapers on 7 December 2010 shocked both the government and the Malaysian people. Based on statistics reported by the Islamic Development Department (JAKIM), the divorce rate in Malaysia was increasing every year. There were 17,749 divorces in 2005 and this number had increased to 27,116 by 2009. This is equivalent to one Muslim couple getting divorced every 15 minutes. One of the reasons for Muslim divorces was that married couples were too focused on work commitments and put their careers before their families. The statistics also stated that the "divorce rates among Muslims are now at the highest, making up about 82 per cent of total divorces in Malaysia, and Malay Muslims comprise 60 per cent of the population" (The Straits Times, 7 December 2010). In Islam, divorce is not encouraged unless it is absolutely necessary for some reason, as there is a *Hadis* stating: "*of the things which are*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

lawful the most hateful to God (Allah) is divorce." Because Umaira believed that her family is very important, she stated that she would avoid any conflict in her marriage that might lead to divorce because she did not want anything that to happen in her family. She felt that the advantages of flexible working hours for women may reduce the divorce rate among Malay Muslim couples in Malaysia. She said:

> *I have many female friends who work in other professional occupations. Some of them have got divorced due to their work demands. They needed to spend more time in the office, which makes their time with family so limited. So far, this situation has never happened to me since I decided to become a lecturer because my working hours are flexible. This allows me to manage my time quite well between family and career. I think women should work flexible hours* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

iii. Fulfilment of personal interest

Another important reason why some of the female respondents wanted to become lecturers was the characteristics of the occupation, which match their personal interests. Sharing knowledge and the desire to contribute to society and shape the next generation, were often related to the choice of a teaching career (Manuel and Hughes, 2006; Williams and Forgasz, 2009; Howes and Goodman-Delahunty, 2015). Two respondents stated that the most significant personal interest was the idea of sharing knowledge with other people. Halimah and Basariah said that as academics they have lots of opportunities to share their knowledge, whether with colleagues or students. They hoped that sharing knowledge with their students in higher educational institutions would help them to develop the personal qualities to become a good young generation for society and the country. According to them, it was more interesting and enjoyable sharing knowledge with university-age students than with pupils in schools. As they loved teaching but were not interested in teaching in school, they chose to be lecturers because teaching and dealing with students at universities was easier for them than managing students in schools. Halimah said:

> *I like to share knowledge with my university-age students. I like to teach them so that they can become good citizen for our society and country. I enjoy teaching them because it's different*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

from teaching pupils at primary or secondary school (Halimah, aged 35; married).

I love teaching but I don't want to be a teacher. I love to share any knowledge I have with others. So, a lecturer is the best job for me to achieve what I like to do. I can educate my university students with my knowledge and I hope they can be good students to their country and society (Basariah, aged 32; married).

Umaira highlighted her satisfaction when she said that being a lecturer had made her happy, particularly when she saw her efforts being successful as her students scored excellent results. She also felt more confident in herself and she has cultivated the habit of public speaking, which has boosted her self-esteem:

I really love my job. I really like spending time with my students and sharing knowledge with them. I feel happy if I see my students being successful in their lives. I think being a lecturer has also built my confidence, especially to speak in public. I remember I used to feel very scared to talk in front of so many people before I became a lecturer [laughs] (Umaira, aged 31; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Two respondents referred to their attitudes, such as "love reading books" and "eager to gain new knowledge." Thus, becoming involved in academia was the most suitable career for them. Bahijah and Naimah explained these personal interests as follows:

Frankly speaking, I've loved reading books since I was in primary school and this hobby continued when I studied at university. So, I think being a lecturer is suitable for me and it fulfils my personal interests because this occupation exposes me to a learning and studying environment. I can gain new knowledge from my reading or by doing research (Bahijah, aged 29; single female).

I love to gain new knowledge, especially if it's related to my expertise. So, being an academic has opened up a lot of opportunities for me to learn in more depth about the subject through the research that I've done and the books I've read. This was also useful for updating my teaching materials (Naimah, aged 26; single female).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

iv. Career matches women's characteristics

Foss *et al.* (1991) described female teachers as assets because they possess the characteristics of teachers, particularly married women. These include: motherly emotions while educating, love and caring, confidence, perseverance and stable emotions. Bell describes that a "caring nature" is a "common stereotyped characteristic of women," which makes them suitable to participate in a teaching career (Bell, 2001: 140). It was also noted that the teaching profession is said to be "feminised" because it is an occupation that is predominantly made up of women (Bank, 2007; Kelleher, 2011: 1). In Malaysia, the fields of teaching and the arts are also often associated with women, and this is one reason why female students choose to study education and arts courses (Ariffin, 1992; Ahmad, 1998). Religious and cultural considerations also encourage women to become involved in teaching careers.

According to a booklet published by the Department of the Prime Minister, Malaysia (1984) entitled "Muslim Women's Rights and Responsibilities," the most appropriate career for Muslim women from the perspective of the Islamic religion is education because this career matches with their physical characteristics and instincts. Teaching is also believed to be a respectable occupation as Islam encourageds every Muslim to seek knowledge and spread that knowledge to other people. Many verses in the *Quran* discuss the importance of knowledge and being a knowledgeable person, and one, from *Surah al-Baqarah* (269) says: "*God gives wisdom (knowledge) to whom He pleases, and those who are given knowledge should translate and it was given much good.*"

Arena was the only respondent who mentioned that, as a married woman, involving herself in a teaching and learning environment has enabled her to fulfil her roles as an employee, a mother and also a knowledgeable person at the same time. She referred to women's attitudes such as being "loving" and "caring" as matching with the teaching profession. She said that her reason for working as a lecturer was that it is in accordance with the stereotypical view and *Quranic* verses that say teaching is a suitable career for women. In fact, she believes that

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

whatever she does for her family and her career will gain *pahala*[132] (reward) from Allah S.W.T. because it is also known as worship:

> *I like teaching because it's a good career for women and it matches women's attitudes like being loving and caring. If I was not a lecturer, I would be a teacher. When I'm involved in teaching, it gives me an advantage because I can also teach my children. I think a woman is an educator for her children in the family. Islam also encourages every Muslim, regardless of gender, to be knowledgeable* (Arena, aged 35; married).

The suitability of an academic career for women was recognised by Umar, one of my single male respondents, when he saw the lives of his married female counterparts at his workplace. He believed that this was because working flexible hours in an academic career was ideal for women. His married female colleagues were not only successful in their careers but at the same time they had nurtured happy families. Due to the good examples in his working environment, he expressed the wish to find a wife who was also involved in academic work. Umar indicated that, as a man, he still wanted a wife who could focus on her family while pursuing her own career. Umar's account strengthened the idea of a gender ideology that sets the teaching profession as a career that is more associated with femininity than masculinity. He said:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I think a career as an academic is suitable for women because of the more flexible working hours than other professional occupations. I can see the academic women in my workplace managing their dual roles very well and being successful in both spheres. This is the reason why I want my future wife to have the same career as me* (Umar, aged 29; single male).

[132] Muslims believe that when they do good deeds, they will get rewards and when they do bad deeds, they will be punished in the hereafter by Allah S.W.T. All the good deeds they do are forms of worship.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a clear picture of the factors influencing my female respondents who became involved in the formal economy. Although they stated that the two main reasons why they were working were to make use of their academic qualifications and for financial reasons, they also indicated that other, related social factors were also important, as explained in this chapter. Socioeconomic status was found to be an important factor in changing the attitudes of parents and men (*e.g.* husbands, fiancés or and special boyfriends) about women's involvement in employment. This factor has also lead to women becoming aware of the importance of education and pursuing a career in order to have a better life in the future. This led led them to remain engaged in the paid labour force even after they were married. I also discussed the types of careers women choose and the reasons influencing their choices.

While exploring the respondents' stories about how the needs of women and men can be taken into account in making the decision about whether to work or not and the types of career options chosen by women, I found that they embraced values such as adherence to the requirements of Islam and the Malay *adat* because both ideologies are embedded in the working and everyday lives of Malay people. Of particular importance were several factors mentioned by the respondents which revealed that the role of Malay women was still considered to be related to family and domestic chores, even though their presence in the public sphere has been accepted.

In the next chapter, I discuss the women's decision to marry and start a family. I highlight their expectations about marriage and having a family with children, as they are based on the ideology of traditional marriage.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chapter Five

Malay Women's Stance on Marriage and Starting a Family Life

Introduction

The discussion in this chapter will focus on Malay women's stance on the decision to marry and start a family life. I will examine detail how my female respondents viewed the Islamic religion, belief system and socio-cultural values which emerged from the data as providing crucial guidelines on marriage and family. These guidelines were seen as deeply embedded in the respondents' lives and influenced their positive perceptions of marriage and family life. In supporting women's views that marriage and family life was still their ultimate priority. I will also discuss the relevance and importance of age at marriage, their criteria for choosing husband, parental involvement in marriage and the desired number of children.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Respondents' perceptions of marriage

The existing literature shows that the concept of marriage is being challenged today and that attitudes towards it are changing throughout the West as well as in other Asian countries. Trends such as delayed marriage and opting to remain single are becoming more popular among young educated people, particularly women, in contrast to what used to happen in the past (*e.g.* White *et al.,* 1992; Mason *et al.,* 1998; Abd Rashid, 2006; Blossfeld, 2009; Tokuhiro, 2010). According to Blossfeld (2009), marriage rates for highly educated women are expected to decrease because their education has given them the human capital resources to be independent. In my study, however, none of the well-educated female respondents wanted to remain single. Although these women agreed that their desire to obtain a good education and career may lead them to delay marriage, they asserted that being highly educated or holding high-ranking jobs was not an excuse for them to reject the idea of marriage altogether. This finding is in accordance with Oslon and DeFrain (2000), who state that, although many young women are currently seeking careers and jobs, they still acknowledge and value the importance of marriage more than young men do. For instance,

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

two single female respondents and one married respondent in this study excitedly articulated their intention to marry and have a family. Irdiena (aged 27; single female) stated: *"I want to get married one day and I also want to have a good education for myself."* Amalina (aged 25; single female) who shared the same opinion said: *"I don't know how to say it [laughs] but I would love to be married and have children one day."* Shakila (aged 40; married) asserted her views: "*Having a good job and a good educational background was not a barrier for me to marry and build my own family."* Their answers point to the fact that they held marriage life in high regard and this clearly indicated their positive perception of it. It is interesting to note that, although they are modern and well-educated women living in an era of modernisation, they were enthusiastic about getting married in order to form their own family. This implies that they still valued married life, similar to traditional Malay society (*see* Othman, 1989; Harun, 1993; Kasimin, 1993).

Another respondent, Mazniah (aged 24; single female) constructed her identity as a Malay Muslim partly in terms of her positive perception of marriage. She asserted that her acceptance of the idea of marriage in order to form a family was one of her religious responsibilities, which she needed to follow, hence indicating that she felt she should live in accordance with Islamic regulations. She shared her views in this way:

> *Although my career and my work requirements need me to pursue my studies until PhD level, I still want to marry and have my own family. I think every Malay Muslim woman intends to get married because they can form their own family and have their own children and so do I [laughs]* (Mazniah, aged 24; single female).

These women clearly confirmed that marriage is a key aspect of Malay family formation. This may be due to marriage being considered a religious and cultural ritual in Malay society (Kasimin, 1993; Mat, 1993); thus, they are still view it quite differently from the way in which modern marriage and family life have developed in the West (Bogenshneider and Corbett, 2004; Jackson, 2008). This argument concurs with the claims of Mason *et al.* (1998), Abd Rashid *et al.* (2006) and Tokuhiro (2010) who state that an individual's perception of marriage and family is influenced by differences in religious and cultural values among different ethnic groups around the world.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Statements by Irdiena, Mazniah, Amalina and Shakila were also echoed by two married women whose views were strongly associated with religious and cultural factors. Yusrina (aged 37; married) justified her decision to marry by saying that she understood that marriage, family, being a knowledgeable person and being a career woman are all strongly encouraged by Islam in daily life. She said: *"Why should I think I don't have to marry just because I have good qualifications? Work, education, family and marriage are all things that Islam asks its believers to do."* Like Yusrina, Halimah forcefully supported her positive views on marriage by stressing her understanding of the definition of marriage within Islam and its importance in Malay society, and she connected this with her desire to be married. She explained:

> *I think marriage is a sacred relationship between a man and a woman. I know that this is noted in Islamic teachings and in Malay culture. I believe that marriage is still important in my society in order to form a family. I made my decision to marry at that time because I wanted to follow what has been taught and practised by my religion and my culture* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

As captured in Yusrina's and Halimah's answers, marriage is seen as an obligatory condition to tie a man and a woman together to form a family. It was seen as important to have knowledge about Islamic beliefs and Malay culture because this has influenced them to adhere to marriage guidelines from both ideologies. As obedient young female Malay Muslims, they were aware that they needed to follow religious prescriptions regarding marriage. Their views on marriage were also similar to those of one of the husbands in this study. Yasir explained this by saying:

> *I know that from the religious perspective, marriage is compulsory for men and women. Both of them are created to be a couple and to complement one another when they form a family together. Marriage is a form of worship and, as Muslim, I decided to marry my wife so that I can have my own family and children* (Yasir, aged 37; Yusrina's husband).

The above statements demonstrate how marriage and family are considered to be an important part of a Muslim's life and as a way to be a good Muslim. It is rare to see Malay couples living together outside marriage openly in public and having children outside marriage as both acts

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

are strongly disapproved in Malaysia, as outlined in Chapters One and Two. This is because marriage is specifically viewed as a permanent arrangement to form a relationship between a man and a woman via holy matrimony. In Malaysian society, marriage definitely refers only to heterosexual families (Ramlee, 2004; Jaafar, 2005; Johnson, 2006; Shamsudin and Ghazali, 2011; Subhi *et al.*, 2012; Jerome, 2013). In addition, marriage is not only a solemn and sacred social contract between husband and wife, but it is also designed to consummate the union between them (Daud, 1989; Kling, 2000; Uddin, 2002; Elsaie, 2004; Khan, 2008). This is in accordance with a verse in the *al-Quran* about marriage:

> *Marry those among you who are single, or the virtuous ones among yourselves, male or female: if they are in poverty, Allah will give them means out of His grace: for Allah encompasseth all, and he knoweth all things (Surah an-Nuur)* [Chapter The Light]: 32)

Another example of the prohibitions on living together and engaging in sex prior to marriage in Malay Muslim society was demonstrated by Halimah and Junaidi. The concepts of "*bersekedudukan*" (cohabitation) and "*zina*" (fornication) are two prominent themes that emerged from their interviews. They highlighted their understanding of *bersekedudukan and zina* as two practices that are prohibited to Malay Muslims. Halimah (aged 35; married) said: *"Bersekedudukan and zina are sinful, and these acts are not allowed in my society."* Junaidi (aged 28; single male) explained: *"I know that my religion and culture do not allow the acts of bersekududukan or zina because both behaviours are sinful."* In elaborating on this issue, both interviewees constructed a particular Islamic belief that a relationship between a man and a woman who are living together without marriage is immoral behaviour and sinful. They believe that those who practise this relationship will be punished in the hereafter by Allah S.W.T. (Uddin, 2002; Khan, 2008). Because Muslims are taught that both of these immoral behaviours are to be prevented, if any Malay Muslims practise cohabitation or sexual activities before marriage, they are deemed to have contravened Malay social norms and Islamic teachings.

Since premarital sex, cohabitation and birth out of wedlock are not acceptable in Malay Muslim society, I found that the disapproval of *bersekududukan* and *zina* expressed by

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Halimah and Junaidi were important in showing that they were both practising Muslims. They not only accepted the idea of marriage and building a family but also highlighted that, in Malaysia; virtually all Malay Muslims who live with their partners are in formal and legal marriages. It is reasonable to conclude that my respondents' situations may differ from those common in some societies, particularly in Western countries, where the idea of cohabitation as an alternative way to form a family is accepted. For instance, one finding in a study conducted by Popenoe (2008) found that more than 90% of the population in Sweden and Denmark had lived with their partner before marriage and at the same time marriage rates have dropped dramatically in many countries in Western Europe and Scandinavia (Popenoe, 2008: 8). A recent study in the U.S.A has also reported that many young adult women choose cohabitation rather than marriage (Copen *et al.*, 2012).

Two more female respondents linked their positive views on marriage with their desire to fulfil their psychological and emotional needs. This is in line with a recent study carried out by Alice and Florence (2015: 56), who found that the majority of female students at Egerton University in Kenya wanted to marry because of "procreation and the companionship that marriage provides," while male students more focused more on sexual satisfaction. In my study, Irdiena and Maria mentioned three important themes that could be related to "companionship", which I have categorised as: "to have a life partner who can give support", "being afraid of living alone when getting older" and "a feeling of security when married" as benefits of being married. Of these, the fear of being alone and living alone appeared to be the main concern, although they could accept themselves as being single. They emphasised that family relationships involved many individuals because each and every member of the family needed mutual assistance and support from the others. Irdiena and Maria shared their views:

> *For me, marriage is necessary because people need a family to support them with compassion, as mentioned in Islam, and this is important among family members. The support can be moral and physical. For example, a husband will support his wife or his children and vice versa. In fact, I believe that I need a family, even though I feel OK as a single person. If I don't have a family and children, nobody will take care of me when I get older. My life would be difficult if I lived alone without*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *having any family members around me in the future* (Irdiena, aged 27; single female).
>
> *I want to have a soul-mate to accompany me when I become older. I also feel that my life will be more secure if I get married and have a family. I think this is why my religion encourages believers to marry so that we can share love and care in appropriate ways* (Maria, aged 27; married).

Irdiena's and Maria's accounts emphasised their hopes that a family would meet their material, personal and spiritual needs. In addition, they also asserted that religion supports their reasoning about the importance of family as a place to find security and love (*see* Uddin, 2002; Khan, 2008). This is similar to the thoughts of Daud (1989), who states that Islam describes marriage and family as a platform that ensures peace, relationships, care, a loving environment, harmony and stability as well as giving protection from hazards and problems (Daud, 1989). Daud's statement is in accordance with the *Hadith* of The Prophet Muhammad S.A.W., who said:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *"The best among you are those who are best to their families and I am the best to my family." He once exclaimed: "It is only the evil one who abuses those (women) and the honoured one is he who honours them."*

The positive attitude towards marriage among the respondents in my study is also linked to their age at first marriage. Several earlier studies on age at first marriage in Malay society found that there were different trends before and after Malaysian independence. During the 1950s, many less educated rural Malay women between the ages of 15 and 19 married men who were five or six years older than them in Peninsular Malaysia. Due to their limited educational opportunities, these women did not have the option to choose their future husbands or to decide the age of the men they wanted to marry. This happened because they were not allowed to have as much social freedom as men and they were homebound; thus, they were unable to acquire a higher level of education because of strong rural traditions and customary influences (Jones, 1981). However, the age at first marriage has been changing since 1957, when Malay women started to benefit from education and employment and more of them migrated to urban areas as a result of modernisation and urbanisation. Since that year,

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

marriage decisions among Malay women have changed, with many marrying men who are less than four years their senior in age (Elm and Hirscham, 1979; Jones, 1981; Leete, 1996).

According to the latest statistics, in 2010, the percentage of the Malaysian population aged 15 and over who had never been married was 35.1% while 59.6% were currently married. In addition, the mean age at first marriage for men was 28.0, while that for women was 25.7 (Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2010). With more than 50% of men and women being married, these statistics show that marriage is still a normative practice in Malaysia. All my married female respondents had got married when they were between 22 and 30, and their husbands were between 23 and 31, as shown in Table 8. The age gap between husbands and wives was small. The ages of my single respondents were between 24 and 29 years old and some of them were also expecting to marry within the same age range as the married respondents.

Table 8: Age at marriage[133]

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Pseudonym	Relationship status	Length of marriage	Woman's age (now)	Wife's age at marriage	Man's age (now)	Husband's age at marriage
Emilia	Married	7 years	31	24	32	25
Basariah	Married	4 years	32	28	32	28
Rashidah	Married	12 years	37	25	37	25
Halimah	Married	13 years	35	22	38	25
Arena	Married	10 years	35	25	35	25
Mashitah	Married	7 years	37	30	37	30
Yusrina	Married	10 years	37	27	35	25
Umaira	Married	7 years	31	24	30	23
Maria	Married	6 months	27	27	31	31
Shakila	Married	15 years	40	25	40	25
Amalina	Single		25			
Bahijah	Single		29			
Irdina	Engaged		27			
Naimah	Engaged		26			
Mazniah	Single		24			
Umar	Single				29	
Junaidi	Single				28	
Zarief	Single				29	

[133] The age for all married respondents in this study was the age of their first marriages. All the marriages in my study were my respondents' first marriages. None of the single respondents had ever been married. Therefore, their age now will indicate their age at first marriage if they were getting married.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

All the women in this study acknowledged that the opportunities they had received in education and employment were the main factors that led them to marry at a later age compared to Malay women in the past, as outlined in studies conducted by Elm and Hirscham (1979), Jones (1981) and Leete (1996). Nevertheless, the respondents did not consider that they had married too late as they were within the accepted range of ages in Malaysia.[134] Interestingly, those who had less-educated mothers compared their age at marriage with their mothers' experiences.[135] They emphasised that their own educational and career opportunities were advantages that their mothers had not enjoy; thus, the latter's age at first marriage was also different. Thus, I concluded that the respondents believed that the different era in which they grew up had contributed to the difference in their age at marriage. Two of these respondents were Basariah and Rashidah, who said:

> *The hardship in my mother's family prevented her from having good opportunities in jobs and education. Thus, she married when she was 16 years old. My situation was different as I had opportunities to study to university level, which prevented me from marrying as early as my mother* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *My mother was asked to marry my father when she was 15 years old. She did not go to secondary school. I remember she told me that was the reason why she married at such a young age. So my experience is different, I went to school and got my degree, that's why I got married at the age of 25* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

Yusrina expressed a similar view. She realised that her ability to achieve higher educational qualifications, which then enabled her to acquire a well-paying job before marriage, had led her to delay marriage until the age of 27. She stressed that it was common to see young people getting married after finishing their studies at least at a bachelor degree level. She said:

> *I preferred to finish my studies, and got a good job before I thought of getting married. I don't think that at this time it's too late for girls to get married because most of my female friends also got*

[134] This was my respondents' assumption through their observations of the reality of what happens today in Malay society in relation to the age at first marriage. They also mentioned that normally they saw that men and women marry when they are 24 or older. These answers were given when I asked further questions about what they meant by not being too old for marriage.

[135] They referred to the age of their mothers as between 15 and 19 years old, when they (their mothers) got married.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *married after they finished their studies* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

Although almost all the women in my study admitted that they did not worry much about their age at marriage, two of them expressed concerns about marrying late because they would be labelled *anak dara tua (andartu).*[136] This problem is also faced by single women in other Asian countries. These women are also labelled, for example, as *shengnu*[137] in China and *shen lu*[138] in Taiwan (both literally translate as "leftover women"). Bahijah shared her feelings about still being single at her age of 29 by stating:

> *I know that normally by this age, a woman should already be married. Although I don't want to think much about it that people might call me anak dara tua, deep in my heart, I do feel anxious and quite often think about it because I'm still single. I also don't want people to call me anak dara tua* (Bahijah, aged 29; single female respondent).

Bahijah's feeling was confirmed by Mashitah who also described the same feeling when she recalled her age at the time she got married. Mashitah decided to marry after she had completed her master's degree. She did not want to postpone the wedding because she was 30 by that time and she felt that by her thirties it was getting late for marriage. Since she had already met the right man, she went ahead and tied the knot:

> *When I met my husband again after we finished our studies at secondary school, I believed that we were meant to be together. So, we decided to get married when I finished my master's degree. I was already 30 at that time and I didn't want to be called anak dara tua* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

In Malay society, it is not only the daughters who feel anxious about being labelled *anak dara tua* if they are still single in their late 20s, but also their parents. One earlier study, conducted

---

[136] *Anak dara tua* is a term used by Malay society to refer tofemale bachelor who is not married at a late . *Andartu* is the abbreviation for *anak dara tua.*

[137] This refers to single Chinese women over 28 years old. See China Love Report: "Leftover women" look for younger men. Available at < http://travel.cnn.com/shanghai/none/china-love-report-989133> [Accessed 7 June 2012].

[138] See Legislator triggers argument over "leftover women". Available at < http://www.taiwaninsights.com/2012/04/04/legislator-triggers-argument-over-leftover-women/> [Accessed 7 June 2012].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

by Elm and Hirscham (1979), found that parents' socioeconomic status, especially the father's occupation, was associated with Malay women in rural areas marrying at an early age during the 1950s. Daughters whose fathers worked as farmers married at ages below 18, while those whose fathers were white- and blue-collar workers, married later. Elm and Hirscham's study (1979) highlights fathers' authority in ensuring thata their daughters married at a particular age to avoid them becoming *anak dara tua.* This is consistent with a recent study conducted by Ahmad and Ismail (2010), who found that Malay parents in Kelantan[139] felt anxious if their daughters were still single in their late 20s. They also found that parents would ensure that their daughters were married before that age by searching for a suitable man for them. However, in this study, I found that parents' attitudes were different. Parents' socioeconomic status particularly that of the father, did not influence their attitude towards their daughter's age at marriage. None of the respondents' parents had stipulated an age for marriage for their daughters, but two respondents mentioned that they had noticed their parents becoming anxious about their daughter's late marriage. For example, Shakila (aged 40; married) explained that her late father only gave his permission for all his daughters' marriages after they had completed their bachelor's degree. She also remembered that her late father had told all his daughters to marry before pursuing their studies at master's or PhD level. Although he had not given any reason why he made that decision, Shakila assumed that he might have felt worried that no man would be interested in marrying his well-educated daughters and that they might be labelled *anak dara tua*, which was a normative assumption among people in the Malay community of her hometown at that time. She asserted that this was a powerful influence on her age at marriage:

> *I remember my late father told his daughters to marry first when my sister and I had already finished our bachelor's degrees. He even told me directly when I said I wanted to do a master's degree and I was still single at that time. I don't know why he didn't want to give his permission. I think because he was afraid his educated daughters might not get married and we would be called anak dara tua. I always heard the Malay community in my village labelling unmarried women as anak dara tua at that time* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

[139] Kedah is one of the states in Peninsular Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Like Shakila, one of the single female respondents, Bahijah, explained that she had noticed about her mother's anxiety.[140] She saw her mother's sad face when she had to answer questions from neighbours and relatives about Bahijah's unmarried status when they came to her house during the Hari Raya feast.[141] Although she felt positive and was fine with her current status of being single, the social expectations of her family and the community around her made her open to the idea of marriage and she believed in the importance of marriage. She said:

> *I know my mother was worried about me although I don't mind my single status. I could see through her sad face when my neighbours and relatives came to my house during the Hari Raya holidays, asking her about me because I was still not married at that time. I can understand her worry for me, although she never asks me about it [when to marry]. It's not because I don't want to marry but I'm still looking for the right man* (Bahijah, aged 29; single female respondent).

Shakila's and Bahijah's narratives clearly illustrate that the decision of young educated women to marry at a late age or to remain single is still not accepted by the Malay community in their home towns. They were aware of the discrimination against women and admitted feelings of inadequacy, as experienced by the single women in Ibrahim and Hassan's study (2009: 395). While analysing this issue, I found that the construction of the concept *anak dara tua* by Malay society has confined young single Malay women to a subordinated position, with no positive perception available to them in describing their single status.

Another factor that could be the cause of late marriage among women which emerged from the interview data was the concept of *jodoh* (a soul-mate who will be sent by Allah S.W.T. to ensure the day of marriage will come at the perfect time, which only Allah S.W.T. knows). This concept has been constructed by referring to the *al-Quran, Surah Al-Rum* [Chapter The Roman Empire]: 2 *which says: "And among his signs is this: He created for you spouses from yourselves that you might find rest in them, and He ordained between you and mercy."* Six women claimed that education and career were not the only reasons for them marrying late; in

[140] Bahijah talked about her mother's anxiety because her father had passed away before.
[141] All Muslims in the world celebrate this feast after they have been through Ramadhan (fasting) month.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

addition, they also believed in the concept of *jodoh.* For these women, the guidance from Islam in providing information about *jodoh* and how it links to marriage was convincing. Arena and Emilia shared their views on the concept of *jodoh* and how it related to their marriages by stating it this way:

> *Allah S.W.T has chosen my jodoh (soul-mate), who is my husband now. I believe Allah S.W.T. set my marriage at that time. Alhamdulillah (All Praise be to Allah), I got married when I was doing my master's degree* (Arena, aged 35; married).

> *When I got married to my husband, I knew my jodoh had already arrived. This is all about believing that my jodoh has been set by Allah S.W.T because I didn't know who or when I will marry. Allah is the only one who knows it* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

Another married woman, Halimah (aged 35; married) asserted that her *jodoh* was related to the *takdir* (fate) that Allah S.W.T. determines for all Muslims, as stated in "The Six Articles of Faith." She used the words *qadak* and *qadar* [translated as divine decree] to refer to *takdir.* Since all Muslims must believe in The Six Articles of Faith, the concept of *takdir* is important for them to understand and that whatever happens in their everyday lives is predetermined by Allah S.W.T. Halimah's account indicated that she about these articles of faith when she mentioned that her *jodoh* and her age at marriage could not be predicted as it is God's authority to determine it. She says: "*I know my jodoh is qadak and qadar from Allah S.W.T. I got married because "jodoh saya sudah sampai" [literally translated as my soul-mate has arrived].'*

A discussion on *jodoh* and how it relates to religion and to positive perception of marriage among was also found in a study conducted by Ibrahim and Hassan (2009) on never-married Malay Muslim women in Malaysia. Their respondents commonly used the word *jodoh* when they talked about marriage and in explaining their reasons for late marriage and being single. Therefore, none of them claimed that being unmarried was fully "a personal choice as they believed *jodoh* is closely related to fate granted by God" (Ibrahim and Hassan, 2009: 400). In addition, the concept of *jodoh* and the words *In shaallah (*Allah Willing) were used interrelatedly by the single women in Azmawati *et al.*'s study (2015) to express their desire to

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

marry. The reasons given and the use of the words *In shaallah (*Allah Willing) by the single Malay women in both previous studies were also stressed by three single respondents (Amalina, Bahijah and Mazniah)[142] in my study. These single respondents were still looking for suitable future husbands at the time the interviews were conducted. They agreed that they faced difficulties in finding a husband, but they still expressed a strong concern a strong desire to marry:

> *I think 'jodoh saya' has not come yet, that's why I'm still single* [laughs]. *As a Muslim I believe that jodoh saya adalah di tangan Tuhan (my soul-mate is in the hands of Allah S.W.T.). However, I still need to look for my jodoh and not just sit down for the jodoh to come* [laughs] (Bahijah, aged 29; single female).

> *I'm still searching for my "Mr Right". I'm currently having a relationship with "someone" but we're just friends for the time being. I still don't know whether or not he will be my jodoh because only Allah knows. In shaallah (Allah Willing), I always pray I will marry sooner or later with a good man* (Amalina, aged 25, single female).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I want to marry one day, although I have no idea who will be my husband. In shaallah (Allah Willing), Allah knows the man and the time when I will be married. I will wait for the jodoh* (Mazniah, aged 24, single female).

From their perspective, it was important for them to make an effort (*usaha)* to find a marriage partner, although they understood that the jodoh was set by Allah S.W.T. To explain in detail their understanding of the concept of *jodoh*, they further explained about two more Islamic concepts that need to be linked with the idea of *usaha* such as *doa* (prayer) and *tawakkal* (a reliance on Allah S.W.T., or trusting in Allah's plan). These three concepts are often linked together when Malay people express their beliefs about whatever happens in their lives; they hope that Allah S.W.T. will grant their wishes. As the *al-Quran* states: "*And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who rely [upon Him]" (Surah al-Imran* (Chapter The Family of 'Imran):*159).*

[142] Two of my single respondents (Irdina and Naimah) were already engaged.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Thus far, the analysis has shown how the respondents' understanding of Islamic teachings has greatly influenced their positive perceptions of marriage. In addition, they also described the characteristics of a husband, most explicitly in the criteria they looked for in a man they would want to marry and live with in accordance with religion and Malay cultural norms. In the next section, I turn to how this was evident in their discourse.

Qualities to consider when seeking a man as a husband

One noticeable effect of modernisation on women was that they had more autonomy in decision-making than their counterparts in the past, including their choice of marriage partner. This freedom enabled women to seek, choose and decide upon their life partners in order to meet their own needs and requirements. However, educated women and professional women have also had difficult experiences when seeking educated men with good careers as husbands. This seemed to be another reason why many women tended to remain single and delay marriage. I acknowledge the increasing autonomy among contemporary women in seeking a marriage partner and at the same time I understand that they encountered many difficulties in finding suitable men, as shown in the literature (*see* e.g Mason *et al.*, 1998; Ta, 2003; Abd Rahim, 2006; Jones, 2007; Tokuhiro, 2010). Below, I discuss the experiences of women in my study relating to these issues. Seven married women and four single respondents did not choose "same level of education" as a priority criterion in seeking a man as a husband although they were well-educated women. They only mentioned that they wanted a husband, who had at least finished secondary school, but all the married women and two engaged (single) respondents had partners who had at least a bachelor's degree (*see* Chapter 3). Overall, of the fifteen female respondents in this study, only Basariah, Irdina, Shakila and Arena clearly expressed the wish to have a husband who had obtained a higher level of education to at least degree level. They believed that seeking a man with the same level of education would make communication easier, their finances would be more secure and the man could become a good leader at home. They demonstrated their seriousness about this criterion by putting it forward as a plan that needed to be achieved during their time at university as students. Basariah and Shakila stated:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I had already set in my mind that I wanted to find an educated man as my husband because I thought a 'lelaki yang pandai'*[143] *[a clever man] can make wise decisions in the family and can distinguish between good and bad things. Alhamdulliah [Praise to Allah S.W.T] I have found my husband now who matched my criterion [laughs] at the university* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *I wanted to marry a man who had a qualification from university so that he could organise our family very well. I met my husband at university and he matched the criterion that I wished to have for my husband. Alhamdullah, [Praise to Allah S.W.T] I am very grateful* (Shakila 40; married).

These statements by Basariah and Shakila highlight that having the authority to set the criteria for their husbands is important in order to ensure they can lead a happy family life with the right man. They also used the word *alhamdulillah* [Praise to Allah S.W.T.] to demonstrate their satisfaction, happiness and gratitude that they had been able to marry their husbands and for their marriages. It is noteworthy to mention here that the word *alhamdulillah* [Praise to Allah S.W.T] is an Arabic word that Malay people often used as a statement of appreciation to Allah for whatever good things are happening to them.

In addition to the criteria discussed, almost without exception all the women I interviewed spoke of being religious, responsible, kind, caring and adhering to the Malay *adat* and Islamic values as other major criteria in seeking a man to become their husband. From their viewpoints, men who have these characteristics are believed to be more able to perform well as the head of household and to lead a well-organised family. Their confidence in men who fulfil these criteria, particularly a religious man who can be a good leader for his family, was clearly stated by Halimah and Maria when they chose their husbands:

> *I did have some criteria for my future husband before I got married. I wanted to marry a responsible, caring and religious man. To marry a man who has these qualities is important because he will be the family leader. Alhamdulillah [Praise to Allah], my husband has those qualities [laughs]* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

[143] In my understanding, this is similar to the phrase in English: "a man with a brain."

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *If I want to choose a guy as my husband, I look for a responsible person, the way he works, and his family background. I also see what his daily life is like; for example, I will make sure he performs his prayers and practises what the Islamic religion and Malay culture expect. For me, a husband must have these criteria because he will be the head of household and he is like the foundation of the family. I chose my husband because I found those qualities in him* (Maria, aged 27; married).

The criteria set by my respondents demonstrated that Islam has guided them in their choice of life partners. They believed that women and men must choose their spouses based on religious merit as the top priority, without neglecting other criteria. In Malay Muslim society, seeking and choosing a marriage partner should be in accordance with the principles of the Islamic religion and Malay *adat* (*see* Wan Yusof, 1993; Encyclopaedia of History and Malay Culture, 1998). Religion as an important determinant when choosing a marriage partner was also emphasised by the Muslim respondents in a study conducted in Turkey, another Muslim country (ASPB, 201, cited in Balkanlioğlu, 2014: 516). There are verses in the *al- Quran* and *al-Hadis* explaining the criteria for choosing a man as a husband or a woman as a wife that are always referred to by Muslims. The prophet Muhammad S.A.W. said in one of his *al-Hadis*: "*A woman may be married for four reasons: for her property, her status, her beauty, and her religion; so try to get one who is religious, may you be blessed"* (Narrated by Muslim). The Holy *al-Quran* also emphasises the guidelines for choosing a marriage partner. The verse reads:

> *And do not marry polytheistic women until they believe. And a believing slave woman is better than a polytheist, even though she might please you. And do not marry polytheistic men [to your women] until they believe. And a believing slave is better than a polytheist, even though he might please you. Those invite [you] to the Fire, but Allah invites to paradise and to forgiveness, by His permission. And He makes clear His verses to the people that perhaps they may remember* (*Surah al-Baqarah*, [Chapter The Heifer]: 221)

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Rashidah was the only respondent who added that the reason she wanted to marry a man who adhered to the Islamic religion and Malay *adat* was because having a partner who had a similar socio-cultural background would assist her in navigating her family life.

Although the majority of Malaysians practise intra-marriages, inter-marriages are not a new social phenomenon (Gill, 2001; Pue and Sulaiman, 2013). However, several studies have found that the majority Malaysian society emphasises that inter-ethnic marriages should not be encouraged because such marriages have been portrayed as having brought many conflicts and problems into the marital relationship due to differences in cultural and religious values between spouses (Tan, 1989; Zakaria, 2010; Jalil, 2010). Thus, inter-ethnic marriages have received much more negative coverage than positive within Malaysian society (Pue and Sulaiman, 2013). Rashidah did not plan to have an inter-ethnic marriage because she wanted to avoid the problems that might emerge in such a marriage. Thus, she clearly stated that she rejected the idea of inter-ethnic marriage, particularly a Muslim/non-Muslim marriage, as it might then be difficult for her to form the kind of family she desired and as demanded by Islam and Malay society.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I have no doubts about referring to the Islamic religion and Malay adat as guidelines to determine the characteristics of my husband in order to make sure that I will form a family which is in line with my culture and religion. I think my marriage has been much easier to handle because I chose a husband who has a similar culture and religion to me, so that he can become accustomed to my family easily. That was why I didn't choose a foreigner to be my husband [laughs]*
> (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

When talking about marriage partners, the respondents not only mentioned about their criteria for the men they had chosen to be their husbands but they also shared stories about how they met. In Malay Muslim society, two methods are practised when seeking a marriage partner: a traditional method and a modern one. In traditional Malay society, a man expresses his desire to seek a life partner to his parents or elders when he is ready to accept the responsibilities of marriage. Then, his parents or the elders in the family find a woman to be his wife, and this is considered to be an arranged marriage. Family arrangement was commonly used to choose a marriage partner in Malay Muslim society a few decades ago, because mixing freely and

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

socialising between women and men was not allowed. Therefore, unmarried women and men did not enjoy the opportunity get to know one another; relationships were only built after marriage. In this situation, it was left to the parents to choose a life partner for their children. It was also a common practice to choose from amongst their relatives, usually a cousin or someone from their close-knit community (Jusuh, 1990; Harun, 1993; Wan Yusoff, 1993).

On the other hand, contemporary young people in Malay society use modern methods to seek and meet their marriage partners, particularly women, who now have more opportunities to compete and to be in the public sphere with men. Young Malay men and women can socialise more freely today and hence they have the opportunity to get to know each other before marriage. The choice of marriage partner is not necessarily based on economic background, the same residential area, group status or ethnic group, as in traditional society, but young people have many other factors to consider in making their selection. With the winds of change, commonly, both men and women tend to seek soul-mates and to express their desire to marry to their parents when they are ready for commitment. Parents have cultivated a more liberal and open-minded attitude towards their children's choices. As a result, the majority of men and women choose love and emotional attachment before marriage. Usually, in the modern method, a love marriage takes place after a man proposes to a woman and the parents' roles are reduced to focus on the arrangements and preparations for the engagement and wedding day. The traditional mode of arranged marriages no longer seems popular in Malay society (Jusuh, 1990; Wan Yusoff, 1993). Similar changes have also occurred in many Asian societies, where they have accepted the idea of love marriages; for example, 85% of marriages in Japan are based on love matches (Tokuhiro, 2010).

Maria was the only married respondent whose marriage had been arranged by her family. She explained that she had preferred to allow her parents to choose her marriage partner because she felt that it was better for her life. Maria's case demonstrated that arranged marriages are still occurring among young modern women in Malaysia. Maria expected that her marriage would be arranged by her parents because she was the only daughter in her family. Nevertheless, she respected the marriage arrangement as she told me that she was a clingy daughter and had a very close relationship with her parents. On the one hand, she felt that it

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

was her obligation to obey her parents, and it was one way for them to fulfil their responsibility in their children's lives. On the other hand, she made adjustments to ensure that the man she married matched the criteria she had set because she had still been given the freedom by her parents to accept or decline the proposal. In fact, she also had the freedom to go out with her proposed husband so that they could get to know each other before marriage. In other words, she explained that she did not feel as though her marriage was arranged because both of them were given the space to love each other:

> *I knew him [her husband] through my parents. I didn't mind following what had been planned by them [her parents] for my marriage. I'm the only daughter, I'm clingy and my relationship with them [her parents] is very close. Before I got married, my husband and I often contacted each other and I think I should have done that to get know him better and make sure he met have the criteria I wanted for a husband. I would say we had a relationship like other love marriages before we got married. I think it was just to get to know each other, although it was arranged by both families* (Maria, aged 27; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The rest of my married female respondents had entered love marriages. While Yusrina, Basariah, Rashidah, Arena, Shakila, Umaira and Halimah had met their husbands at university, Mashitah and Emilia mentioned that their husbands had been school mates. Of my single respondents, only Irdiena and Naimah mentioned that they had met their fiancés during their studies at university. I would say that those who had a love marriage had made an effort to find a suitable marriage who met the criteria they had set. For instance, Basariah and Shakila mentioned that as they wanted to marry a man with a higher educational qualification as previously discussed, they had already planned to find "the right man" during their studies at university. Thus, they took the opportunity to meet and get to know their husbands while they were studying at university. Shakila stated that: *"I didn't want to miss an opportunity to find a boyfriend when I was studying at university. I found my husband there [laugh]."* A similar experience was also shared by Basariah:

> *When I had the opportunity to further my studies at university, I thought this was the right place to find my future husband. Along with my studies, I made sure at that time that my mission*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *to find a boyfriend at university was achieved. So, my husband was my university mate [laughs] and we decided to get married when we finished our studies* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

In talking about the freedom and authority they had been given to seek their future husbands, both Maria, whose parents had interfered in mate selection, and other wome who had sought their own partners, stressed that their parents had still played important roles, especially in giving permission, blessing, offering guidance and organising the wedding ceremony. Elaborating further upon this, Rashidah and Yusrina emphasised:

> *Although my husband was my own choice, at that time I still needed my parents' opinions to prove that I had chosen the right guy to be my husband. I needed their guidance because they know what's best for their children. I also asked for my parents' permission when I met him. My parents' blessing is very important because I have frequently heard Malay people say "your marriage will not be happy if you don't get your parents' blessing"* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *My parents are still involved in my marriage. I still needed their permission during my wedding reception although they were not involved directly with my mate selection. Their blessings are important for my marriage* (Yusrina, aged 37: married).

