



WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF ACADEMIC TENURE AT A WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY IN PAKISTAN

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The study aims to understand how teachers and academic leadership have experienced the implementation of the Tenure Track System (TTS) as a new educational reform in a female university. Although the need for change in education has been widely researched, the dynamics of how the international academic reward system affects women working in a women's university, especially in the context of developing countries, have mostly been ignored in the literature. This case study is based on the experience of interventions in the university reward system at a public university for women established in 1922. It provides unique insights into how the participants perceive the change process and the unintended side effects of these policy-level changes on the personal and organizational culture and structure levels. The results reveal that participants overburdened themselves with administrative, teaching, and research work but could have voiced their concerns more assertively. The study concluded that TTS faculty had been marginalized in the university based on their compensation and TTS is struggling to foot its ground as a main academic reward system. The faculty on TTS at large felt frustrated and alienated.

KEYWORDS: Higher Education, Tenure Track System, Women's Experiences

INTRODUCTION

A wave of new public management (NPM) inspired higher education reforms are taking place in many developing countries. These reforms changed public universities into 'complete organizations' (DeBoer et al., 2007). European universities have passed a series of NPM-related reforms during the last two decades. These reforms challenged universities' governance based on solid-

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state regulations and academic governance. As a result, fundamental changes took place in the universities and transformed the identity of universities into organizational actors. This means that universities are similar to corporate entities competing for resources. The Bologna Declaration of 1999 and the Lisbon Strategy of 2000 are examples that aimed to increase European universities' global competitiveness (Krüchen, 2014).

The literature on policy implementation highlighted that organizations might be unable to implement reforms since they have limited resources such as time, energy, and focus (Hatch, 2001; Malen et al., 2014). The literature also identified that the capacity challenge of an organization linked with managing various reforms was multiplied if these reform initiatives needed to be more consistent. Research on education reforms signified the productivity and resource dimension of the organization's capacity. For instance, organizational utility depends on the alignment between tasks at hand with available resources of the organization Rice et al. (2000). Furthermore, research also indicated that policies might burden organizations, decrease or worsen organizational capacity to implement, and lead to a decrease in productivity of the organization.

Approximately two-thirds of top-ranked universities in the world belong to English-speaking countries. This implies that if developing countries want to bring their universities to top universities, they need to follow the U.S.-U.K. model of the University. In Pakistan, leaders of the higher education commission treat this model as the standard of quality, reflected in their different educational programs/projects in universities. However, this model relies heavily on importing many PhDs from the developed world. Furthermore, public universities depend on the state for funding the compensation of these faculty members and expanding research budgets.

The Higher Education Commission, Pakistan (HEC) introduced the performance based Tenure Track System, which offers high salaries to the PhD faculty of public sector universities of Pakistan, in 2002. Many public universities became part of this scheme at the earliest stage of program development. For instance, Lahore College Women's University approved the TTS in 2005. Nevertheless, a host of questions arose when we reviewed the system in the culture-specific context of Pakistan, such as whether it is a scheme for improving research and teaching productivity or is it creating an island of the elite within the University who can influence the authority structure of the University? This challenge arose in the case of public universities in Pakistan, where TTS reforms need coherence and congruence among implementing organizations. Consequently, confusion, ambiguities, and frustrations among teachers arose at large.

This study provides new insights into how women faculty members experi-

ence these changes in their employment arrangements and how women leaders comprehend and implement the scheme under the new public management paradigm. Pakistan's socio-cultural structure inhibits women's financial independence, and the interpretation of religious accounts provides freedom for women's obligations to their families. The study is unique in giving an account of the experiences of women faculty members and women leaders about change in their academic reward structure. It contributes to the literature on public sector reforms, notably higher education policy implementation, through the eyes of women in academia in a women's University. The data for this research come from various sources, including interviews, focus group discussions, documents, and reports. The study addresses the following questions:

- How did women academics, leaders, and managers perceive adopting the tenure track system at their universities?
- What challenges did women faculty members face during their tenure track process?