Statements by Rashidah and Yusrina indicated that parental involvement in their children's marriage process was considered important to ensure a happy marriage for their children. They highlighted the importance of their parents' permission because it is a blessing for their marriage and family, as required by their religion. As stated by Prophet Muhammad S.A.W.:

> *Any woman who gets married without the permission of her wali*[144] *[guardians], her marriage is invalid, her marriage is invalid, and her marriage is invalid. If her husband has consummated the marriage, then the mahr [dowry] belongs to her in return for that. If she does not have a wali then the [Muslim] ruler is the wali of anyone who does not have a wali.*

[144] *Wali* (guardians) in Islam are assigned based on hierarchy. The highest position is the father of the woman, followed by the grandfather, the blood brother (siblings), the uncle (father's brother), and the cousin (father's brother's son). All of these are appointed to the woman's family.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

My respondents believed that, without their parents' blessing, their marriage and family life would create problems. Thus, Malay couples who want to marry are always reminded to obtain their parents' blessing. It is not difficult to understand the influence of parents in their daughters' marriage because it is considered to be the parents' obligation and it follows the cultural norms that have been declared in Malay society. This clearly demonstrates that seeking and choosing a companion involves not only the individuals themselves but also their families in Malays society (Daud, 1995). Thus, it is in line with the notion that the essentials of marriage are seen as being of group rather than individual concern (Bron, 2006).

This section has demonstrated that all the women I interviewed strongly emphasised the criteria they were seeking in the men they wanted to marry and that their parents' permission was important because it also influenced their perceptions of marriage. Ideal criteria for a future husband included being educated, responsible, kind, caring and most importantly were adhering to the Malay adat and Islamic values, following Islamic guidelines. With the authority they had to set their own criteria, the women were given the freedom to choose their future husbands. All the married women except Maria had chosen a love marriage and they met their husbands at school or university. Two single women were engaged to their university mates and three were still looking for suitable men. Nevertheless, they still regarded their parents' involvement in their marriage process as important.

In addition to positive perceptions of marriage, my female respondents also clearly demonstrated their desire to start a family life and to have children. This is discussed in the following section.

Respondents' decision-making about parenthood

As outlined in Chapter Two, women's involvement in the paid labour force could be the reason for a decrease in fertility rates in Western and Asian countries due to many women deciding to delay marriage or remain single. Working women who decide to get marriage they tend to have fewer children or remain childless (*see* Ecivit et al., 2003; Hakim, 2006; Jones, 2007; Koo and Wong, 2009; Westoff, 2010). In Malaysia, although the country has also faced

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

a decrease in fertility rates (Mat and Omar, 2002; Tey et al., 2011), it was also evident that Malay women are likely to have more children than Chinese or Indian Malaysian women (*see* Hirschman, 1986; Leete, 1996; Arshart and Tey, 1988; Ying, 1992; Tan and Tey, 1994). In my study, all the female respondents, both married and single, desired to have more than two children and none of them wanted to be childless, as shown in Table 9. This is consistent with the findings from the Malaysian literature.

Table 9: Number of children born to married respondents and desire by single respondents

MARRIED RESPONDENTS					
Pseudonym	**Age**	**Husband's Age**	**Length of Marriage**	**Number of Children**	**Age of Children (in years)**
Emilia	31	32	7 years	2 (1 son and 1 daughter)	7 and 3
Basariah	32	32	4 years	2 (both sons), 4 months pregnant with the third child when the interview was carried out	3 and 2
Rashidah	37	37	12 years	4 (2 sons and 2 daughters)	11, 9, 6 and 18 months
Halimah	35	38	13 years	6 (All sons)	12, 11, 9, 5, 3 and 11 months
Arena	35	35	10 years	4 (2 sons and 2 daughters)	10 ,8, 6 and 4
Mashitah	37	37	9 years	3 (1 son and 2 daughters)	9, 5 and 2
Yusrina	37	35	10 years	2 (both daughters)	8 and 3
Umaira	31	30	7 years	2 (1 son and 1daughter)	7 and 5
Maria	27	31	6 months	-	-
Shakila	40	40	15 years	3 (2 sons and 1 daughter)	13, 10 and 6

SINGLE RESPONDENTS				
Pseudonym	**Age**	**Gender**	**Relationship Status**	**Desired children**
Amalina	25	Female	Single	4
Bahijah	29	Female	Single	4
Irdina	27	Female	Engaged	3 to 5
Naimah	26	Female	Engaged	5
Mazniah	24	Female	Single	4

Table 9 shows that eight out of ten married respondents had been married for more than five years, one couple had been married for four years and another for just six months. All of them except the newly married respondent (Maria) have children between the ages of eleven months

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

and thirteen years. Most have two (Emilia, Basariah, Yusrina, Umaira), three (Mashitah, Shakila) or four children (Rashidah, Arena), and one has six children (Halimah). Interestingly, some married women still desired additional children in the future. For instance, Basariah (aged 32; married) said: *"I think I want to have more kids in future, at least three more* [laughs], *in shaa Allah* [Allah willing]. "' This desire was shared by Rashidah (aged 37; married), who said: *"I think my family size is enough now. However, if I could, I still want one more child* [laughs]." The desire to have children was also expressed by single respondents, who wanted to have between three and five children. Mazniah (aged 24, single female) said *"I want a big family because the more the merrier. For me, having four children is enough."*

Evidently, the declining fertility rates were not affecting my sample as all of them wanted to have more children in their families. The married respondents made it clear that they were not only expressing desires but that some of them had put those desires into practice. It could be said that my respondents' views on the number of children they desired, tie in with the aims of the Malaysian population policy[145] proposed by former Prime Minister, Tun Sri Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, in September 1982, which is for Malay families to have more children (*see* Leete, 1996).

Although all the women in this study wanted to have more children, they still had certain limits. Here, the interview data revealed that decision-making power about the number of children to have was held jointly within the couples (*e.g.* with husbands, boyfriends or fiancés), before the husbands made the final decision. This situation often occurs in Malay families, as can be seen in previous studies in Malaysia (*see e.g.* Abdullah, 1987; Sharif 2002; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Noor and Mahudin, 2005): Female respondents stressed that three- to six-child families were the most desirable family size and this was considered to be both an

[145] Leete (1996) added that under this pro-natalist population policy, it is believed that Malaysia will be more successful with a population of 70 million, and this goal is expected to be reached within 115 to 120 years. The purpose of this policy is not only to build the foundations for economic development but also to produce diligent, disciplined and productive population. In regard to this policy, the Malaysian married population is not restricted to having only a certain number of children. Although they are free to plan their families under the National Policy, its implementation is monitored and evaluated by the Family Development Programme. Many programmes have been carried out in relation to educational activities and family counselling involving issues such as marriage, childcare and parenting. As a result, National Family Day is celebrated every year on 11th November. This is to educate, create and confirm public awareness regarding the importance of the family institution in Malaysia. (*See also* http://pmr.penerangan.gov.my/index.php/maklumat-kenegaraan/239-dasar-kependudukan-malaysia-ke-arah-70-juta-penduduk.html).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

ideal and the averaged family size. For instance, two respondents considered that a family larger than six would be too many. Rashidah and Halimah explained:

> *Having one more child is enough for me because I've already got four children. To have more than that, it's too big a number for me* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

> *I think among my friends, I'm the one who has the most children [laughs]. The majority of my friends only have between one and four children. I have six and I think that number of children is enough for now* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

All my female respondents made it clear that the number of children they had, or planed to have in the future, was ideally based on several factors which they had carefully considered. I have categorised the factors that influenced their decisions about having children into five headings: early marriage, financial, emotional and psychological stability, religious and spiritual beliefs, career commitment and the number of siblings.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

i. Early marriage

None of my married respondents mentioned early marriage except Halimah (aged 35), who stated that the reason she had six children was that she had married earlier than her counterparts. She commented "*I got married at the age of 22 and I married earlier than my friends, and for sure I have more children than my friends too* [laughs]." Halimah had been married for 13 years and she had got married at the age of 22, as shown in Table 9. She was not only the youngest to marry among my respondents but also had the most children.

ii. Financial, emotional and psychological stability

Although several previous studies have found that educated married women tend to defer fertility or remain childless (*see* Ecivit et al., 2003; Hakim, 2006; Jones, 2007; Koo and Wong, 2009; Westoff, 2010), there were also some who tended to have more children because they were able to meet their educational and social needs. This is because not only do they earn

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

higher wageds but also their husbands have higher education and a higher income (Becker, 1991). Basariah, Shakila, Naimah and Amalina stated that their decision to have more than two children was also related to their spouses' financial situation, as they realised that the commitment of bringing up children in urban areas demanded not only parental sacrifices of time and energy, but also a strong mentality and financial stability. Financial stability was viewed as the primary factor that influenced couples' decision-making on the number of children they desired. They were aware of both the direct and indirect financial costs involved in bringing up their children. Education, healthcare and childcare were the basic necessities, and they perceived it as important to provide the best of these for their children. This finding supports studies conducted by Khor (1990) and Ying (1992), who found that social and psychological factors were linked to Malaysian women's decisions about whether or not to have children. In my study, these factors were important considerations for female respondents and their spouses in order to ensure that they could fulfil their parenting responsibilities, because they wanted to do it well:

05-4506832 Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun ainun ptbupsi

> *We want to have a big family but we have to consider our financial, physical and mental condition. I currently send my children to nursery and the cost is quite high. It is expensive. In fact, I know that to provide them with a good education we also need to have a lot of money. This is why we decided to have no more than four children as we found that we could only afford to have that number of children* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *If I can, I want to have a big family and have many children. I want to have more than four children. However, I think that is inappropriate because I will settle down in Kuala Lumpur. I can't have many children because I have to consider my finances as well. My boyfriend also has the same opinion as me. So, we [she and her boyfriend] have decided not to have many children. We were thinking to have four children and we thought that was enough and just nice with our financial situation* (Amalina, aged 25; single female).

Naimah, a single respondent, emphasised the importance of discussing with her fiancé the number of children they considered it ideal to have before their marriage as she felt that the greatest challenge when she got married might be in handling the situation of being a career

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

woman when at the same time she wanted to be a good mother. She initially wanted to have two children because she considered that her financial, emotional and physical ability as a mother would only enable to manage two children. However, after a discussion with her fiancé, she decided to have four because he felt that two children was too few. Therefore, they came to an agreement on the number of children because they were ready to take on the challenges together:

> *Truly speaking, I want to have only one or two children [laughs] because I think I would be able to give my emotional, physical and financial support to only two children. As a career mother, I'm afraid I couldn't give full attention to my future children if I have more than two. It's challenging to bring up children in today's world because there are a lot of bad influences around. However, when I discussed it with my fiancé, we decided to have four children because that was not too many and not too few. We believe that we can handle all the possibilities and circumstances in terms of finances and basic needs for our future children. I also believe that quality is much more important than quantity* (Naimah, aged 26; single female).

05-4506832 ptbupsi

This statement shows that Naimah felt that the number of children she planned on having was a crucial issue to debate with her fiancé as she would rather have "quality than quantity children" in order to make sure she was able to provide good parenting skills for her children. This indicated her seriousness about being a responsible mother, which was her ultimate goal as required by Malay society and Islamic teachings (*see e.g.* Omar, 2003; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Abdullah et al., 2008; Bakar, 2012).

iii. Religious and spiritual beliefs

Basariah (aged 32; married) and Halimah (aged 35; married) shared a similar understanding about Islam and its relation to having children as one of the objectives of Islamic marriage by saying: "*Islam encourages people to have children and that is what marriage is.*" In Islam, the benefits of having children are clear from the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W.'s words *"Marriage is the basis for blessings and children are an abundance of mercy.*" The *al-Quran* also says:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *And Allah has made for you mates (and companions) of your own nature, and made for you, out of them, sons and daughters and grandchildren, and provided for you sustenance of the best: will they then believe in vain things, and be ungrateful of Allah's favours* (*Surah al-Nahl* [Chapter Bees]: 72).
>
> *O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and women* (*Surah An-Nisa* [Chapter Women]: 1).

As can be seen from these statements, Islam does not limit the number of children, and therefore all parents are expected to bear as many children as possible unless there are issues that would risk harm to the mother or the children. Islam regards children as a gift and an adornment in the world for parents as guided by al-Quran *"Wealth and sons are allurements of the life of this world"* (*Surah al-Kahfi* [Chapter The Cave]: 46). Halimah believed that her children were granted by Allah S.W.T., thus, she asserted that the number of children she desired was important because childcare was one of the main responsibilities that she and her husband had to fulfil. Her understanding about the status of children in Islam encouraged her to develop good mothering skills in order to produce good children. Thus, she was very concerned about her responsibilities towards her children and she wanted to ensure that she would always be able to provide good care for them. This indicates that the number of children she had in her family is an important determinant of being a good mother. She said: *"They [her children] are a trust given by Allah S.W.T. and I will have to take care of all their needs. So, to have a plan about how many children I want is important."*

Another important reason for having children, which is also related to Islamic beliefs, is children's obligations to their parents. According to Islam, the duty of Muslim children to pray for their parents' forgiveness and mercy is to be continued even after their parents have died. Prophet Muhammad S.A.W.said in the *Hadis*:

> *When a person dies, he can no longer do anything about his future life except in one of the three ways: a continuous act of charity, a useful contribution to knowledge and a dutiful child who prays for him.*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In this matter, Islam has made it clear that this commandment applies to parents through the prayers of both sons and daughters. Basariah (aged 32; married) was the only respondent who highlighted children's intangible responsibility to their deceased parents when she said: "*When we as parents die, they [children] will pray for us in the hereafter. It is important and as a daughter and a Muslim, I also do the same thing [pray for dead parents].*" Basariah's account indicated that she believed children should pray for their parents as often as possible, not only during the parents' lifetimes, but also after they have died. She also constructed and positioned herself as a Muslim daughter who has managed to fulfil this responsibility because it was the only way for her to seek benediction for her deceased parents. Thus, she expected her children do the same thing for her. She illustrated this as a polite form of behaviour that should be taught to children. This is characteristic of Islamic principles and Malay culture.

iv. Career commitments

Career commitments were was found to be linked with the ideal number of children, and this issue was raised by two respondents who were currently pursuing their studies at PhD level. Contemporary studies show that delaying, planning and spacing births helps young women to achieve their educational and career goals (Sonfield, *et al.*, 2013). For example, Arena and Maria highlighted their concern that having more children than they wanted would interfere with their careers. Arena (aged 35; married) wanted no more children, and she said: "*I have already had four children, two daughters and two sons. I think that's enough so far and at the same time, I'm doing a PhD now which I need to focus on.*" Maria, the newly married respondent, stated that her career commitments were the reason why she and her husband had decided to delay pregnancy, and she wanted to have only three children:

> *My husband and I prefer to have only two or three children. The main reason we want to have only this number of children is because I will be a career mother; therefore, I'm afraid I can't give my full attention to them. I've two important roles that need to be fulfilled simultaneously. As I've just got married and I'm also doing my PhD now, we decided to have our first baby after I finish my studies next year* (Maria, aged 27; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Another married respondent, Yusrina, stressed that her flexible working hours had influenced her decisions about parenthood. She described herself as being a very committed to both her career and her family; thus, flexible working hours helped to manage her schedule at the work place and at home. Because she felt comfortable with her working time, she did not mind having more children. She said:

> *I know that I'm a very committed person as an employee. My career commitments are important to me, but I work flexible hours and this helps me a lot to in managing my dual roles. Thus, I don't mind having more than one child* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

v. The influence of the number of siblings in family of origin

The rate of fertility or higher fertility among educated women was not only influenced by their educational background but may also be due to their family background and genes (Cheng and Nwachukwu, 1997; Yu, 2006). Yu (2006) states that some educated women tend to have fewer children because they come from small families, and it is not related to their educational achievement. A study carried out by Ghani (2006) on the differential between three generations: grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters, in marital fertility schedules in Malaysia found that a mother's fertility behaviour tends to be followed by her daughters (Ghani, 2006: 1). Elaborating on this matter, all the female respondents said that the number of siblings in their parental family had strongly influenced their decisions about the number of children they desired. As almost all of them were from large families (*see* Chapter 4), they themselves tended to value large families as well. For instance, this view was put forward by three interviewees, who told me that they hope to have at least two children if they cannot have a similar number to their parents. Emilia (aged 31; married) had decided to have four children, not only because she considered this number to be ideal but also because it accorded with her own upbringing. Umaira also talked about both herself and her husband living with a large number of siblings, and therefore she imagined having at least five or six children. She said:

> *I think my family size is still small. My husband and I are planning to have four or five children, which I think is*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *ideal. My husband and I also come from big families. I have five siblings and my husband has six* (Umaira, aged 31: married).

Basariah said that her childhood experiences of living in a large family had inspired her to also have a large family. According to her, she enjoyed and treasured the times together with all her family members. She felt that it brought happiness and joy to her life. Therefore, as she looked forward to that environment in her own family, her desire to have more than two children was clearly revealed. She said:

> *My family is considered to be big. I felt very happy spending my time with all of them. I have six siblings and we had fun growing up together. Although everybody is working now, we still find time to get together. I like to be around my siblings and parents. I would like to have, you know, that kind of noisy and happy environment too in my family* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

In sum, all the female respondents in this study decided to have children and they desired to have more than two. They acknowledged that they had taken some serious factors into consideration when making their decisions about parenthood. They also described how religious beliefs had a powerful influence on the decisions they made about the number of children they desired for their families.

Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter clearly highlights that marriage and family life are an important centre for my female respondents. The role of Islamic teachings, spiritual beliefs and Malay cultural values were reflected in most of their answers and were seen to have a powerful influence on their positive perceptions of marriage and family life. Overall, this study found that, being contemporary, young, educated career women, all of them saw themselves as modern women who lived in urban areas and wanted to be committed to both family and career responsibilities simultaneously. They had married or would marry and had children or would have children by their mid-twenties to thirties. They also had the freedom to look for husbands themselves, or had a say in choosing them, as well as in deciding on their

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
desired family size. They accepted the effects of modernity and at the same time they respected the religious and cultural aspects of their society that influenced marriage and family life. Therefore, it was apparent that, as career women, married and having a family with children, these women were aware that they needed to fulfil heavy responsibility that rested on their shoulders. The next chapters discuss how the respondents dealt with their multiple responsibilities at home and in the workplace.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chapter Six

Family Responsibilities and Coping Strategies of Malay Women

Introduction

In the previous chapters (Four and Five), I discussed the factors influencing Malay women to remain in employement and to become involved in an academic career, as well as their stance on marriage and family life. From these two chapters, it was noted that all the female respondents in this research had decided to pursue their careers after getting married and that they also wanted to live in a family with children. As all of them felt obligated to manage both roles (as a wife and as a career woman), they believed that neither role should be ignored and that they needed to be shouldered together. With the aim of balancing their family and work responsibilities, they strove to excel in both. The central purpose of this chapter is to discuss the married Malay Muslim women's experiences of family responsibilities and the single Malay women's preparations to deal with them. In particular, I will discuss what these women considered to be their family responsibilities and how they viewed them. Subsequently, I identify the coping strategies adopted by the women in dealing with their family responsibilities and the conflicts they faced. As the research respondents were members of heterosexual families, and the women's husbands also had their own careers, this discussion includes men's attitudes towards women's responsibilities in the family and the husbands' participation in helping career women to balance their family responsibilities. Related to this, I also examine whether the respondents' religious beliefs, Malay cultural norms, traditional patriarchal patterns of the division of labour at home, and government family-friendly policies and family practices are gradually giving way to a new family arrangement in terms of dealing with the roles of husband and wife when both have careers.

Malay women's views on family responsibilities

The concept of "housewifization" to describe educated women who leave their careers and to stay at home is discussed by Ochiai (2008). This was not happening to the educated career

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

women in my study because they had high expectations of managing both their career and family roles. Nevertheless, all the female respondents emphasised that being career women did not exempt them from household management. They noted that performing the household tasks was still major responsibility that needed to be fulfilled. Their views were consistent with the findings of a number of studies on Malay female professionals in Malaysia, which revealed that most women who have careers are still responsible for the organisation and running of their homes, as well as maintaining the traditional perception of themselves as women (Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987; Abdullah, 1985, 1987; Omar, 2003; Abdullah et al., 2008).

In this regard, my female respondents said that it has never been easy for them to handle the demands of family and career responsibilities simultaneously. They described the feeling of "tiredness" and "busyness" brought up by doing the domestic chores and coping with career responsibilities if they did not get any assistance. Two married respondents shared their thoughts thus: "*Doing the household chores for my family is tiring. I feel it's hard, especially when I also have my own career to focus on and I am not a full-time housewife*" (Basariah, aged 32; married). Halimah described her situation as shouldering a double burden before she had a maid by saying: *"Doing the domestic chores was tiring, especially when I did it alone. Now I have a maid and I can feel the difference"* (Halimah, aged 35; married). The single respondents had similar views on the double burden of women who have careers and still shoulder the domestic chores. Irdiena stressed this issue in the following words:

> *I can imagine how working women are tired and busy when they need to deal with their career and their family. I can imagine myself facing this situation when I get married one day* (Irdiena, aged 27; single female).

In relation to the above, all the women were saying that they needed to have coping strategies to deal with the competing demands of family responsibilities, without neglecting their professional lives. This finding is similar to those of a few studies on Malay professional women who preferred to maintain their traditional responsibilities but with certain adjustments to fit in with their career demands (Abdullah, 1987; 1994; Mahmood and Muhammad, 1987; Omar, 2003; Omar and Hamzah, 2003; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008; Bakar,

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

2012). In the following section, I will discuss the coping strategies adopted by these women to help them to balance their family responsibilities and to deal with the conflicts they faced. Four main themes emerged in relation to the family responsibilities discussed: I have divided these themes into four categories: managing domestic chores, respondents' responsibilities towards their children, respondents' responsibilities as a wife and respondents' responsibilities towards their extended family.

Managing domestic chores[146]

Several studies in Western and Asian countries, including Malaysia have found that the idea of the subdivision of labour at home or sharing the domestic chores with other people has given an opportunity to both husbands and wives to become involved in the paid labour force (Abdullah, 1985, 1987; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976; Gilbert, 1994; Hochschild, 1997; Da, 2004; Hosain et al., 2005; Sullivan, 2006; Cha and Thebaud, 2009; Sultana and Noor, 2011; Bakar, 2015). The strategy of scheduling chores onto a daily, weekly or monthly rota was used by working couples to arrange some domestic chores, as stated in the research literature (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976; Abdullah, 1985, 1987; Hochschild, 1997). Such coping strategies were still seen as relevant and were the best choice for both married and unmarried respondents in this study. All the women in this study strongly believed that the crucial strategy for dealing with domestic chores was to share responsibilities with other people, particularly with their husbands. Nevertheless, these women also delegated the household tasks to other family members, such as their children, or to non-family members such as a live-in maid or a part-time helper. Because both spouses worked, the respondents managed the domestic chores on a rotational basis: daily, weekly or monthly, in order to ensure that they could be done effectively. According to the respondents, four types of domestic chores were viewed as priorities: cooking, cleaning, laundry and grocery shopping. When the respondents shared how they managed their domestic chores, the distribution of tasks to others and the schedules they chose were different in different homes, for various reasons.

[146] The term *domestic chores* is used interchangeably with household tasks and household duties in this study.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

All the women strongly emphasised that cooking for their family was one of the primary household tasks to which they gave priority, despite having a busy schedule. Elaborating on this matter, it is a common practice in Malay families to have a hearty meal each day, fondly prepared by mothers and wives at home. There is a proverb that describes the word "womanhood" in relation to cooking responsibility from a Malay perspective: "*sebijak mana pun perempuan itu, tempatnya tetap di dapur*" (literally translated as "regardless of how smart a woman is, her rightful place remains in the kitchen"). This proverb indicates that Malay women continue to bear the burden of cooking meals and they need to do this regardless of their social or employment status, thus supporting "the importance of domesticity for a woman" (Ibrahim and Hassan, 2009: 398; *see also* Ghazali, 2002: 105). Ghazali (2002) noted that, prior to the 1970s many daughters in Malay families were not encouraged to obtain higher educational qualifications because their parents believed that the ideal place for them was in the kitchen preparing meals for the family. In the current situation experienced by the educated women in this study, it is interesting to note that they had also been taught cooking skills and were always reminded by their mothers that cooking was a primary task before they got married. Two respondents decribed the situation as follows:

> *My mother always said that food preparation is important for the family and it needs to be done by women. I also remember that she always reminds not only me but also all her daughters to do so* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *I am the only daughter in my family. Although almost all the cooking was done by my mother, I have often been asked to help her in the kitchen. My mother always tells me that I also need to learn how to cook even though I have a high educational qualification. I remember she said cooking would be important for my family when I got married* (Maria, aged 27; married).

Because they saw cooking and serving good quality meals to their families as a top priority, some of the respondents even portrayed their frustration about being unable to cook daily meals for their families. They linked the cooking responsibility with the idea of time spent sitting and eating together at the table during mealtimes, which can create bonding between family members. In their circumstances, the ideal of good home cooking and valuable family togetherness could not be practised regularly due to their tight schedules and the constraints of

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

working hours. Thus, they felt that the failure to offer a cooked meal to their families every day may have prevented them from being perfect wives and mothers. This matter was strongly stressed by several respondents, who compared their situation with their non-working mothers, who had always served their families with home-cooked food because they were full-time housewives. Commenting on this matter, Basariah and Arena recalled:

> *My mother prepared and served everything to her husband and children. She cooked for us every meal time. She rarely bought food from restaurants and we rarely ate out. She often did the cooking for our family. I enjoyed every meal she cooked and every single time we had it at the dinner table. But for me, I couldn't do it for every single meal every day. I do feel sad about that sometimes* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *I cannot deny feeling sad when I see my children and husband eating food not from 'air tangan saya'* [147] (literally translated as my water hand). *But I have to admit that I cannot do it every meal time and every day because I'm also working at the same time. He* [her husband] *sometimes cannot join us because he has to come home late. It's different from my childhood because my mother prepared all the food that our family ate every day. She cooked every day because she was a full-time housewife* (Arena, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

To cope with the conflict of not having enough time to do all the cooking, all the married respondents mentioned that they only managed to cook breakfast or dinner during working days similar to the Malay professional women in a study conducted by Abdullah (1985, 1987). Those who did not cook breakfast and dinner normally bought "ready food"[148] and ate the meals with their families at home. The existence of many fastfood restaurants and food courts has reduced the time needed for cooking amongst working women (Abdullah, 1987). In addition, it was common practice for my respondents and their husbands to have lunch at their workplace, while their children were at school or at their caregivers' homes. However, this

[147] This idiom is always used in Malay society to refer to food cooked by a mother for her family. It refers to a belief that the food cooked by a mother is more delicious and is a blessing for her family. Therefore, Malay women always associate themselves with this idiom when they talk about the responsibility of preparing food for their family.

[148] "Ready food" refers to all kinds of foods prepared outside the home which they bought from restaurants or food courts.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

routine changed at weekends when most of the women said that they cooked all the meals[149] for their families. On this point, Mashitah and Rashidah commented:

> *I rarely cook breakfast so I always buy it during the working day. I only cook dinner and we [she, her husband and children] sometimes eat together. However, when I'm at home with my family during the weekends, I always prepare breakfast, lunch and dinner for them. I prepare everything for my husband and my children on that day* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

> *I will do the cooking only if I have time on my work days. Therefore, I always buy food for my family. I will be busy cooking for my family when it's a weekend* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

It was interesting to note how cooking responsibilities were carried out differently in different families. Seven of my married respondents, who did not engage the services of maids, did all the cooking and this task was a shared responsibility of husbands too. Arena (aged 35; married) said: *"Sometimes my husband also helps me with the cooking and he doesn't mind helping me."* Mashitah (aged 37; married) also mentioned her husband's involvement in cooking for their family by stating: *"My husband will do the cooking when I can't do it but he cooks only a simple meal."* The three women who had maids mentioned that the maids did the cooking for their children but not for their husbands. In these cases, the wives cooked for their husbands but only Shakila's husband did some cooking for the family. Halimah (aged 35; married) and Emilia (aged 31; married) stated that they cooked meals for their husbands but their husbands were not involved in preparing meals for their families. Shakila explained her husband's involvement by stating:

> *My husband didn't like my maid doing the cooking for him, so she [the maid] just cooked for my children during working days. I did the cooking for my husband and sometimes he [her husband] also did the cooking for our family* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

According to the married female respondents, cooking was a priority, and all the husbands also considered that cooking was a mother's responsibility. This view was highlighted by

[149] According to my respondents, they cooked breakfast, lunch and dinner and most of them even sometimes prepared tea and dessert in between lunch and dinner in the evening.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

some husbands, who did the cooking for their families. Although none of them felt reluctant about contributing to meal preparation, they emphasised that they only shared the cooking when their wives were busy. Therefore, the preparation of daily meals continued to be divided according to gender stereotyping, with women contributing a substantial majority of this repetitive responsibility. Two husbands described their involvement in cooking for their families this way:

> *I don't want my maid to cook for me. So, I don't mind helping my wife in cooking if she can't do it. However, as a mother, she still needs to do the cooking for the family* (Shahrum, aged 40; Shakila's husband).

> *I can do the cooking for my family if she [his wife] is busy. I don't mind helping her but she is still the one who always does the cooking for my family* (Ali, aged 35; Arena's husband).

Other domestic chores that most of the female respondents mentioned as needing to be done regularly were cleaning and laundry. It was interesting to note that, across the interviews, the married women who had no maid expressed their desire to employ a live-in maid to help them do these tasks, although they did not mention this desire when they talked about cooking for their families. Cleaning and laundry seemed to be more difficult than cooking, especially when they had to do them alone. The respondents whose husbands had rejected the idea of having a maid because they felt uncomfortable with strangers in their home depended on their husbands' participation in helping them with cleaning and laundry. All the married women with no maid except Rashidah (aged 37; married) did the cleaning and laundry with the help of their husbands. To manage these tasks, they had created a daily and weekly schedule of cleaning and laundry. In following the schedules, all of them agreed that only simple cleaning jobs were carried out on working days, such as washing the dishes and sweeping the floor. None of them did major laundry or housecleaning tasks except at weekends. The respondents whose husbands' working hours were flexible claimed that cleaning and laundry were mostly done by their husbands. For instance, Basariah's husband, who works as a teacher, and Mashitah's husband, who owns his own business, did the laundry and cleaning much more frequently than other husbands as they worked flexible hours, from around 7.30 am to 2.00 pm. Mashitah and Basariah explained this issue in this way:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *He [her husband] is the one who is in charge of laundry and outdoor house cleaning, especially on weekdays. He works flexible hours so he always helps me to do these tasks and his assistance really reduces my burden* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

> *My husband normally comes back from school before 5.00pm. So he will do the simple cleaning and laundry on weekdays. Sometimes he does it every day and sometimes he does it three days a week. I don't mind how he does it as long as he can help me to do the laundry and cleaning* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

Arena and Yusrina's husbands helped them to clean the house and do the laundry only when the situation permitted as their husbands' working hours were from 8.30 am to 5.00 pm, and they also often worked out of office hours. Arena added that, even though her husband helped her, she still needed to hire a cleaner on a monthly basis to do the major house cleaning because of the size of her house:

> *I have to hire a cleaner once a month because my house is big, with four rooms and a large dining hall and kitchen too. When he's [her husband] free, he helps me and this has eased the burden of chores too, but we still need someone to do the massive cleaning* (Arena, aged 35; married).

In relation to the issue of helping a wife to do the domestic chores, some Malay husbands faced insinuations from their friends and relatives (Abdullah, 1987). In contrast, none of the husbands, who helped their wives in my study faced condemnation or derision from their extended family members or friends. The husbands stressed that both sides of the family supported them in helping their wives with the domestic chores. They noted that their positive attitudes towards domestic chores were connected with their upbringing in their family of origin. They had been taught to do the household tasks without gender bias since they were young and this played a crucial role in influencing their attitudes towards helping their wives with these tasks. For instance, Uzair (Umaira's husband) described his experience with his family members and in-laws, both married and unmarried, who worked and had their own careers, and said that it was common for all his family members to accept men doing the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

household chores. In fact, they had even been supported by the whole family to do so. In his words:

> *Since I was a kid, I think when I was in primary school, my mother taught me to do simple household tasks to help her. Since then, doing such tasks has not been a burden for me. It was not only me, but all my siblings also do the same thing. When I got married, it wasn't a big deal to help my wife. I can even see that my wife's brothers also do the same thing* (Uzair, aged 30; Umaira's husband).

Another three essential factors were highlighted by Malik (Mashitah's husband) and Sharum (Shakila's husband) when they talked about helping with the household chores, which I have categorised as: "not against our religion," "mutual understanding because of my wife also works" and "it is today's reality of life for dual-career couples". Both of the husbands said that men's participation in household chores is a normal phenomenon and has become part of everyday life, especially among dual-career couples in this modern day. They emphasised that they knew some of their friends and relatives refused to do the chores due to the traditional division of gender roles at home, but they also knew that many of their other friends and relatives, including themselves, personally no longer accepted this belief. To illustrate this, they said:

> *I didn't feel weird helping my wife do the housework before we had a maid. I knew some of my friends rejected doing these chores but at the same time I also knew that many of them did the same thing as I did. Islam also never states that a husband can't help his wife. I can say, it's normal nowadays for a husband to help his wife because she's also working, why not? For me, I don't mind* (Sharum, aged 40; Shakila's husband).

> *I help my wife because she's also working. I just feel it's not an inappropriated attitude to help her with the domestic chores. As far as I'm concerned, my religion also encourages a husband to help his wife, as Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. did. Some of my friends also help their wives. I think it's common to see a man doing the domestic chores today because most couples are working couples* (Malik, aged 37; Mashitah's husband).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The husbands' views were also supported by the three single male respondents in this study. Junaidi pointed out that all his brothers had been taught to help their mother with the domestic chores because his mother has no daughters. Therefore, he and his brothers felt that it was their responsibility to help their mother. Another single man, Zarief, explained that he did not think doing domestic chores would be a huge problem for him and that it was common for men to do so. They suggested that men's understanding of the traditional ideology with regard to the division of labour must change as now men also desire to marry working women:

> *I help my mother because I don't have any sisters. Some of my male friends didn't want to do domestic chores because they said that was the women's responsibility. I think that was because of men's ego. Malay men need to change this perception if they want to marry working women. I have no problem with tolerating and compromising over the household chores when I have my own family in the future because she [his future wife] will also work* (Junaidi, aged 28; single male).

> *My parents encouraged me to do the laundry, dish washing and cooking simple food when I was in primary and secondary school. I think that was because they didn't see these things as against our beliefs. I'm still doing them now so I don't mind doing it when I get married. I think men must change their attitude as I can see many men are married to working women* (Zarief, aged 29; single male).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Hiring domestic workers is one of the most popular options adopted by middle-class and upper-class families to help them with domestic chores in several Asian and Western countries, including Malaysia (Chin, 1997; Yeo and Huang, 1998; Lutz, 2002). Similarly, this was also an option for some of the respondents in this study. It was found that there were differences in the ways in which the respondents who had maids and those with no maid organised their cleaning and laundry routines. As the routines of managing household chores were handled by maids, all the housework tasks were performed every day except cooking for the family which, as I have discussed earlier, the respondents did at weekends. Emilia, Shakila and Halimah were less worried about cleaning and laundry because the maids were responsible for these tasks. In fact, they emphasised that they rarely did any domestic chores at home. Since maids handled all the chores, their family members, especially their husbands, were also not involved with them. However, Emilia and Shakila stressed that their husbands' non-involvement in the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

domestic chores was not related to gender ideology about the division of labour at home, but was due to the presence of maids. They shared stories of their husbands' participation prior to employing maids by stating:

> *He [her husband] did help me before we had our maid. But now, he doesn't do it anymore. He said that we already had a maid to do so* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

> *My husband used to help me do the laundry and cleaning but that was before we had a maid. Now, all the tasks are done by our maid* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

In contrast, Halimah explained that the reason she and her husband employed a domestic worker was solely to help her in managing the household responsibilities. Similarly, Abdullah's (1987) research on Malay female professionals noted that Malay husbands who earned high salaries rarely helped their wives as they could afford to employ a full-time live-in maid or a part-time helper to do the domestic chores. Halimah's her husband did not help her and was unlikely to do so, as he felt it was a female domain and, along with that, he had a busy career. However, she felt a bit relieved when her husband gave permission to have a live-in maid to help her with domestic chores:

> *My husband did not help me with the household chores because he told me that women should do it. He also always arrives home late. However, he tolerates me having a maid so that the maid can help me at home. Now that I have a maid, she does most of the household chores. I don't feel tired doing the chores* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

Apart from their husbands, maids and part-time helpers, most of the women also received assistance from their children. Women with pre-school-aged children only taught them simple tasks at the beginning as training in how to do household chores. For the women who had school-aged children, and specifically those who did not have a live-in maid, their children's participation in household chores such as washing up and sweeping the floor, making their beds and keeping their own rooms tidy was considered to be major assistance in lessening the burden of domestic responsibilities. According to these women, the parents could then concentrate on the more specialised tasks of cleaning, laundry and cooking. However, all

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
women, whether with pre-school-aged or school-aged children, mentioned that they depended more on their husbands, maids and part-time helpers than their children to manage their household tasks as the children were still young. In addition, married women who had school-aged children further explained that they felt it was unfair to always involve their children in housework because the burden of schoolwork was already heavy. Thus, the children's assistance in doing the chores was not regular but spontaneous when they were assigned to do so, as Basariah and Rashidah remarked:

> *I taught my little kids to do simple tasks when we spent time together, such as tidying up their toys after they had finished playing, putting their clothes in the laundry basket or putting their milk-bottle on the table after they had finished drinking. It was training for my kids and at the same time their assistance helped me as a career mother* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *I only ask my children to help me if I really need it. They're already tired with their schoolwork. They're involved in a few after-school activities, for example, tuition classes and religious classes. I would feel sorry for them if I asked them to do the domestic chores even though I know that their assistance would reduce my burden as well* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

It was also interesting to note that none of the women applied any division of domestic work between their daughters and sons in assigning these tasks. They taught both daughters and sons to participate equally, without thinking of the traditional gender roles. It was apparent that the married women in this study tried to apply an egalitarian principle in the division of labour between men and women at home when they taught their children about domestic tasks. They emphasised that they were teaching their sons to participate in domestic chores because they expected that they would marry career women in the future. Although their understanding of the idea of egalitarianism was still in the mould of Islamic teaching and Malay culture, they emphasised that it was different from the strictly traditional approach. Arena and Basariah shared their methods of teaching their children to do domestic chores in this way:

> *When I ask my children to do these tasks, I never put any gender bias into it. I just think it's also important for my son to know how to*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *do it. Time flies and many changes may occur. Who knows, he might marry a working woman and need to help his wife to do these tasks in the future. I just think that men nowadays should know how to do the housework and they should also share the household responsibility. I just have to make sure that they don't do things that are not encouraged in Islam and the Malay adat* (Arena, aged 35; married).

> *I have two sons now. I don't mind teaching them to do the housework during their childhood because I think nowadays it's good for boys to know at least a little bit about doing the chores. It can also be seen today that many girls are doing well in their education and they might have a good career in the future. I don't think this is against the Islamic religion, even though it's not a common thing to do in Malay society* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

From their point of view, the traditional gendered division of domestic work could no longer be practised because many more women would obtain good educational qualifications and have secure careers in the future. Assuming that their sons might marry career women, these contemporary mothers thought it was crucial for their sons to participate in domestic chores in the future. They stressed that men should know how to handle these tasks and should not be solely dependent on women as the latter also go out to work and contribute to the family finances. The respondents' method of exposing their children to domestic chores at an early age was similar to a method applied by the Malay working couples in suburban villages in another study (Ghazali, 2002). This is probably due to the socioeconomic changes in the modern era which are being experienced by respondents in both studies[150] compared to the generation cited in studies with contrasting findings that mainly focused on the traditional division of domestic labour between Malay men and women in different age groups and occupations (*see* Swift, 1965; Othman, 1972; Abdullah, 1985; Osman, 1989; Carsten, 1989; Ong, 1990; Raja Mamat, 1991; Borhan and Abu Hassan, 2006). These studies revealed that Malay women and men have been trained since they were young about their respective roles

[150] It was interesting to note that, even though the Malay respondents in mys study and Ghazali's study were from different demographic backgrounds, I found that, as working mothers, they formed a consensus about exposing their sons to domestic chores in the same way as daughters. This approach was applied by our respondents because they felt that their children's assistance was also needed in organising their families.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

and responsibilities in the family, where the role of women was to concentrate on household chores, while men focused social activities outside the house.[151]

In constrats to the discussion above, Rashidah's case was different because she was the only respondent who faced conflict and she expressed her frustrations because most of the cleaning and laundry duties were laid on her shoulders. She had to perform nearly all the domestic chores. She did not receive any assistance from a maid and got very little help from her husband. In order to manage this responsibility and lessen her burden, she only did simple cleaning on work-days and major house cleaning and laundry during the weekends. And, like Arena, she also employed the services of a cleaner on a monthly basis for a major clean up. She clarified the situation with her comments:

> *I have to do all the chores alone and I ask a part-time cleaner to come to my house monthly to help me. Although I've heard that a few of my friends' husbands help them with the household tasks, I'm not so lucky. My husband helps me, but very rarely. Actually it's really hard to see him helping me unless there's really an emergency. He always says that it's my work to do and I know I'm responsible for those duties. It's really challenging for me to do it, when I'm doing it alone* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

When she was telling her stories, it sounded as though she was very disappointed with her husband, especially because she knew that some of her friends obtained assistance from their maids and husbands. She used the words "rarely," "hard to see him," "unless there's really an emergency" and "I'm not so lucky" to describe her husband's limited participation and negative attitude towards sharing the tasks. Nevertheless, she did not want to take this seriously as she had it set in her mind that these domestic chores are the woman's responsibility. The ideology of the division of labour at home, which is established in most societies, including Malay society, was still adhered to by Rashidah and her husband. Rashidah's experience is in line with Hochschild and Manchung (1989), who stated that

[151] Papanek (1990) also stated that many children in Third World countries have been taught about differences in rights between men and women and gender equality at an early aged.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

women who work outside the home always feel overburdened with household chores, particularly without their husbands' help.

Amongst the other married women (*e.g.* Mashitah, Basariah, Arena, Yusrina), the majority of husbands were involved in domestic chores when they were permitted to do so and this perceived as "helping" their wives. The results of this study are in line with the findings of Karim (1995) and Errington (1990), who stated that the bilateralism concept practised by many families in Malay society was due to a family relationship based on cooperation and collective responsibility. Borhan and Abu Hassan (2006) also emphasised that Malay family relationships were more likely to be based on enjoyment, interest, responsibility and rights. Some of the women said that sometimes they needed to remind their husbands to do the domestic chores, even though their husbands were willing to help. However, they emphasised that this situation did not contribute to conflict as they still received assistance from their husbands. In fact, their husbands' assistance not only reduced their household workloads but also helped to lower their stress level. This is in accordance with a number of studies that have shown dual-career couples to share household work more equally than other couples (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1976; Hertz, 1986; Parasuraman *et al.*, 1993; Becker and Moen, 1999; Da, 2004; Bartley *et al.*, 2005; Ezzeden and Ritchey, 2008).

Elaborating on this matter, this study found that the sharing of responsibility with their husbands actually meant women still doing more of the chores than men. As stated in the research literature (*see* Chapter Two), many Malay spouses claimed that household management was done by making decisions together and practising the idea of equality. In practising these ideas, however, they were still bound by religious and cultural rules, under shich both spouses need to make sure that the wives cannot be dominant over their husbands, as this is still not accepted within Malay patriarchal society (Bakar and Hashim, 1984; Arrifin, 1986; Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987; Osman, 1989; Karim, 1992; Abdullah, 1987, 1994; Harun, 1993; Kling, 1995; Noor, 1999a, 1999b; Hosain *et al.*, 2005; Noor and Mahudin, 2005; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008; Sultana and Noor, 2011; Bakar, 2012). Therefore, not surprisingly, this study found that the gender segregation of household labour was continuing, but at the same time it was perceived as a successful negotiation between husbands and wives.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Grocery shopping was another domestic chore mentioned by the respondents, but this task was described as not being a challenge or a burden because it was not energy draining or time consuming. They often did the main shopping at weekends and most of them did it on a fortnightly or monthly basis with their families. They emphasised that they enjoyed the shopping trips because they considered it to be a kind of family outing. Normally, during these shopping trips, they took the opportunity to have a meal, such as lunch or dinner, outside the house with their families. In this study, eating out with families was a popular trend amongst these women as it also ensured quality time with their husbands and children. Grocery shopping fits in with Morgan's conceptualisation of family practices (Morgan, 2011) as one of the ways to provide a good family life through family/work articulation. Two married women clearly pointed out:

> *Every month we will go grocery shopping and I think this is also a time for my family outing. Doing this shopping is not as tough as fulfilling other household responsibilities [laughs]. Yeah! I enjoy it because it's also a way we can spend time together as one family* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *We [she and her husband] only do the shopping twice a month. We take our children as well. It's like "two in one" you know [laughs], do the shopping and eat out once in a while with my husband and children* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

Another important strategy that played a crucial role in helping many respondents to manage the domestic chores was the use of technological home appliances. This is consistent with several other studies which have emphasised the way in which new technologies have helped to ease the burden of household duties among Malay professional women in Malaysia (Abdullah, 1987; Ghazali, 2002; *see also* Chapter Two). All the women stressed that home appliance technologies were "necessities" in their lives, which have cut the amount of time it takes to do the domestic chores and make the tasks easier and faster. An example is expressed by Yusrina, who said:

> *The new home appliance technologies really make my domestic responsibility easy to handle and manage. I should say thanks to these technologies* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The single female respondents gave similar responses to questions about their domestic responsibilities as they will also become career mothers and wives when they are married. Like the married respondents, they also stressed that cooking was the most important responsibility and that cleaning and laundry tasks were the hardest to accomplish. In terms of cooking, cleaning, laundry and grocery shopping, all of them planned to do the tasks by following the rotation method: daily, weekly and monthly. Surprisingly, I found that none of my single female respondents wanted to employ a domestic worker to help them with these tasks, in contrast to my married respondents. These women planned to perform all the chores on their own or with their future husbands' assistance. Naimah, who was already engaged, described her fiancé's willingness to help with the housework because she will also contribute to the family finances. Naimah confidently shared her thoughts thus:

> *My future husband and I did discuss our roles and responsibilities when we get married. I will also be a breadwinner in the family because I'll be working. I will also contribute to our family finances but he will still be the main breadwinner. He can accept this matter that he might do the domestic chores if I'm busy with my work responsibilities. We plan to do things depending on our situation at the time. I think both of us can accept the changing and sharing of roles between us as a dual-career couple* (Naimah, aged 26; single female).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In the above comment, Naimah emphasised that the discussion she had with her fiancés before marriage would enhance their understanding of the importance of negotiation and tolerance about their roles and responsibilities as husband and wife because both of them would continue with their careers after they were married. In fact, the discussion indicated that, today, young Malay couples make long-term plans for a successful marriage and family life before they marry, especially regarding their roles.

In sum, I have discussed how my respondents emphasised the coping strategies, such as assistance from other people, family activities and technological home appliances that were important for balancing the responsibilities in their domestic chores. Let me now discuss in some detail how they managed their responsibility towards their children, as many working women had the tendency to stop working when they had children.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Respondents' responsibilities towards their children

Women in various cultures share similar duties when it comes to being a mother. In most societies, it has always been expected that women will be the primary caregivers to their children, whether they stay at home or work outside the house. Many women in Britain (McCulloch and Dex, 2001 and Crompton, 2002, cited in Cooke, 2007: 49) and women in East and Southeast Asia (Ochiai, 2008: 157) stopped working full-time or limited their career goals when they had children. In contrast, none of the female respondents in this study intended to leave full-time employment if or when they had children. Their preference to continue with their career after marriage was consistent with that of women in China, who also tend to continue as full-time employees when they have children (Cooke, 2001). In my study, the female respondents believed that, as mothers, they are the foundation of the family and must always be concerned about the betterment of their family and the upbringing of their children. They understood that it was a privilege to be mothers because they held a high position in the family, as stated in Islam.[152] Supporting this explanation, Ibrahim and Hassan (2009) described mothers from the perspective of Malay society by using the Malay proverb: *syurga letaknya di bawah tapak kaki ibu* (literally translated as "heaven lies under a mother's feet") as explained in Chapter Two. Acknowledging the Malay mother's status in the family, the respondents highlighted that their role as mothers was associated with three important responsibilities, which they identified as: caregiver, home educator and financial provider for their children. In the following section, I discuss how coping strategies assisted them to deal with their childcare responsibility when they had to be at their work place.

Childcare arrangements

Finding a good childcare centre and the best person to take care of their children is one of the contributory factors that determines whether working women are be able to resume their careers, as reported in many previous studies (*e.g.* Arrifin *et al.*, 1996; Abdullah, 1993; Karim,

[152] This is based on one of the *Hadis* of Prophet Muhammad S.A.W.: "Do good to and serve your mother, then your mother, then your mother, then your father, then the near relatives and those who come after them." According to this *Hadis,* the importance of the mother in the family and the high position she occupies is indicated by the repetition of the word "mother""compared to the others.

PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
1990; Hock, 2007; Ochiai, 2008; Lim, 2009; Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010; Grant-Vallone and Ensher, 2011; *see also* Chapter Two). In this study, all the women emphasised that leaving their children with other people was the most challenging part of their lives as career women. Clearly, they wanted to engage good caregivers so that their children would be safe and secure while they were out at work. Yusrina and Basariah expressed their feelings regarding this matter:

> *When I go to work, I want someone who really wants to take care of my children. They can ensure a safe environment for my children. For me, this criterion is very important so that I can go to work without being worried* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

> *It's important to have someone who has a good attitude to take care of my children when I'm not at home. Someone who has a passion for taking care of children because I have to ensure my children are safe under their care* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

In Malaysia, many Malay women who work in urban areas feel more secure about sharing the caregiver's role with babysitters of pre-school children, daily day-care centres and neighbours as their first choice, followed by relatives, domestic helpers and their own mothers (Abdullah, 1985; Ahmad *et al.*, 1999). The married respondents were most likely to practise one or more three alternatives in their childcare arrangements as most of them had children under the age of 12. They either sent their children to childcare centres[153] or babysitters, sought assistance from their extended family or employed a live-in maid, depending on their situations. A good-quality place and a suitable childcare centre, engaging the services of reliable maids or babysitters and being able to afford the fees for such services, were the important criteria that were taken into consideration before a woman shifted the responsibility of childcare to other people.

Only Umaira, who lived with her parents because she and her husband's workplaces were near her parents' home, had transferred the childcare responsibility to her mother. She felt more secure leaving her children with a family member rather than an outsider. In fact, her mother was also willing to take care of her children while she was at the workplace. She said:

[153] My respondents described a childcare centre as a nursery when they discussed this issue. So the terms daycare centre and nursery will be used interchangeably, because they actually refer to a similar place in this study.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I and my husband live with my parents because our work place is close to my parents' house. My parents asked us to live with them as we still can't afford to buy our own house. So, when I go to work, my two children will be left with my mother. My mother also wanted to take care of them, so I feel secure about it* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

The other nine married respondents lived away from their parents as nuclear families because they wanted to be independent and not troublesome to their families of origin. These women stated that their decision to live apart from their family of origin was related to religious beliefs so as to allow independent living without any interference from either set of parents. For instance, Basariah asserted:

> *When my family lives separately from my parents and my parents-in-law, I know that my religion [Islam] also encourages me to do so. I can be more focused on my family. I think this situation is good so that I can organise my own family* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

This assertion resonates with that of Yusrina, who said:

> *I have learnt a lot about organising my own family since I lived apart from my parents. If I had stayed with them [her parents] I would probably always have depended on them. That's why, you know, Islam also says it's better for married couples to live separately from their parents so that they can form their own family* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

Both Basariah and Yusrina also talked about how living apart from their family of origin had indirectly taught them to be individuals, capable of organising and being responsible for their own families. Importantly, although they preferred to live apart from their family of origin, they agreed that this arrangement had helped them to maintain and foster a better relationship with their extended family members. In Malay Muslim society, forming a nuclear family is the norm and married children often live separately from their family of origin (Abdul Majid and Azahari, 1989). This finding is in line with Embong (2000) and Abdullah (2000), who found that the majority of Malay families who live in urban areas are structured as nuclear families

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

and live apart from their families of origin but still maintain the parent child relationship. For instance, parents offer advice and counselling when their children need it.[154]

Apart from wanting to be independent couples, some women in my study felt that where their parents' lived and their own job demands contributed to their decision to live as a nuclear family. Yusrina shared her view on this matter:

> *My husband and I work in Kuala Lumpur. Our parents [her family of origin and parents-in-law] live far from here. We can't live with them because our jobs and family are here. They [her family of origin and parents-in-law] also prefer to live in their own house* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

In addition, some of the respondents' parents still had responsibility for other children who needed their attention and care. Arena (aged 35; married) explained: "*My parents can't live with me because they still have my brothers to take care of, especially my youngest brother who is still studying now.*"

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Of my single female respondents, only one still lived with her parents because her office was strategically located near her parents' home. The rest lived in shared accommodation with friends. Nevertheless, all my single respondents also intended to live apart from their families of origin after marriage. They highlighted similar reasons as the married respondents for their decision, as Naimah explained:

> *I can't live with my parents because I work here [in Kuala Lumpur]. If I get married, I will also live separately from both my parents and my parents-in-law because I want to be an independent person. In fact, my parents also have their own house and they're still working in my hometown. It's difficult for us to live together for these reasons* (Naimah, aged 26; single female).

In sum, these women could not expect any assistance from family members such as grandmothers, mothers or other relatives as was always practised in the traditional Malay

[154] I will discuss this point in detail later on in this chapter.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
family due to geographical mobility. This ties in with the experiences of Malay women in urban areas in a study conducted by Abdullah (1985). Thus, several alternative strategies were used to help them cope with their childcare responsibilities.

Female respondents who had live-in mais emphasised that they not only help with the household chores but also looked after their children. Shakila, Emilia and Halimah found that it was worth paying for maids compared to other strategies because they were able to perform both tasks. They emphasised that the advantage of having a live-in maid was that they could focus more on their work responsibilities and could stay longer at their workplace if needed without time constraints as their childcare was handled by the maids at home. This strategy helped them avoid the problems of dealing with the fixed hours offered by babysitters, childcare centres and nurseries. The quote below from Shakila explains it thus:

> *I have a maid to help me take care of my children when I go to my office. This is the best way for me because if I sent them to the nursery or babysitter, it would cost me a lot. I also have to pick them up after the fixed hours and I have to pay extra if I want to collect them after the time has ended. The nature of my work needs me sometimes to be in the office after my working hours; therefore, having a maid is the best solution to take care of my children when I'm not around* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Maria (aged 27; married) who was still childless expressed her intention to have a live-in maid to help her when she had her own baby in the future. She said that her dual roles would be easier to manage if she had a live-in maid helping her, particularly for her childcare arrangements. She said: "*Having a maid is a good idea to help me to manage the dual roles, particularly taking care of my children when I have my own children in future.*"

Five out of ten married women sent their children to babysitters or nurseries. These women talked about their desire to have a maid who could help them with childcare, but since their husbands felt uncomfortable about having strangers living with them, sending their children to babysitters and nurseries were the best choice they had. In contrast, none of the single female respondents expressed a desire to hire maids to take care of their children. All of them said they would prefer to send their children to a babysitter or a nursery. This finding is in line with

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Abdullah (1985, 1987), Ahmad *et al.* (1999) and Eam *et al.* (2003), who found that the existence of nurseries and the availability of babysitters were the determining factors influencing women in Malaysia who had children under the aged of six to remain in the paid labour force.

In Malaysia, the importance of childcare centres in helping working women to reconcile their dual roles has gained recognition from the government (Chiam, 2008; Ahmad, 2007; Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010). The government of Malaysia has allocated a budget to provide childcare facilities at most workplaces, especially in the government sector (Ahmad, 2007). A study by Subramaniam and Selvaratnam[155] (2010: 49) noted that some academic women considered the provision of childcare centres in their university areas as the act of a "truly family-friendly company."

In addition to the childcare centres discussed, almost without exception, the women I interviewed were optimistic about the existence of nurseries at their workplace. Having nurseries located within the women's workplace was the best solution for keeping close contact with their children. Yusrina said:

> *When the nurseries are ideally located close to the mother's workplace, I find that it's easy for working women to get close to their children and they don't have to worry about them anymore (*Yusrina, aged 37; married).

Female respondents also said that the convenience of childcare centres near their workplaces, where working mothers could continue the breastfeeding phase even after they had returned to work, encouraged women to continue working. Indirectly, the nurseries made it possible for working mothers to breastfeed their children for two full years, a practice encouraged by Islam. Umaira stressed this benefit in the following words:

> *If the nurseries are in the mother's work area, women will have no problem in visiting their children at any time, especially those who breastfeed. This also allows women to breastfeed their children for*

[155] In their studies, academic women from various public and private universities represented 16% of the female respondents.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *the complete two years, as encouraged by Islamic teaching* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

The setting up of any childcare centre needs to adhere to special regulations and meet minimum standards,[156] because "childcare is seen as custodian care by government and parents" (Chiam, 2008: 31). Due to these legal requirements, all the women believed that nursery owners are able to provide a high-quality and safe environment in terms of facilities, equipment, health and welfare for children. Two women emphasised that working women have the right to take action and be able to protect their children under the law if something bad happens to them at the nursery:

> *What I do know, every nursery has to be registered to operate. I'm pretty sure that all the nursery owners will provide good facilities for children according to the rules because they're observed by our government [Malaysia]. This gives mothers the opportunity to take legal action against the nurseries if something bad happens* (Maria, aged 27; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I used to be in a nursery during my childhood. I was always sure that nurseries are the best places for working women to send their children. Mothers shouldn't worry because their children are safe under the law as every nursery needs to be registered. Thus, if they have any dissatisfied feelings about the nurseries, mothers can complain by using the right channels [legal action]* (Amalina, aged 25; single female).

Amalina made a comparison between registered nurseries and babysitters regarding children's security. Babysitters do not have to apply for registration and there are no compulsory regulations as there are for nursery owners. Therefore, babysitters can be easily found, especially those who are full-time housewives. Due to her concern about the lack of safety in sending children to babysitters, she was convinced that nurseries are better places for children whose mothers work. She said:

> *Nurseries provide better safety for children because they operate under the law, in contrast to babysitters. They also have several qualified staff to handle the children. I think sending children to*

[156] In Malaysia, to operate any childcare centre, the provisions that must be met include minimal standards and regulations under the Child Care Centre Act 1984, Law of Malaysia (Chiam, H.K., 2008).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *babysitters is not secure because their operating hours do not need to be registered. A babysitter could be anyone, including people who might not qualify* (Amalina, aged 25; single female).

The other benefit of nurseries is that they provide a uniform curriculum and qualified educators to operate them (Chiam, 2008). They simultaneously provide quality child care and early education for young children. The impact of integrated care and education is beneficial for children's early development, particularly for pre-school-aged children. Bahijah (aged 29; single female) said: "*Nurseries are good for children of five years of aged and below because during this time these children are eager to learn about everything around them.*"

Although all the women had a positive view of nurseries, particularly those provided in the mother's workplace, in practical terms, the married respondents confirmed that for various reasons they could not actually utilise these facilities. The opening hours of nurseries, which did not coincide with their flexible working hours, and the limited places offered for children were the major reasons why none of them used the nurseries in their workplace. The women suggested that every organisation should consider reviewing its nursery's opening hours, especially for women with flexible working hours, and increase the number of children that they can accommodate. Arena shared her views on this matter:

> *My time-table can't meet with the nursery's operating times because sometimes I have classes until 7 pm. The nursery is also always full and I've also heard my friends complaining about this problem. I think the nursery organisers need to review this problem. There are lots of nurseries outside this area, so I think women can make a choice* (Arena, aged 35; married).

Basariah, the only married woman who chose to send her children to a nursery, described the benefits of nurseries in Malaysia as they combine childcare centres with pre-school education, thus providing a good learning environment. She had decided to send her children to a nursery nearer to her home because, even though this privately run nursery had fixed operating hours, she could make special arrangements in the event of being held up at the office, which she could not get from the nursery at her university. She firmly stated:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I have to send my children to another nursery not provided by my university. Sometimes I had to go back late and the nursery was already closed and no one would be there. Thus, the off-campus nursery is the best choice for the time being. Even though it has a time limit for when I need to pick up my children; I can still deal with them. Sometimes, my husband*[157] *picks them up. I think this childcare arrangement is the best way for me because it's not only a play centre and daily childcare centre but also a learning centre* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

Basariah's view on the benefits of a childcare centre combined with pre-school education was supported by Amalina, who experienced the benefits of nursery during her own childhood. She shared it in this way:

> *I will send my children to nursery, the same as my mother did. I choose a nursery because it will provide not only childcare but also a learning environment. As I experienced being there [at a nursery], I think it's good for my children to socialise* (Amalina, aged 25; single female).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Another four married women shared the childcare responsibility with babysitters. An important reason why these women chose to send their children to babysitters was because the monthly fees were cheaper than paying for nurseries or hiring a live-in maid. They also found that it was much easier to negotiate extra time for childcare with babysitters if they could not pick up their children at a given time. Another reason that I found interesting to why they decided to choose babysitters as caregivers was because the babysitters provided a home environment for their children. The respondents mentioned that their babysitters had accepted their children as part of the family, which they believed provided good care for their children. In addition, the small number of children that their babysitters were taking care of was also taken into consideration as a reason why this strategy was the best choice for them. These women stressed that sending children to a place that was similar to their own home environment was important as they believed their children would not be neglected or isolated while they were out at work. This was confirmed by Mashitah who shared her experiences:

---

[157] As Basariah's husband worked half days as explained in previous chapters, she mentioned that she did not face many problems in fetching her children from the nursery except if something unexpected happened.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I don't have a maid and I don't want to send them to nursery because the fees are quite expensive and their time is fixed. The best way is to send my children to a babysitter because she can pay more attention to them than in nurseries which have lots of kids to take care of. My babysitter only takes care of my children so I believe they feel like being at home* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

With reliable childcare arrangements, the married women felt more confident, positive, and happy when they left their children during working hours, and they also turned out to be highly productive workers. For example, Emilia[158] realised that one of the factors contributing to the successful completion of her PhD studies was because she had a maid to take care of her children during the busy period when she was finishing her studies. She also expressed a feeling of relief that she did not have to worry about her absence because the maid was taking care of her children at that time. She remarked:

> *When I did my PhD, I had a maid at home to take care of my children and I didn't worry about them. So, I stayed at the library until 5.00 pm or sometimes after Maghrib [one of the prayer times in Islam, normally around 7.30 pm]. Having a maid at that time helped me to finish my studies* (Emilia, aged 31: married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Two married women also noted that their babysitters helped them to negotiate their working hours. Yusrina (aged 37; married) said "*As I've got a good baby- sitter for my daughters, it doesn't bother me that much if I have to go home late to finish my work at the office*." The assistance from the babysitter described above is further echoed by Arena (aged 35; married) who expressed her gratitude to her children's babysitter "*I've had to go home late recently because I need to focus on my studies. I was so grateful because the babysitter consented to take care of my children until I reached home."*

In relation to the discussion of parenthood issues, four women further talked about bringing up teenaged children. They expressed their concerns about the many social problems that teenagedrs go through today. This concern was significant because their children were at the

[158] Emilia was the only respondent who had a PhD degree when the interviews were carried out.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

stage of becoming teenagers and they might find themselves exposed to all sorts of social problems. This point was raised by Yusrina in this way:

> *I have children, who will grow up to be teenager. Raising a teenager nowadays is very challenging, especially in urban areas. Everyone wants their children to be good and so do I. To keep me close to my children, I spend as much time with them as I can. My husband also plays his role as a father to keep an eye on our children. As they spend their time at school on schooldays, and will go home in the afternoon, my husband and I will make sure we will be at home at night. If I or my husband needs to go home late, we make sure that one of us will be there* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

Two married women expressed their fearfulness about leaving their teenage children alone at home when they found that they had been involved in negative attitudes. Halimah shared her eldest son's story; he learnt about "playstation games" from a friend because he went to his friend's house while Halimah was working, and this had his concentration when he was studying. Rashidah shared her worries about her children using the internet because she could only control their usaged when she was at home. They said:

> *Last year, I realised my son's performance in his studies had dropped. I found out that he was actually addicted to "play station games." I don't know how he knows about this game because I never buy such games for him. When I asked him, he said he went to his friend's house to play it. I was worried about this situation* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

> *I find that the internet is an important communication and entertainment tool today, and everybody can get anything from it. I don't mind if my children use it but sometimes I don't know what they're searching for when they use the internet, especially when I'm not at home. So I control the internet usaged at home. They [her children] can use it only if I'm at home* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

Statements by Yusrina, Halimah and Rashidah described the challenges they faced in bringing up their teenage children because they were burdened with societal expectations of raising their children to be good teenagers, especially when they were not always able to be with them. In

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

trying not to let their children feel neglected, these women tended to give priority to their relationships with their teenage children as much as possible and as often as possible. Their husbands' presence was also important to observe their children if the mothers were not able to be with them at home.

This study found that sharing the responsibility for raising children with other people, particularly non-family members, created conflict for some female respondents. Although they had transferred the care-giving responsibility for their children to other people, they could not avoid feelings of guilt that they had to share the care-giving with other people as they felt they should able to do it themselves. These women mentioned that they could accept the fact that they could not fulfil this responsibility perfectly because they could not be with their children during work days, but at the same time they had to live with the guilty feeling. As most of the married respondents had children aged between babies and teenagers, they were concerned about them because they still needed attention, love and guidance. Two married respondents emphasised that they had missed seeing some important moments in their children's development, such as the first time they walked or talked, as well as the breastfeeding time. Emilia and Yusrina shared their feelings about leaving their infants with other people:

> *I remember when my second baby talked for the first time, I was told about it by my maid. I felt very sad at that time because I was supposed to be the first person to see and know, not my maid* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

> *I felt worried when I first wanted to send her to the babysitter after my confinement, you know. I didn't know how my babysitter took care of her at that time. But, I told myself I have to believe in the babysitter, and she is a good woman and she's still taking care of my children now* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

It was also interesting to note that some respondents compared their experiences of being full-time mothers when they had their first child with their current experience of being career women. According to them, they were able to see their first child's developmental progress because they stayed at home, but this was not happening with their other children, who were growing close to someone else instead of them as mothers. When they talked about their

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

experiences, it sounded as though they had encountered a dilemma and they described how full-time mothers have more time with their children than career mothers. This was confirmed by Shakila, who shared her experience:

> *When I had my first child, I was a full-time housewife. My time was always with my daughter. I took care of her alone. It's changed now that I work because I've hired a maid to take care of them. I can feel that my children spend more time with my maid. And, once they went to school, half of their time was at school* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

In order to relieve this guilt, all the respondents took over the responsibility for childcare as soon as they arrived home from work each day. For instance, Emilia (aged 31; married) said "*I will take care of my children and never let my maid do it once I'm at home.*" Basariah (aged 32; married) also tried to spend time with her children immediately when she arrived home: "*I make sure when I reach home that my time is with my family, especially my children.*"

In order to stay connected with their teenage children, most of them agreed that advanced technologies help them to communicate. They explained, for example, that mobile phones, landline phones and social communication tools such as email, Yahoo messenger and Facebook were the best media to communicate. Halimah (aged 35; married) explained: "*I always call them from my office just to make sure of their condition before I go home.*" Yusrina (aged 37; married) mentioned: "*I bought a mobile phone for my daughter because that was the easiest way to keep in touch with her. Sometimes we use Yahoo messenger because there is an internet connection at her babysitter's house.*" Clearly, the existence of advanced technologies also contributes to the family/work articulation, as suggested by Morgan (2011).

It is evident from this study that, although the women faced the guilt of leaving their children with someone else who took over their responsibility, and of not having enough time with their children, they had no choice as they still desired to commit themselves to their careers. My respondents' feelings were consistent with the research literature, which found that women felt guiltier than men when they could not fulfil their responsibility as a mother (Abdullah, 1985,

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

1987; Hochschild, 1997; Hyde et al., 1998; Grandey and Cordeiro, 2002; Frye and Breaugh, 2004; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Byron, 2005).

Being an informal home educator for children

Being an informal home educator for children is one responsibility that Malay parents want to take on from the time that their children are small, particularly to educate them in Islamic teachings and Malay culture (Abdullah, 1987, 1988; Osnan, 1989; Mamat, 1991; Embong, 2002). Similarly, my study found that all the married women emphasised the importance of this responsibility as they believed that education starts at home. This is in line with family discourse, which positions family as the first agednt of socialisation for children (Berns 2012). The respondents described home as the initial place where children's characters and behavioural patterns are shaped. They believed that parents are crucially responsible for being the first educators of their children, and particularly to introduce the values of the Malay *adat*, the basics of Islamic teachings and simple academic knowledge, which they viewed as informal education before their children went on to formal educational institutions. For instance, Basariah explained that she viewed herself as an educator at home and applied this responsibility by stating:

> *As a mother, one of my jobs is to educate my children at home. I taught my kids the simple basics of the Malay adat and Islamic teachings so they have been exposed to this information since they were young. I taught them to recite the al-Quran verses, daily doa [prayer] and to perform the solat [prayers]. I also introduced them to the alphabet, you know, like A, B, C as well as some simple reading and counting. It's like giving them an informal education before they enter formal school* (Basariah, aged 35; married).

However, the women stressed that their husbands were rarely involved in teaching their young children at home, a situation that is in line with Abdullah's study (1988). The mothers took their roles as home educators very seriously, as they assumed many mothers in Malay families always do. This indicates that the major responsibility for educating children at home still rest on the mother's shoulders. One of the women said:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I always see myself as a mother who has not only given birth to my children but also the one who educates them at home. I can see this always happens in Malay families. Like my husband, he did help me to educate our young children but mostly I was the one who did it* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

Most of the respondents further mentioned that they also had to participate in their children's school homework when they entered formal educational institutions. Although their children were already under the supervision of teachers at school, they as mothers still bore the responsibility as educators at home. Da's (2004) study of Shanghai men in Sydney found that fathers played a more important role in helping their children with schoolwork than mothers and this was admitted by the Shanghai women. In my study, however, only two respondents who had school-age children stated that their husbands were directly involved in their children's education at home, although even in these cases this had not been the case when their children were at pre-school age. This responsibility had shifted to the husbands as they were considered more capable of teaching academic subjects to their children. The sharing of responsibility by these couples indicates that there are contemporary young Malay fathers involved in teaching their children, although typically such a responsibility still falls on the shoulders of women. With the assistance of their husbands, the married female respondents believed that their burden was easing as they would only concentrate on imparting religious and cultural education to their children. Supporting this statement, Yusrina shared her view:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *My husband began to help me to look after my children's education when our eldest daughter started to go to formal school. He is the one who will sit down with my daughter while she is doing her schoolwork. I don't have to worry about her schoolwork. I think he wanted to teach my daughter due to his [her husband's] academic qualifications. I focus only on educating her in terms of religious and cultural values* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

A feeling of guilt was expressed by two married women who had school-age children. They stated that sometimes they could not fulfil their responsibility to take part in their children's learning and become educators at home because they were very tired. For instance, Rashidah clarified her feelings with this remark:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *My eldest daughter had her big exam, "Ujian Penilaian Sekolah Rendah (UPSR)"[159] this year, but she just finished the exam last October. Before she sat for the exam, I had allocated time to supervise her at home although sometimes I missed it due to my career responsibilities. I can't avoid feeling very disappointed if that happens* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

Attesting further to the considerable importance attached to parental involvement in children's education are the following discussions. Those women who had school-aged children expressed the belief that children's attainment in education is very competitive today. Although, theoretically, they engaged with their children's learning at home, most of them emphasised that sometimes they lacked sufficient free time to do so regularly due to their occupational responsibilities. These women's experiences are paralled in Abdullah's study (1987), who found that parents had less time to spend with their children once they started formal schooling. To cope with this conflict, all the women had transferred this responsibility to religious instructors, motivational experts, tuition centres and formal educational institutions. Some of them had also sent their children to extra classes such as English languaged, martial arts and music classes so that they could develop competence in extra languages and other skills. The same alternative strategies were also applied by Malay parents in urban areas in Embong's study (2002: 88). These alternative strategies were designed to ensure that their children were supervised by a qualified person. The following commenst by Emilia and Rashidah explain how they coped with the limited time they had to supervise their children's education at home:

> *I send my children to a tuition centre so that they can learn about things that their teacher might not teach them at school. I also don't have to worry because I know they will do their schoolwork there. It also eases me somewhat when I can't sit down together with them to look at their schoolwork* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

> *I sent my daughter to the tuition centre so that she can do revision and gain extra knowledge from school as I can't give 100% concentration. As education is challenging now, I also send my children to taekwondo and piano classes so that they can obtain other skills for their future* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

[159] This examination is compulsory for Standard Six pupils at all primary schools in Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In summary, all the female respondents stressed two main responsibilities as working mothers towards their children. Firstly, they shared a belief that childcare arrangements were an important responsibility that had to be settled as it was the determining factor enabling them to pursue their careers. Secondly, they took into account their responsibility as home educators for their children. The female respondents also commented on their responsibility as financial providers for their children.

Being a financial provider for children

The majority of female respondents addressed their willingness to share the responsibility of being a financial provider, especially to fulfil their children's material needs, even though the husband's role in family finances was considered to be that of the main provider. These married women talked about how they had allocated some money for buying food and clothing as well as paying insurance, healthcare and education fees (*e.g.* tuition, swimming classes, music classes and sports training) for their children.[160] All these married women said that by sharing the family's supporting and caring responsibilities with their husbands, they were best able to provide for the material needs of their children. They also added that they spent most of their salaries on their children's healthcare, insurance and education. They emphasised that providing these material things was a necessity and not a lifestyle choice as all parents were doing the same things for their children today. Attesting to the importance of their role as financial providers, one of the women said:

> *We [she and her husband] have already planned the best for our kids' future like other parents, especially in their education. As well as my husband's contribution to our children's needs, I also pay for some of them. My children are just 3 and 2 years old. From the beginning, I have sent them to a nursery because they can also learn there as the nursery provides an educational environment. I don't mind paying more for our children's education. I also paid for my children's insurance as a preparation if anything bad happened to me or my husband. I would also like to send them to tuition classes or other extra relevant classes for them when they grow up. I don't mind using*

[160] All these married women said that by sharing the family's supporting and caring responsibilities with their husbands, they were best able to provide for their children's material needs. They also added that they spent most of their salaries on their children's education, healthcare and insurance.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *my money to pay, especially for my children's education, because I hope they can have a good life in the future* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

In this way, the women were not only consistently providing for their children's emotional needs but also helping their husbands to provide for the family's material needs for the sake of their children. It is worth notting that the wives' economic contribution may have been just as significant as their husbands, even though the husbands were perceived as the primary breadwinners. The single respondents also mentioned their willingness to contribute financially, and their plans for their future children were similar to those of the married women.

Respondents' responsibilities as wives

When my respondents decided to marry, they already understood that, as a wife, they were obliged to carry out their responsibilities towards their husbands as portrayed through Islam and the Malay *adat.* As a wife, it was a prime necessity to assist their spouses in providing prosperous and better living conditions for their family. Articulating this responsibility, Mashitah said:

> *When I got married, I had to know not only about a wife's role and responsibilities but also my rights as a wife. I have to ensure that all my husband's needs are fulfilled even though I am busy with my own work. I also need to have good communication and to respect him. I will also help him to organise our family. A good wife is a wife who always fulfils all the responsibilities that have been noted in Islamic teachings and the Malay adat* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

According to Raja Mamat (1991) and Mahamood and Muhammad (1987), this perception still remains strong and significant among Malay women even though their status and position have changed nowadays. They have to possess certain qualities to be good and righteous wives. When they act according to Islamic teachings and please their husbands, they will gain

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

the blessings of Allah S.W.T.[161] This guideline explains why both the married and unmarried women in my study deliberately tried not to neglect their responsibilities towards their husbands, even though they had priorities outside the house.

Although the married respondents had received support from their husbands and the single respondents were expecting to receive support from their future husbands in fulfilling their family responsibilities, they could not avoid facing a dilemma as career wives. Some respondents compared themselves with their mothers, who were fully involved in their roles as wives. As their mothers attended to their husbands' needs without the distractions of having careers, they found themselves lacking the ability to fulfil their roles as wives as their mothers did. They felt a sense of guilt at being unable to fulfil their roles as wives perfectly although they mentioned that their husbands accepted it. For them, family and home were still their primary areas of responsibility and, as wives, they always tred very hard to fulfil these. Commenting on this, Arena said:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I can't manage all the responsibilities as a wife without my husband's help. Sometimes I feel frustrated seeing him [her husband] undertaking my responsibility when I'm busy. I know that I need his assistance but somehow I still have that feeling [frustration], especially when I remember how my mother met all my father's needs. I always say to myself that I will try to meet my husband's needs as long as I can do it and he [her husband] will help me only if I desperately need it* (Arena, aged 35; married).

To cope with the sense of guilt, these women tried to commit themselves at weekends to dedicate quality time with their husbands in order to balance their roles as career wives. Most of them chose to eat out, watch movies or take vacations with their husbands once or twice a month. It is interesting to note that most of the time they spent together also involved their children. With these family practices, they tried to maximise quality time not only with their spouses but also with their children in order to accommodate the time constraints, different workloads and working hours because their husbands also had their own careers. This is in line with Morgan (2011), who suggested that family practices can be used to have a good

[161] Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. stresses in one of his *Hadith*: "When a woman observes the five times daily prayers, fasts during the month of Ramadhan, preserves her chastity and obeys her husband, she may enter Paradise by any gate she wishes."

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

impact on family. Emilia and Rashidah explained how they spent time with their husbands, which eventually turned into a family outing.

> *Once or twice a month we spend time together but normally we bring our children as well. We go out and spend time like watching a movie at the cinema or eating out. We don't have much time to spend only for the two of us* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

> *I rarely spend time with just me and my husband, especially now we have kids. Most of our free time, we will spend together with our children because both of us are also busy with our careers. What we do is we will go for an outing or sometimes go for vacation in Malaysia at weekends or during school holidays* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

Respondents' responsibilities towards their extended family

Malay couples still sought support and companionship from their extended family, particularly their parents even though they lived apart (Embong, 2002). In this study, both married and single respondents shared a similar view that they would not neglect their relationships with either side of their extended families. They emphasised that the parent-child relationship must be continued because opinions, views, advice and blessings from both sets of parents are needed and may contribute to a successful marriage. They also wanted to maintain the relationship between their children and the grandparents. This view was put forward by Umaira:

> *I had a close relationship with both sets of parents. I think it's important because, if anything happened, I would go to them first. I still wanted them to be around me. I also wanted my extended family members to have a good relationship with my kids. I believe that their blessings, opinions and views have helped and guided me and my family* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

To look after the needs of their extended family was indeed a great obligation. But a greater obligation involved not only the financial support of parents (*see* Chapter Four) but also visiting and giving priority to their needs. This responsibility is always honoured by Malay children, including daughters. One method that my married respondents practised in order to maintain their relationships with both sets of extended families was by annual visits during the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Hari Raya feast (Eid Mubarak Eves)[162] and communicating via telephone (Embong, 2002; Ibrahim and Hassan, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that visiting extended family was an important responsibility for the respondents in my study. They used similar approaches to those described in previous studies in order to maintain their relationships with both sets of parents. Basariah and Shakila voiced the implementation of this responsibility as follows:

> *My parents bought a house near my residential area. I can say that almost every day I go to their house. But I will visit my mother-in-law during school holidays because they live far from me. If there is any function or ceremony, my family will go back to both sides to join the family gathering, especially during "Hari Raya Eid-Adha and Eid-Fitri." I also often phone them just to know how they are if I can't go home to see them* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *I have no parents because they have already died. But, once a month or once every two months we will go back to our home town [Shakila and her husband originated from the same state] to visit my parents-in-law and also my relatives. This has become a routine for my family and we don't go back only to celebrate the 'Hari Raya* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

As Umaira lived with her family, and Basariah and Emilia lived near their parents' residential areas, they often visited them whenever they were free. However, they only visited their parents-in-law fortnightly or monthly as they lived far from each other. Comparatively, those who lived far from both sets of parents would visit them weekly or monthly. Besides the weekly and monthly visits, all my respondents explained that the *Hari Raya* celebrations, family ceremonies and school holidays were also occasions for family gatherings. They also used the telephone to communicate with their parents. They not only mentioned keeping a good relationship with both sets of parents but also with all their extended families.

Conclusion

My study has highlighted four main family responsibilities: managing domestic chores, respondents' responsibilities towards their children, respondents' responsibilities as wives and

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

[162] These are Muslim religious festivals and are celebrated by all Muslims around the world.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

respondents' responsibilities towards their extended family. The Malay women considered it to be crucial that these were successfully managed. It is clear from the discussions above that these women still wanted to continue to fulfil their family responsibilities. Thus, they tried to plan as well as they could for "the second shift" (Hochschild, 1997) in order to achieve efficiency in balancing their family responsibilities with their career demands. In this chapter, I have identified the coping strategies adopted my respondents in balancing their family responsibilities and in dealing with the conflicts they faced.

The majority of the women sought assistance from other people as their coping strategies in dealing with their domestic chores. The division of labour at home in their families had undergone modifications in order to align with their position as career women. Four groups of people: such as the husband, live-in maids, part-time helpers and children, were identified as playing important roles in helping female respondents with the domestic chores and these chores were arrange according to rotation schedules. The discussions above illustrated that the participation of the majority of Malay men in managing domestic chores showed that a more egalitarian gender ideology had been accepted by both the men and women in this study. Furthermore, cooking for their family was an important responsibility that female respondents stressed they needed to fulfil themselves, compared to cleaning and laundry, in which they often had help from other people. Groery shopping was often undertaken as a family. To cope with their to cook for their families, particularly during working days, these women bought food from outside and did at weekends. Some of them obtained assistance from live-in maids but the maids just cooked for their children. According to all the female respondents, cleaning and laundry were the hardest domestic chores to be done by them alone, thus they emphasised that assistance from their husband, live-in maids, part-time helpers and children were far more than doing the cooking and grocery shopping.

The childcare responsibility was shared with grandparents, live-in maids, babysitters and nurseries. Although all the women seemed satisfied with the strategies they had adopted to manage childcare, they did express frustration at their inability to see some of their children's development. To reduce the sense of guilt, these women tried to spend as much time as they could with their children after working hours. In addition, they mentioned that they could not

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

make a consistent commitment as educators at home, particularly for their school-age children; thus, they sent their children to extra classes run by private organisations. The women also stressed their responsibility as family providers, particularly for their children's expenses.

Whether the women managed domestic chores and childcare arrangements alone, or delegated them to other people, both family responsibilities were still expected to be under women's supervision and this was ongoing, although family arrangements have changed.

Another important family responsibility was linked with their status as wives. Some of the women expressed their frustration at not fulfilling some of their wifely as well as like their mothers, who were full-time housewives. Finding time to spend together with their husbands, which then turned into family outings with their children, was the best strategy they could adopt to relieve this conflict. When they talked about their responsibilities towards their extended family, particularly parents, all the female respondents emphasised the importance of visiting relatives when time permitted. This was seen as an important obligation as most of them were living apart from their parents.

Overall, the coping strategies adopted by female respondents and their stories discussed above, give an indication of the variety of assistance that these women received when dealing with their family responsibilities. It can be said that the changes in the traditional patriarchal pattern of the division of labour at home, the family-friendly workplace policies and family practices all supported the women's coping strategies and paved the way for a new arrangements of family responsibility for female respondents and their spouses, but still within the mould of religious teachings and Malay culture.

The next chapter discusses how my respondents dealt with their work responsibilities and the coping strategies that they adopted. This chapter was designed to enable an understanding of how my female respondents managed their work demands while at the same time maintaining their family life.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chapter Seven

Work Responsibilities and Coping Strategies of Malay Women

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the family responsibilities and coping strategies adopted by my female respondents. The findings indicated that, in addition to the coping strategies used, support from other people was also crucial in helping the women to deal with demands at home and overcome the conflicts they faced. In this chapter, I discuss the experiences of Malay Muslim women in managing their work responsibilities and the strategies they used to cope with them and to reduce the conflicting demands of their workload. Firstly, I explain how these women viewed their work responsibilities. Subsequently, this chapter highlights the types of support they received, their family practices, and the role of the family-friendly workplace policies provided by the government of Malaysia and the different employers. This discussion includes the implications and effectiveness of these policies for male employees as well. It also highlights weaknesses in some current work place policies and makes recommendations for improving them. It is nevertheless important to note that the discussions on family-friendly workplace policies display the connections between women and their family responsibilities because we cannot exclude the implications of workplace policies for family responsibilities. The final part of this chapter discusses the personal preferences of the female respondents for specific coping strategies which they believed also assisted them in dealing with their work responsibilities and workload demands.

Respondents' views on their work responsibilities

When my female respondents talked about their careers, they saw themselves as capable of managing their work responsibilities while simultaneously taking care of their families. In general, all the respondents, married or single, described their work responsibilities neither too easy nor too hard or difficult to fulfil. In doing so, they stated that they would be able to

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

complete their work tasks without feeling much pressure. The following remarks illustrate this point:

> *So far, I would say what I still can find a balance between my work responsibilities and my family responsibilities. I can say my work responsibilities are not too easy but they're also not too hard* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

> *Sometimes I do feel it's quite hard to cope with the workload demands, but so far I think it's OK. I can still manage my work responsibilities even though I'm married* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

My findings show that these women's positive acceptance of their work responsibilities and workload demands was greatly influenced by the support they received from spouses, colleagues, the family-friendly policies of the Malaysian government and organisations, as well as the various coping strategies they chose to adopt.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Support from spouses

Several studies have shown that dual-career couples acknowledge the importance of social support or emotional sustenance within the family, particularly the role of spouses, in order to avoid conflict between work and family roles. These studies revealed that emotional support from husbands would enhance marital well-being as well as the quality of family and working life amongst dual-career couples (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1983; Harun, 1993; Adam *et al.*, 1996; Lindsey, 1997; Baker, 2001; Ruderman *et al.*, 2002; Xu and Lai, 2002; Ghazali, 2002; Aryee *et al.*, 2005; Ezzedeen and Ritchey, 2008; Bures *et al.*, 2011). In my study, support from spouses was cited as very important not only in assisting the female respondents to remain in their careers but also to help them in balancing their work responsibilities. This point was raised by all the female respondents, regardless of their status. As they constructed their identities as Malay Muslim wives, they emphasised the concept of obedience to their husbands. This obedience was indeed important in order to maintain their status as career women. It must be understood in the context of Islamic teaching and the Malay *adat* when they mentioned the importance of gaining their husband's permission to pursue their career.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

As discussed in Chapter Two, a Muslim wife is under her husband's authority and she needs to obey him within the limits of permissibility, fairness and justice. In doing so, a wife believes that in being obedient, she will be granted *pahala* and *jannah*[163] (heaven) in the hereafter by Allah S.W.T. The importance of a husband's permission was clearly visible in my interviews when the women explained their husbands' responses pertaining to their positions as career women. This viewpoint was demonstrated by remarks made by three married respondents:

> *He never asked me to stop my career. For example, when I had to pursue my studies to PhD level because it was a requirement for my career, he did not stop me. He supported me and gave his permission and blessing. It's important to get a blessing from him so I can continue my career development and at the same time I don't want to be a disrespectful wife. He also doesn't mind if my qualification is higher than his as long as I know my position and my responsibilities towards family and do nothing that goes against our beliefs* (Arena, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I am very thankful to Allah S.W.T because my husband really supports me and helps me a lot both in my career and my life as a mother and wife. His permission and blessing are really important and enough for me in whatever I do in my career. It is not only my religion but also the Malay adat that always teaches me to be a Muslim wife, thus I need to ask for his permission* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *He gave his permission when I said I wanted to work although he can afford to meet the financial needs of our family only with his salary. I think his permission shows that he supports me as a career wife* (Maria, aged 27; married).

To add further emphasis to this point, two married respondents whose husbands did not assist them in managing the domestic chores mentioned that their husbands' blessing and permission were enough without other, more practical, support in continuing their career:

> *He gave his permission and encouraged me to keep going with my career. I'm already happy with this [the permission]*

[163] The concepts of *pahala* and *jannah* have also been discussed in previous chapters.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *because if he hadn't given his permission, I wouldn't have his blessing and therefore, I wouldn't be here. This is important and I don't mind that he [her husband] doesn't help me with household chores* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

> *He rarely helps me with the household tasks, and I think I can still accept it. For me, his permission and support are more important because I need them to continue with my career* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

These statements from Halimah and Rashidah resonated with a statement from single female respondent, Naimah, who said:

> *If my future husband is reluctant to help me with the domestic chores, it's not really a big problem for me. What I really hope is that he will give his support through his permission by allowing me to continue with my career. I think if he helps me with the domestic chores but I don't get his permission to continue my career, this will affect my aim to be a career woman* (Naimah, aged 26; single female).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

From the comments above, it can be seen that none of the women had faced objections from their husbands or partners (*e.g.* fiancéa or boyfriends) when continuing with their careers. It can be seen that they received much emotional, physical and spiritual support from their husbands at all stages of their careers, even though most of them had obtained higher qualifications than their husbands. In fact, some of the husbands supported their wives by helping them with the family responsibilities (*see* Chapter Six). This support has given these women the strength to manage and to ease the burden of work responsibilities. Tolerance from their husbands was apparent when decisions were made regarding support for career development. This was evident when they expressed their appreciation to their husbands for showing an understanding and respect, and for giving them permission to continue with their careers.

In addition, all the husbands and single male respondents also talked about their support in ensuring that their wives could pursue their careers after they were married. According to these men, living with wives who are successful career women has never been a factor that caused dissension between them. From the interview data, their willingness to support their

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

successful career wives is clear. In fact, they emphasised that, although they were positioned as the head of households, they still needed to tolerate, understand and compromise and not to be dictatorial or condescending to their wives, in accordance with the teachings of the Islamic religion and Malay *adat.* They also described their support as complementary between them because they gave it not only in order to accomplish their wives' goals in their careers but also because their wives could help them to lessen the family's financial burden (*see also* Chapter 4). Two husbands explained it this way:

> *I never had any problem in accepting my wife as a career woman. I am behind her success. As a husband, I don't mind being tolerant about what my wife wanted to do as long as anything she does is still in line with our religion and can be accepted by Malay society. So, when she wanted to continue her career after we got married, I gave my permission because she also helps me with the finances* (Basir, aged 32; Basariah's husband).

> *I know that I also depend on her to help with the family finances, thus I didn't mind seeing her working after we were married. So I think that shows I have given permission for her to continue her career. For me, I will support her in whatever she does because I know she won't do anything that is against our religion or culture* (Malik, aged 37; Mashitah's husband).

05-4506832 Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah ptbupsi

In relation to this matter, three husbands whose wives were pursuing their PhD studies abroad at the time of the interviews shared different stories about supporting their career wives. Two of them, Shahrum and Uzair, emphasised the sacrifices they had made as they put their own careers in Malaysia on hold to accompany their wives abroad. Their wives were pursuing their studies at PhD level to fulfil their job requirements. Several studies on family migration have found that women generally sacrifice their careers and personal needs in order to follow their husbands' future path, especially if the women's careers contribute less to the family income. In these studies, husbands had more say when it came to a major family decision about migration and wives would often become the followers (Spitze, 1984; Cooke, 2001; Wei, 2011). In contrast, Shahrum and Uzair had good careers and had obtained higher educational qualifications in Malaysia, similar to those of their wives, but they mentioned their decisions to go abroad because they knew that it was their responsibility to support their wives. The attitudes shown by Sharum and Uzair were different from those observed by Pleck (1977: 422-

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

423), who argued that "in a more recent pattern, husbands can accept their wives' employment as long as it does not come too close to, or worse surpass, their own in prestige, earnings, or psychological commitment." In emphasising this point, Shahrum and Uzair contended:

> *I like my wife to be a career woman and I will support her. We have known each other since we studied at university and we also already knew that both of us had our own aims for our careers. When she got an offer to study abroad, I supported her and was willing to quit my career in Malaysia. It's ok for me because I can't let her go alone with my children for four years. I'd rather leave my job there [Malaysia] to be with my family. When we come back for good, I will apply for a new job* (Shahrum, aged 40; Shakila's husband).
>
> *When I met her [his wife], she already had her own career and I think it's unfair for me to ask her to quit her job. In fact, I think when she works, she can also help me in terms of our family finances. I don't mind following her here [abroad] and quitting my own career because as a husband I need to be with her and my children. It's also a sacrifice for my family. I don't want her to miss this opportunity [studying abroad]. It's only four years and after she finishes, we'll go back to Malaysia. I will then find a job there* (Uzair, aged 30; Umaira's husband).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

These statements from Shahrum and Uzair showed that their wives' careers carried weight in the decision they had made because going abroad was a good opportunity for enhancing their wives' careers. As husbands, quitting their jobs in Malaysia enabled them to live together with their wives and children. This situation also indicates that the patriarchal system which places men as heads of household in Malay society, as explained in Chapter Two, was clearly implemented by both husbands. For instance, by following their wives to Britain, they were still bonded and would always be with their families.

Shahrum and Uzair's experiences contrasted with Mikael's (Maria's husband) story. He had to deal with separation from his wife (Maria) because of his career commitments as a businessman in Malaysia. According to him, not following his wife abroad does not mean he is unsupportive of her career. He said that giving his permission to let his wife go to Britain alone and to live apart from her at this time was the best decision for both of them to support each other, as they had different career goals. He added that having no children was also a

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
bonus in their situation as it allowed them to reach their goals without added responsibility. Discussing this matter, he said:

> *I will always support her [his wife] because her career is her passion even though we live apart. We decided that this is the best way to commit to our career for now because we still don't have children* (Mikael, aged 31; Maria's husband).

To cope with the situation, he intended to visit Maria (his wife), or she would return to Malaysia whenever the situation permitted. It was obvious that it would be difficult for this couple to have a long-distance relationship as both of them had their own careers, compared with other couples who lived together, but surprisingly both of them were optimistic and happy with their decision. Mikael's statement was supported by his wife, and she expressed her feelings in this way:

> *Although my husband and I live apart from each other, he still supports me. I can feel it's quite tough [living separately] but so far we can manage it well. We always find time to visit each other* (Maria, aged 27; married).

05-4506832 Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah ptbupsi

In summary, support that rendered by spouses to their wives was important for the married female respondents in this study who needed to maintain a position in both their family life and career life. At the same time the husbands tried to deal with their family responsibilities as the head of the household. This was clearly evident from the discussion about a husband's permission and husband's responsibility as a protector of the family in every possible way and situation.

Supportive colleagues

In addition to support from spouses, supportive colleagues were also cited as factors that assisted the respondents in coping with the demands of work responsibilities. With regard to this, they mentioned being accepted as female employees without gender discrimination as a reason why they were interested to work at their universities. As two of the female respondents said:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *Although there are more female lecturers than male lecturers in my university, we have good relationships. I have no problem with any gender discrimination at all. I can work and share some work with them. This helps me to reduce my work burden* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

> *I like to be here [in her workplace] because I've been accepted very well as a female lecturer. I don't experience any gender bias here. All my female and male friends can work together to enhance our department. This attitude can also ease my work responsibilities. So, this situation creates a positive vibe for me* (Arena, aged 35; married).

Elaborating on this matter, the respondents stated that their presence as female employees was well accepted by their male counterparts, although they outnumbered male academics in their workplace. The non-discriminatory attitudes towards female employees showed that cooperation was well established among employees; thus, it helped both female and male employees to enhance the organisation's development. It could be observed that the principle of gender equality in their workplace was being implemented in the relationships among employees regardless of gender. This positive relationship not only created a happy working environment but also decreased the workloads of the female respondents.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Government and organisational family-friendly workplace policies and their effectiveness in improving Malay dual-career women' lives

The term "family-friendly policy" was not generally known to the respondents in this study; in fact, they indicated that they had never heard it, although it has been commonly used in academic research (*see* Subramanian and Selvaratnam, 2010; Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010; Ahmad 2007) and policy debates in Malaysia.[164] However, it was evident from the interview data that the respondents were aware of the existence of family-friendly workplace policies, and this could be seen when they listed many useful policies introduced by the Malaysian government and organisations. They emphasised that the available policies played an

[164] For example, a speech by the Minister in the Chief Minister's Department, Datin Fatimah Abdullah, noted the role of family-friendly policies enabling the Malaysian population to build harmonious families (n.d). Available at http://www.theborneopost.com/2011/05/24/national-family-policy-will-be-family-friendly%C2%AD-%E2%80%94-fatimah/ [Accessed 20 June 2012].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

important role in supporting married employees to simultaneously balance their work and family responsibilities. They said:

> *Flexible working hours, annual leave and providing nurseries for mothers who work were "things" that I knew had been associated with me and implemented for me as a female employee. I don't know if all these can be called family-friendly policies, but it did help me in organising my life* and my family. *These policies also helped me to remain as a career woman* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

> *I know my government and my university [her workplace] provide a few provisions which I have found to be good for female employees, especially for married women. For example, annual leave, paternity and maternity leave, emergency leave, flexible working hours and more entitlements. Although I'm still single, I do think that the policies will help me to manage my dual roles when I marry soon. I have no idea about the policy [family-friendly policy] and I don't actually think these policies are known as family-friendly policy* (Naimah, aged 26: female single).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Below I divide the family-friendly workplace policies that will be discussed into two main categories: leave entitlements and work arrangements.

Leave entitlements

During the last few decades, many studies carried out by researchers from countries around the world, including Malaysia, have found two major changes in work/family balance. These are believed to be interconnected with one another and both changes are closely related to women. The first is the growing number of women participating in the paid labour force, and the second, is a decline in the birth-rate, especially amongst professional women. In my study, all the female respondents made it clear that they desired a specific number of children. Ideally, they desired between three and six, after considering various factors that affected their decisions (*see* Chapters Two and Five). Thus, maternity and paternity leaves were amongst the most popular policies for managing issues pertaining to children highlighted by the respondents.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

A study by Bernasek and Gallaway (1997) found that not all female employees in Malaysia were entitled to maternity leave. According to their study, women with higher education and income, full-time employees, professionals and women in clerical occupations were more likely to have maternity leave than women who worked in manufacturing and service occupations with low levels of education and income. The female respondents in my study were entitled to maternity leave as a right of female employees due to their educational qualifications and type of occupation, as stated under Federal Public Service[165] (*see* Chapter Two). As the respondents in this study were dual-career couples, these policies were beneficial not only to the female respondents but also to their spouses in various ways according to the types of leave entitlement offered by the government or employer. Two married women emphasised that the availability of maternity leave had a significant effect on their decision about the number of children they desired. They clearly stated:

> *Because I'm entitled to maternity leave, I find it helps me to fulfil my dreams to have more than two children. I mean, when I'm pregnant and have to give birth to my baby, this policy gives me the option to spend time with my newborn and also to recover. In fact, with the full salary, I don't have to worry about losing money to pay my monthly expenses. For me, with the rules stated in this policy, I can say that it has played a major role in achieving the target of the number of children my husband and I desired and I can also continue with my career* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *For me, the three months of maternity leave is enough to help me to fulfil my family plan to have at least five children. I don't have to worry because I can go back to work after I finish my days of confinement. If I'm not mistaken, this policy also allows maternity leave with full payment only for five children throughout my service, so conisder five children is enough for me* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

Basariah and Mashitah emphasised that this policy not only enabled them to fulfil their desire to have more than two children by allowing them maternity leave with full salary for a maximum of five births during their service, but in addition they did not have to worry about

[165]In this study, my respondents were employed under the regulatory bodies whose service rules are attached under the service circular provided by the Public Service Department of Malaysia as well as their own organisational policies. Therefore, I will not discuss the service circular for the private sector in Malaysia as they also have their own policies and rules.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

leaving their career. Without such a policy, it would be impossible to afford so many children, as insufficient leave would not allow proper family time or rest during the post-natal period. In fact, they said that this policy encourageds them to have more children without leaving their careers. Their statements were in line with Subramaniam and Selvaratnam's (2010: 49) study, which found that more than 56% of their female respondents agreed that they were satisfied with the leave entitlements offered by their organisations and employers.

Meanwhile, Mashitah further pointed out:

> *In fact, I know my government aims to have a population of 70 million. So implementing this policy might help to achieve the target (*Mashitah, aged 37; married).

Mashitah's statements reflect how maternity leave policy provides support for female employees. This policy had a positive impact on her work, family and status as a Malaysian citizen, in helping to boost the government of Malaysia's intention to achieve its goal of a population of 70 million by the year 2020, as stated in the New Population Policy (*see* Chapters Two and Five) without neglecting her aim to continiue as a career woman. This highlights that the government should be willing to implement the best possible support for its married female employees since the introduction of maternity leave was beneficial to the government, employers and employees.

Based on the reported views of some of my female respondents, maternity leave was also seen to be important in allowing working mothers to allocate their time to the care of their newborns; an observation that is similar to Karim's (1990) statement. According to these women, they enjoyed precious time with their new-borns by engaging in various activities, for example, breastfeeding and full-time caretaking of the baby as they still need more attention during the confinement period. They emphasised that the time they were able to take off work during their maternity leave enabled them to spend more quality time with their babies, particularly during the first few months, before they returned to work. They believed that this had a positive impact on their babies' early childhood development. The following quotes captured the depth of two married women's feelings about this:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I have used maternity leave to focus on my babies as much as possible. It gave me relief to spend time with my new born. I think this period was important as it was the initial bonding period between me and my baby as I know that I will continue my career once the confinement period ends* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *For me, I gave full attention to the baby's development during maternity leave every time I had a new born. That's the time that I focused on my baby without thinking about my work. I can feel that the situation is different in handling my small baby after I o back to work because I have to focus on both responsibilities. So, it's important to have this policy for working women like me as I am entitled to have a few months to spend the whole days and every hour with my baby* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

In the interviews, some female respondents emphasised that, although the transition back to work was not easy for them, they clearly found that they had enough time to settle into a life as mothers and professional women during the early months with their new-borns. When discussing this issue, although they expressed anxiety, worry and upset about leaving their new born with other people[166], and felt that the babynot get enough attention when they resumed work, they agreed that three months was sufficient maternity leave before returning to work. For instance, Rashidah said:

> *I think the duration of the break given (three months) was suitable to spend time with my newborn. I can still managed to continue taking care of them after this period has ended* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

This point was also supported by Shakila, who expressed her feelings about having long maternity leave as she found that she was used to being outside the home environment:

> *Oh! Three months is enough for me as I already feel healthier and have recovered from the pain during that period. I would feel bored if it was too long because I'm not the type of person who can stay the whole day at home* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

[166] In my study, other people referred to baby sitters, nursery runners, mothers and maids (*see* Chapter 6).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

It is interesting to note that none of these women mentioned needing more maternity leave beyond the three-month entitlement as they stressed that the period that had been given was already enough. This might also explain why none of them chose to be full-time housewives and decided to continue their career after having children (*see* Chapter 6). Their experience contrast with that described by Kaur (2004, cited in Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010), who found that many women in Malaysia had stopped working because they wanted to care for their small children as well as to spend more time with their families. In relation to this point, the childcare agreements[167] (*see also* Chapter 6) were cited as playing a crucial role in influencing women's views about the period of maternity leave. In addition, it was also clearly stated that they had no choice as they needed to continue work due to the reasons they gave in Chapter Four. To illustrate this, two married respondents shared their views in this way:

> *I remember I felt very worried about leaving my baby at the nursery as he was still small when I wanted to go back to work after the confinement period ended. I have to go to work and can't stay at home. However, with the good nursery I chose, I still believe three months maternity leave is enough* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *I was so sad to leave her [her daughter] when I knew my maternity leave was ended. But, three months is enough as I gave my full attention to her during the maternity leave. I also need to go to work as work is also important to me and my family. Having a good babysitter, who takes good care of my baby helps me a lot to remain in my career (*Mashitah, aged 37; married).

As the idea of parenthood is a sharing of responsibility between mother and father, many countries, including Malaysia have provided a parental leave scheme to enable working couples to fulfil their parenthood responsibilities together (Karim, 1992; Taskula, 2000; Omar, 2003; Pylkkanen and Smith, 2004; Adema and Whiteford, 2008; Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010; *see also* Chapter Two). Both male and female respondents emphasised that paternity leave has enabled husbands to share some time off work during their wives' maternity leave in order to meet their newborns' needs and also to allow them to recover from

[167] Childcare arrangements were discussed in Chapter 5 but I will also discuss this tpoic and link it with the family-friendly policies in detail later on in this chapter.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

their labour at the same time. Observing the importance of this, two married women emphasised:

> *Having him together with me for the first seven days was much needed and appreciated as I was still weak at that time* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *I remember, I felt sensitive, you know, with the baby crying and my body was tired. I thanked him when he was around at that time, and therefore, I felt a big relief (*Yusrina, aged 37; married).

Elaborating on this matter, the respondents made it clear that their husbands' support was essential as it helped to relieve their emotional needs during the confinement period. The importance of paternity leave policy for wives was clearly seen when they expressed their gratitude to their husbands for contributing several days to care-giving to caring for their babies during the paternity leave. The wives confided that they desired this emotional support most when they were physically drained, particularly for the few days immediately after child birth. With the parental leave policy, the timely involvement of their husbands helped to ease day-to-day situations and allowed them to fulfil their roles as mothers in the family.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

This perspective was supported by two husbands, who commented:

> *I not only helped and supported her [my wife] during my paternity leave but I was involved in the whole process of bringing up our children. However, this policy was important for me because I could give her emotional support during her early days of confinement as she has been through a hard time while delivering our baby* (Basir, aged 32; Basariah's husband).

> *I always support her in whatever she [his wife] does. Therefore, paternity leave is also one of the ways I support her as a husband and the support is not only emotional but also physical* (Yasir, aged 35; Yusrina's husband).

These statements by Basir and Yasir how that the paternity leave policy was not only helpful but it could also create cooperation and decrease the role sharing between husband and wife. These two husbands found that paternity leave was a medium through which they were able to

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

support their wives after the exhausting process of labour and child birth. In addition, spending time together for a few days and taking care of their newborn, which was made possible by their leave entitlements, enhanced the degree of acceptance and mutual support between husband and wife.

In relation to this, two married women whose husbands hardly ever helped with domestic chores (*see* Chapter 6), mentioned that their husbands had participated in taking care of their babies during paternity leave. This shows that the paternity leave policy is important for these husbands to play their role as a care giver to their wives and children, or at least to their new-born. Rashidah and Halimah explained this in the following way:

> *He [her husband] rarely helped me in doing the household chores. However, he never missed helping me during the confinement period as he was on paternity leave* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

> *Even though my husband was always busy, he took paternity leave to help me every time we had a new-born (*Halimah, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In addition to the discussion above, it is evident that the paternity leave policy demonstrates that the Malaysian government is greatly involved in enhancing role-sharing practice among dual-career couples and in supporting the father's role as caregiver to his new-born children.

It is also interesting to note from the data that some married female respondents emphasised that although they obtained assistance from family members, particularly their mothers, during the confinement period, the parental leave policy has given them (husbands and wives) an opportunity to participate in caring for their newborn infant independently. These women stressed that they wanted to fulfil their responsibilities as parents with their husbands as much as possible and had decided to be less dependent on other people, including their relatives. Actually, this action helps them to feel that they are sufficiently involved in their newborn's life as this policy provides a means for spending quality and effective time with their babies. Two married wives shared their stories and stated it in this way:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *During my confinement period, for the first seven days, he [her husband] was at home the whole time helping me to take care of our newborn infant because he was on paternity leave. My mother and mother-in-law also helped me during the confinement period. I think this policy still gives my husband and me a chance to take care of our newborn on our own. I think the implementation of maternity and paternity leave for working parents like us is highly recommended because we can spend time together to take care of our baby* (Arena, aged 35; married).

> *My mother or my mother-in-law normally came to our house every time we had a new baby. However, my husband still helped me for a couple of days because he was provided with paternity leave from his company. We were still fully involved during that time because we didn't want to be too dependent on our mothers. Actually it was good because we spent time together during that time* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

Other types of leave entitlement that were relevant to the respondents were paid and unpaid leave. All the respondents were aware of their entitlemets when they highlighted that both these forms of leave are important to help them cope with their workload and family demands. The female respondents stated that they were entitled to study leave with allowances and paid leave for pursuing their post-graduate studies in order to fulfil the career requirements as a lecturer.

In Malaysia, every public university has a policy of supporting their academic staff to further their studies at post-graduate level. The duration of study leave is a maximum of four years for a doctoral programme and two years for a master's course. This leave is widely available and it is fairly applied to all academic staff, regardless of gender as long as they meet the criteria outlined by their organisations. All my married female respondents at the time of the interviews were furthering their studies at PhD level, except for two: one was still in the process of applying for PhD studies, and the other had already completed her PhD, but only one of my single respondents was studying, at PhD level (*see* Chapter 4).

During the interviews with the female respondents, many also talked about the study leave policy and how it had eased their burden because they were exempted from shouldering work responsibilities in conjunction with their lives as students. This policy supports them in

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

pursuing their professional development, while not neglecting the need to manage their family. However, these women mentioned that they were still greatly concerned about their family responsibilities and always tried to fulfil their roles as mothers and wives no matter how busy they were, including when they were on study leave. With regard to this point, they emphasised that the study leave policy had only helped them to ease the burden of their work responsibilities but had not been very much help with their family responsibilities. Arena and Mashitah shared their views in this way:

> *I feel relieved because, when I'm on study leave, it gives me a space to focus only on my studies and my family. However, not working doesn't mean I have to stop taking care of my family and meeting domestic responsibilities. It just means that I'm not tied down with work responsibilities. I'm still doing all the necessary chores as a mother and a wife* (Arena, aged 35; married).

> *My responsibilities as a mother and a wife are still continuing although I'm now doing my PhD. I still have to do the domestic chores and take care of my children. When my university provided study leave for me, it eased my burden. I don't have to focus on my work responsibilities for a few years while furthering my studies. I do feel this policy helps me to manage my responsibilities as a student as well as a mother and a wife* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In relation to the discussion above, it was interesting to note that two of my respondents tended to make comparisons between their own situations and those of their male counterparts, who were also entitled to study leave. Based on their observations, they predicted that, unlike themselves, their male colleagues were not greatly burdened by domestic responsibilities because their wives managed these. Mashitah and Basariah used these words to explain:

> *I think my male colleagues who are also on study leave don't have to worry as much as me because I believe their wives do those things [domestic chores]* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

> *I can see that my situation is different from that of my male friends who are also on study leave. They don't have to think so much*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

about the domestic chores or take care of the children because I know their wives solved these issues (Basariah, aged 32: married).

In noting the importance of study leaves policy to the female respondents, two husbands who had accompanied their wives to study in the UK expressed their frustration about the implementation of the paid and unpaid leave policies of their former employers. As they were private-sector employees, they had different views of paid and unpaid leave policy since they were not entitled to the benefits of the policy because their employers did not provide it. In fact, they had had to quit their jobs to accompany their wives, even though they had good careers and educational qualifications in Malaysia.

I quit my work when I decided to follow her [his wife] here [York, UK]. I had no choice because my employer doesn't have the paid and unpaid leave policy. Yeah! It was because I work in the private sector (Sharum, aged 40; Shakila's husband).

As I work in the private sector, my employer doesn't have this policy [paid and unpaid leave]. I left my job in Malaysia so that I could follow my wife here [York, UK] (Uzair, aged 30; Umaira's husband).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

These husbands' lack of entitlement to leave had affected their role as the heads of their households and their responsibility as breadwinners for their families. It is disappointing to see that neither of these husbands who supported their wives' careers was able to obtain any advantage from the unpaid leave policy. These husbands highlighted issues regarding economic matters when they left their jobs. To cope with the financial challenges of being jobless in the UK, they had to find jobs to survive because they could afford to remain jobless and depend only on their wives' scholarships and salaries to meet the demands of their family finances. The amount would not have been enough because they had property to be paid for in their own country and also the cost of living in the UK was high. Although they told me that they had not been able to get jobs that matched their qualifications, they expressed their relief because at least they had some kind of job in the UK and were able to contribute to supporting their family finances. Sharum and Uzair further explained this issue in this way:

When I arrived here, I found a job. Although it didn't match my qualifications, I don't mind because I have to make sure the

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *family finances are enough to pay for what we have in Malaysia and also to survive here. I can't depend only on my wife's scholarship to support my family expenditure as we also have three children together with us, here. I still need to be a breadwinner for my family as I think all husbands are supposed to act in this way* (Sharum, aged 40; Shakila's husband).

> *Although my wife was sponsored by our government [Malaysia], I still decided to work here so that I can supplement our family finances while we stay here. The cost of living here [York] is also quite expensive. So, I feel that the financial obligations of my family are my responsibility as head of the household* (Uzair, aged 30; Umaira's husband).

In addition to the discussion above, both husbands said that, with all the commitments they had to fulfil, they felt it was unfair because they were supporting their wives' careers, just like other husbands who are entitled to the benefits of the leave policy.[168] They stated that the challenges they faced were not only in the UK but also once they went back to Malaysia after their wives had finished their studies because they had to gamble on finding a new job. Looking at their challenges during the interviews, they came up with recommendations to overcome the weaknesses of this policy, particularly in private organisations. They hoped that the government of Malaysia would take action regarding these issues so that any private-sector organisation that still does not have the unpaid leave policy will provide it for their employees. They considered that it was important for private-sector employees to be entitled to this policy as well, particularly those whose wives are academics, so that these husbands can support their wives without sacrificing their jobs:

> *I just hope that this policy will change in the future, especially for those who have wives as academics who need to further their studies abroad. I feel a bit frustrated and feel like it's "not fair" because I also support my wife's career like husbands who are entitled to the policy. I will also struggle to find a new job when I go back to Malaysia* (Sharum, aged 40; Shakila's husband).

[168] Husbands who work for government organisations but not as academics can apply for unpaid leave to accompany their wives abroad as they are also not entitled to paid leave, similar to Uzair's and Shahrum's situations. However, the difference between them and these tow husbands is that they do not have to quit their jobs because they can return to them once they come back to Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I hope the private sector can emulate this policy as the government sector did because it will help any husbands who have to follow their wives to study abroad, like me. I feel dissatisfied because this policy doesn't apply to the whole private sector, although my role as a husband to support my wife's career is similar to that of other husbands who are entitled to this policy. Those husbands got unpaid leave and will be able to continue their work when they go back to Malaysia, but this will not happen to me as I have to find a new job* (Uzair, aged 30; Umaira's husband).

Another example of leave entitlement that has been cited as being very important for dealing with the challenges faced by female respondents was emergency leave policy. This policy helped the majority of female respondents when they had to deal with emergency situations, which were unpredictable and could happen at any time. Two respondents shared their stories of how the emergency leave policy helped them to settle emergency situation that happened to their children during their time in the workplace. Rashidah recalled an experience when her eldest son had ben admitted to hospital because of high fever and her husband could not secure leave from work at that time:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I took emergency leave immediately when the doctor said he [her son] needed to be hospitalised. This policy was very helpful at that time and I didn't have to wait long to get permission from my boss* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

Like Rashidah, Yusrina shared her story in this way:

> *I remember when my baby sitter phoned me because my daughter would not stop crying and I was at the office at the time. As my work place was nearer that my husband's workplace to my baby sitter's home, I managed to secure emergency leave* (Yursrina, aged 37; married).

This emergency leave was effective in managing and resolving unexpected situations, which were normally related to their children and family members, because it does not take long to be approved. This also shows that the mother is still the main person who is expected to take care of the children and a father only takes over in situations of dire need. This situation often

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

occurs in Malay families because Malay men think that these responsibilities are meant to be women's business (Mahamood and Muhammad, 1987).

The female respondents were also eligible for annual leave, which they described as used for pretty much the same purposes as the weekends and public holidays which are provided under the work arrangements. This policy offered them a break from their work responsibilities and this had a positive effect on their productivity. Attesting to the advantage of this policy, two female respondents said:

> *I always use my annual leave to go somewhere with my family and the journey will take a few days. It's a normal thing I always do to spend time with my family members or friends. It gives me a space to not think about my work responsibilities. I think it's good for me to take a break for a while because when I return to my office, I can come up with a new feeling and then I can continue doing my work* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

> *As my parents and my parents-in-law are living apart from us [she and her husband], we always use this holiday to go back to our home town to visit them. Sometimes, we also attend some family gathering that occurrs during the holidays. Normally, my husband and I will plan to apply for longer leave during the school holidays. So, we will plan our holiday properly because this is also a time for us to socialise. I need this break for a while because I can't only focus on my work. Usually when I return from the holidays, I continue to focus on my work responsibilities* (Arena, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun ptbupsi

Another married woman talked about how the annual leave linked up with her work schedule and helped her to manage her family holidays:

> *There is also a term-break for university students, and during that time I will usually not be so busy. During that term-break and at the same time if I am free from doing any research or writing journal articles, I always plan a holiday trip with my family. It's much easier when that time is also a school holiday, like now [the time that this interview was carried out]* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The interview data reveals that annual leave can be taken for whatever reason the employee wishes and needs. The majority of my respondents applied the annual leave to vacations, personal matters, rest and relaxation. Compared to weekends and public holidays, this leave entitlement normally provides a longer holiday, which enables them to spend more time with their children and family members.

Two respondents spoke excitedly about how they used the opportunity of annual leave to indulge themselves by going to spa, massaged and facial treatment centres. They considered this to be self-rewarding and pampering after the strain of handling their dual roles and numerous responsibilities. These women had the option of spending time on themselves as they were educated, financially secure and independent, a vast difference from traditional Malay women. The opportunity and freedom to be self-reliant has influenced them positively and has contributed to good management of work and great satisfaction for career women:

> *Sometimes I use this holiday to go to a massaged or facial centre. That's the best way of relaxing my body after busy days and fulfilling all my responsibilities. I don't mind paying for this treatment because I think it's good for me. Sometimes, when I feel tired and need time to relax, this is the best option (laughs)* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

> *Besides using my annual leave for my family and relatives, I also use this opportunity to go to a spa or massaged centre. I just want to relax with these treatments. I consider this activity as "taking time break only for myself" (laughs). I will do it once in a while after busy days at home and in the office. Like last week, I went there [spa centre] (laughs)* (Rashidah, 37; married).

In summary, the leave entitlement policy offers respondents many ways to facilitate their work and family issues. Most of the policies helped them to develop their careers together with their family life.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Work arrangements[169]

Work arrangements such as flexible working hours and part-time jobs have provided opportunities for working women to balance work and family responsibilities and can also be applied in helping women to reduce work/family conflict (Hill *et al.*, 2004; Cinamon, 2006; Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010; Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010; Frederico Gil Sander, 2012). In Malaysia, based on the Women's Summits of 2007 and 2008, the government started to implement flexible working arrangements, particularly within governmental organisations, as a strategy to encourage more women to become involved in the paid labour force (Subramaniam and Selvaratnam, 2010).

In this study, the respondents emphasised that flexible working hours and a five-day working week were amongst the important policies offered under the work arrangement benefits available to them. As discussed in Chapter Four, the flexible working hours offered to academic staff were one of the main factors influencing the female respondentsin their choice to become academics rather than entering other professional occupations. When they talked about this policy, many gave consistent and similar reasons for the importance of flexible hours in helping them to organise their lives. According to these women, flexi-time helped them to escape from "time constraints" under which they struggled with their double roles. They mentioned that flexible working hours allowed them to have more freedom and ability to adjust their schedule during weekdays than women who work in fixed-hour[170] jobs because they did not have to rush to enter the "punch card."[171] In contrast, they could set their own working hours as long as the total was eight hours a day.

---

[169] I chose to use the term "work arrangements" when discussing this topic because I found that the policies mentioned by my respondents were similar to the policies under this category that were noted in a study conducted by Ahmad (2007).

[170] When I asked them what they understood by fixed hours, all my respondents referred to fixed hours as working hours that stipulate certain times for employees, such as from 8.00 am to 5.00 pm or 8.30 am to 5.30 pm which are normally offered by most government or private companies in Malaysia (*see also* Service Circular Number 13 Year 2005, "Implementation of Five working days a Week" by the government of Malaysia, available at http://www.jpa.gov.my/pekeliling/pp05/bil13/pp1305.pdf. Referring to their own cases, they explained that they have no specific time to come to the office or to go home but they have to make sure they are there approximately eight hours per day. In this situation, they made comparisons with their friends who work fixed hours in other organisations.

[171] In Malaysia, according to General Circular No 11 in 1931, issued by the Prime Minister's Department, "all offices and government offices at Federal level have to use punch cards to time control officers and civil servants

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Having young children has been found to be one of the factors influencing female employees to prefer flexible working arrangements, alongside demographic and socio-economic factors (Subramaniam *et al.*, 2010). This might be true for my respondents as some of them took advantage of flexible working hours in particular to devote more attention and time to their children, particularly in the morning. The activity that they created in the morning was also in line with the concept of practices suggested by Morgan (2011), who argues that space, time and activities created by people in their everyday routine of life can have a positive impact on them in terms of work/family articulation. Attesting to this strategy, Yusrina and Halimah said:

> *When I had my youngest child a few years ago, I really felt that my working hours helped me a lot. I could spend more time with my baby in the morning when I had to go back to work after the confinement. I could bathe my baby and breastfeed her before I sent her to the nursery. At that time, my classes started in the evening and I could go to work around 9.30 am* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *Flexible working hours are implemented in my workplace, and I personally feel that it's really good. I can manage my time although I still have to follow the rules that require me to work for eight hours a day. What I have noticed about this policy is that it offers better time management for me, my children and my work responsibilities. Like today, it's a school break; I can prepare breakfast for my children at home before I go to the office. I don't have to rush because I don't have to be at my office and do the "clocking in" at fixed times* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

In addition to enabling women to handle their double roles with ease, flexible working hours have also allowed men who work flexible hours to become involved in household tasks more frequently than men who work fixed hours.[172] Mashitah shared her story in this way:

---

as they come and go from the office. The aim is to ensure that they carry out their duties with dedication and hard work for not less than the number of working hours set by government for them." Therefore, according to all my study respondents, they also have to use punch cards to record their attendance at the office. However, due to their flexible working hours, they do not have to rush like those who work fixed hours. They thought this was an advantaged for them.

[172] My respondents whose husbands work fixed hours mentioned that, although their husbands also participated in doing household tasks, they only did so when the situation permitted as they had to work fixed hours every day (*see* Chapter 6).

pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *He [her husband] works following his own time [flexible hours]. If I can't be at home on time, he can take over the family matters such as taking care of my children or doing the household chores. I think both of us feel comfortable working with flexi-time. It's easy actually for us to handle our family* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

Mashitah's story was supported by her husband. He said:

> *I don't have any problem taking over the duty of fulfilling my family's needs, which are normally related to my children. I run my own business and I can handle my working hours easily. My working time isn't fixed to certain hours. If anything happens that needs to be settled urgently, and at the same time my wife can't make it, I'm the one who will deal with it* (Malik, aged 37; Mashitah's husband).

Furthermore, Basariah described how her husband's flexible-working hours helped her to fulfil her work responsibilities when she could not be at home. At the same time such flexible hours gave them more choices and space to organise their time with family and children. She said:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *The flexible working hours provide support to parents like me with young children, especially in scheduling time between my work and family. In fact, as I explained before, my husband is also involved a lot with domestic responsibilities because, as a teacher, he only has to be at school for half the day. So, he can take care of our children if I can't do it, especially if I have to stay back late at my office. Although this situation does not always arise, this policy is really helpful when my husband and I face this kind of situation* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

The respondents also gave a positive response to the five-day-week policy as it allowed them more quality time with their families. I gathered that the respondents viewed the effects of the five-day week and flexible working hours differently depending upon their families' needs, even though they all agreed that both policies were helpful. While the benefits of flexi-time were used to balance time more efficiently between their children and work responsibilities during working days, the five-day week enabled them to devote their attention to their own family as well as their extended family and friends during weekends. As the working week

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

only extends from Monday to Friday, this policy helped them to attend their children's school events, to visit relatives[173] or to meet up with friends. Shakila[174] was one of the many respondents who talked about the benefits of this policy:

> *Working for five days a week is a good idea because the two days at weekends can be used for family activities or something else. However, my husband and I don't wait to go out with our kids or to other places only at weekends because we also use any public holidays and our annual leave to plan our journeys, which are often a short break depending on the occasion we want to attend. Actually, it's good to spend time going out with my family after all the busy week-days with our work and school schedules* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

This description was supported by her husband, who commented that:

> *My wife and I love travelling. We've introduced this activity to our children too. Normally we plan our journeys at weekends or on public holidays. So, not working on Saturday and Sunday is also a way to pursue our hobbies. Sometimes, we also use the holidays to go back to our hometown or visit our friends. If we want to stay longer with our activities, I will apply for my annual leave* (Shahrum, aged 40; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The discussion above shows that the respondents have reached a consensus that the five-day week allowed them to socialise and spend quality time with many groups of people for different purposes. It is interesting to note that besides weekends, several of them also took advantaged of the public holidays[175] offered by the federal or state governments to enjoy time off and to become involved in such activities.

---

[173] Visiting relatives, especially their parents, are amongst the important responsibilities that were always a priority for my respondents although they were busy with their careers and families. This was explained in detail in Chapter 6.

[174] This couple recalled the activities they enjoyed in Malaysia before they came to York, UK in 2009 when Shakila decided to pursue her education. Interestingly, both of them told me that they still practised these activities although they were abroad. They added that it will be a continuous activity for their family when they go back to Malaysia after Shakila finishes her studies.

[175] In Malaysia, a large number of public holidays can be found for celebrating different events due to the existence of a variety of religions, cultures and ethnicities. In addition, different holidays are also taken by different state or federal governments.

pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The benefit of the five-day-week policy was also mentioned by one of the single female respondents. Naimah described this policy as useful for maintaining good relationships between family members and associates. She stressed that her parents were always engaged in outdoor activities during weekends and public holidays with their children and that this practice effectively built a strong relationship amongst her family members. As she had experienced the benefits of this policy, she and her fiancé had decided to follow suit when they have a family in the future:

> *My parents always planned that every weekend or any public holidays would be our family day if we had time to get together. Normally, we went for outings and eating out, either at food stalls or restaurants. We also always went bowling because this was our favourite family game. Sometimes, we also went for a holiday to a few places in Malaysia. I could feel that the relationship between us was strong when we did these activities together. With this policy, I think I want to do the same thing with my children in future and this has been agreed by my fiancé* (Naimah, aged 26; single female).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

This section has highlighted how respondents perceived the role of work arrangement policies provided by the government and employers; they recognised these policies as supporting dual-career couples by contributing to job satisfaction, higher commitment and reduced work and life conflicts.

Personal preferences on coping strategies

It was evident from the interview data that some female respondents chose to use their personal preferences to cope with their work responsibilities. For instance, three married women emphasised that having preliminary information about a job description before they applied for the position could help them to prepare themselves to accept the workload demands, both mentally and physically. As they had said that being female academics was their own choice (*see* Chapter 4), they were not surprised about the workload as they already knew more or less what was involved in the career of an academic. Two quotes from Basariah and Rashidah explain it thus:

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *When I chose to be a lecturer as my career, I already knew some of the essential duties. I still remember seeing my lecturers busy with their classes and, publications, and two of them commonly appeared on TV talk show during my studies at university. So, from them I knew a little bit about being an academic. So, when I decided to accept this job, I tried to accept whatever challenges came along. I always remind myself of this quote: "If you don't want to do the duties, for example, write an article or present any papers at conferences, don't become a lecturer"* (Basariah, aged 32; married).

> *When I got an interview letter for this job, I made an effort to find out about it for the interview preparation. So, I had information about the job description as a lecturer. So when I got an offer for this job and I accepted, I knew I would have to fulfil the workload demands for my career. I can accept it and I want to do the best I can* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

The above quotation was further supported by another married respondent. She even stated that her success in obtaining her PhD degree could also be linked to the existence of preliminary information about the job description that she had received from her father. She stated that she could face the challenges of her PhD studies because she already knew beforehand that she needed to have a PhD degree as one of the requirements to be a lecturer. On this point, Emilia revealed her story thus:

> *My father was a lecturer. Living with him in one house, I knew about the life of a lecturer. I saw him writing papers, giving lectures and I even saw his name in book publications. Actually, he was the one who encouraged me to become involved in this area and also to pursue my studies at PhD level. So, I can accept the demands of this career. For example, I am married now and have two children and I already have a PhD degree so I have already fulfilled one of the important career requirements as a lecturer* (Emilia, aged 31; married).

All these statements from Basariah, Rashidah and Emilia indicate that having preliminary information about a job could encourage employees to work hard and may have a positive impact on their career development. This knowledge not only facilitates the women to carry

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

out their work responsibilities but also help them to feel comfortable with their career requirements.

Another point that was also mentioned as an important factor in encouraging respondents to accept their work responsibilities was the salary and promotion in the workplace. Both male and female academics in this study mentioned that they were equally[176] subjected to the rulings of the Public Service Department of Malaysia[177] and their university policies. The words "we" (*kami*), "our" (*kami*) "everyone"(*semua orang*) and "their" (*mereka*) that were used by the respondents showed that there were no issues of gender bias in regard to salary and promotion. Arena clearly stated this matter:

> *We have been treated equally in terms of our salaries and promotion by the government of Malaysia and our organisations. Everyone has their own opportunities to enhance his or her career and it depends on the individual to find ways to achieve it. So this always motivated me to do my best meeting my work responsibilities as everyone deserved it* (Arena, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In regard to promotion in the work place, two married women supported Arena's statement that both male and female academics, regardless of marital status, have the same opportunities to develop their careers. Nevertheless, they realised that their male counterparts were more likely to be promoted to more senior positions than them. Like Arena, they did not claim this situation as gender bias or gender inequality at their workplace but more due to factors pertaining to their family responsibilities. To explain this issue in detail, Umaira and Shakila commented:

> *I realise that the majority of male academics have good positions and promotion in my department. This is not gender bias or discrimination, but maybe the female academics are more focused on their families. If a lecturer wants to get a promotion, he or she needs to present papers at seminars or*

[176] This is explained in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, Item 8 (2): E"xcept as expressly authorized by this Constitution there shall be no discrimination against citizens solely on the grounds of religion, race, ethnicity, place of birth or gender in any law or in the appointment to any office or employment under a public authority or in the administration of any law relating to the acquisition, holding or disposal of property or relating to the establishment or conduct of any trade, business, profession, vocation or employment" (*see* Chapter 1).

[177] See website http://www.jpa.gov.my/docs/pp/2010/15/pp152010.pdf (see Appendix 1).

ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *conferences get publications etc. All lecturers have to fulfil these requirements. So, some female lecturers might face obstacles to fulfil them because of their family responsibilities. I also see that this can be an obstacle but I don't want to see this [family responsibilities] as a big obstacle because I will try to work hard to make sure I can achieve my career aims* (Umaira, aged 31; married).

> *I know that most of the promotions go to male academics. I know my family responsibilities sometimes make it difficult for me to focus on my workload but I will work hard to fulfil the promotion requirements. I will try not to allow my family responsibilities to be a reason why I cannot achieve my career targets* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

Another point captured in Umaira's and Shakila's statements was that, although they believed that they could meet the career challenges of their careers and could also be promoted like their male counterparts if they worked hard, they also agreed that the burden of their family responsibilities could threaten their career advancement. Their statements could be seen as being in line with the issue of balancing career and family life that has often been described as a hindrance to women becoming successful in their careers. Several studies on inequality between male and female academics have argued that male academics are believed to be promoted more easily and earn higher salaries than their married female counterparts (Toutkoushian and Conley, 2005; Toutkoushian *et al.*, 2007; Pritchard, 2007). A few reasons were found to be associated with this, such as women lacking "experience," "education" and "research productivity" (Toutkoushian *et al.*, 2007: 573). Baker (2010) stated that marriage, family and children were obstacles to promotion faced by qualified married academic women.

In addition to the discussion above, some female respondents talked about their work responsibilities and categorised them into two: administrative positions (*e.g.* dean, head of department and co-ordinator) and academic responsibilities (*e.g.* teaching, presenting papers, publishing, research and social work). In the interview data these women stressed that taking on administrative responsibilities was more of a burden than fulfilling their academic responsibilities. Although none of the respondents held a position as dean or head of department, two of them used to be coordinators in their departments and they shared their experiences of having to juggle the administrative tasks and at the same time they had to focus

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
on their academic responsibilities and their family responsibilities. Halimah and Arena expressed their tough experiences clearly:

> *I do feel my academic duties are already challenging but I can still feel it doesn't pressure me a lot, although I need to focus on my family. But, it was different when I was an ISO coordinator for my department. I felt the burden then because I had to focus on two responsibilities for my work together with my family tasks and it really demanded a lot of my time. I had to do additional work like attending meetings, making sure the lecturers' ISO files and everything were OK under my supervision. I became busier when someone wanted to check all the files* (Halimah, aged 35; married).

> *I was a subject coordinator for my division before I began my PhD studies. When I held that position, I used to go home late because I needed to settle the tasks in relation to the position. If there was a meeting, which sometimes occurred after office hours, or I needed to check any files, I had to stay back after office hours. Usually I had to reorganise my time with my family if that happened, especially with my babysitter* (Arena, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The above discussions and quotations were supported by these two clear statements made by two other female respondents:

> *If I have to hold any position in administration, I don't like it [the administrative work]. It creates an extra burden because I also have to fulfil my duties as a lecturer. But if I have been asked to do it, I will try my best* (Shakila, aged 40; married).

> *The administrative responsibilities are quite burdensome; I don't think I want to accept any such position but I can see some of my friends can do it well. I would say it may depend on an individual's decision* (Rashidah, aged 37; married).

These statements from the respondents above show that holding a position in administration at the same time as having to fulfil their academic responsibilities required extra time and energy, which was hard to find when combined with their family responsibilities. This commitment needed their focus and it took a lot of time; for instance, they had to attend meetings that

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
sometimes occurred outside office hours, which they felt had affected their time with family. Their statements also indicated that holding a position in administration was not very attractive to them. This finding is in line with that of Moen and Becker's (1999) study, which found that the demands of long working hours affected their respondents' personal lives and family time. Unpredictable problems (*e.g.* meeting deadlines, dealing with crises and solving unexpected problems) that required "demands for overtime hours" faced by employees in senior-level jobs have caused these positions to be "less attractive" to female employees as they found that the work demands interfered with family life (Hakim, 2006: 283).

Many female respondents also stressed that, although they accepted the work responsibilities and claimed that they could manage to meet the workload well; they could not avoid facing difficulties in balancing their career with family responsibilities in certain circumstances. In regard to this, they emphasised "time constraints" as one of the crucial factors that they needed to deal with when they faced a home-related or office-related emergency. They mentioned that this happened when they had deadlines for their work or when their children, husbands or family members were having a health problem. According to them, it was impossible to fully balance their time because they had to choose either their work or their family during such a period. Thus, they admitted that they had to sacrifice one or the other by focusing on the most important and this strategy allowed them to still balance their attention between their work and family responsibilities. As they said that this did not often happen, most of them stated that they always tried to make sure that all their work responsibilities were completd at the office so that they did not bring tasks home in order to cope with the challenges:

> *Sometimes, I have to put aside my work when I know that my family needs me at that time because I have no choice. It has also happened that I need to finish my work at home or I have to go back later because of the due date given. If this happens, I have to make the work responsibilities a priority. In order to do that, I always make sure all my family are OK. Nevertheless, I always make sure that I finish my work on time and I will not mix my work and family responsibilities together. If I'm really desperate to do my work at home, I always make sure I do it after my children go to bed* (Arena, aged 35; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I don't think my work responsibilities disrupt my family life very much. I already knew that I would have to play two roles, which were at my workplace and at home. I do feel the challenges if I have to submit a task or I'm very busy, and at the same time I have a family problem such as my children not being well or having to attend their programme at school. So, I have to really know how to balance my time. I try my best not to bring my work home or take my family problems to the office* (Yusrina, aged 37; married).

To cope with their "negative feelings" about their workloads and the burden salready discussed, some female respondents shared a similar approach. They made it clear that being optimistic and at the same time viewing the difficulties of their work demands as positive challenges turned them into motivations that helped them to accept the workloads and do their best for their careers. The coping strategy adopted by these women echoes a suggestion made by Anderson (1996), who said that "optimistic individuals experience more positive emotions, repair mood more effectively' and are more adept at regulating emotions and stress" (cited in Aryee et al., 2005: 133). This is further clarified by three married respondents, who stated:

upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

> *I have changed the challenges [work demands] into motivation for myself. As a result, I don't think my work responsibilities are hard to do because I know those responsibilities are the things that I have to do. I can accept them because they're is part of my job and I try not to see the responsibilities as a burden* (Maria, aged 27; married).

> *I will do my best at whatever tasks are given to me. It's worthwhile because I just got a good report on my career progress from the head of department. I'm very focused on my work and I will also do my best. I always try my best to manage both responsibilities* (Arena, aged 35; married).

> *I think I am a very dedicated person. I always try to do my best for work and family. I always try to finish all my work tasks on time. I don't think I will let go of my career because this is my ambition. I want to advance my career to the highest level without neglecting my family. It sounds difficult but I always want to do my best in both of them [work and family responsibilities]* (Mashitah, aged 37; married).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

The preceding statements from Maria, Arena and Mashitah show that viewing the demands of work in a good light has created a sense of enjoyment and excitement among these women when they succeed in fulfilling their responsibilities. Thus, having these feelings allowed them to feel positive about what they saw as the demands of their work and they considered them as helpful in enhancinh their work productivity. It also appears that all the women's positive expectations for their careers motivated them to be good employees and to form a better sense of family well-being. Although they gave greater priority to their family responsibilities, they kept trying to find an optimal balance between family and work commitments.

Conclusion

In this chapter, female respondents explained that their work responsibilities could be managed and that they still desired to remain in employment even though they had to deal with their family responsibilities simultaneously. Given the range of the female respondents' experiences as career women, it was not surprising that their views on work responsibilities, workload demands and the coping strategies they adopted were varied, although their careers were similar. From the evidence presented, it is apparent that these women described their positive attitudes towards their work responsibilities as being due to the support they received from spouses and colleagues, family practices, the family-friendly workplace policies from the Malaysian government and employers, and the various personal preferred coping strategies that they adopted.

All the female respondents clearly stated that permission from their husbands was the most important support that was needed, not only to ensure their position in employment but also to support them in their career development. To create a clear understanding about their husbands' permission, they linked this discussion with their identity as Malay Muslim wives. Furthermore, support from colleagues helped them to facilitate their responsibilities in the workplace not only by reducing the workload but also by building a cooperative spirit among employees to enhance departmental growth and development. Nonetheless, it was evident that the priority they gave to their domestic responsibilities reduced opportunities for promotion.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Many of the family-friendly workplace policies that have been discussed in this chapter seem to be focused largely on women. However, the male respondents made it clear that these policies also influenced and stimulated men to become more involved in helping their wives to balance their work and family demands, and to help in achieving an excellent family and working life. It is also interesting to note that one reason as to why the women in this study appreciated the family-friendly policies and were quite uncritical of the policies was because they were fully aware that they were better off than women who worked in government or private companies and were not entitled to these benefits. Nevertheless, weaknesses were also identified in the current policies, and they made at least an implicit criticism of the leave entitlements. This issue was highlighted by two husbands, who criticised the paid and unpaid leave policy. They think this should be changed, especially for private-sector employees so that they can also receive the benefits of the policy. These husbands had to quit their jobs in Malaysia in order to follow their wives abroad because they were not entitled to either paid or unpaid leave. Recommendations were given to demonstrate that some current workplace policies still need to be improved. It was also evident that some respondents not only coped with their work responsibilities and workload demands due to the support they received but also from their own personal preferred coping strategies.

Overall, this chapter has illustrated that it was essential for my female respondents to seek strategies that could help them to meet their work responsibilities and workload demands without the need to stop working, even though they were experiencing and might in the future continue to experience various conflicting situations involving incompatible demands between their work and home lives.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Conclusion and Recommendations

As I draw this study to its close, I present an overview of the findings followed by reflections on my PhD journey. I then discuss the contribution my research has made, the limitations of my study and recommendations for future research.

Overview of the findings

This thesis has presented the experiences and perceptions of ten Malay academic women in dual-career families in Malaysia with regard to the factors influencing them to become career women, their stance on marriage and family life, their experience of family and work responsibilities, the coping strategies they adopted, and their awareness of the family-friendly workplace policies provided by the Malaysian government and the organisations for which they work. This study also involved the women's husbands as well as several single men and women as respondents. The findings indicate that the religious belief system, the Malay *adat* and the traditional gender ideology of the Malay patriarchal system are still ingrained and continue to mould participants' perceptions of their work, marriage and family life, and to structure the ways in which they manage their family and work responsibilities.

As a "moderate Islamic country," Malaysia is different from other Muslim countries in relation to the treatment of women. Thus, Malay Muslim women seem to be given much more freedom, for instance, in education and employment, than in many other Muslim countries. My female respondents had considerable achievements in education and were all involved in employment; thus, they perceived that the traditional gender ideology of the family that designates husband as the breadwinner and the wife as the full-time homemaker is no longer considered compulsory. All of my respondents accepted that women are drawn into the paid labour force and play an important role as economic providers for their families.

The female respondents saw the positive attitudes of their parents towards their daughters' education as having opened up an opportunity for them to obtain academic qualifications and to contribute to the economy. In addition, support from husbands (the married respondents)

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
and boyfriends/ fiancés (the single women) had also contributed to their decision to work. This support suggests that the traditional Malay patriarchal system that prevented women from obtaining education no longer exists. Nevertheless, the role and authority of men still affects these women's participation in education and employment. My data provides insights into the importance of men's permission in relation to the women's decisions. For instance, female respondents needed their father's permission to receive education before they were married, and their husband's permission afterwards. In addition, their participation in the paid labour force was also influenced by other critical factors such as economic need, financial responsibilities towards parents, personal interest and self-satisfaction, inspiration from a role model and the duty of being a role model, as well as support from Islam. These factors demonstrate women's responsibility as financial providers for their families and their social contribution to society. When considering their career options, female respondents had chosen to become academics after they had evaluated several factors relevant to the profession such as their abilities, qualifications, talents, and personalities, as well as the job benefits. This final consideration was important before they accepted the job they had applied for because the career they chose was able to help them maintain their family life. One important reason they chose to become academics was the flexible working hours offered by their organisation. When they talked about their reasons for working as lecturers, they embraced values such as adherence to religious requirements and the Malay *adat* because both ideologies are embedded in the working environment and daily lives of the Malay people.

Numerous studies carried out by researchers across the world, including Malaysia, have found that women's achievements in education and their involvement in employment, particularly in professional careers, not only cause them to postpone marriage or remain single but also to postpone forming a family and having children (Bogenshneider and Corbett, 2004; Abd Rashid, 2006; Jones, 2007; Popenoe, 2008; Tokuhiro, 2010). In my study, however, all the women wanted to marry and have their own children. Their views and desires on this subject were based on their understanding of the concept of marriage and family within the context of Islam and the Malay *adat*. The most important factor influencing their positive perception of marriage and family life was the prohibition on living together and having sex prior to marriage in Islamic teaching and the fact that these practices go against the norm in Malay

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Muslim society. Another interesting finding was that the male respondents displayed a very positive attitude towards marrying women with higher educational qualifications so that their wives could help them to supplement the family finances. In fact, the majority of the husbands had wives whose qualifications were higher than theirs. Nonetheless, respondents reported that being the main financial provider, head of household and final decision maker was still the men's responsibility. They also emphasised that, although the husband's dominant position in the family persists and the wife and children are subject to his authority, the wife is not totally denied influence in the family. This indicates that the couples in this study have the opportunity to be more egalitarian than in more patriarchal societies elsewhere in Asia and that they practise a mixture of both the patrilineal and the democratic systems (*see also* Karim, 1992; Rudie, 1995). As Noor and Mahudin (2005: 116-117) stated, the husbands' decision-making is achieved through "deliberation and agreement with their wives."

The interviews highlighted not only the female respondents' desire to marry, but also their preference to have between three and six children. This contrasts with previous studies across the world, which have found that many big cities in South-East and East Asia are facing the problem of low fertility rates due to delayed marriage and married women having fewer children or remaining childless (Jones, 2007; Koo and Wong, 2009; Tokuhiro, 2010). However, this finding is in keeping with data showing that among the three ethnic groups in Peninsula Malaysia, Malay women were likely to have more children than their Chinese and Indian counterparts (Arshart and Tey, 1988; Tan and Tey, 1994). The couples in the interviews also said that the number of children they desired was based on a "*keputusan bersama*" (joint decision).

Even as contemporary, educated career women, their positive attitude towards marriage and family building meant that they made the choice to carry the burden of family responsibilities. Cooking for the family was stressed by the women as an important activity that they themselves needed to fulfil, in comparison to cleaning and laundry, which they gladly shared with others. Grocery shopping was another essential task. The interview data highlighted that these women found it difficult and challenging to fulfil their family responsibilities. They received assistance from their husbands, children, and non-family members such as live-in

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

maids or part-time helpers, which helped to balance their family responsibilities and reduce the conflicts they faced from family demands. They shared childcare responsibilities with grandparents, live-in maids, babysitters, and nurseries. It was evident that Malay men made some contribution to household tasks and expressed their desire to support their wives in managing their dual roles, but still within the framework of religious teachings and Malay culture. The majority of the husbands and all the single men had relatively untraditional perceptions of the division of labour at home and they showed willingness to become involved in domestic chores, which is not commonly seen in traditional Malay families. All in all, although men and women presumed that they would share roles, the women undeniably remained the ones who managed most of the domestic chores, while the men's participation was considered only as "helping" their wives. Moreover, one common strategy used by the women was to transfer some of their responsibilities to other women – female relatives and maids so that reproductive labour in the home continued to be seen as primarily women's work.

The female respondents emphasised that they wanted to maintain their careers while, at the same time, managing their family responsibilities. Although these women all had similar jobs, the coping strategies they adopted to deal with their work responsibilities and workload demands varied. Support from spouses and colleagues, family practices, the family-friendly workplace policies implemented by the Malaysian government and employers, and several personal preference coping strategies were cited as determining factors in the women's positive attitude towards their work responsibilities and their endeavour to balance the demands of their workload. With all the support, they stressed that their work responsibilities could become manageable. However, the priority given to family responsibilities reduced these women's opportunities for promotion.

A husband's permission could be the most vital factor in ensuring that the female respondents continued with their careers. The women linked the issue of their husbands' permission with their identity as Malay Muslim wives. These women believe that their husbands' support is important in achieving their career goals. Although the female respondents still needed to seek permission from their husbands to pursue their careers, they did not expect to have a problem

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
in obtaining it since they knew that it is encouraged within Islamic teaching and the Malay *adat*. In fact, they were very positive about the importance of seeking their husbands' permission and blessing in whatever they did as they believed that in this way, they may prosper in both this world and the hereafter and also because it fulfilled their obligations as obedient wives. I noted that all the husbands supported their wives in their careers and I would assume that this is possibly because the majority of the husbands depended on their wives' contribution to the family finances.

Respondents also reported that the family-friendly workplace policies not only focus on women but also support the men in order to help dual-career couples to deal with their work and family responsibilities. Although they found that the policies, particularly leave entitlements and work arrangements, assisted them a great deal in balancing their dual roles and reducing their workload and family demands, they did mention weaknesses that needed to be improved. Two husbands who quit their jobs in order to follow their wives who were pursuing their studies abroad criticised the paid and unpaid leave policy, which they think should also be made available to private-sector employees so that they can also benefit from a career break (for example to follow their wives abroad) without losing their jobs. In addition, they argued that their sacrifice in quitting their own careers to support their wives' careers should be rewarded by the Malaysian government. They recommended that the government of Malaysia should consider extending the entitlement of paid or unpaid leave to husbands who work in private organisations to match that of husbands who work for the government because this is an important way to guarantee their careers in Malaysia. Another family-friendly policy that needed to be improved was nurseries in the workplace. Although all the women had a positive view of nurseries, particularly the ones provided in the mothers' workplaces, the married women mentioned several reasons for not utilising this facility. The opening hours of nurseries, which do not coincide with their flexible working hours, and the limited number of places offered for children were the major reasons why none of them used the nurseries in their workplace. The women suggested that every organisation should consider reviewing its operational hours, especially for women with flexible working hours, and the capacity that the nurseries can accommodate.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

In brief, the experiences and perceptions of the respondents support the idea that the role of women is no longer confined to the home; instead, they are encouraged to have their own careers. They also support the importance of marriage and family in Malay society, and all the respondents wanted to marry and have their own families with children. Thus, none of them professed to neglect either their family lives or their careers. Despite the strategies they had already employed or were planning to use in the future, the available family-friendly policies, along with assistance from their husbands and families of origin, maids, helpers, babysitters, and nurseries in order to balance their work and family responsibilities, the fact remains that family obligations were still regarded as their responsibility even though the women's status and position had changed because of their academic and career achievements. Although the goal of the female respondents to distribute their time and energy evenly is impossible to achieve, the choices they had made to find a balance, at least, helped them to establish priorities in their different roles in order to attain a better fit between their private and professional lives. It could be said that the Malaysian government has played a role in enhancing women's lives by encouraging more Malay women enter higher education and have a career. Nevertheless, they remain a subordinate group because their religious beliefs, the Malay *adat*, and the traditional Malay patriarchal system are still ingrained in their everyday lives.

Reflections on my PhD journey

This summary of my findings makes the research seem simple and straightforward. In fact, the long journey I undertook to complete my PhD had many ups and downs. Now that it has finally come to an end. I realise that this thesis has not only been a piece of academic research but also a story about myself and my own process of learning. I now believe that pursuing my PhD in Women's Studies has given me the opportunity to fulfil my personal interests and also to become aware of the importance of the key aspects of conducting a feminist study to produce "research on women" and "research for women" (Thompson, 1992: 24). In addition to learning about qualitative feminist methodology, I realise that this approach allowed me to understand how the women in my study attached meaning to their dual-career lifestyle

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
experiences, and also to involve the stories of their husbands and of single male and female respondents.

As an international student, I struggled at the beginning to comprehend secondary sources in English and conduct critical analyses of them because English is not my first language. While I had some previous experience of using secondary sources, I had to develop the skills of engaging critically with the literature that I was reading, and in particular making sense of material from different cultures and contexts, both Asian and Western.

Learning how to conduct qualitative interviews and, in particular, how analyse my data presented more challenges. At first, I did not think it would be too difficult to present a discussion of my data as all of the respondents related their lived experiences of dual lifestyles encompassing the Islamic religion and the Malay *adat*. I took my position as an insider for granted as a Malay Muslim woman and found it difficult to think critically about what my participants were telling me. Eventually however, I realised that being a feminist researcher, it was not enough just to retell their stories or to simply relate what they accepted according to their religion and culture. Thus, I needed to analyse the data more critically in order to change my own way of thinking in the area of gender equality and inequality from both the Western and Malaysian perspectives. I challenged myself to dig as deeply as possible into the data and to think about it critically until I learnt to identify my respondents' stories from a different perspective. I had to balance my desire to make Malay women's voices heard with my awareness of the tensions and contradictions in their accounts, such as their commitment to a career while being held back from promotion by domestic responsibilities.

Although I found that some Western feminist ideas had influenced the Malaysian context, it was not an easy fit due to the different historical, religious, cultural and political backgrounds. However, as an academic, these factors should never prevent me from engaging in scholarship on family, work and "the second shift," or from highlighting gender inequality in any of my future publications or research. I will continue to use feminist methodology and to keep the feminist focus on research on women and for women, as identified by Thompson (1992), which is suited to the Malaysian context. Nevertheless, I have to ensure that the research I do

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
fits in with and respects Malay culture and religion, even while questioning what is taken for granted in everyday Malay life. Through doing my PhD I have gained the confidence to be able to balance critique of and respect for my own culture.

Research contributions

i) Enriching the literature on career women and dual-career families

There have been numerous studies on dual-career families predominantly in Western and European countries (*see* Chapter Two). There have also been a few studies conducted in Asian countries such as Japan, Taiwan, Bangladesh, Singapore and China (*e.g.* Yeoh and Huang, 1998; Ochiai, 2008; Ueno, 2009; Tokuhiro, 2010; Sultana, 2010; Xu and Lai, 2002) and Muslim countries including Malaysia (e.g. Ariffin, 1997b; Noor, 1999a; Ahmad *et al.*, 1999; Hashim and Omar, 2004; Noor and Mahudin, 2005; Sidani, 2005; Ismail and Ibrahim, 2007; Lian, 2008; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008; Talib, 2009; Faridi *et al.*, 2009). There has, however, been no previous research investigating Malay Muslim academic women in dual-career families in relation to their desire to work, their stance on marriage and family life, and the ways in which they manage their work and family responsibilities. My study contributes to filling some of the gaps in research on women in dual-career families in non-Western contexts. This study presents findings that are unique in the sense that they focus on a specific ethnic and religious group Muslim Malay women in a specific occupation. Thus it differs from previous studies conducted in Western countries and some non-Western countries. On the whole, Malay academic women in dual-career families exhibit both similarities with and differences from those reported by other studies. One of the most significant differences that I found was the identity of the Malay Muslim, who adheres to Islamic teachings and the Malay *adat.* This guided the choices, practices and values of the women in my study in almost every aspect of their lives.

Previous studies have found that the main reasons why women in dual-career families wanted to work was because their academic qualifications offered them the opportunities to become engaged in the paid labour force and to meet their own economic needs. The Malay women in

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
this study also wanted to work due to their higher educational qualifications, which matched with their career aspirations and their role as a co-financial provider for their immediate and extended families. Other critical influencing factors were their personal interests and self-satisfaction; in addition, they also wanted to emulate their role models and to become a role model to others. Their desire to become career women was strongly supported by their parents, particularly their fathers, and also by their husbands or fiancés. In regard to their stance on married life and family life, there were some differences between the Malay women and women in many other countries. Malay women clearly emphasised that married life and family life were an important focus for them and, although they are modern and well-educated women living in an era of modernisation, they were enthusiastic about marrying in order to have children and form their own families. This is in contrast with many educated and professional women in Western and many East Asian countries who tend to delay marriage, remain single and, in Western countries, accept the idea of cohabitation as an alternative way to form a family. Another difference that was also found was that married women in both Western and East Asian countries want only one or two children or to remain childless, unlike the Malay women in my study, who wanted to have several children. These Malay women were very committed to both their family and career responsibilities simultaneously.

These Malay women were aware of the family and work responsibilities that rested on their shoulders when they decided to become career women, who were married with a family and children. Like career women in other countries, the Malay women and their husbands have adopted various strategies and obtained benefits from family-friendly workplace policies in managing their dual responsibilities and coping with workload and family demands. They organised their domestic chores on rotational schedules daily, weekly and monthly in order to manage them. They received assistance from family members such as husbands and children, as in many Western countries. They also had help from other people such as part-time helpers and live-in maids, similar to women in other Asian countries. I also noted that, despite the fact that Malay women are aware of the strategies they use, or are planning to use, to balance their work and family lives, an unequal distribution of labour between men and women still exist. Many of them are still practising their traditional roles and responsibilities at home despite their professional occupations. The involvement of Malay men in domestic chores seems to

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
have increased among my participants, but only at the level of "helping," which conforms to the pattern found in many other research studies. The types of support for childcare used by Malay women and couples differ from those found in Western and other Asian countries. Many Western women use strategies such as working part-time hours work or scaling back work commitments, but none of the Malay women in this study used this strategy, possibly because this is simply not an available option; it is not part of the workplace policies in either the governmental or private sectors in Malaysia. The majority of the Malay women sent their children to babysitters, and would have liked to send their children to childcare centres if such centres met their needs. Many of them preferred to have a live-in maid to take care of their children if their husband permitted, unlike in Western countries. The work assigned to live-in maids was also different from the strategies of women in some other Asian countries, who used their maids to do the domestic chores rather than taking care of children, as they preferred to delegate childcare to their extended families.

In summary, this study has highlighted both similarities and differences between Malay Muslim women in dual-career families and similarly placed women in Western and other Asian countries in four main areas: the reasons they wanted to work and their career options, their stance on marriage and family life, the ways in which they managed their family and work responsibilities and the coping strategies they adopted. This analysis therefore contributes to broadening the literature in this field. This study may also provide policy makers, employers and practitioners with knowledge about universal and culturally specific issues relating to marriage and family life as well as work and family experiences which could help them to develop appropriate policies in multiracial and multicultural societies.

ii) Practical recommendation for the government and non-governmental institutional bodies in Malaysia

Family-friendly workplace policies were useful in helping all my respondents to face challenges and problems such as their workloads and family demands. However, there were two weaknesses in the family-friendly workplace policies that were highlighted by the respondents in this study. Firstly, there was evidence indicating that women supported the idea of having childcare centres close to their workplace. They mentioned several benefits such as

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
the ease with which women could continue to breastfeed their infants, and also having their children close at hand if anything unexpected happened. Yet none of my female respondents used these facilities at their workplaces because the opening hours did not match their flexible-working hours and the centres were too crowded with children. Other studies have also reported some shortcomings of childcare centres in Malaysia, such as financial constraints preventing the establishment of childcare centres in all government and private organisations (Ahmad, 2007; Abdullah *et al.*, 2008; Subramanian and Selvaratnam, 2010). My study suggests that it would be better for every organisation to consider reviewing the operational hours of childcare provision, especially for women with flexible working hours, as well as the capacity of the nurseries to accommodate children in less crowded surroundings. This would mean that career women would be more comfortable sending their children there while they concentrated on their work. In fact, the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development Malaysia has considered giving grants to private-sector employers to establish childcare centres in workplaces for their employees' convenience.

Another aspect of the family-friendly workplace that needs to be improved is eligibility to apply for unpaid leave in the private sector. In Malaysia, all government servants in the Malaysian Federal Public Service are bound by the rules of the Public Service Department of Malaysia. Thus, everyone is entitled to apply for unpaid leave for certain reasons. Under this policy, those who apply can return to their jobs after the duration of the leave ends. In this study, this issue was raised by two male employees from the private sector who had to quit their jobs to follow their wives abroad because there was no unpaid leave policy provided by their employers. To avoid any discrimination between employees in the government and private sectors, it is highly recommended that all private-sectors employers be compelled to provide this policy in order to help their employees to create a balance between their work and personal lives.

Since the number of dual-career families is on the rise, the Malaysian government should also consider encouraging more men to participate in managing domestic chores with their wives. This could be done through governmental programmes. The media could also display more advertisements and programmes about the importance of sharing household roles between

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

husband and wife so that Malay society's social attitudes can be changed. In addition, religious speakers and religious scholars need to explain about work and family responsibilities, gender and role sharing in accordance with Islam in order to avoid confusion between Islamic teachings and cultural norms.

The female respondents also highlighted the importance of educating their children, regardless of gender, about shouldering domestic chores so that the traditional gender ideology about the division of labour at home can be changed at a very young aged. The education system could also play an important role in educating children about domestic chores through formal education.

iii) Using feminist methodology in a Malaysian context

Informed by feminist methodology, this study suggests that, in Malay society, sexism at home and in the workplace has been reduced. This has indirectly helped women to enhance their management of work and family responsibilities through support from family members, other people, and the policies put in place by the government and employers. Women can now engage in education and employment alongside their male counterparts, and this is a major positive change in Malay society. However, more needs to be done to promote gender equality and to encourage men to become more involved in family life.

In addition, this study reported that the participation of women in the nation's development is appreciated and acknowledged alongside that of men. Also, the traditional division of labour at home under the patriarchal system, where by the wife is the homemaker while the husband is the breadwinner is no longer relevant in the Malaysian context. However, while the female respondents are able to become co-breadwinners for their families, at the same time still they continue to fulfil their matrimonial roles. There is also evidence showing that the majority of husbands in this study have become more involved with their families and domestic roles.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Limitations and recommendation for future research studies

This is an exploratory study and therefore inevitably has some limitations. Firstly, it was limited to one ethnic group. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the majority of Malaysian citizens constitute *Bumiputra* (sons of the soil), with Malays being the largest ethnic group in the *Bumiputra* category, while the minority groups consist of Chinese and Indians. However, the focus of this study is on people of Malay ethnicity whose religion is Islam. In particular, the sample population was limited to Malay academic women and their husbands, along with single men and women from the same ethnic group and profession. All of them lived and worked in the Kuala Lumpur and Selangor areas. I chose these particular sample characteristics because of limitations of time and resources, which made it unfeasible to recruit a wider sample. Small samples are the norm in qualitative research and, had I also recruited from other ethnic groups or regions of Malaysia my sample might have been too diverse to draw any conclusions. This does, however, mean that my findings cannot be generalised to all Malaysian dual-career families.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

There is a further issue with the way in which I recruited my sample. I explicitly sought respondents who identified as Malay Muslims and through my own contacts, which may have skewed my sample towards those who were very religious, as my participants were. Their views and experiences may not, therefore, be representative of all Malay academic women. Less devout Malay women may have different views and experiences. Future research should recruit respondents of Malay ethnicity without linking them with the word Muslim. It would be interesting to investigate whether the findings of such study would be similar to the current findings. It would be interesting to extend the scope of this research by including other ethnic groups, including Muslims from other ethnicities, as well as other academic women from public and private universities from all over Malaysia in order to collect views from different groups and understand their experiences. It might then be possible to better understand the relative importance of religion, ethnicity and occupational setting to the ways in which women in dual-career families managed their daily lives.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

My sample focuses only on couples in which both partners have a career and single people planning to form such couples. The Malay career women and their spouses in this study felt content with their decisions to marry and have their own families with children, as well as the strategies adopted to manage their work and family responsibilities. Different findings might emerge if a future study included women in other professional occupations with husbands who have a lower income or occupational status. The current study focuses on women in urban areas namely Kuala Lumpur and Selangor, and they might have more exposure to modern and Westernised lifestyles. Future research could focus on Malay women in other areas who might have different lifestyles.

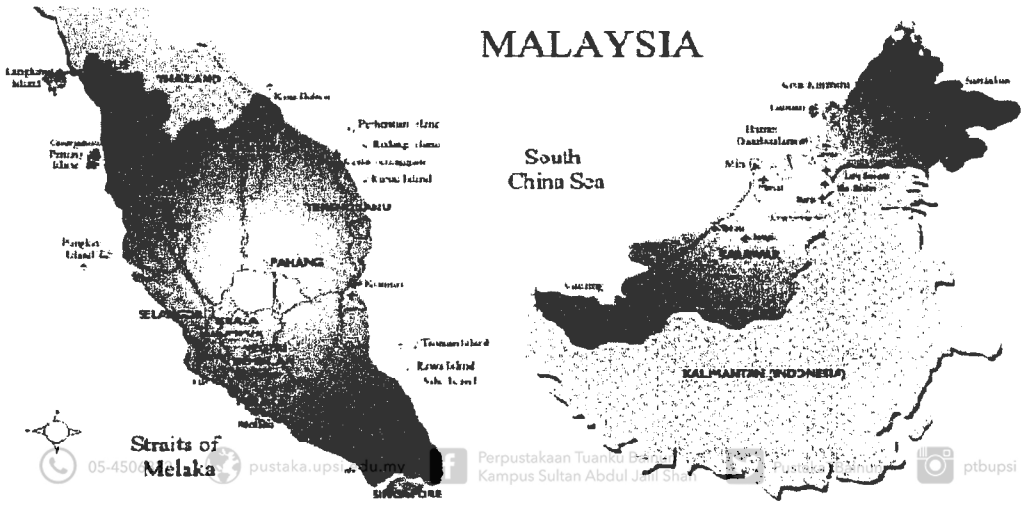
In considering the government's family-friendly policies, this study only included the employee perspective. While this offers some insights into the effectiveness of such policies, future research could focus on employers in order to obtain information about the implementation of these family-friendly workplace policies. Future research could also include policy makers to examine their deliberations before they enacted any rules or policies as the best way to help employees in Malaysia. Looking at the issues from all angles could provide a more comprehensive picture of the issues involved achieving work/life balance for both families and single people.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendices

Appendix A: Map of Malaysia



Source: http://asia-holiday.tripod.com/my_map.html

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix B: Article 14: Citizenship by operation of law

(1) Subject to the provisions of this Part, the following persons are citizens by operation of law, that is to say:

(a) every person born before Malaysia Day who is a citizen of the Federation by virtue of the provisions cointained in Part 1 of the Second Schedule, and
(b) every person born on or after Malaysia Day, and having any of the qualifications specified in Part II of the second schedule.

(2) (Repealed).
(3) (Repealed).

Second Schedule
(Article 39)
PART 1
(Article 14 (1) (a))

CITIZENSHIP BY OPERATION OF LAW OF PERSONS BORN BEFORE MALAYSIA DAY

1. (1) Subject to the provisions of Part IIIof this Constitution and anything done thereunder before Malaysia Day, the following persons born before Malaysia Day are citizens by operation of law, that is to say:

(a) every person who immadiately before Merdeka Day, was a citizen of the Federation by virtue of any of the provisions of the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1948, whether by operation of law or otherwise;
(b) every person born within the Federation on or after Merdeka Day and before October, 1962;
(c) every person born within the Federation after September, 1962, of whose parents one at last was at the time of the birth either citizen or permanently resident in the Federation, or who was not born a citizen of any other country;
(d) every person born outside the Federation on or after Merdeka Day whose father was a citizen at the time of his birth and either was born in the Federation or was at the time of the birth in service under the Government of the Federation or of a State;
(e) every person born outside the Federation on or after Merdeka Day whose father was a citizen at the time of the birth if the birth was, or is, within one year of its occurrence or within such longer period as in any particular case was or is allowed by the Federal Government, registered at a consulate of the Federation or, if it in Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei or North Borneo, registered with the Federal Government.

(2) A person is not a citizen by virtue of paragraph (b) or (c) of subsection (1), if, at the time of his birth, his father, not being a citizen, possesed such immunity from suit and legal process as is accorded to an envoy of a sovereign power accredited to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

2. Subject to the provisions of Part III of this Constitution, a person ordinarily resident in the State of Sabah or Sarawak or in Brunei on Malaysia Day is a citizen by operation of law if he was immediately before that day a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies, and either-

   (a) was born in the territories comprised in the State of Sabah and Sarawak; or
   (b) became such a citizen by registration in those territories or by or in consequence of naturalisation there.

Part II
(Article 14 (1) (b))

CITIZEN BY OPERATION OF LAW OF PERSONS BORN ON OR AFTER MALAYSIA DAY

1. Subject to the provisions of Part III of this Constitution, the following persons born on or after Malaysia Day are citizens by operation of law, that is to say:

   (a) every person born within the Federation of whose parents one at the time of the birth either a citizens or permanently resident in the Federation; and
   (b) every person born outside the Federation whose father is at the time the birth a citizen and either was born in the Federation or is at the time of the birth in the service of the Federation or of a State; and
   (c) every person born outside the Federation whose father is at the time of the birth a citizen and whose birth is, withn one year of its occurrence or within such longer period as the Federal Government may in any particular case allow, registered at a consulate of the Federation or, if it in Brunei or in a territory prescribed for this purpose by order of thr Yang di-Pertuan Agong, registered with the Federal Government; and
   (d) every person born in Singapore of whose parents one at least is at the time of the birth a citizen and who is not born a citizen otherwise than by virtue of this paragraph; and
   (e) every person born within the Federation who is not born a citizen of any country otherwise than a virtue of this paragraph.

2. (1) A person is not a citizen by virtue of paragraph (a), (d) or (e) of section 1 if, at the same time of his birth, his father, not being a citizen, posseses such immunity from suit and legal process as is accorded to an envoy of a sovereign power accredicted to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, or if his father is then an enemy alien and the birth occurs in a place under the occupation of the enemy.
   (2) In section 1 the reference in paragraph (b) to a person having been born in the Federation includes his having been born before Malaysia Day in the territories comprised in the State of Sabah and Sarawak.
   (3) For the purpose of paragraph (e) of section 1 a person is to be treated as having at birth any citizenship which he acquires within one year afterwards by virtue of any provisions corresponding to paragraph (c) of that section or otherwise.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Source: (Federal Constitution, 2010: 30, 218-221).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix C: Religion of the Federation and Freedom of Religion

3. Religion of the Federation

(1) Islam is the religion of the Federation; but other religions may be practised in peace and harmony in any part of the Federation
(2) In every State other than Stated not having a Ruler the position of the Ruler as the Head of the religion of Islam in his State in the manner and to the extent acknowledged and declared by the Constitution of that State, and, subject to that Constitution, all rights, priveleges, privileges, prerogatives and powers enjoyed by him as Head of that religion, are unaffected and unimpaired; but in any acts, observances or ceremonies with respect to which the Conference of Rulers has agreed that they should extend to the Federation as a whole each of the other Rulers shall in his capacity of Head of the religion of Islam authorise the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to represent him.
(3) The Constitution of the States of Melaka, Penang, Sabah and Sarawak shall each make provision for conferring on the Yang di-Pertuan Agong the position of Head of the religion of Islam in that State.
(4) Nothing in this Article derogates from any other provision of this Constitution.
(5) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall be the Head of the religion of Islam in the Federal Territories of Kuala Lumpur, Labuan and Putrajaya; and for this purpose Parliament may by law make provisions for regulating Islamic religious affairs and for constituting a Council to advise the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in matters relating to the religion of Islam.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

11. Freedom of Religion

(1) Every person has the right to profess and practise his religion and, subject to Clause (4), to propagate it.
(2) No person shall be compelled to pay any tax the proceeds of which are specially allocated in whole or in part for the purposes of a religion other than his own
(3) Every to religious has the right-

(a) to manage its own religious affairs;
(b) to establish and maintain institutions for religious or charitable purposes; and
(c) to acquire and own property and hold and administer it in accordance with law.

(4) State law and in respect of the Federal Territories of Kuala Lumpur, Labuan and Putrajaya, federal law may control or restrict the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among persons professing the religion of Islam
(5) This Article does not authorise any act contrary to any general law relating to public order, public health or morality.

Source: (Federal Constitution, 2010: 20 and 28).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix D: Name list of the universities

No	Name of the universities	
1	UIAM	UNIVERSITI ISLAM ANTARABANGSA MALAYSIA
2	UDM	UNIVERSITI DARUL IMAN MALAYSIA
3	UITM	UNIVERSITI TEKNOLOGI MARA
4	UKM	UNIVERSITI KEBANGSAAN MALAYSIA
5	UM	UNIVERSITI MALAYA
6	UMK	UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA KELANTAN
7	UMP	UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA PAHANG
8	UMS	UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SABAH
9	UMT	UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA TERENGGANU
10	UNiMAP	UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA PERLIS
11	UNIMAS	UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SARAWAK
12	UPM	UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA
13	UPNM	UNIVERSITI PERTAHANAN NASIONAL MALAYSIA
14	UPSI	UNIVERSITI PENDIDIKAN SULTAN IDRIS
15	USIM	UNIVERSITI SAINS ISLAM MALAYSIA
16	USM	UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA
17	UTeM	UNIVERSITI TEKNIKAL MALAYSIA MELAKA
18	UTHM	UNIVERSITI TUN HUSSEIN ONN MALAYSIA
19	UTM	UNIVERSITI TEKNOLOGI MALAYSIA
20	UUM	UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA

Source:
http://www.malaysia.gov.my/EN/Relevant%20Topics/Education%20and%20Learning/Citizen/HigherEducation/ListofGovernmentUniversitiesInMalaysia/Pageds/ListOfUniversity.aspx [Accessed 30 October 2012]

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix E: Academic staffs by sex and position in public universities, Malaysia 2009

University	Prof		Associate. Prof		Lecturer		Languaged Teacher		Tutor		Others		Total		TOTAL
	M*	F*	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	F & M
UiTM	99	8	145	46	425	418	187	329	15	56	1	0	872	857	1729
UDM	5	0	9	5	138	122	1	9	40	84	0	0	193	220	413
UiTM	85	27	558	519	2,145	3,793	0	0	107	36	0	0	2,895	4,375	7,270
UKM	172	86	218	188	588	754	22	60	65	117	2	1	1,067	1,206	2,273
UM	219	111	240	183	578	584	41	37	96	139	0	0	1,114	1054	2168
UMK	7	0	8	2	17	6	4	7	21	48	0	0	57	63	120
UMP	16	2	17	5	218	154	4	14	32	20	0	0	287	195	482
UMS	17	4	45	12	258	210	3	9	27	51	1	0	351	286	637
UMT	13	2	28	7	133	150	2	5	24	61	40	83	240	308	548
UNiMAP	22	2	33	2	186	120	3	6	61	41	0	0	305	171	476
UNIMAS	37	3	55	19	220	246	6	5	33	69	0	0	351	342	693
UPM	128	45	200	124	399	481	6	20	217	335	1	0	951	1,005	1,956
UPNM	2	2	6	0	48	44	4	6	5	15	0	0	65	67	132
UPSI	27	4	35	6	246	199	11	22	57	98	0	0	370	329	699
USIM	23	4	9	7	132	145	12	41	46	84	0	0	222	281	503
USM	152	27	248	99	620	530	63	127	0	0	0	0	1,083	783	1,866
UTeM	52	2	20	2	288	188	2	5	46	38	0	0	408	235	643
UTHM	20	3	32	5	313	218	6	12	154	151	5	2	530	391	921
UTM	145	30	275	78	669	517	8	23	93	115	0	2	1,190	765	1,955
UUM	18	4	76	40	427	466	16	22	35	112	0	0	572	644	1,216
TOTAL	**1,259**	**366**	**2,257**	**1,349**	**8,048**	**9,345**	**401**	**759**	**1,144**	**1,670**	**50**	**88**	**13,123**	**13,577**	**22,700**

*M – Male *F – Female

Universities in Selangor

Universities in Kuala Lumpur

Source: Ministry of Higher Education, 2009

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix F: Academic staffs by sex and qualification in public universities, Malaysia 2009

University	PhD		Master's Degree		Bachelor's Degree		Diploma		Others		Total		TOTAL
	M*	F*	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M & F
UTAM	412	174	325	414	135	264	0	1	0	4	872	857	1,729
UDM	28	10	124	123	41	85	0	0	0	2	193	220	413
UITM	372	330	1,997	3,294	411	707	79	30	36	14	2,895	4,375	7,270
UKM	451	347	441	607	173	250	1	0	1	2	1,067	1,206	2,273
UMS	560	377	416	494	128	179	0	0	10	4	1,114	1,054	2,168
UMK	15	2	22	27	20	34	0	0	0	0	57	63	120
UMP	56	16	164	112	57	63	10	4	0	0	287	195	482
UMS	143	79	168	174	38	33	1	0	1	0	351	286	637
UMT	86	92	116	172	38	94	0	0	0	0	240	308	548
UNiMAP	64	11	153	102	88	58	0	0	0	0	305	171	476
UNIMAS	116	56	181	203	54	83	0	0	0	0	351	342	693
UPM	511	389	317	408	122	208	1	0	0	0	951	1,005	1,956
UPNM	4	3	15	22	7	11	0	0	39	31	65	67	132
UPSI	119	50	211	199	40	80	0	0	0	0	370	329	699
USIM	68	27	103	165	51	89	0	0	0	0	222	281	503
USM	623	381	355	358	103	144	0	0	2	0	1,083	783	1,866
UTeM	45	8	287	186	76	38	0	0	0	3	408	235	643
UTHM	90	23	306	259	129	107	2	2	2	0	530	391	921
UTM	526	199	545	440	119	123	0	1	0	2	1,190	765	1,955
UUM	155	92	391	507	26	45	0	0	0	0	572	644	1,216
TOTAL	**4,444**	**2,666**	**6,637**	**8,266**	**1,856**	**2,695**	**94**	**37**	**91**	**62**	**13,123**	**13,577**	**22,700**

*M – Male *F - Female

Universities in Selangor

Universities in Kuala Lumpur

Source: Ministry of Higher Education, 2009

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix G: Interview Request Letter

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Invitation to Interview

I am a PhD student at the University of York, UK, funded by the Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia. My study is about young Malay Muslim academic women in dual-career families managing their dual roles simultaneously at home and in their workplace. The specific objectives of this study are: firstly, to explore the factors that influenced these women to address certain issues involved in employment and to examine why they chose to pursue an academic career. Secondly, to explore the women's perceptions of marriage and forming a family and the impact of this on their decision to marry and have children. Thirdly, to explore their perceptions and expectations of their dual roles, their preparations for dealing with them and any problems they might face regarding their strategies. The fourth objective is to explore the women's level of awareness of existing government policies and how these related to the strategies they used to reconcile their home and work responsibilities. When I discuss my findings, I also include the experiences of husbands and unmarried academics of both sexes as subsidiary respondents to supplement any necessary ideas that emerged during the discussions according to the study objectives.

Therefore I would like to interview Malay couples aged between 24 and 40 who are married and both in gainful employment. The wives should be working as tutors or lecturers in the public universities in the Kuala Lumpur and Selangor areas while the husbands are working in any professional occupations elsewhere. These couples must have obtained at least a diploma in terms of their educational qualifications. I would also like to interview unmarried (single) Malay academics of both sexes aged between 24 and 40, who also work as tutors or lecturers in the public universities in the Kuala Lumpur and Selangor areas.

I will be in Malaysia from November 2010 until January 2011 to conduct the interviews. These interviews will be conducted in the Malay languaged, at any time and place convenient to you. You can withdraw from the interview or end the interview at any time whenever you like. Your responses and your identity will remain confidential. I would also like to request that you can set aside about two hours for the interview. If you are interested in being an interviewee for this study, or know of someone who fulfils the response characteristics and would like to participate, please contact me through my email: zuerinas@yahoo.com or zjo500@york.ac.uk or my phone: +6019-368991 (Malaysia) or 4475635258257. If you would like to request further information, please contact me.

I hope your willingness to participate in this study will help to highlight some issues that relate to women, gender, marriage and dual-career families in Malaysia. I also believe that this study has clear potential to bring to light an understanding of the phenomenon of academic women in dual-career families in Malaysia. I hope it will identify the need for them to deal with certain challenges in order to succeed in their careers while at the same time being able to manage their family life. I thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Regards,

Zuraini Jamil Osman

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix H: Interview Questions

Interview questions (married women)

Themes	Sub-topics
Access to education and academia as a career option	The backgrounds of family of origin and interviewees' educational achievements. What were the factors that influenced you to become a career woman? Why academia as a career option?
Decision to marry and have a family life decision	The perception of marriage and family, and its influence on becoming married career women with children. What were the factors that you took into consideration when making life decisions? How did you meet their spouses? What influenced you to desire a certain number of children? Were there any differences between your own experiences and those of their mothers about marriage and starting a family life?
Managing family responsibilities	How did you manage family responsibilities? What strategies did you use or plan to use? Did you face difficulties when dealing with your dual roles? Were there any differences between your experiences and those of mothers when managing their responsibilities? How did you feel when managing your family responsibilities? How did your husband/partners perceive your family responsibilities? Did your husband/ partners become involved in helping and supporting women to fulfil their dual roles?
Managing work responsibilities	How did you manage work responsibilities? Were you aware of any policies that help men and women to reconcile their career and family life? What were the policies? Which policies had a greater impact on your lives as career women, married women and married couples? Did you feel content with these policies? Any suggestions for improving these policies?

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Interview questions (husbands)

Themes	Sub-topics
Perception of women with dual roles	The backgrounds of family of origin and interviewees' educational achievements. What do you think about woman with career? What do you think of a career as an academic for woman? Why did you choose to marry a career woman?
Decision to marry and have a family life decision	The perception of marriage and family, and its influence on their decision to marry. What were the factors that you took into consideration when making life decisions? How did you meet your spouse? What influenced you to desire a certain number of children?
Involvement in domestic chores and supporting their dual-career wives	What do you think about the idea of helping your wife with the domestic chores? What do you think about the strategies you and your wife use to reconcile family and work responsibilities? What do you think about your wife's careers? What do you think about the way your wife is handling the dual roles? How do you feel when you help your wife manage the domestic chores? What types of domestic chores do you do?
Aware of the availability of related government policies with family and working couples	Were you aware of any policies that help women and men to reconcile their career and family life? What were the policies? Which policies had a greater impact on your life as a career man, married man and married couples? Do you feel content with these policies? Any suggestions for improving these policies?

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Interview questions (unmarried female respondents)

Themes	Sub-topics
Access to education and academia as a career option	The backgrounds of family of origin and interviewees' educational achievements. What were the factors that influenced you to become a career woman? Why academia as a career option?
Decision to marry and have a family life decision	The perception of marriage and family, and its influence on your decision to become married career women with children in the future. The perception of marriage and family, and its influence on your decision to marry. What were the factors that you took into consideration when making life decisions? Do you already have someone special in your life to marry? What kind of man do you want to marry? How did you meet your future spouse? What influenced you to desire a certain number of children? Were there any differences between your own experiences and those of mothers about marriage and starting a family life?
Perceptions and planning to manage their dual roles of work and family responsibilities	How did you plan to manage your dual roles? What strategies did you plan to use? Did you think you would face any difficulties when dealing with your dual roles? Were there any differences between your plans and those of mothers when managing their responsibilities? How did you feel about managing your roles at home and in the workplace simultaneously if you married? What did you think about man's involvement in helping and supporting women to fulfil their dual roles?
Aware of the availability of related government policies with family and working couples	Were you aware of any policies that help women and men to reconcile their career and family life? What were the policies? Which policies had a greater impact on your lives as a career woman, married woman and married couples in the future? Did you feel content with these policies? Any suggestions for improving these policies?

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Interview questions (unmarried male respondent)

Themes	Sub-topics
Perception of women with dual roles	The backgrounds of family of origin and interviewees' educational achievements. What do you think about women with careers? What do you think of a career as an academic for women?
Decision to marry and have a family life decision	The perception of marriage and family, and its influence on your decision to marry. What were the factors that you took into consideration when making life decisions? Did you already have someone special in your life to marry? How did you meet your spouse? What kind of women did you want to marry? What influenced you to desire a certain number of children? Were there any differences between your own experiences and those of fathers about marriage and starting a family life?
Perception of involvement in domestic chores and supporting their future dual-career wives	What did you think about the idea of helping your future wife with the domestic chores? What did you think about the strategies you and your future wife were planning to use to reconcile family and work responsibilities? What did you think about your future wife's career? What did you think about the way your future wife are handling her dual roles? How did you feel about helping your future wife managd the domestic chores? What types of domestic chores did you think you would do?
Aware of the availability of related government policies with family and working couples	Were you aware of any policies that help women and men to reconcile their career and family life? What were the policies? Which policies had a greater impact on your life as a career man, married man and married couples in the future? Did you feel content with these policies? Any suggestions for improving these policies?

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix I: Approval Letter to Conduct Research in Malaysia

UNIT PERANCANG EKONOMI
Economic Planning Unit
JABATAN PERDANA MENTERI
Prime Minister's Department
BLOK B5 & B6
PUSAT PENTADBIRAN KERAJAAN PERSEKUTUAN
62502 PUTRAJAYA
MALAYSIA

EPU

Telefon 603-8872 3333

Rujukan Tuan
Your Ref

Rujukan Kami
Our Ref UPE: 40:200/19/2686

Tarikh
Date 5 August 2010

Zuraini Binti Jamil @Osman
155 Taman Sentosa
27600, Raub Pahang
Pahang.
Email: zuernas@yahoo.com

APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN MALAYSIA

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

With reference to your application, I am pleased to inform you that your application to conduct research in Malaysia has been *approved* by the **Research Promotion and Co-Ordination Committee, Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department.** The details of the approval are as follows:

Researcher's name	**ZURAINI BINTI JAMIL @ OSMAN**
Passport No. / I.C No.	**730620-06-5628**
Nationality	**MALAYSIAN**
Title of Research	**"MODERNIZATION AND DUAL-CAREER FAMILIES: THE CHALLENGES OF ACADEMIC WOMEN IN MALAY DUAL-CAREER FAMILIES IN MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIETY"**

Period of Research Approved **3 YEARS**

2 Please collect your Research Pass in person from the Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, Parcel B, Level 1, Block B5, Federal Government Administrative Centre, 62502 Putrajaya and bring along two (2) passport size photographs. You are also required to comply with the rules and regulations stipulated from time to time by the agencies with which you have dealings in the conduct of your research.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

3. I would like to draw your attention to the undertaking signed by you that you will submit without cost to the Economic Planning Unit the following documents:

a) A brief summary of your research findings on completion of your research and before you leave Malaysia: and

b) Three (3) copies of your final dissertation/publication.

4. Lastly, please submit a copy of your preliminary and final report directly to the State Government where you carried out your research. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

(**MUNIRAH ABD. MANAN**)
For Director General,
Economic Planning Unit.
E-mail: munirah@epu.gov.my
Tel: 88725281/88725272
Fax: 88883961

ATTENTION

This letter is only to inform you the status of your application and **cannot be used as a research pass**.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix J: Consent form

CONSENT FORM

This form has to be read out by interviewees before the interviews begin. Two copies of the form will be signed by the interviewees whom they and researcher will keep a copy. Please read the following statements of the research procedures as well as the terms and conditions carefully about in which your responses and contribution to the study will be used. If you agreed to participate in the study, please indicate your consent.

Name of Participant:

Organisation:

a. This study will use semi-structures and in-depth interview. All the interviews will be recorded and will be transcribed by researcher.
b. All the information and the typed transcription of the interviews will be kept confidential and secure.
c. You will not be identified by your name though the information gathered in this study might be published.
d. You can withdraw from this study or asking to stop the recording at any time.
e. You are free not to respond to the interview questions during the interviewing process.

I have read and agreed to the terms and conditions above.

Therefore, I.....have been given information about the study and consent to take part as an interviewee in the study of Miss Zuraini Jamil Osman on the subject of "Academic Women in Malay Dual-Career Families in Malaysia"

Participant's signature ..... Date.....

I certify that I have explained the research procedures as well as the terms and conditions to the participant and consider that she / he understands what I have explained and freely accepts to take part in the study.

Researcher's signature.....
Date.....

Name of researcher: Zuraini Jamil Osman
Institution: University of York, UK (PhD student) Funded by: Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia under the Sultan Idris Education University Mobile number: 019-3689919
Email: zjo500@york.ac.uk

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Appendix K: Children's qualifications

Name	Children's Qualification	
	Sons	Daughters
Halimah's Parents	1 son – completed secondary school 2 sons – diploma	1 daughter - master's 1 daughter - degree 1 daughter - diploma 2 daughters - still studying at degree level 1 daughter - still studying at secondary school
Basariah's Parents	2 sons – diploma 1 son – completed secondary school 1 son – still studying at degree level	3 daughters - degree 1 daughter - master's
Arena's Parents	1 son – degree 2 sons – diploma 3 sons – completed secondary school 1 son – still studying at diploma level	1 daughter - master's
Yusrina's Parents	2 sons- completed secondary school 1 son – completed secondary school	2 daughters - degree 1 daughter - master's
Shakila's Parents	1 son – degree 1 son – advanced diploma	2 daughters - master's 1 daughter - degree 1 daughter - still studying at degree level
Irdina's Parents	1 son - degree 1 son – still studying at secondary school	1 daughter - master's 1 daughter - still studying at degree level 1 daughter - still studying at diploma level 1 daughter - still studying at secondary school
Umaira's Parents	3 sons - completed secondary school	1 daughter - master's 1 daughter – degree
Mazniah's Parents	2 sons - completed secondary school	1 daughter - master's 1 daughter - diploma 1 son – diploma
Emilia's Parents	2 sons - diploma 1 son - still studying at degree level	1 daughter - PhD 1 adopted daughter – degree
Naimah's Parents	1 son - degree	2 daughter s - degree 1daughter - doing foundation course to study abroad 1daughter - still studying at primary school
Rashidah's Parents	1 son - completed secondary school	1 daughter - master's 3 daughters - degree
Mashitah's Parents	1 son - still studying at degree level I son - completed secondary school	1 daughter - master's 1 daughter – degree
Bahijah's Parents	1 son - completed secondary school	2 daughters – master's 1 daughter - completed secondary school
Amalina's Parents	1 son - still studying at degree level	1 daughter - master's 1 daughter – degree
Maria's Parents	1 son - completed the Aviation Academy 1 son - still studying at primary school	1 daughter - master's

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Bibliography

Abdullah, A. (2010) 'Themes and issues in research on social problems in the first decade of the 21st century in Malaysia', *Akademika,* 78 (Jan-April): 3-14.

Abdullah, F. (1985) 'Wanita dan pekerjaan: satu analisa konflik peranan (Women and work: an analysis on role conflict', *Akademika*, 27: 77-93.

---------- (1987) 'Wanita yang bekerja dan pengurusan rumahtangga (Working women and household management)', *Jurnal Antropologi dan Sosiologi.* 15: 75-91.

---------- (1994) '*Urbanisasi dan keluarga: Satu kajian kes kelas menengah Melayu diKuala Lumpur* (Urbanization and family: A case study of the Malay middle-class in Kuala Lumpur)', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya.

---------- (2000a) 'Penyertaan wanita dalam ekonomi negara (The participation of women in the national economy)', in: A. R. Embong (ed.) *Negara, Pasaran dan Pemodenan Malaysia* (Nation, Market and Modernization of Malaysia). Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

----------. (2000b) 'Keluarga luas kepada keluarga nuklear: perubahan struktur keluarga Melayu (Extended family to nuclear family: the changes in Malay family structure)', in: A. R. Embong (ed.) *Negara, Pasaran dan Pemodenan Malaysia* (Nation, Market and Modernization of Malaysia). Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

----------. (2008) 'Mengimbangi peranan wanita: Antara peribadi dan awam', in: N. Ali and J. Dakir (ed.), *Isu-isu wanita di Malaysia.* Selangor: International Law Book Services.

Abdullah, J.C. (2012) 'Unity and harmony in Malaysia: Problems and challenges', *British Journal of Science,* 6 (1): 28-37.

Abdullah, K., Noor, N.M. and Wok, S. (2008) 'The perceptions of women's roles and progress: a study of Malay women', *Social Indicators Research*, 89 (3): 439-455.

Abdullah, M. R. T. (2010) 'Cabaran integrasi antara kaum di Malaysia: Perspektif sejarah, keluarga dan pendidikan, *Jurnal Hadhari*, 3: 61-84.

Abdullah, N., Ismail, R., Noor, Z. N., and Ahmad, F. (2012) 'Probability of working among married woman in Malaysia', *Jurnal Ekonomi*, 46 (1): 107-117.

Abdullah, R. (1993) 'Changing population policies and women's lives in Malaysia. *Reproductive Health Matters*: *Population and Family Planning Policies: Women-Centred Perspectives* 1 (1): 67-77.

Abdullah, R., Martinez, P. and Mohd Radzi, W. (2010) 'Islam and adat', *Indonesia and Malay World*, 38 (11): 161-180.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Abd Rashid, A. R., Husin, S. and Tubah, J. (2006) '*Institusi keluarga menghadapi alaf baru (Family institution in facing the new millennium),*' in: A. R. Abd Rashid, S. Husin, and J. Tubah (eds.) *Institusi keluarga menghadapi alaf baru (Family institution in facing the new millennium)*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn Bhd.

Abdul Majid, M. Z. and Azahari, R. (1989) *Undang-undang keluarga Islam: Konsep and pelaksanaannya di Malaysia (Family law: Concept and implementation in Malaysia)*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

Abdul Malik, U. and Ismail, A. G. (1996) 'Ethics, morals and values: A Malaysianexperience in alternative development.'*Humanomics,* 12(2): 3 – 20.

Abraham, C. E. R. (1997) *Divide and Rule: The Roots of Race Relations in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: INSAN.

Achievement and publication under Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development.
Available at http://www.kpwkm.gov.my, [Accessed 9 December 2009].

Adams, G. A., King, L. A., and King, D. W. (1996) 'Relationships of job and family involvement, family social support, and work–family conflict with job and life satisfaction,' *Journal Of Applied Psychology*, 81(4): 411-420.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Adelaar, K. (2004) 'Where does Malay come from? Twenty years of discussions about homeland, migrations and classifictions', *Bijdragedn tot de Taal-LandenVolkenkunde*, 160 (1): 1-30.

Adema, W. and Whiteford, P. (2008) 'Matching work and family commitments: Australian outcomes in a comparative perspective', *Australian Institute of Family Studies, Family Matters, No.8*. Available at http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/fm2008/fm80/aw.pdf. [Accessed 5 May 2012].

Afsaneh, N (2011)'Forthcoming. Verdicts of science, rulings of faith: transgender/sexuality in contemporary Iran', *Social Research*, 78(2): 1-24.

Ahmad, A. (1998) *Country briefing paper on women in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Social Department Specialist <Available at www.adb.org/.../books/.../women_in_malaysia/women_malaysia.pdf>[Accessed 9 December 2009].

Ahmad, A. (1999) 'Gender role orientation of husbands and work-family conflict of wives in dual-earner families', *Pertanika, J.Sci and Hum*, 7 (1): 1-9.

Ahmad, A. (2009) 'Gender differences and trends in the participation of Malaysia in education: Implications on employment outcomes', *The Journal of International Management Studies*, 4(2): 65-74.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
---------- (2007) 'Family-friendly employment policy practises in the Malaysian government and selected private organisations', *The Journal of Global Business Management*, 3 (1): 128-135.

----------. (2011) 'Coping behaviour of junior physicians in managing conflict between work and family roles', *Journal of American Science*, 7 (6): 513-517.

Ahmad, A.M., Hashim, N.H., Mohd Isa, A and Hamzah, S.R. (1999) 'Role conflict and social support of employed women in industry', in: M. Ismail and A. Ahmad (eds.) *Women And Work: Challenges In Industrializing Nations*. London: Academic Press Ltd.

Ahmad, A., and Omar, Z. (2010) 'Perceived workplace culture as an antecedent of job stress: The mediating role of work-family conflict,' *Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(3): 369-375.

Ahmad, W., Ibrahim, W., & Ismail, Z. (2010). Mengenali warga tua desa di Malaysia: Profil sosial dan pengaturan tempat kediaman. *Journal of Governance and Development*, *6*, 22-39.

Al-Hamidy, H. M. (1993) *Islam dan Perkahwinan* (Islam and Marriage). Bandung: Al-Maarif.

Alavi, K. and Sail, R. M (2010) 'Roles of Malay women in the process of caring for elderly parents', Kajian Malaysia, 26(2): 76-105.

Ali, A. (1999) *Muslimah: Pendidikan,Kekeluaragaan dan Perjuangan* (Muslim Women, Education, Family and Struggle). Kuala Lumpur: Mutaqqin.

Ali, N. F. M. (1994) 'Can women succeed both at home and in the work place', in: Y. Ismail (ed.) *Muslim Women in Organisation: A Malaysian Perspective*. Kuala Lumpur: A.S. Nordeen.

Ali, S. H. (2008) The Malays: Their problems and future. Petaling Jaya: The Other Press.

Ali, N. (2008) 'Tugas asas wanita dalam dunia perubahan: Cabaran pembangunan keluarga', in: N. Ali and J. Dakir (ed.), *Isu-isu wanita di Malaysia.* Selangor: International Law Book Services.

Alice, O. W. and Florence, K. W. (2015)'University students' perception of marriage life by gender at Egerton University, Njoro Campus, Kenya,' *International Journal of Scientific Research and Innovative Technology,* 2(7): 49-64.

Allan, C., Loudoun, R., and Peetz, D. (2007) 'Influences on work/non-work conflict,' *Journal of Sociology*, 43(3): 219-239.

Allan, G. (1980). Note on interviewing spouses together. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 42(1),
205–210.
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Allen, T. D. (2001) 'Family-supportive work environment: the role of organisational perceptions', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 58 (3): 414-435.

Almquist, E. M. and Angrist, S. S. (1971) 'Role model influences on college women's career aspirations,' *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development*, 17 (3): 263-279.

Alwi, H. H. (1996) '*Islam dan wanita*(Islam and Women)', *Jurnal Usuluddin*, 4: 106-116.
Amin, S., and Alam, I. (2008) 'Women's employment decisions in Malaysia: Does religion matter?', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 37 (6): 2368-2379.

Amin, S. (2004) 'Ethnic differences and married women's employment in Malaysia: do government policies matter?', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 33 (3): 291-306.

An act to amend the Education Act 1996. (n.d. http://www.parlimen.gov.mybillindex/pdf/Rang%202001/Rang%20Undang-Undang%20DR%2049.pdf [Accessed 24 January 2010].

Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. (1982) *A History ofMalaysia*. London: Macmillan.

Andaya, L.Y. (2001) 'The search for the 'origin' of Melayu', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 32 (3): 315-330.

Anderson, S.E., Coffey, B.S. and Byerly R.T. (2002) 'Formal organizational initiatives and informal workplace practises: links to work-family conflict and job-related outcomes', *Journal of Management*, 28 (6): 787-810.

Anderson, K.H., Hill, M.A. and Butler, J.S. (1987) 'A hazard model of marriage timing', *Journal of Development Economics*, 26 (2): 223 – 234.

Amin, S., and Alam, I. (2008) 'Women's employment decisions in Malaysia: Does religion matter?', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 37 (6): 2368-2379.

Amin, S. (2004) 'Ethnic differences and married women's employment in Malaysia: do government policies matter?', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 33 (3): 291-306.

Arasaratnam, S. (1970) *Indians in Malaya and Singapore*. London: Oxford University Press.

Archer, L. (2002) 'It's easier that you're a girl and that you're Asian': interactions of 'race' and gender between researchers and participants', Feminist Review, 72, (Drugs): 108-132.

Arendell, T. (1997) 'Reflections on the researcher-researched relationship: a woman interviewing men', *Qualitative Sociology*, 20 (3): 341-368.

Arksey, H., & Knight, P. T. (1999). *Interviewing for social scientists: An introductory resource with examples*. Saged.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Arrifin, R. (1986) 'The exploitation of women: an overview', *Sojurn*, 1 (2): 133-154.

---------- (1997a) 'Malaysian women in the modern era', *The Copenhagedn Journal Asian Studies*, (12): 69-88.

---------- (1997b) *Women's Participation in Trade Union in Peninsular Malaysia with Special Reference to MTUC and CUEPACS*. Pulau Pinang: Universiti Sains Malaysia.
---------- (1999) 'Feminism in Malaysia: a historical and present perspective of women's struggles in Malaysia', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22 (4): 417-423.

Arrifin, J. (1992) *Women and Development in Malaysia*. Subang Jaya: Pelanduk Publication.

Arrifin, J. Horton, S. and Sedlacek, G. (1996) 'Women in the labour market in Malaysia', in: S. Horton (eds.) *Women and Industrialisation in Asia*. London: Routledge.

Arshart, H. and Tey, N.P. (1988) 'An overview of the population dynamics in Malaysia, Malaysian,' *J. Reprod. Health*, 6 (1): 23-46.

Arye,S., Srinivas, E.S. and Tan, H.H. (2005) 'Rhythms of life: antecedents and outcomes of work-family balance in employed parents', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90 (1): 132-146.

Atkinson, C. and Hall, L. (2009) 'The role of gender in varying forms of flexible working,' *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(6): 650-666.

Aziz, A. and Baharuddin, S. A. (2004) 'The religious, the plural, the secular and the modern: a brief critical survey on Islam in Malaysia', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies,* 5 (3): 341-356.

Baharuddin, S. A. (2005) 'Islam embedded: religion and plurality in Southeast Asia as a mirror for Europe', *Asia Europe Journal*, 3 (2): 159-178.

_____. (2001) 'A history of an identity, an identity of a history: the idea and practice of 'Malayness' in Malaysia reconsidered', *Journal of South East Asian Studies*, 32 (3): 355-366.

_____. (1996) 'The construction and transformation of a social identity: Malayness and Bumiputraness re-examined', *Journal of Asian and African Studies,* 52: 15-33.

Azmawati, A. A., Hashim, I. H. M., and Endut, N. (2015) 'Don't Marry, Be Happy!"–How Single Women in Malaysia View Marriage,' In *SHS Web of Conferences*, 8: 1-9. EDP Sciences.

Bacharach, S. B, Bamberger, P. and Conley, S. (1991) 'Work-Home Conflict Among Nurses and Engineers: Mediating the Impact of Role Stress on Burnout and Satisfaction at Work.'*Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 12 (1): 39-53.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Bakar, A. N. R. (1996) 'Working women and their families: a case study', *Asian Profile*, 24 (2): 131-141.

Bakar, N. R. A. (2012) 'Wanita bekerja dan pengurusan keluarga' (Working women and family management), *Malaysia Journal of Society and Space*, 8 (7): 155-162.

Bakar, N. L. A. and Hashim, R. R. (1984) 'Childcare for working women', in: H. A. Yun, N. S. Karim and R. Talib (eds.) *Women in Malaysia*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications.

Baker, M. (2001) 'The future of family life', in: M. Baker (eds.) *Families: Changing Trends in Canada. Toronto*. McGraw-Hill Ryerson

---------- (2010) 'Choices or constraints? Family responsibilities, gender and academic career', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 41 (1): 1-18.

Balkanlioğlu, M. A. (2014). 'Questioning the relationship between religion and marriage: does religion affect long-lasting marriage? Turkish couples'practice of, perception of, and attitudes towards religion and marriage,' *Journal Of International Social Research*, 7 (31):

Bank, B. J. (2007). Gender and Education. An Encyclopedia. Volume I.Westport London: *Praeger*.

Barford, V. (2008) '*Iran's diagnosed transsexuals'*, Available at http://www.asylumlaw.org/docs/sexualminorities/IranBBC022508.pdf [Accessed 20 December 2014].

Bari, A. A. (2005) *Islam dalam Perlembagaan Malaysia (Islam in the Constitution of Malaysia)*. Kuala Lumpur: Intel Multimedia Publication.

Barnett, R. C. and Rivers, C. (1996) *She Works / He Works: How Two-Income Families are Happier, Healthier, and Better-off*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.

Barnett, R. C. and Hyde, J. S. (2001) 'Women, men, work, and family: an expansionist tehory', *American Psychology Association*, 56 (10): 781-796.

Barnett, R. C., and Perrew, P. L. (2006) 'Relationship of the number and distribution of work hours to health and quality-of-life (QOL) outcomes.' *Research In Occupational Stress And Wellbeing*, 5: 99-138.

Barraclough, S. (1983) 'Managing the challenges of Islamic revival in Malaysia: a regime perspective', *Asian Survey*, 23 (8): 958-975.

Bartley, S.J., Blanton, P.W. and Gilliard, J.L. (2005) 'Husbands and wives in dual-earner marriages: decision-making, gender role attitude, division of household labour and equity', *Marriage and Family Review*, 37 (4): 69-74.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Becker, G. S. (1991). A Treatise on the Family. Enlarged edition. Cambridge, MA: HarvardUniversity Press.

Becker, P. E. and Moern, P. (1999) 'Scaling back: dual-earner couples' work-family strategies', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 61 (4): 995-1007.

Beehr, T.A. and McGrath, J.E. (1992) 'Social support, occupational stress and anxiety,' *Anxiety, Stress and Coping*, 5 (1): 7–19.

Bell, C. S. (2001) 'Data on race, ethnicity and gender: Caveats for the user', in: M. F. Loutfi (eds.),*What is equality and how do we get there? women, gender and work*, Geneva: International Labour Office.

Beng, T.C. (2000) 'Ethnic identities and national identities: Some examples from Malaysia', *Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 6 (4): 441-480.

Benjamin, G. (1985) 'In the long term: three themes in Malaysia culturalecology', in: K. Hutterer and T. Rambo (ed.) C*ultural Values and Tropical Ecology in Southeast Asia.* Ann Arbor: Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies.

Bernasek, A. and Gallaway, J.H. (1997) 'Who gets maternity leave?: the case in Malaysia', *Cotemporary Economic Policy*, 15 (2): 94-104.
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Besar, Z. A. W. (1995) *Panduan Lengkap Bakal Pengantin dan Keluarga Bahagia* (The Complete Guide for Bride-To Be and Happy Family). Selangor: Pustaka Ilmi.

Bianchi, S. M., and Milkie, M. A. (2010) 'Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century,' *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72 (3): 705-725.

Birbili, M. (2000). Translating from one languaged to another. *Social Research Update*, *31*(1), 1–7.

Bjorneberg U. (2002) Parenting in Transition: An Introduction and Summary // European Parents in the 1990s. *Contradictions and Comparisons* (Eds), Ulla Bjorneberg. New Brunswick (U.S.A.) and London (U.K): Transaction Publishers.

Blaisure, K. R. and Allen, K. R. (1995) 'Feminist and the ideology and practise of marital equality', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 57 (1): 5-19.

Blossfeld, H.-P. (2009) 'Educational assortative marriage in comparative perspective,'*AnnualReview of Sociology*, 35: 513-530.

Bogenschneider, K. and Carbett, T. (2004) 'Building enduring family policies in the 21st century : the past as prologue?', in: M. Coleman, and L. H. Ganong (ed.) *Handbook ofCotemporary Families Considering the Past, Completing the Future*. USA : Saged Publications.
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Borhan, Z.A. and Abu Hassan, Z. (2006) 'Nilai keluarga melayu dan cabarannya dalam pembangunan (Value of Malay family and its challenges in development)', in Abd Rashid, A. R., Husin, S. and Tubah, J (eds.) *Institusi keluarga menghadapi alaf baru (Family institution in facing the new millennium)* . Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn Bhd.

Bosch, N., Deelen, A., and Euwals, R. (2010) 'Is Part-time Employment Here to Stay? Working Hours of Dutch Women over Successive Generations,' *Labour*, 24 (1): 35-54.

Boserup, E. (1970) *Women's Role in Economic Development*. New York: St. Martins' Press.

Brennan, R. T., Barnett, R. C., and Gareis, K. C. (2001) 'When she earns more than he does: a longitudinal study of dual-earner couples,' *Journal Of Marriage and Family*, 63 (1): 168-182.

Brewster, K. L., and Padavic, I. (2000) 'Change in gender-ideology, 1977–1996: The contributions of intracohort change and population turnover,' *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(2): 477-487.

Brown, G. K. (2010) 'Legible pluralism: The Politics of ethnic and religious identification in Malaysia', *Ethno politics: Formerly Global Review of Ethno politics*, 9 (1): 31-52.

Brownridge, D. A. (2002) 'Cultural Variation in Male Partner Violence Against Women A Comparison of Québec With the Rest of Canada,' *Violence Against Women*, 8 (1): 87-115.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bogenschneider, K. and Carbett, T. (2004) 'Building enduring family policies in the 21st century : the past as prologue?', in: M. Coleman, and L. H. Ganong (ed.) *Handbook ofCotemporary Families Considering the Past, Completing the Future*. USA : Saged Publications.

Bowes, J. M. (2005). Emphasizing the family in work-family research: A review of current research and recommendations for future directions, In Poelmans, S.A.Y (eds) *Work and family: An International Research Perspective*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Büchel F. (2000) Tied Movers, Tied Stayers: The Higher Risk of Overeducation among Married Women in West Germany. In: Gustafsson SS, Meulders DE (eds) *Gender and the Labour Market*. London New York: Macmillan Press.

Bunker, B. B., Zubel, J. M., Vanderslice, V. J.,& Rice, R.W. (1992) 'Quality of life in dual-career families: commuting versus single-residence couples', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 54 (2): 399-406.

Bures, A. L., Henderson, D., Mayfiled, J., Mayfiled, M and Workey, J. (2011) 'A cross national investigation of dual-career couples', *Journal of Applied Business Research*, 12 (1): 52-58.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Byron, K. (2005) 'A meta-analytic review of work–family conflict and its antecedents,' *Journal Of Vocational Behavior*, 67(2): 169-198.

Camroux, D. (1996) 'State responses to Islamic resurgence in Malaysia: accommodation, co-option and confrontation', *Asian Survey*, 36 (9): 852-868.

Carey, I. (1976) *Orang Asli: The Aboriginal Tribes of Peninsular Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Carlson, D. S., Kacmar, M. K., & Williams, L. J. (2000). 'Construction and validation of a multidimensional measure of work–family conflict.' *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 56: 249 –276. doi:10.1006/jvbe.1999.1713.

Carsten, J. (1989) 'Cooking money: gender and symbolic transformation of means of exchange in a Malay fishing community', in: J. Parry and M. Bloch (eds.) *Money and the Morality of Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carter, S. L. (1991). *Reflections of an affirmative action baby.* New York: Basic Books.

Cha, Y., and Thébaud, S. (2009) 'Labor markets, breadwinning, and beliefs how economic context shapes men's gender ideology,'. *Gender and Society*, 23(2): 215-243.

Chan, C. H. (1964) *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909*. London, Kuala Lumpur, New York: Oxford University Press.

Chattopadhyay, A. (1997) 'Family migration and the economic status of women in Malaysia', *International Migration Review*, 31 (2): 338-352.

Chaudhuri, K.N. (1990) T*rade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean. An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cheah, B. K. (2002) *Malaysia: The making of nation.* Singapore: Institute Southeast Asian Studies.

Cheal, D. (2002) *Sociology of Family*. New York : Palgrave.

Chen, D. and Hosoc, Y. (2011) 'Attitudes and sense of responsibility of university students toward their aging parents in Japan and Korea', *Asian Social Science*, 7 (2): 60-66.

Chen, P. and Hinton, S.M. 1999. Realtime interviewing using the World Wide Web. *Sociological Research Online*, 4(3).

Cheng, B. S., and Nwachukwu, S. L. (1997) 'The effect of education on fertility in Taiwan: A time series analysis.,' *Economics Letters*, *56*(1): 95-99.

Cheng, S, A. (2003) 'Rethinking the globalization of domestic service: foreign domestics, state control, and the politics of identity in Taiwan', *Gender and Society,* 17 (2): 166-186.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Chiam, H.K. (2008) 'Child care in Malaysia: then and now', *International Journal of Child Care and Education Policy*, 2 (2): 31-41.

Chin, C. B. N. (1997) 'Walls of silence and late twentieth century representations of the foreign female domestic worker: the case of Filipina and Indonesian female servants in Malaysia', *International Migration Review*, 31 (2): 353-385.

Chisholm, J.F. (1999) 'The sandwich generation', *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless*, 8 (3): 177-191.

Chong, T. (2005a) *Modernization Trends in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

---------- (2005b) 'The construction of Malaysia Malay middle class: the histories, intricacies and futures of the Melayu baru', *Social Identities,* 11 (6): 573-587.

Cinamon, R.G. and Rich, Y. (2002) 'Profiles of attribution of importance to life roles and their implications for the work-family conflict', *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 49 (2): 212-220.

Cinamon, R.G. (2006). Anticipated work-family conflict: effects of gender, self-efficacy, and family background, *The Career Development Quarterly,* 54 (3): 202-215.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Coltrane, S. (2000) 'Research on household labour: modelling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62 (4): 1208-1233

Coltrane, S., & Adams, M. (2001). Men's family work. *Working Families: The Transformation of the American Home*, 72–99.

----------. (2004) 'Fathering: paradoxes, contradictions and dilemma, in: in: M. Coleman, and L. H. Ganong (ed.) *Handbook ofCotemporary Families Considering the Past, Completing the Future*. USA : Saged Publications.

Coltrane, S., & Adams, M. (2001). Men's family work. *Working Families: The Transformation of the American Home*, 72–99.

Comas, D., Calafell, F., Mateu, E., Lezaun, A. P., Bosch, E., Martı´nez-Arias, R., Clarimon, J., Facchini, F., Fiori, G., Luiselli, D., Pettener, D. and Bertranpetit, J. (1998) 'Trading genes along the Silk Road: mtDNA sequences and the origin of central Asian populations', *Am J Hum Genet*, 63 (6): 1824-1838.

Cooke, T. (2001) ''Trailing wife' or 'trailing mother'? the effect of parental status on the relationship between family migration and the labour market participation of married women,', *Environment and Planning A,* 33 (3): 419-430.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Cooke, F. L. (2007) ''Husband's career first': renegotiating career and family commitment among migrant Chinese academic couples in Britain', *Work Employment Society,* 21 (47): 47-64.

Copen CE, Daniels K, Vespa J, Mosher WD. (2012) 'First marriages in the United States: data from the 2006---2010 National Survey of Family Growth,' *Natl Health Stat Report*, 49:1-21.

Copur, Z., Erkal, S., Dogan, N. and Safak, S. (2010) 'Sharing and spending time on domestic tasks: a Turkey sample', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies,* XXXXI (1): 87-109.

Cornel, F. G. (1952) 'Malayan citizenship legislation', *International and Comparative Law Quarterly,* 1 (4): 504-518.

Cotteril, P. (1992). 'Interviewing women: Issues of friendship vulnerability and power', *Women's Studies International Forum* 15, 593-606.

Coverman S. (1985). Explaining husband's participation in domestic labor.. 26:8197 Sociological Quarterly, Spring 1985, Vol.26(1), p.81 [Peer Reviewed Journal)

Crano, W. D. & Brewer, M. B. (2002). *Principles and methods of social research.* New jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGED Publications, Inc.

Crompton, R. (2006). *Employment And The Family: The Reconfiguration Of Work And Family Life In Contemporary Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crompton, R., and Lyonette, C. (2006) 'Work-life 'balance' in Europe.' *Acta Sociologica*, 49(4): 379-393.
Da, W. (2004) 'A regional tradition of gender equity: Shanghai men in Sydney, Australia', *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 12 (2): 133-149.

Dancz, V. H. (1987) *Women and Party Politics in Peninsular Malaysia.* Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Davidson, M.J. and Burke, R.J. (2011) *Women in Management Worldwide: Progress and Prospects*. Surrey, UK: Gower Publishing Company.

Davidson, J. K. Sr. and Moore, N. B. (1996) *Marriage And The Family: Change And Continuity*. Allyn and Bacon: Boston.

Daud, M. (1995) *Perkahwinan Menurut Islam* (Marriage in Islam). Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publication and Distributors Sdn Bhd.

---------- (1989) *Institusi Keluarga Islam* (The Institution of Family Islam). Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publication and Distributors Sdn Bhd.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Dema-Moreno, S. (2009) 'Behind the negotiations: Financial decision-making processes in Spanish dual-income couples,' *Feminist Economics*, 15(1): 27-56.

Denscombe, M. (2003). The good research guide: for small scale social projects. *Maidenhead, PA: Open University.*

Department of Prime Minister. (1984) *Muslim Women's Rights and Responsibilities*. Risalah Bahagian Pendidikan Islam. 15 (31).

Department of Statistics, Malaysia. (2010) *Population Distribution and Basic Demographic Characteristics 2010*. Malaysia: Department of Statistics.

Department of Statistics, Malaysia. (2009) *Labour Force Survey Report Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Department of Statistics, Malaysia <Available at http:www.statistics.gove.com.> [Accessed 9 December 2009].

Derichs, C. (1999) *'Nation building in Malaysia under conditions of globalisation'*, paper presented at the 2nd International Malaysian Studies Conference, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

Desforges, C. and Abouchaar, A. (2003) *The Impact of Parental Involvement, Parental Support And Family Education on Pupil Achievement And Adjustment: A Review Of Literature*. London: DfES Publications.

Dingwall, R. (1997). Accounts, interviews and observations. In Miller, G and Dingwall, R. (Eds.), *Context and method in qualitative research* (pp. 51-65). London, UK: SAGED Publications.

Doherty, L., and Manfredi, S. (2006) 'Action research to develop work-life balance in a UK university' *Women in Management Review*, 21(3): 241-259.

Du Bois, J. W., Shuetze-Coburn, S., Cumming, S., & Paulino, D. (1993). Outline of discourse transcription. In Edwars, J. A. & Lampert, M. D. (Eds).*Talking data: Transcription and coding in discourse research.* New York: Psychology Press.

Duxbury, L. E., and Higgins, C. A. (1991) 'Gender differences in work-family conflict,' *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76(1): 60-74.

Eam, L. H., Mohaideen, Z. M. and Abdullah, N. (2003) 'Penyertaan tenaga buruh Malaysia di Kedah: kesan factor agama, anak dan pendidikan (Malaysian labor force participation in Kedah: the impact of religious, children and educational factors), *Jurnal Ekonomi Malaysia*, 37: 49-79.

Ecivit, Y., Gunduz-Hosgor, A. and Tokluoglu, C. (2003) 'Professional women in computer programming occupations: the case of Turkey', *Career Development International*, 8 (2): 78-87.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Elliot, F.R. (1986) *The Family: Change Or Continuity*. London: Macmillan Education.

Ellis, C., & Berger, L. (2003). Their story/my story/our story. *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*, 467–493.

Elm, B.V. and Hirschman, C. (1979) 'Aged at first marriage in Peninsular Malaysia. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 41: 877-891.

Elloy, D. F., and Smith, C. (2004) 'Antecedents of work-family conflict among dual-career couples: An Australian study,' *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 11(4): 17-27.

Elsaie, A. (2004) *History Of Truth, the Truth about God and Religions*. Malaysia: A S Noordeen.

Embong, A. R. (2000) 'Perindustrian, peranan pemerintah dan pembentukan kelas menengah (Industry, government role and the formation of middle class)', in: A. R. Embong (ed.) *Negara, Pasaran dan Pemodenan Malaysia* (Nation, Market and Modernization of Malaysia). Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

---------- (2002) *State-Led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia.* Houndmills, Basing Stoke, Hamsphire, New York: Palgrave.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

----------. (1996) 'Social transformation, the state and the middle classes in post-independence Malaysia', *Southeast Asian Studies*, 34 (3): 524-547.

Embong, W. H. and Muhammd, S. T. (2006) 'Kesedaran terhadap peranan bapa kepada anggota keluarga mempengaruhi gejela keuntuhan akhlak remaja (Awareness of father's role towards family members in influencing immoral behaviours among teenagedrs)', in: A. R. Rashid, S. Hussein and J. Tubah (ed.) *Krisis dan Konflik Institusi Keluarga* (The Crisis and Conflict of Family Institution). Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publication and Distributors Sdn Bhd.

Ensiklopedia Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Melayu (Encyclopedia of History and Malay Culture). (1999) Jilid 1: (A-E). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka.

Eriksen, S. and Gerstel, N. (2002) 'A labor of love or labor itself care work among adult brothers and sisters, *Journal of Family Issues, 23*(7): 836-856.

Errington, S. (1990) 'Recasting sex, gender and power: a theoretical and regional overview', in: J. M. Atkinson and S. Errington (eds.) *Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia*. California: Stanford University Press.

Esposito, J. L. (1987) *Islam in Asia: Religion, politics and society*. New York: Oxford University Press.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Essam, F. (2004) 'Understanding the law: Egyptian family and social attitudes (results of the field study', in: L. Welchman (ed) *Women's Rights and Islamic Family Law Perspective on Reform*. London: Zed Books Ltd..

Esposito, N. (2001). From meaning to meaning: The influence of translation techniques on non-English focus group research. *Qualitative health research,11*(4), 568-579.

Ezra, M. and Deckman, M. (1996) 'Balancing work and responsibilities: flextime and childcare in the federal government', *Public Administration Review*, 56 (2): 174-179.

Ezzedeen, S.R. and Ritchey, K. G. (2008) 'The man behind the woman: a qualitative study of the spousal support reveived and valued by executive women', *Journal of Family Issues*, 29 (9: 1107-1135.

Fantuzzo, J., McWayne, C., Perry, M. A., and Childs, S. (2004) 'Multiple dimensions of family involvement and their relations to behavioral and learning competencies for urban, low-income children,' *School Psychology Review*, 33(4): 467-480.

Farber, R.S. (1996) 'An integrated perspective on women's career development within a family', *The American Journal of Family Theraphy,* 24 (4):, 329-342.

Faridi, M. Z., Chaudhry, I. M. and Anwar, M. (2009) 'The socio-economic and demographic determinants of women work participation in Pakistan: evidence from Bahawalpur district', *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 24 (2): 353-369.

Fealy, G. (2005) 'Islamisation and politics in Southeast Asia: The contrasting cases of Malaysia and Indonesia, in: N. Lahoud and A. H. John, *Islam in World Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.

Federal Constitution (2010). Malaysia: The Commissioner of Law Revision.

Fee, L.K. (2001) 'The construction of Malay identity across nations: Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia' *Bidragedn tot de-Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde,* 157 (4): 861-879.

Felstead, A., Jewson, N., Phizacklea, A., and Walters, S. (2002) 'Opportunities to work at home in the context of work-life balance.' *Human Resource Management Journal*, 12(1): 54-76.

Filho, C. I. E. (2008) '*Household income as a determinant of child labor and school enrolment in Brazil: Evidence from a social security reform*(No. 8-241)', International Monetary Fund.

Firth, R. (1966) *Housekeeping among Malay Peasant*. London: Athlone Press.

Fix, A.G. (1995) 'Malayan paleosociology: implications for patterns of genetic variation amongst the orang Asli', *American Anthropology*, 97: 313-323.

PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Flick, U. (2004). Triangulation in qualitative research. *A companion to qualitative research*, 178-183

Fontaine, R. and Richardson, S. (2005)'Cultural values in Malaysia: Chinese,Malays and Indians compared,' *Cross Cultural Management: AnInternational Journal,* 12(4): 63-77.

Foss, S. K., Foss, K. A. and Robert, T. (1991) *Contemporary Perspective On Rhetoric*. Prosfect Height. Waveland Press.

Friedman, S. D., and Greenhaus, J. H. (2000). *Work And Family--Allies Or Enemies?: What Happens When Business Professionals Confront Life Choices*. Oxford University Press.

Frisco, M.L.K and Willams, K. (2003) 'Perceived housework equity, marital happiness, and divorce in dual-earner households', *Journal of Family Issues,* 24 (1): 51-73.

Frith, T. (2010) 'Ethno-religious identity and urban Malays in Malaysia', *Asian Ethnicity*, 1 (2): 117-129.

Frisk, S. (2009) *Submitting to God: Women and Islam in urban Malaysia*. Denmark: NIAS Press.

Frone, M. R. (2003). Work-Family Balance. In: Quick, J.C. and Tetrick, L.E (eds). *Handbook of Occupational Health Psychology*, 143-162.

Frone, M. R., Russell, M., and Cooper, M. L. (1995) 'Relationship of work and family stressors to psychological distress: The independent moderating influence of social support, mastery, active coping, and self-focused attention,' *Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality*, 6(7): 227-250.

Frye, N. K. and Breaugh, J. A. (2004) 'Family-Friendly Policies, Supervisor Support, Work–Family Conflict, Family–Work Conflict, and Satisfaction: A Test of a Conceptual Model,' *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 19 (2): 197-220.

Ford, M. T., Heinen, B. A. and Lngkamer, K. L. (2007) 'Work and family satisfaction and conflict: a metal-analysis of cross-domain relations', *Journal of AppliedPsychology*, 92 (1): 57-80.

Fox, G. L., and Murry, V. M. (2000) 'Gender and families: Feminist perspectives and family research,' *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4): 1160-1172.

Glazer-Raymo, J. (1985). *Shattering the myths: Women in academe*. JHU Press

Gaio S., G., and Cabral-Cardoso, C. (2008) 'Work-family culture in academia: a gendered view of work-family conflict and coping strategies.' *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 23(6): 442-457.
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Gauntlett, D. (2008) *Media, Gender And Identity: An Introduction.* London and New: York,Routledge.
Geertz, C. (1963) 'Primordial sentiments and civil politics in the new states', in: C. Geertz (ed.) *Old society and new states*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Geist, C. (2009) 'One German, two worlds of housewife? examining employed single and partnered women in the decade after unification', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, XXXX (3): 415-437.

Gerhold, C.R. (1971) *Factors Relating to Educational Opportunity for Women Residents of the Malay Peninsula.* Ann Arbor Mich: University Microfilms International 1972.

Gerson, K. & Horowitz, R. (2002). Observation and interviewing: Options and choices in qualitative research. In May, T. (Eds). *Qualitative research in action* (pp. 199-224).London, UK: SAGED Publications.

Ghani, P.A. (2006) '*Modelling of cohor fertility changes among major ethnics in Peninsular Malaysia'* Paper presented at the National Statistics Conference, Putrajaya International Convention Centre, Malaysia, 4-5th September 2006.

Ghazali, S. (2002) *Di Mana Mak, Ayah, Agihan Tugas Baru Kesan Pemodenan dan Perindustrian* (Where Is Mom, Dad, A New Task: Impact of Modernisation and Industrilisation). Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publication and Distributors Sdn Bhd.

Gilbert, L.A. (1994) 'Current perspective on dual-career families', *Current Directions inPsychological Science*, 3 (4): 101-105.

Gill, S. S. (2001)'Perkahwinan campur peranakan Punjabi di Sabah,' *SARI: Jurnal Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, 19*: 189-203.

Gilliss, C. L., & Davis, L. L. (1992). Family nursing research: precepts from paragons and peccadilloes.. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *17*(1), 28-33.

Ginsburg, N. and Robert, C.F. (1958) *Malaya.* University of Washington: Press Seattle.

Golsch, K. (2012). Shall I help you my dear? Examining variations in social support for career advancement within partnerships. *Examining Variations in Social Support for Career Advancement within Partnerships (December 2012). SOEPpaper*, (523).

Goldstein, J. R and Kenney, C. T (2001) 'Marriage delayed or marriage forgone? New cohort forecasts of first marriage for U.S women,' *American Sociological Review*, 66 (4): 506-519.

Golden, L. (2001) 'Flexible Work Schedules Which Workers Get Them?,'.*American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(7): 1157-1178.

Gomes, A.G. (1999) 'People and culture', in: A. Kaur and I. Metcalfe (ed.) *The shaping of Malaysia*. New York: St. Martin's Press Inc.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Gomez, E. T. (2000), 'Tracing the Ethnic Divide: Race, Rights and Redistribution in Malaysia", in: J. P. Zarnecka, D. R. Senanayake, A. Nandy (ed.), *Ethnic Futures: The State and Identity Politics in Asia.* London: Saged Publications.

Grady, G., and McCarthy, A. M. (2008) 'Work-life integration: Experiences of mid-career professional working mothers,' *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(5): 599-622.

Grandey, A. A., and Cordeiro, B. L. (2002) 'Family-friendly policies and organizational justice,' *Work and family encyclopedia.*

Grant-Vallone, E. J. and Ensher, E. A. (2011) 'Opting in between: strategies used by professional women with children to balance work and family, *Journal of Career Development*, 38 (4): 331-348

Greenbank, P. (2009) 'Re-evaluating the role of social capital in the career decision-making behaviour of working-class students', *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, 14 (2): 157-170.

Greenhaus, J. H., Collins, K. M., and Shaw, J. D. (2003) 'The relation between work–family balance and quality of life,' *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 63(3): 510-531.

Greenhaus, J. H., and Parasuraman, S. (1999). Research on work, family, and gender: Current status and future directions, In G. N. Powel (eds). *Handbook of Gender and Work.* Newsburry Park, CA: Saged.

Greenhaus, J. H., Collins, K. M., Singh, R., and Parasuraman, S. (1997) 'Work and family influences on departure from public accounting,' *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 50(2): 249-270.

Greenhaus, J. H., and Beutell, N. J. (1985) 'Sources of conflict between work and family roles,' *Academy Of Management Review*, 10(1): 76-88.

Greenhaus, J. H., and Kopelman, R. E. (1981) 'Conflict between work and nonwork roles: Implications for the career planning process.' *Human Resource Planning*, 4(1): 1-10.

Gregory, A., and Milner, S. (2009) 'Editorial: work–life balance: a matter of choice?' *Gender, Work & Organization*, 16(1): 1-13.

Gullick, J. M. (1965) *Indigenous Political System of Western Malaya.* New York: Humanities Press.

Gullick, J. M. (1987) *Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Beginnings of Change.* Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Gullick, J. M. (1988) *Indegenous political systems of western Malaya.* London: Athlone.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Gubrium, J. and Holstein, J. (1990) *What is family?.* Mayfield: Mountain View, CA.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Habibis, D. (2006) ' Ethics and Social Research', pp. 53-82 in M. Walter (ed) *Social Research Method: an Australian perspective,* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Haddock, S. A., Zimmerman, T. S. and Ziemba, S. J. (2006) 'Practices of dual earners couples successfully balancing work and family', *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 27 (2): 207-234.

Hakim, C. (2006) 'Women, careers and work-life preferences', *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling,* 34 (3): 279-292.

Halim, I. S. (1995) *Membina Kecemerlangan Diri dan Anak-Anak Muslim: Mendidik Anak-Anak Cara Islam* (Building a Personal Excellence and Muslim Kids: Educating Children Through the Islamic Way). Kuala Lumpur: Era Visi Sdn Bhd.

Hamayotsu, K. (1999) *'Reformist Islam, Mahathir and the making of Malaysian Nationalism',* paper presented at the 2nd International Malaysian Studies Conference, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

Hamid, M. A. A, Yusu, R.M, Othman, M.F. and Balwi, M.K. (2011) 'Perspektif orang Cina terhadap agama Islam di Malaysia: Satu tinjauan awal (The perspective of Chinese towards Islam in Malaysia)' *Jurnal Teknologi*, 60: 11-19.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: principles in practice.* New York: Routledge.

Hanami, M. (2002) *Gender in Rural Malay Community: Between Adat and Islam.* Los Angeles: University of California.

Haque, M. S. (2013) 'The role of the state in managing ethnic tensions in Malaysia: A critical discourse', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(3): 240-266.

Harris, N. (2002) 'Interviewing friends and the feminist research process', *Women in Welfare Education*, 5: 44-53.

Harun, Y. (1993) *Keluarga Melayu Bandar: Satu Analisis Perubahan* (An Urban Malay Families: An Analysis of Change*). Kuala Lumpur:* Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Harun, J. (2008) 'Kajian nashkah undang-undang *Adat* Melayu di London' (A study of Adat Melayu Law in London)', *Sari,* 26: 127-148.

Hashim, H. and Omar, R. (2004) 'Career, family and community: the dilemma of professional and semi-professional Malay women', *Asian Women,* (19): 45-68.

Hashim, R. S. (2006) 'Meniti duri dan ranjau: pembikinan gender dan seksualiti dalam konteks dunia Melayu (Facing the Challenges: The construction of gender and sexuality in Malay World Context),'*Sari,* 24, 15-34.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Hassan, A. G. (2004) *The Rights and Duties of Women in Islam*. Riyadh: Maktaba Dar-us-Salam.

Hassan, A. J. M. (1993) *Perkahwinan dalam Islam Berdasarkan Kepada Dalil, Hukum, Hikmat dan Panduan Kebahagiaan* (Marriage in Islam Based On The Evidence, Law, the Guide of Wisdom and Happiness). Kuala Lumpur: A. S. Noorden.

Hassan, M. H. (2007) 'Explaining Islam's special position and the politic of Islam in Malaysia', *Muslim World*, 97 (2): 287-316

Hassan, M.K. and Basri, G. B. (2005) *The Encyclopedia of Malaysia:* Religious and Beliefs. Singapore: Archipelago Press.

Hassan, S. Z. S. (1998) *Malaysian Women in the Wake of Change*. Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya.

Hatin, W. A., Nur Shafawati, A. R., Zahri, M. K, Xu, S., Jin, L., Tan, S.G., Idid, M. R. and Zilfalil, B. (2011) 'Population genetic structure of Peninsular Malaysia Malay Sub-Ethnic Groups', *PLoS ONE*, 6 (4): 1-5.

Hee, T.F. (2003) 'The influence of modernity, modernisation and postmodernism on company law reform in Malaysia', *Bond Law Review*, 15 (1): 285-313.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Henderson, J. C. (2002) 'Managing tourism and Islam in Peninsular Malaysia', *Tourism Management*, 24: 447-456.

Henderson,W.J., Barth, A.H., Heiman, M.J., Moellen, W.P., Soriano, S.F. and Weaver, O.J. (1970) *Area handbook for Malaysia*. Washington: The American University.

Hennick, M., Diamond, I. and Cooper, P. (1999) 'Contraceptive use dynamics of Asian women in Britain', *Journal of Biosociological Science*, 31 (4): 537-554.

Heraty, T., Kintanar, T.B., Koh, T. A. and Mohd Tahir, U. M. (1995) *Emergent voices-Southeast Asian Women novelists*. Quezon City: University of Philippines Press.

Hertz, R. (1986) *More Equal Than Others: Women and Men in Dual-Career Marriages.* California: University of California Press.

Hertz, R. (1995). Separate but simultaneous interviewing of husbands and wives: making sense of their stories. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(4), 429–451.

Hesse-Biber, S.N. (2007) 'The practise of feminist in-depth interviewing', in: S. J. N Hesse-Biber and P. L. Leavy (eds.) *Feminist Research Practise*. California: SAGED Publications.

Hickling, R. H. (1995), *Law and National Unity in Malaysia'*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Hicks, M. W., Hansen, S. L. and Christie, L. (1983) ' Dual-career-work families', in: E. D. Macklin and R. H. Rubin (ed.) *Contemporary Families and Alternative Lifestyles*. Beverly Hills, CA: Saged.

Hiller, D. V. and Philleber, E. W. (1982) 'Predicting Marital and career success among dual-worker couples', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 44 (1): 53-62.

Hill, E.J., Martinson, V. K., Ferris, M. and Baker, R.Z. (2004) 'Beyond the mommy track: the influence of new concept part time work for professional women on work and family', *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 25 (1): 121-136.

Hirschman, C. (1972) Educational patterns in Colonial Malaya', *Comparative Education Review*, 16 (3): 486-502.

Hirschman, C. and Aghajaniam, A. (1980) 'Women's labour force participation and socioeconomic development: the case of Peninsula Malaysia 1957-1970', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 11 (1): 30-49.

Hochschild, A. R. (1997) *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Hochschild, A. R. and Manchung, A (1989) *The Second Shift*. New York: Viking Publishing.
Hock, S. W. (2007). *The Population of Peninsular Malaysia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Hock, S. W. (2007). *The Population of Peninsular Malaysia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Holdswoth, C. and Elliot, J. (2001) '*The timing of family formation in Britain and Spain*', Sociological Research Online, 6 (2). Available at <http://www.socresonlines.org.uk/6/2/holdsworth.html>[Accessed 4 November 2011].

Holmes, M. (2006) 'Love lives at a distance: distance relationships over the life course', Sociological Research Online, 11 (3):ISSN 1360-7804 <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/11/3/holmes.html>.

Hood, J. C. (1986) 'The provider role: its meaning and measurement', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 48 (2): 349-359.

Hook, J. L. (2006) 'Care in context: Men's unpaid work in 20 countries, 1965–2003.'*American Sociological Review*, *71*(4), 639-660.

Hooker, V. M (2003) *A short history of Malaysia*: Linking East and West. Australia: Allen and Unwin.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Hossain, Z. Roopnarine, J. L., Masud, J., Muhamad, A. A., Baharudin, R. Abdullah, R. and Juhari, R. (2005) 'Mothers' and fathers' childcare involvement with young children in rural families in Malaysia', *International Journal of Psychology*, 40 (6): 385-394.

Houben, V. J. H. (2003) 'Southeast Asia and Islam', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 588: 147-170.

Howes, L. M. and Goodman-Delahunty, J. (2015) 'Teachers' career decisions: Perspectives on choosing teaching careers, and on staying or leaving.' *Issues in Educational Research, 25*(1):18-35.

Hussain, A. A. (1996) *Politik dan Dasar Awam Malaysia* (Politics and Public Policy in Malaysia). Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributions.

Hussin, N. (2008) 'Geography and trade: importance of the Straits of Malacca to world trade, Asia and the Malay World 1700-1800', *Akademika,* 73: 3-25.

Hyde, J.S., Delamater, J.D. and Hewitt, E.C. (1998) 'Sexuality and the dual earner couple: multiple roles and sexual functioning', *Journalof Family Psychology*, 12 (3): 354-368.

Ibrahim, A. (2002) *The administration of Islamic law in Malaysia.* Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic and Understanding Malaysia (JAKIM).
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Ibrahim, N. (1988) 'Some observations on Adat and Adat leadership in Rembau, Negeri Sembilan', *Southeast Asian Studies*, 26 (2): 150-165.

Ibrahim, R. And Hassan, Z. (2009) 'Understanding singlehood from the experience of never-married Malay Muslim women in Malaysia: some preliminary findings', *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 8 (3): 395- 405.

Ibrahim, Z. (2004) 'Globalization and national identity: Managing ethnicity and cultural pluralism in Malaysia' in: Y. Sato (ed.) *Growth and Governance in Asia.* Honolulu, Hawaii: Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies.

Idris, N. A., Berma, M. and Shahadan, F. (1996) *Wanita Malaysia Dalam Era Pembangunan Industri* (Malaysian Women in the Industry Development). Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Idris, N. A. and Shahadan, F. (1991) 'The role of Muslim women traders in Kelantan', in: M. Ariff (ed.) Islam and the Economic Development of Southeast Asia, the Muslim Private Sector in Southeast Asia. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Ingoldsby, B. B., and Smith, S. D. (2006) *Families in Global and Multicultural Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Saged Publications.

INTAN. (1988) *Dasar-Dasar Utama Kerajaan Malaysia (The National Key Policies of the Malaysian Government)*. Kuala Lumpur: INTAN.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Ishak, M. M. (2006) 'Tun Dr. Mahathir and the notion of 'Bangsa Malaysia', *Journal of International Studies*, 49-76.

Ismail, A. M., Stapa. Z. and Asihah, S. (2012) 'Islam dan pembentukan jati diri bangsa Melayu (Islam and the formation of Malay ethnic identitiy)', *Jurnal Hadhari Special Edition*: 143-154.

Ismail, B. (2001) Gay and lesbian groups in Malaysia, in: G. Sullivan and P. A. Jackson (ed.) *Gay and lesbian Asia: Culture, Identity, Community*. New York and London: Harrington Park Press.

Ismail, M., and Ibrahim, M. (2008) 'Barriers to career progression faced by women: Evidence from a Malaysian multinational oil company,' *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 23(1): 51-66.

Ismail, P. (1991) *Asas Pembinaan Keluarga* Islam (Family Life and Ethics According to Islam). Mahir Publications.

Ismail, P. (2007) 'Kedudukan mazhab Syafie dalam undang-undang jenayah Islam di Malaysia (The status of mazhab Syafie Islamic crime law in Malaysia)', *Jurnal Fiqh*, 4: 237-250.

Jaafar, J. L. S. (2005) '*The relationship of among reasoning to premarital sex among Malaysian adolescents*', Laporan Teknikal, Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya.
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Jackson, S. (1999) 'Families, households and domestic life', in: S. Taylor (ed.) *Sociology Issues and Debates*. London: Macmillan Press.

---------- (2008) 'Families, domesticity and intimacy: changing relationships in changing time', in: D. Richardson and V. Robinson (ed.) *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jackson, S., Jieyu, L. and Juhyun, W. (2008) 'Reflections on gender, modernity and East Asian sexualities', in: In S. Jackson, L. Jiey and W. Juhyun (ed.) *East Asian Sexualities.Modernity, Gender and New Sexual Cultures*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Jackson, S., Ho, P. S. Y. and Na, J. (2013) ' Reshaping tradition? women negotiating the boundaries of tradition and modernity in hong kong and british families', *Sociological Review*, forth coming.

Jacobs, J. A., and Winslow, S. E. (2004) 'Overworked faculty: Job stresses and family demands,' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596(1): 104-129.

Jalil, Z. (2010, February 26). Waspada kahwin campur. Utusan Malaysia. Available at http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/info.asp?y=2010&dt=0226&pub=Utusan_Malaysia&sec=Muka_Hadapa n&pg=mh_01.html [Accessed 5 May 2012].
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
James, N. & Busher, H. (2006). Credibility, authenticity and voice: dilemmas in online interviewing, *Qualitative Research Journal,* 6(3) 403-420.

James, N., & Busher, H. (2007). Ethical issues in online educational research: protecting privacy, establishing authenticity in email interviewing. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, *30*(1), 101–113.

Jelas, Z. M., Rahman, S., Baki, R. and Ahmad, J. (2005) 'Prestasi akademik mnegikut gender', Jurnal Pendidikan, 30: 93-111.

Jerome, C. (2013) 'The complexity of Malay Muslim identity in Dina Zaman's I am Muslim', *GEMA Online Journal of Languaged Studies*, 13 (2): 17-9.

Johson, C. (2006) 'Analysing the politics of same-sex issues in a comparative perspective: The strange similarities between John Howard and Mahathir Muhammad.' Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context, 14. Available at http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue14/johnson.html#n1 [Accessed 20 December 2014].

Jomo, K.S. (2004) 'The new economic policy and interethnic relations in Malaysia', *United Nations Research Institute for Social Development*, 7: 1-23

Jones, G. W. (1981) 'Malay marriage and divorce in Peninsular Malaysia: three decades of change', *Population and Development Review*, 7 (2): 255-278.
Kahn, J. S. (2001) *Modernity and excusion*. London, Califonia and New Delhi: SAGED.

Jones, G. W. (2007) 'Delayed marriage and very low fertility in Pasific Asia', *Population and Development Review*, 33 (3): 453-478.

----------. (2007) 'Fertility decline in Asia: the role of marriage change', *Asia-Pacific Population Journal*, 22 (2): 13-32.

Judge, A. T., Ilies, R. and Scott, B. A, (2006) 'Work–family conflict and emotions: Effects at work and at home.' *Personnel Psychology*, 59: 779-814.

Juhari, J. (2011) 'Abstraction and concreteness in customary practices in Malaysia: a preliminary understanding', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1 (17): 281-285.

Juhari, R., Yaacob, S. N. and Talib, M. A. (2012) 'Father involvement among Malay Muslims in Malaysia', *Journal of Family Issues'*, DOI: 10.1177/0192513X12461339. < Available at http://jfi.sagedpub.com/content/early/2012/10/03/0192513X2461339>[Accessed 9 December 2012]

Kamus Dewan (A Dictionary). (2005). Edisi 4. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Kandiyoti, D. (1988) 'Bargaining with patriarchy,' *Gender and Society*, 2(3): 274-290.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Karim, J. W. (1995) 'Bilateralism and gender in Southeast Asia', in: W. J. Karim (eds.) *"Male" and "Female" in Asia*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

---------- (1992) *Women and Culture Between Malay Adat and Islam*. Oxford: Westview Press.

---------- (1987) 'The status of Malay women in Malaysia: from culture to Islam and industrilization', *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 17 (1): 41-55.

Karim, N. S. A. (1981) *Wanita Malaysia* (Malaysian Women). Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Ilmu Raya Sdn. Bhd.

Karim, N. S. A (1990) *Women of Malaysia*. Asian Institute for Development Communication (AIDCOM).

Kassim, A. (1987) 'The unwelcome guests: Indonesian immigrants and Malaysian public responses', *Southeast Asian Studies*, 25 (2): 265-278.

Kasimin, A. (1993) *Istiadat Perkahwinan Melayu Yang Bukan daripada AjaranIslam* (The Non-Islamic Teachings of Malay Wedding Ceremony). Kuala Lumpur: Dinie Publishers.

Kavle, S. and Brinkmann, S. (2009) *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousands Oaks, CA: Saged.

Kaufmann, G. M., and Beehr, T. A. (1989) 'Occupational stressors, individual strains, and social supports among police officers,' *Human Relations*, 42: 185- 197.

Kazim, N., Schmidt, K. and Brown, D. (2007) 'Perceptions and experiences that influence a Paskitani woman's decision to pursue a teaching career in computer-related technology', *Journal of Industrial Teacher Education*, 44 (2): 73-88.

Kelleher, F., Severin, F. O., Samson, M., De, A., Afamasaga-Wright, T., and Sedere, U. M. (2011). *Women and the teaching profession: Exploring the feminisation debate*. UNESCO.

Khan, M. Z. (2008) *Women in Islam*. UK: Islam International Publications Limited.

Khoo, B. T. (2003) *Beyond Mahathir: Malaysian Politics and Discontents*. London: New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Khor, G. L. (1990) 'Fertility preference among Malaysian women: an analysis of responses to the new population policy', *J.biosoc.Sci*, 22: 465-476.

Kinnunen, U., and Mauno, S. (1998) 'Antecedents and outcomes of work-family conflict among employed women and men in Finland.' *Human Relations*, 51(2): 157-177.

King, V. T. (2008). 'The middle-class in Southeast Asia:diversities, identities, comparisons and the Vietnamese case', *IJAPS*, 4 (2): 73-106.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Kling, Z. (1995) 'The Malay family: Beliefs and realities', *Journal of Comparative Family* Studies, XXVI (1): 44-47.

---------- (2000) 'Kekerabatan Melayu: Islam dalam kehidupan sosio-budaya (The Malay Kinship: Islam in socio-cultural life)', in: M. T, Osman and A. A. Deraman (eds.) *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia (Islamic Civilization in Malaysia)*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan bahasa and Pustaka.

Komarraju, M. (2006) 'Work-family conflict and sources of support amongst Malaysian dual-career employees', *Asian Academy of Management Journal*, 11 (1): 83-96.

Koo, A.C. and Wong, T.W.P. (2009) 'Family in flux: benchmarking family changes in Hong Kong society', in: K. Chan, A. S. Ku, C. Yin-Wah (eds.) *Social Transformations In Chinese Society, Special Focus Doing Families In Hong Kong*. Boston: Brill Leiden.

Koshal, M., Gupta, A. K., and Koshal, R. (1998) 'Women in management: A Malaysian perspective, *Women in Management Review*, 13 (1): 11-18.

Kukura, E. (2006) 'Finding family: Considering the recognition of same-sex families in international human rights law and the European court of human rights', *Human Rights Brief*, 13 (2): 17-20

Lambert, E. G., Hogan, N. L., and Barton, S. M. (2002) 'The impact of work-family conflict on correctional staff job satisfaction: An exploratory study.' .*American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 27(1): 35-52.

Landry, B. (2000) *Black Working Wives: Pioneers of the American Family Revolution*. California: University of California Press.

Lee, K.H. (1997) 'Malaysian Chinese: seeking identity in Wawasan 2020', in: L. Suryadinata (ed.) *Ethnic Chinese as Southeast Asians*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Lee, Y.-S. & Waite, L.J. (2005). Husbands' and wives' time spent on housework: a comparison of measures. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(2), 328–336.

Leete, R. (1996). *Malaysia's Demographic Transition: Rapid Development, Culture, And Politics*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Lehrer, E. L. (1995) 'The effects of religion on the labor supply of married women' *Social Science Research*, 24(3): 281-301.

Letherby, G. (2003) *Feminist Research In Theory and Practice*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Lewis, J. (2001) *The End of Marriage? Individualism and Intimate Relations*. UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Lewis, S. (1996) 'Rethinking employment: an organizational culture change framework', in S. Lewis and J. Lewis (eds.) The Work -Family Challenge: Rethinking Employment, London: SAGED.

Liamputtong, P., & Ezzy, D. (2005). *Qualitative research methods* (2ed). Victoria: Oxford University Press.

Lian, T. C. (2008) 'Effects of dual-career and marital conflict on the mental health of couple', *Journal e-Bangi*, 3 (1): 1-14.

Lim, D.L. (2004) 'Race, multicultural accommodation and the constitutions of Singapore and Malaysia', *Singapore Journal of Legal Studies*, 4: 117-149.

Lim, L.L. (2009) 'Trends in female labour force participation and fertility', In United Nations, eds. *Population bulletin of the United Nations: Completing the fertility transition*. Department of Economic and Social Affairs: United Nations, Special Issues Nos.48/49 2002, 195-212. Availabale at <http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/completingfertility/bulletin-english.pdf>[Accessed 5 May 2012].

Lindsey, L. L. (1997) *Gender Roles: A sociological Perspective*. Toronto: Prentice-Hall.

List of government universities in Malaysia (n.d) < Available at (http://www.etawau.com/edu/IndexUniversityGovernment.htm) > [Accessed 24 January 2010].

Loo, S. P. (2009) 'Ethnicity and educational policies in Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam', *SA-eDUC Journal*, 6 (2): 146-157.

Loscocco, K. A. (1997) 'Work–family linkageds among self-employed women and men,' *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 50 (2): 204-226.

Lutz, H. (2002) 'At your service madam! the globalization of domestic service', *Feminist Review*, 70: 89-104.

MacEwen, K. E., and Barling, J. (1994) 'Daily consequences of work interference with family and family interference with work,' *Work and Stress*, 8(3): 244-254.

Mahamood , Y. and Muhamad, H. M. (1987) 'Tekanan di kalangan isteri-isteri Melayu yang bekerja: satu pendekatan psikofisiologi'(Stress among working Malay wives: a psychofisiology approach), *Jurnal Antroplogi dan Sosiologi,* 15: 93-101.

Mahdi, S. and Mohd Fauzi, Y.(2001) *Malaysian Studies.* Kuala Lumpur: Longman.

Mahzan, N. (1994) 'Muslim women professionals a successful career, mother and wife', in: Y. Ismail (ed.) *Muslim Women in Organisation: A Malaysian Perspective*. Kuala Lumpur: A.S. Nordeen.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Majid, M. Z. M. and Azahari, R. H. (1989) *Undang-Undang Keluarga Islam: Konsep dan Pelaksanaannya di Malaysia* (Islamic Family Law: Concept and Implications in Malaysia).. Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya.

Malaysian Population Policy towards 70 million population. Available at http://pmr.penerangan.gov.my/index.php/maklumat-kenegaraan/239-dasar-kependudukan-malaysia-ke-arah-70-juta-penduduk.html [Accessed 4 November 2011].

Malaysian Ministry of Education (MMoE) (2000c). Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia Ministry of Education <http://www.moe.gov.my/amanat2000.htm> [Accessed 9 December 2009].

Malaysia Business Forecast Report Quarterly. (2009) *London: Business Monitor International. EC4V 3BS* <Available at http://www.business monitor.com/bf/Malaysia.html> [Accessed 20 January 2009].

Malaysia to post steady growth in 2012: 'Modern jobs' at the core of Malaysia's transformation into a high-income country (2012)<Available at http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/2012/04/12/malaysia-to-post-steady-growth-in-2012-modern-jobs-at-core-of-transformation-into-a-high-income-country>[Accessed 6 Jun 2012].

Malaysia Economic Monitor (2012) < Available at http://www.epu.gov.my/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=77e1f555-72cb-4773-8f77-43aeec577e5b&groupId=34492> [Accessed 6 Jun 2012].

Malaysia-History & Background, Constitutional & Legal Foundations, Educational System-overview, Preprimary and Primary Education, Secondary Education (n.d.) <Available at http://education.stateuniversity.com/pageds/932/Malaysia.html>[Accessed 9 December 2009].

Malaysia, The Millennium Development Goals at 2010 (2011). Malaysia: The United Nations Country Team.

Mamat R., R. R. (1991) *The Role and Status of Malay Women in Malaysia: Social and Legal Perspectives*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Mamat, H. I. (2007) *Pemimpin Era Globalisasi* (Leaders of Globalisation Era). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Mamat, R. R. R. (1991) *The Role and Status of Malay Women in Malaysia: Social and Legal Perspectives*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Mann, C. & Stewart, F. (2000). *Internet communication and qualitative research: a handbook for research online.* London: Saged.

Manuel, J. and Hughes, J. (2006) 'It has always been my dream': Exploring pre-service teachers, motivations for choosing to teach,' *Teacher Development*, 10(1): 5-24.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Marcinkus, W. C., Whelan-Berry, K. S., and Gordon, J. R. (2007) 'The relationship of social support to the work-family balance and work outcomes of midlife women,' *Women in Management Review*, 22(2): 86-111.

Marican, S., Sabil, S. Zakaria, R. H. and Rahman, A. A. (2011) 'Can supportive management contribuite ti the well-being of Muslim working women in Malaysia?, *African Journal of Business Management*, 5 (12): 4883-4890.

Martinez, P. (2006) Living *in diversity, Malaysian Malays*<Available http://www.littlespeck.com/SpecialReport/SpecialRpt-Malays-060831.htm>[Accessed 9 December 2009].

Mashral, N. and Ahmad, N. (2010) 'Women of the sandwich generation in Malaysia', European Journal of Social Science, 13 (2): 171-178.

Mason, J. (2002). Qualitative interviewing: Asking, listening and interpreting. In May, T. (Eds.), *Qualitative research in action* (pp. 225-241). London, UK: SAGED Publications.

Mason, K. O., Tsuya, O. N., Choe, M. K. (1998) *The Changing Family in Comparative Perspective: Asia and the United States*. Honolulu: East-West Center.

Mat, N. N. A. A. (1993) *Syurga Perkahwinan* (Heaven of Marriage). Dinie Publisher: Kuala Lumpur.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Mat, R. and Omar, R. O. (2002) '*Demographic trends in Malaysia with special focus on women.*', Department of Statistics, Malaysia. Available at http://www.statistics .gov.my [Accessed 15 May 2011].

Mazumdar, D. (1981) *The urban labour market and income distribution: A study of Malaysia.* New York: Oxford University Press.

McCulloch, A., and Dex, S. (2001) 'Married women's employment patterns in Britain. In: *Careers of Couples in Contemporary Societies: from Male Breadwinner to Dual Earner Families*, Oxford University Press.

McCloud, D. G. (1995) *Southeast Asia: Tradition and Modernity in the ContemporaryWorld.* Boulder. San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press.

McDonald, P., Guthrie, D., Bradley, L., and Shakespeare-Finch, J. (2005) 'Investigating work-family policy aims and employee experiences,' *Employee Relations*, 27(5): 478-494.

McNeill, P., & Chapman, S. (2005). *Research methods*. Psychology Press.Routhledge Canada

Means, G. P (1986) 'The Orang Asli: aboriginal policies in Malaysia, *Pacific Affairs*, 58 (4): 637-652.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Miller, T., & Bell, L. (2002). Consenting to what? Issues of access, gate-keeping and 'informed'consent. In T. Miller, M. Birch, M. Mauthner, & J. Jessop, *Ethics in Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 61-75). London, UK: SAGED Publications.

Merriam, S. B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M. Y., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G., & Muhamad, M. (2001). Power and positionality: Negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *20*(5): 405-416.

Milne, R.S. and Mauzy, D.K. (2002) *Malaysian Politics Under Mahathir*. London and New York: Routledge.

Milner, A. (1998) 'Ideological work in constructing the Malay majority', in: D. G. Glodney (ed.) *Making majorities: Constructing the nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey and United States*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Milner, A. (2008) *The Malays*. Massachussets: Wiley Blackweel.

Mingat, A. (2007) 'Social disparities in education in Sub-Saharan African countries,'in: Teese,R.,Lamb, S. and Duru-Bellat, M. (eds.) *International Studies in Educational Inequality, Theoryand Policy*, Vol. 1. Springer : Dordrecht.

Ministry of Higher Education. (2009) *Perangkaan Pengajian Tinggi Malaysia 2009: Menuju Kegemilangan Ilmu* (The Statistics of Higher Education of Malaysia 2009: Towards the excellence of knowlegde). Malaysia: Ministry of Higher Education.

Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia (2011) *Indicators of Higher Education 2009-2010.* Ministry of Higher Education: Putrajaya.

Ministry of Women and Family Development (2003) *The progress of Malaysian Women Since Independence 1957-2000*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Women and Family Development.

Ministry of Women, Family and Development (2014) *Study to Support the Development of National Politics and Programmes to Increase and Retain the Participation of Women in the Malaysian Labour Force: Key Findings and Recommendations*. A Ministry of Women, Family and Development (MWFCD) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Project: Putrajaya.

Moen, P. (1992) *Women's Two Roles: A Contemporary Dilemma.* United States of America: Auburn House.

Mohamad, M. (1991) *The way forward: Vision 2020*<Available at http://www.pmo.gov.my/?menu=paged&paged=1904> [Accessed 9 December 2009].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Mohamad, M. (2002) 'At the centre and the periphery: the contributions of women's movements to democratization', in: F. L. K. Wah and K. B. Teik (ed.) *Democracy in Malaysia, Discourses and Practices*. Surrey: Curzon Press.

Mokhtar, R. (2000*) Falsafah perkahwinan dalam Islam* (The philosophy of marriage in Islam). 26 November 2000 <Available at http://www.islam.gov.my/e-rujukan/lihat.php?jakim=500> [Accessed 1 March 2010].

Moorhead, F.J. (1963) *A History of Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Longmans of Malaya.

Morgan, D. H. J. (2011). *Rethinking Family Practices*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
Mouser, A. E. (2011) 'Defining 'modern' Malay womanhood and the co-existent messaged of the veil', *Religion*, 37 (2): 164-174.

Mouser, C. O. N. (1989) 'Gender palnning in the third world: meeting practical and strategic gender needs', *World Development*, 17 (11), 1799-1825.

Muhammad, T. (1996) *The New Malay*. Malaysia: Visaged Communication.

Muhammad, A. and Jasmi, K. A. (2006) 'Pengabaian tanggungjawab suami terhadap hak isteri di kalangan orang-orang Melayu (Abandoned the husband responsibility toward the right of wife in Malay society)', in: A. R. Rashid, S. Hussein and J. Tubah (ed.) *Krisis dan Konflik Institusi Keluarga* (The Crisis and Conflict of Family Institution). Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publication and Distributors Sdn Bhd.

Muis, M. A., Bakar, B. A., Rahman, A. A., Zakaria, Z., Noordin, N., Nordin, J., and Yaacob, M. A.,'Ethnic Plurality and Nation Building Process: A Comparative Analysis between Rukun Negara, Bangsa Malaysia and 1Malaysia Concepts as Nation Building Programs in Malaysia', *Asian Social Science*, 8 (13): 153-160.

Musa, M. (2010) 'Wanita Melayu, kesedaran pendidikan dan pembentukan masyakat Malaysia moden', *My Jurnal, Journal Management Centre*, 38: 1-24.

Muslim, N. and Samian, A.L. (2012 'Tahap penerimaan pelajar terhadap peruntukan bahasa Melayu dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan', *International Journal of Malay World and Civilisation (IMAN)*, 30 (1): 3-27.

Mutalib, H. (1990) *Islam and ethnicity in Malay politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nadeem, S. and Hendry, C. (2003) 'Power dynamics in the long term development of employee-friendly Flexible working', *Women in Management Review*, 18 (1): 32-49.
Nagata, J. A. (1974a) 'What is a Malay? situational selection of ethnic identity in a plural society', *American Ethnologist*, 1 (2): 331-350.

---------- (1974b) 'Adat in the city: some perceptions and practices among urban Malays', *Bijdragedn tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 130 (1): 91-109.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Nagaraja, S. (1995) *Malaysian Women Today*. Kuala Lumpur: Women's Affair Division.

Nagata, J. A. (1994) 'How to be Islamic without being an Islamic state: contested models of development in Malaysia', in: A. S. Ahmed and H. Donnan (ed.) *Islam, Globalisation and Postmodernity*. London: Routledge.

_____. (1986) 'The impact of the Islamic revival (dakwah) on the religions culture of Malaysia', in: B. Matthews and J, Nagata (ed.) *Religion, Values and Development in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia.

---------- (1974a) 'What is a Malay? situational selection of ethnic identity in a plural society', *American Ethnologist*, 1 (2): 331-350.

---------- (1974b) 'Adat in the city: some perceptions and practices among urban Malays', *Bijdragedn tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 130 (1): 91-109.

Nalletamby, S. H. (2010) 'Exploring intergenerational relations in a multi-cultural context: the example of filial responsibility in Mauritus', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 25 (1): 71-86.

Natdoo, A. V. and Jano, R. (2003) 'Role conflict of South African women in dual-career families', *Psychological Report*, 93 (3): 123-145.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Neault, R. A., and Pickerell, D. A. (2005) 'Dual-career Couples: The Juggling Act,' *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, 39(3), 187-198.

Neo, J. L. C. (2006) 'Malay nationalism, Islamic supremacy and the constitional bargain in the multi-ethnic composition of Malaysia', *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights,* 13: 95–118.

Ng, C., Mohamad, M., and Beng, T.B. (2006). *Feminism and the Women's Movement in Malaysia: An Unsung (r)evolution*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ng, C. and Leng, C. H. (1999) 'Women in Malaysia: present struggles and future directions', in: C. Ng (ed.) *Positioning Women in Malaysia: Class and Gender in anIndustrializing state*. London: McMillan Press.

Nicolaisen, I. (1983) 'Introduction', in: B. Utas (ed.) *Women in Islamic Societies: Social Attitudes and Historical Perspective.* London: Curzon Press.

Noor, N. M. and Mahudin, M. N. D. (2005) 'Work, family and women's well-being: the influence of culture', in: Z. A. Ansari, N. M. Noor and A. Haque (ed.) *Contemporary Issues in Malaysian Psychology*. Singapore: Thompson Learning.

Noor, M. N. (1999a) 'Roles and women's well-being: Some Preliminary findings from Malaysia', *Sex Roles*, 41 (3): 123-145.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

---------- (1999b) *Work, Family And Well-Being: Challenges Of Cotemporary Malaysian Women.* Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press.

---------- (2002) 'Work-family conflict, locus of control, and women's well-being: test of alternative pathways', *The Journal of Social Psychology,* 142 (5): 645-662.

---------- (2008) 'Work and women's well-being: religious as aged as moderators', *Journal of Religion and Health*, 47 (4) : 476-490.

---------- (2006) *Work, Family And Women's Well-Being In Malaysia: Striving For Balance.* Malaysia: International Islamic University of Malaysia Press.

Oakley, A. (1981) *Subject Women.* Oxford: Martin Robertson.

Ochiai, E. (2008) 'Researching gender and childcare in contemporary Asia', in: E. Ochiai and B. Molony (ed.) *Asia's New Mother. Crafting Gender Roles and Childcare in East And Southern Asian Societies.* United Kingdom: Global Oriental.

Ochiai, E. (2008) 'The birth of the housewife in contemporary Asia: new mothers in the era of globalisation', in: E. Ochiai and B. Molony (ed.) *Asia's New Mother. Crafting Gender Roles and Childcare in East And Southern Asian Societies.* United Kingdom: Global Oriental.

Ochiai, E, Mari, Y., Yasuko, M., Weihong, Z., Setsuko, O., Nachiko, K., Michiyo, F and Okk, H. S. (2008) 'Gender roles and childcare networks in East and Southeast Asian societies', in: E. Ochiai and B. Molony (ed.) *Asia's New Mother. Crafting Gender Roles and Childcare in East And Southern Asian Societies.* United Kingdom: Global Oriental.

Omar, A, (1983) *The Malay peoples of Malaysia and their languageds.* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Omar, R. (1996) *State, Islam and Malay Reproduction.* Canbera A.C.T. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies: Australian Natioanal University.

Omar, R. (2003) 'Negotiating their visibility: the lives of educated and married Malay women', in: R. Omar and A, Hamzah (eds.) *Women in Malaysia: Breaking Boundaries.* Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors.

Omar, R. and Hamzah, A. (2003) *Women in Malaysia: Breaking Boundaries.* Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn Bhd.

Omar, A., and Davidson, M. J. (2004) 'Women in management in Malaysia,' *Women in Management Worldwide: Facts, Figures and Analysis.* London: Saged.

Ong, A. (1990) 'State versus Islam: Malay families, women's bodies and the body politic in Malaysia', *American Ethnologist*, 1 (2): 258-276.

Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Orna, E., & Stevens, G. (1995). *Managing information for research*. McGraw-Hill International.

Osman. M. T. (1989) *Masyarakat Melayu: Struktur, Organisasi Dan Manifestasi* (The Malay Society: Structure, Organisation and Manifestation). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka.

Othman, A. H. (1972) 'Struktur famili dan tingkahlaku kekeluargaan di Selemak: Satu kajian kes' (Family structure and kinship behaviour in Selemak: A study case), *Akademika*, 1: 15-41

Othman, J., Sail, R. M. and Ahmed, A. (2006) *Women and Peace: Issues, Challenges and Strategies*. Serdang: Baraplas Kreatif Enterprise.

Othman, N. (1998) 'Competing cultural reassertions and women's identity in a changing society', in: R. Wilford and R. L. Miller (eds.) *Women, Ethnicity And Nationalism: The Politics Of Transition*. New York: Routledge.

Papanek, H. (1990) 'To each less than she needs fromeach more than she can do: allocations, entitlements and values', in: I. Tinker (eds.) *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York and London: Oxford University Press.

Parasuraman, S., Greenhaus, J. H. and Granrose, C.S. (1992) 'Role stressors, social support, and well being among two-career couples', *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 13 (4): 339-356.

Park, J. And Liao, T. F. (2000) 'The effect of multiple roles of South Korean married women professors: role changes and the factors which influence potential role gratification and strain, *Sex Roles*, 43 (718): 571-591.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2ed). Newbury park, CA: SAGED Publications.

Peletz, M. G. (1997) Ordinary Muslims and Muslim resurgent in contemporary Malaysia, in: R.W. Hefner and P. Horvatich. *Islam in an era of nation-states: Politics and religious revival in Muslim Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Pleck, J. H. (1977) 'The work-family role system,' *Social Problems*, 24 (4): 417-427.

Pleck, J. H., Staines, G. L., and Lang, L. (1980) 'Conflicts between work and family life,' *Monthly Labor Review*, 103: 29-32.

Pocock, B., Skinner, N., and Williams, P. (2007). *Work, Life And Time: Australian Work And Life Index*. Centre for Work and Life, Hawke Research Institute: University of South Australia.

Pocock, B. (2001). *Having A Life: Work, Family, Fairness And Community In 2000*. Centre for labour research, Adelaide University.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Policy of Education in Malaysia (n.d) <Available at http://www.moe.gov.my>. [Accessed 9 December 2009].

Pong, S. (1994) 'Sex preference and fertility in Peninsular Malaysia', *Studies in Family Planning*, 25 (3): 137-148.

Popenue, D. (2008) *Cohabitation, marriage and child well-being: A cross-national perspective.* The National Marriage Project. Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey. Available at <http://www.smartmarriages.com/uploaded/Cohabitation.Report.Popenoe.08.pdf [Accessed 4 August 2011].

Population and housing census, Malaysia 2010 (2010)< Available at http://www.statistics.gov.my/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&id=21&Itemid=154&lang=en> [Accessed 24 January 2010].

Potuchek, J. L. (1997). *Who Supports The Family?: Gender And Breadwinning In Dual-Earner Marriages*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Power, G. N. and Graves, L. M. (2003) *Women and Men in Management*. London: Saged Publication.

Pramanik, A. H. (2002) 'Islam and development revisited with evidences from Malaysia', *Islamic Economic Studies*, 10 (1): 39-74.

Pritchard, R. (2007) 'Gender inequality in British and German universities. *A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 37 (5): 651-669.

Progress of Women, Progress of Malaysia (n.d) <Available at http://1malaysia.com.my/blog/progress-of-women-progress-of-malaysia/>[Accessed 15 Jun 2012].

Pue, G. H.,and Sulaiman, N. (2013) 'Choose One!": Challenges of Inter-Ethnic Marriages in Malaysia., *Asian Social Science*, *9*(17): 269-278.

Purcell, V. (1965) *New Nations and People*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Pyllkanen, F. and Smith, N. (2004) 'The impact of family-friendly policies in Denmark and Sweden on mothers' career interruptions due to childbirth.', Institute for the Study of Labor, Bon, Germany, 1-33. Available at ftp://repec.iza.org/RePEc/Discussionpaper/dp1050.pdf [Accessed 5 May 2012].

Rachlin, V. C. (1987) 'Fair vs. equal role relations in dual-career and dual-earner families: implications for family interventions', *Family Relations,* 36 (2): 187-192.

Rahim, R.A.A. (2005) 'Citra Islam dalam pembentukan manusia Melayu moden di Malaysia: Satu analisa', *Jurnal Pengajian Malaysia*, 15: 19-51.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Rahim, M. H. A., Mustaffa, N., Ahmad, F. and Lyndon, N. (2013) 'A "memoryscope' Malayan Union 1946: The beginning and risk of modern Malay political culture, Asian Social Science, 9 (6): 36-42.

Rahman, A. and Noor, M. N. (1993) *Ensiklopedia Sirah: Insan Kamil* (Encyclopedia of Biography: Perfect Individual). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Raja Mamat, R. R. (1991) *The Role and Status of Malay Women in Malaysia: Social and Legal Perspectives*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Raley, S. B., Mattingly, M. J., and Bianchi, S. M. (2006) 'How Dual Are Dual-Income Couples? Documenting Change From 1970 to 2001,' *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(1): 11-28.

Ramachandran, V. (2008). *Her Voice: The Story the Malaysian Women*. Selangor: MPH Group Publishing Sdn. Bhd.

Ramazanoglu, C. and Holland, J. (2002) *Feminist Methodology Challenges and Choices*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGED Publications.

Ramlee, Z. (2004) 'Incest: Its legal implication from Islamic Perspective', *Laporan Teknikal*, Kuala Lumpur: UIA Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Ramli, M. A. and Jamaluddin, M. A. (2011) The 'Urf of Plural Society: The Concept and Its Practices in Malaysia', *Jurnal Fiqh*, 8: 45-64.

Rapoport, R. and Rapoport, R.N. (1971) *Dual-Career Families.* Sulfock: Penguin Books.

----------. (1976) *Dual-Career Families Re-Examined.* New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Rauf, M. A. (1997) *Wanita dan Keluarga dari Pandangan Islam* (Women and family from the Islamic perspective). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Reay, D. (1997) 'Feminist theory, habitus, and social class: disrupting notions of classness', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20 (2): 225-233.

Reay, D. (2004) 'Gendering Boursie's concepts of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class', in: A. Lisa and S. Beverly, (eds.) *Feminism After Bourdieu*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Renzetti, C. M. & Lee, R. M. (1993). The problems of researching sensitive topics: An overview and introduction. In Renzetti, C. M. & Lee, R. M. (Eds). *Reseaching sensitive topicsi* (pp. 3-13). Newbury Park, CA: SAGED Publications.

Retherford, R. D, Ogawa, N. and Matsukura, R. (2001) 'Late marriage and less marriage in Japan', *Population and Development Review*, 27 (1): 65-102.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Reynolds, A. J. and Clements, M. (2005) 'Parental involvement and children's school success, in E. N. Patrikakou, R. P. Weissberg, S. Redding and H. J. Walberg (eds.) *School-Family Partnerships For Children's Success*, New York: Teachers College Press.

Rhodes, A.R. (2002) 'Long distance relationships in dual-career commuter couples: a review of counselling issues', *The Family Journal,* 10 (4): 398-404.

Richardson, D. and Robinson, V.(1994) 'Publishing feminisim: Redefining the women's studies discourse', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 3(1): 87-94.

Richardson, D. (2008) 'Conceptualizing gender', in: D. Richardson, D. and R. Victoria (ed.) *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rizzo, S. (2009) 'The dual-career worker family: combining working life with social-life', *Bank of Valletta Review*, 39: 1-19.

Roff, W. R. (1980) *The origins of Malay nationalism.* Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya.
Rogers, M. A., Theule, J., Ryan, B. A., Adams, G. R. and Keating, L. (2009) 'Parental involvement and children's school achievement: Evidence for mediating processes,' *Canadian Journal of School Psychology*, 24(1): 34-57.

Roose, H. (1963) 'Changes in the position of Malay women', in: B. E. Ward (ed.) *Women in the New Asia: The Changing Social Roles of Men and Women in South and Southeast Asia.* Netherland: UNESCO.

Ruane, J.M. (2005). *Essentials of research methods. A guide to Social Science researc*h. Malden, MA: Blackwell

Rubin, H. J. & Rubin, I. S. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearingdata* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGED Publications.

Ruderman, M. N., Ohlott, P. J., Panzer, K., and King, S. N. (2002) 'Benefits of multiple roles for managerial women,' *Academy of Management journal*, 45(2): 369-386.

Rudie, I. (1993) 'A hall of mirrors: autonomy translated over time in Malaysia', in: D. Bell, P. Caplan and W. J. Karim (ed.) *Gendered Field: Women, Men and Ethnography*. London: Routlege.

Ruslan, Z., Mohamadee, M.I. and Zaini, O. (2005) *Kenegaraan Malaysia*. Shah Alam: Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd.

Rogers, S. J., and Amato, P. R. (2000) 'Have changes in gender relations affected marital quality?' *Social Forces*, 79 (2): 731-753.

Ryan, N.J. (1967) *The Making of Modern Malaysia: A History from Earliest Times to 1966.* Kuala Lumpur, Singapore: Oxford University Press.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Said, F. H. (1980) *Asas Kekeluargaan Dalam Islam* (The Basic of Family in Islam). Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Knight.

Salleh, A. M. (2003) *Prinsip Perlembagaan dan Pemerintahan di Malaysia* (The Principles of Constitution and the Rule in Malaysia). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
Salleh, K. M (1994) *Women in Development*. Kuala Lumpur: Institut Kajian Dasar.

Salleh, M. K. (2003) 'Resisting Norms: women and university higher management', in: R. Omar and A. Hamzah (ed.) *Women In Malaysia: Breaking Boundaries*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn. Bhd.

Salleh, A., Mahmud Z. and Inangda, N. (2007) 'A study on coping strategies employed by successful women in Malaysia: women in paid employment', *The International Journal of Diversity*, 7 (4): 135-146.

Salleh, M. K. (1985) *Women in Development*. Kuala Lumpur: Institut Kajian Dasar.
Salih, M. N. Z. (1994) 'Women: reasons for working, housewife and attitude', in: Y. Ismail (ed.) *Muslim Women in Organisation: A Malaysian Perspective*. Kuala Lumpur: A.S. Nordeen.

Samah, A. A. and Jawan, J. A. (2001) *Kenegaraan Malaysia (Malaysian Nationhood)*. Serdang: Universiti Putra Malaysia.
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi
Samsudin, Z. and Ghazali, K. (2011) 'A discursive construction of homosexual males in a Muslim dominant community', *Multilingua (Special Issue) Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguaged Communication*, 30 (3-4): 279-304.

Sandelowski, M., Holditch-Davis, D., & Harris, B.G. (1992). Using qualitative and quantitative methods: The transition to parenthood of infertile couples. In J.F. Gilgun, K. Daly, & G. Handel (Eds.), Qualitative methods in family research (pp. 301–322). Newbury Park, CA: Saged.

Saraceno, C. (2007) 'Introduction to the special issue: dual-career couples.' *Zeitchrift fur Familienforschun*', 19(3): 255-262.
Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative inquiry*, *5*(4), 465-478.

Schwandt, T. A. (1998) 'Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry', in Denzin, N. K. and Lincolm, Y. S. *The landscape of qualitative research: theories and issues*. Sage Publications, pp. 221-259.

Shah, J. M. (2010) '*Triple role: suatu penyingkapan peranan dan kerja wanita'* (Triple role: an abridgment of roles and women's work), *Sosiohumanika*, 3 (1): 67-78.

Shafiro, M., and Hammer, L. B. (2004). Work And Family: A Cross-Cultural Psychological Perspective. *Work–Family Encyclopedia.* Boston College:Chestnut Hill, MA: Sloan Work and Family Research Network.
05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Shariff, M. Z. (2002) 'Women's participation in household decision making and implementation: a case study of urban low income households in Malaysia', *Kajian Malaysia*, XX (2): 33-56.

Sheridan, A. (2004) 'Chronic Presenteeism: The Multiple Dimensions to Men's Absence from Part-Time Work,' *Gender, Work & Organization*, 11(2): 207-225.

Seymore, M. L. (1995). Isn't It a Crime: Feminist Perspectives on Spousal Immunity and Spousal Violence. *Nw. UL Rev.*, *90*

Shome, A. (2002) *Malay political leadership.* London: Routledge Curzon.

Shuib, M. S., Keling, M. S. and Ajis, M. N. (2009) 'The implications of cold war on Malaysia: state building process', *Asian Culture andHistory*, 1 (2): 89-98.

Shurashi, T. (2004) *'The rise of new urban middle classes in Southeast Asia: what is its national and regional significance?'*< Available at http://www.rieti.go.jp/jp/publications/dp/04e011.pdf>[Accessed 5 May 2010].

Sidani, Y. (2005) 'Women, work and Islam in Arab societies', *Women in Management Review*, 20 (7), 498-512.

Sidin, R. (1994) *Pendidikan di Malaysia (Education in Malaysia).* Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti.

Silva, A. P., Ahmad, A., Omar, Z., and Rasdi, R. M. (2012) 'Personal social support and non-support in career aspirations towards senior management amongst women in middle management: Multiple dimensions and implications on measurement,' *Asian Social Science*, 8(11): 205-218.

Silverman, D. (1997). The logics of qualitative research. In Miller, G and Dingwall, R. (Eds.), *Context and method in qualitative research* (pp. 12-25). London, UK: SAGED Publications.

Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing qualitative research.* London: SAGED Publications, Inc.

Singleton, A., & Maher, J. (2004). The "new man" is in the house: Young men, social change, and housework. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, *12*(3), 227–240.

Skeggs, B. (2004) 'Contect and background: Pierre Bourdies's analysis of class, gender and sexuality', in: A. Lisa and S. Beverly, (eds.) *Feminism After Bourdieu*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Sloane, P. (1999). *Islam, modernity and entrepreneurship among the Malays.* London, UK: MacMillan.

Smith, C. R. (1992) 'Trends and directions in dual-career family research,' *Women in Management Review*, 7(1).http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09649429210007340.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Sonmez, S. (2001) Toueism behind the veil of Islam: Women and development in the middle east, in: Y. Apostolopoulos, S. Sommez and D. J. Timothy, *Women as producers and consumers of tourism in developing regions*. USA: Praeger Publishers.

Special Reports on Educational Subjects. (1902) *In the System of Education in the Federated Malay States*. Kuala Lumpur: Federal Education Office.

Spade, J. Z. (1994) 'Wives' and husbands' perceptions of why wives work,' *Gender and Society*, 8 (2): 170-188.

Spitze, G. (1984) 'The effect of family migration on wives' employment: how long does it last?', *Social Science Quarterly*, 65 (1): 21-26.

Sprague, J. (2005) *Feminist Methodology for Critical Researchers*. CA: Altamira Press.

Standing, K. (1998). Writing the voices of the less powerful: research on lone mothers. *Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research: Public knowledge and private lives. London: Saged Publications*, 186-202

Stewart, C. J. & Cash, W. B. (2003). *Interviewing: Principles and practices* (10th ed). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Stier, H., and Lewin-Epstein, N. (2007) 'Policy effects on the division of housework,' *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 9 (3): 235-259.

Stivens, M. (2003) '*(Re)*Framing women's rights claims in Malaysia', in: V. M. Hooker and N. Othman (ed.) *Malaysia, Islam, Society and Politics*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Stivens, M. (2006) 'Family values and Islam revival: gender, nights and state moral projects in Malaysia', *Women's Studies Intenational Forum*, 29 (4): 354-367.

Stivens, M. (n.d) *Addressing Gender and Cosmopolitanism: Some thoughts on women and rights claims in Malaysia*< Available at http://inetapps.nus.edu.sg/ari/showfile.asp?eventfiled=197> [Accessed 24 January 2010].

Stoever, W. A. (1985) 'Malaysia: the Bumiputra policy and foreign investors: an evaluation', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 20 (4): 86-107.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed). Thousand oaks, CA: SAGED Publications.

Subhi, N., Bakar, R. A., Hoesmi, S. M., Ibrahim, F. and Mohamad, M. S. (2012) 'Sexual relationship among adolescent between love and lust', *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 7 (1): 15-25.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Subramaniam, G. Ali, E. and Overton, J. (2010) 'Are Malaysian women interested in flexible working arrangements at workplace?', *Business Studies Journal*, 2 (2): 83-98.

Subramaniam, G. ad Selvaratnam, D.P. (2010) 'Family friendly policies in Malaysia: where are we?', *Journal of International Business Research*, 9 (1): 43-55.

Suffean, H. (1996) *Pendidikan di Malaysia: Sejarah, Sistem and Falsafah (Education in Malaysia: History, System and Philosophy.* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Sullivan, S. E. and Mainiero, L. A. (2007) 'The changing nature of gender roles, alpha/beta careers and work-life issues: theory-driven implications for human resource management', Business Faculty Publication: Emirald Publishing. Faitfield University, Digital Commons @Fairfiled. Available at <http://digitalcommons.fairfield.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=business-facultypubs> [Accessed 8 March 2012].

Sullivan, O. (2006). *Changing Gender Relations, Changing Families: Tracing The Pace Of Change Over Time*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Sullivan, O., and Coltrane, S. (2008*). Men's changing contribution to housework and child care: A Discussion Paper on Changing Family Roles.* Prepared for the Health Annual conference of the Council on Contemporary Families.Chicago: University of Illianois.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Sultana, A., and Zanariah, N. (2011) 'Gender perspective of working mothers' challenges in their family,' *Australian Journal of Basic and Applied Sciences*, 5 (12): 727-731.

Sultana, A. M. (2010) 'Patriarchy and women's gender ideology: A socio-cultural perspective,' *Journal of Social Sciences*, 6 (1): 123-126.

Sultana, A. M. and Zulkefli, N. E. (2012) *'Discrimination against women in developing countries'*, International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanity, 2 (3): 256-259.

Sultany, T., Lavie, Y. And Haimov, I. (2008) 'Correlation between ethnicity and filial responsibility among three ethnic groups in Israel', *International Social Work*, 51 (3): 396-409.

Suntharalingam, R. and Haji Ismail, A. R. (1985) *Nasionalisme Satu Tinjauan Sejarah.* Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti Sdn Bhd.

Suryadinata, L. and Siddique, S. (1982) 'Bumiputra and pribumi: economic nationalism (indiginism) in Malaysia and Indonesia', *Pasific Affairs*, 54 (4): 662-687.

Swanberg, J. E. (2004) 'Illuminating gendered organization assumptions: An important step in creating a family-friendly organization: A case study.' *Community, Work & Family*, 7(1): 3-28.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Syed, J. (2008) 'A context-specific perspective of equal employment opportunity in Islamic societies,' *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 25(1): 135-151.

Swift, M. G.(1963) 'Men and women in Malay society', in: B. Ward (ed.) *Women in New Asia.* Paris: UNESCO.

---------- (1985) *Malay Peasant Society In Jelebu.* New York: Athlone Press.

Ta, T.L (2003) 'Aged at first marriage among the major ethnic groups in Peninsular Malaysia: An overview' Available at http://thestar.com.my/lifestyle/story.asp?file=/2003/8/11/features/6004395&sec=features [Accessed 4 November 2011].

Talib, J. (2009) 'Effects of parents'work conditions on children's school achievement: study of dual-earner families', *International Review of Business Research Papers*, 5 (3): 170-178.

Tan, T.B. (1998) 'Participation of women in the labour force and the need for childcare services: comparative study of Japan and Malaysia', in: S. Z. Syed Hassan (ed.) *Malaysia Women in the Wake of Change. Kuala Lumpur*: Universiti Malaya.

Tan, P. C. (1989) 'Perkahwinan campur etnik di Semenanjung Malaysia,' in: A. S. Cheek (eds.) *Cabaran Malaysia Tahun Lapan Puluhan.* Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sosial Sains Malaysia.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Tan, P.C. (1991). *Female participation at higher management levels in the public sector. Report No.1, Status and role of Malaysian women in development and family welfare.* Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

Thas, A. M. Kuga (2013)' Othering the Malay in Malaysia: A Planned Consequence of Politics?', The Asian Conference on Arts and Humanities, Official Conference Proceedings, 55-74.

The Economic Planning Unit (2010) *Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015.* Putrajaya: The Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department.

Taskula, J.L. (2000) 'Combining work and fatherhood in Finland', in: D.H.H. Carol (eds.) *Walking a Tightrope: Meeting the Challenges of Work and Family*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Taylor, S. (2002) .*The Employee Retention Handbook.* CIPD Publishing.

Taylor, B., & de Vocht, H. (2011). Interviewing separately or as couples? Considerations of authenticity of method. *Qualitative Health Research, 21*(11), 1576–1587.

Tey, N. P. (1994) 'Demographic trends and family structure in Malaysia', in: S. Chong and C. K. Sin (eds.) *Social development under rapid industrialization: The case of Southeast Asia.* Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic and International Studies.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Tey, N.P. and Tan. P. C. (1994) 'Do fertility intentions predict subsequent behaviour? Evidence from Peninsular Malaysia', *Studies in Family Planning,* 25 (4): 222-231.

Tey, N. P. Ng, S. T. and Yew, S. Y. (2011) 'Proximate determinants of fertility in Peninsular Malaysia', *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Health*, 23 (3): 1-11.

Thomas, L. T., and Ganster, D. C. (1995) 'Impact of family-supportive work variables on work-family conflict and strain: a control perspective,' *Journal of applied psychology*, 80(1): 6-15.

Tokuhiro, Y. (2010). *Marriage In Contemporary Japan.* London and New York: Routledge.

Tong, J. KC and Turner, B. S. (2008) 'Women, piety and practice: a study of women and religious practice in Malaysia', *Springer Science + Business Media B.V*: 241-259.

Townsend, B. K. (2009) 'Challenges of the faculty career for women: success and sacrifice', *The Journal of Higher Education*, 80 (5): 595-598.

Treas, J. and Widmer, E. D. (2000) "Married women's employment over the life course: attitudes in cross-national perspective,' *Social Forces*, 78 (4): 1409-1436.

Trochim, W. M. K. (2006). Research methods knowledge base: Nonprobability sampling. Available at http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/ sampnon.php. [Accessed 5 May 2014].

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Trost, J. (1990) 'Do we mean the same by the concept of family?', *Communication Research*, 17 (4): 437-43.

Twinn, S. (1997). An explanatory study examining the influence of translation on the validity and reliability of qualitative data in nursing research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 26,* 418-423.

Uddin, S. (2000) *A Muslim Husband and Wife: Rights and Duties.* New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan.

Ueno, C. (2009) *The Modern Family in Japan.* Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.

Ujang, Z. (2009) *Mengangkasa Pengajian Tinggi* (To empower the Higher Education). Malaysia: Universiti Teknologi Malaysia.

Valentine, G. (1999). Doing household research: interviewing couples together and apart. *Area* 31(1), 67-69.

Valk, H. A. G.and Schans, D. (2008) 'They ought to do this for their parents: perceptions of filial obligations among immigrant and Dutch older people', *Ageding and Society*, 28 (1) 49-66.

Van Hooff J.H. (2011). Rationalising inequality: heterosexual couples' explanations and justifications for the division of housework along traditionally gendered lines. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 20(1), 19–30.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Vulliamy, G. (1990) 'Research outcomes: post script', in: G. Vulliamy, K. Lewin and D. Stephens (eds.) *Doing Educational Research in Developing Countries: Qualitative Strategies.* London: The Falmer Press.

Waite, L.J. and Nielsen, M. (2001) 'The rise of the dual-career earner family, 1963-1997', in: R. Hertz and N. C. Marshall (ed.) *Working Families. the Transformation of American Home.* California: University of California Press.

Walby, S. (2003). *Gender Transformations*. London: Routledge.

Wallace, J. E., and Young, M. C. (2008) 'Parenthood and productivity: A study of demands, resources and family-friendly firms,' *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 72 (1): 110-122.

Wallace, R. A. and A. Wolf (1999). *Contemporary Sociological Theory: Expanding the Classical Tradition*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Wallman, S. (1984). *Eight London Households*. Tavistock London.

Walonick, D. S. (1993). Everything you wanted to know about questionnaires but were afraid to ask.

Wan Husin, W.H. (2011) 'Budi-Islam, it's role in the construction of Malay identity in Malaysia', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1 (12): 132-142.

Wan Yusoff, W.A.K. (1993) *Pengenalan Masyarakat Dan Budaya Melayu (An introduction of Malay society and culture.* Petaling Jaya: Masfami Enterprise.

Wheelock, J., & Oughton, E. (1996). The household as a focus for research. *Journal of Economic Issues*, *30*(1), 143–159.

Winstedt, R. (1947) *The Malays: A Cultural History*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wariya, C. (2010) Malaysia: *Asas Pembinaan Negara Bangsa Institusi Pemerintahan Lambang Kebangsaan*. Kuala Lumpur: Matrix Media Global.

Wayne, J. L., Casper, W. J., Matthews, R. A and Allen, T. D. (2013) 'Family-Supportive Organization Perceptions and Organizational Commitment: The Mediating Role of Work–Family Conflict and Enrichment and Partner Attitudes;' *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Advance online publication. doi: 10.1037/a0032491.

Wei, W. (2011). *Putting the Family First:Chinese Wives' Stories of Migration to Britain.* Women's Studies, PhD, Thesis.

Weiss, R. S. (1994). *Learning from strangers: The art and method of qualitative interview studies.* New York: The Free Press.

Westoff, C. F. 'Desired number of children: 2000-2008.' (2010).

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

05-4506832 pustaka_tbainun Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah Pustaka Tuanku Bainun ptbupsi

Coltrane, S., & Adams, M. (2001). Men's family work. *Working Families: The Transformation of the American Home*, 72–99.

Williams, J. and Forgasz, H. (2009) 'The motivations of career change students in teacher education,' *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*,37(1): 95-108.

Winkler, A. E. (1998) 'Earning of husbands and wives in dual-earners families', *Monthly Labour Review*, 121 (4): 42-48.

Wong, D. (1987). *Peasants in the Making: Malaysia's Green Revolution.* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Wong, O. M. H. (2009) 'Who should care? Perceptions of care giving responsibility within the household', in: K. Chan, A. S. Ku, C. Yin-Wah (eds.) *Social Transformations In Chinese Society, Special Focus Doing Families In Hong Kong*. Boston: Brill Leiden.

Woon, L. L. (1989) 'Zero as communication: The Chinese Muslim Dilemma in Malaysia', in: Gravers (ed.) *Southeast Asia between autocracy and democracy: Identity and political process.* Denmark: Nordic Association for Southeast Asean Studies and Harhus University Press.

World Bank Lead Economist for Southeast Asia, 2012. Available at http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/2012/04/12/malaysia-to-post-steady-growth-in-2012-modern-jobs-at-core-of-transformation-into-a-high-income-country.print[Accessed 5 May 2012].

Xu, X. H. and Lai, S. C. (2002) 'Resources, gender ideologies, and marital power: the case of Taiwan, *Journal of Family Issues*, 23 (2): 209-245.

Yaacob, M (2012) Introduction to the special issue on the education in Islamic civilisation and the role of Islamic civilisation on the formation of Malay identity. *Jurnal Hadhari,* Special Edition: 1-6.

Yahya, M. (2001) *Islam di Alam Melayu (Islam in Malay World)*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Yeoh, B.S.A. and Huang, S. (1998) 'Negotiating public space: strategies and styles of migrant female domestic workers in Singapore, *Urban Studies*, 35 (3): 583-602.

Yeung, W. J., Sadberg, J. F., Davis-Kean, P. E. and Hofferth, S. L. (2011) 'Children's time with fathers in intact families, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63 (1): 136-154.

Ying, S. L. (1992) 'Determinants of fertility in Malaysia-How much do we know?', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 23 (1): 112-132.

Yu, P. (2006). Higher education, the bane of fertility? An investigation with the HILDA Survey. Available at *https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/43273/2/DP512.pdf*

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi

Yusof, A. M., Alias, R. A., and Habil, H. (2012) 'Stereotyping in education: An insight of women's participation in Malaysia, *Journal of Learning and Higher Education,* 2012: 1-9.

Yousif, A. F. (2004) 'Islamic revivalism in Malaysia and Islamic response to non-Muslim', *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, 21 (6): 30-56.

Zain, A. M. (2000) *Dakwah dan perubahan sosial menuju alaf baru (Missionary and social change towards the new millennium).* Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn. Bhd.

Zaini, F. and Rahman, H. A. (2006) 'Institusi keluarga dan masalah sosial remaja di Johor Darul Takzim', in: Rashid, A. R. A., Hussein, S., Hassan, C. H, *Krisis dan konflik institusi keluarga*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Dsitributors Sdn. Bhd.

Zainuddin et al., (2010) *Kenegaraan Malaysia*. Shah Alam: Oxford Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd.

Zakaria, M. (1980). *Sikap dan nilai masyarakat mengenai pergerakan wanita (The society's attitude and value of women's movement).* August, Dewan Budaya.

Zakaria, N. M. (2010, February 27). Kahwin campur memang ada risiko. Utusan Malaysia. Available at http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/info.asp?y=2010&dt=0227&pub=Utusan_Malaysia&sec=Dalam_Negeri &pg=dn_17.html [Accessed 5 May 2012].

Zeenah, K. (2006) *Muslim Women at the Crossroads*. Malaysia: Thinker's Library.

---------- (2008) *Sayyid Abu ala Maududi on the Empowerment of Women in the Family Society, State and Islamic Movement*. Malaysia: Thinker's Library.

Zhan, H. J., and Montgomery, R. J. (2003) 'Gender and elder care in China the influence of filial piety and structural constraints,' *Gender andSociety*, 17(2): 209-229.

05-4506832 pustaka.upsi.edu.my Perpustakaan Tuanku Bainun Kampus Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah PustakaTBainun ptbupsi