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

There are three regulatory bodies for looking after the affairs of Punjab Public and Private Higher education institutions. The Higher Education Department (HED) is a ministerial body supervising the administrative affairs of colleges and universities in Punjab. The purpose of the Punjab Higher Education Commission (PHEC) was to promote research, development, and higher education in the province of Punjab in collaboration with the Higher Education Commission, Pakistan. HEC was formed to evaluate and promote higher education and research development in higher education institutions in Pakistan. There are many duplications in the ordinances of HEC and PHEC. Multiple regulatory bodies create confusion for leaders of public universities, as all of them exert their authority over the higher education institution's management affairs.

Lahore College Women's University was founded as a college in 1922. This University has more than 13,000 students and 500+ faculty members. The University offered academic programs in high school, Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D. LCWU is a new university for women; previously, it was a women's college and was upgraded to a university in 2002.

The conventional pay structure for teachers is the basic pay scale (BPS), the pay scale of the Government of Pakistan Employees. BPS is an old civil service pay scale rooted in the imperial civil service (ICS), which the British government developed for running the administrative affairs of its colony – the subcontinent of India. Mainly, there are three types of academic employment

arrangements at this University. First, teachers are recruited by the University on BPS scales. Second, teachers are recruited on TTS scales. Third, Punjab Public Service Commission (PPSC) teachers were recruited and placed at the University. Teachers on BPS and TTS are selected through the University Selection Board, and their criteria for senior academic posts are more stringent than those of teachers who come through PPSC.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

This section presents the relevant literature review and theoretical orientations for the paper.

In the literature on change in the context of the educational setting, the importance of active dialogue between key stakeholders – teachers, leaders, and policymakers – is highlighted. The absence of integration and cohesion resulted in confusion, dilemmas, and blame (Karakhanyan et al., 2012). Open communication and exchange were absent in policy implementers and policy formulators, leading to confusion and misperception among key players in an organization. Abrahamson (1996) asserted that ‘there must exist a common market for rhetoric between the management-fashion-setting community and the management-implementing-community if the successful implementation is to occur.’ Unfortunately, different markets of rhetoric were established, leading to little exchange of values and norms, thus creating tensions and conflict.

Evaluation of TTS focused on the research performance of academics, which narrowed down to publishing an article in impact factor journals (Kallio et al., 2016). This emphasis on research performance is part of a global movement of research excellence policies (Hazelkorn, 2009). However, teaching and service remained under-recognised, spreading this trend across various European countries (Macfarlane, 2005). The higher education system in Balkan states lost its strength and consistency due to reforms based on Western models. Balkan states’ experience of TTS implied that transplanting Western models created a nonproductive and mediocre state of higher education in this University.

Another challenge for leaders is goal displacement. A high number of publications were not the primary goal of a university. Focusing on more than just the research publication number will create problems for public universities. This narrow focus induces cheating and compromises research standards, and instrument values will soon become terminal Merton (1936).

Quality assurance in TTS acted as an instrument of governance which gives power to some and removes it from others while facilitating an increase in control by central authorities over desired ‘outcomes/ends’ through deregulated

processes/ means (Rowlands, 2012). In many countries, the primary objective of their policies was to turn the university into an organizational actor that will develop a more entrepreneurial and unique identity (Maassen et al., 2011, p. 480). Transforming the University into a corporate identity was natural in newly formed universities, which struggle to create their new identity.

Public universities in Uganda have passed through various public sector reforms since the 1990s. These reforms were started through the World Bank sanctions. These reforms led to the privatization of public enterprises, decentralization of political governance and administrative functions, and reduction of public servant expenses (Bisaso, 2014). The pertinent question in the context of Pakistan is whether these changes will lead to the privatization of public universities in Pakistan. Public universities' weak management and governance systems, weakening of academic culture, promotion of self-interest, conflicts among teachers, and perceived inequity in reward allocation indicate that this direction has already been taken.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is a basic qualitative interpretive study Merriam (2012), and the underlying philosophy is social constructivism. Therefore, the study is qualitative and focuses on the experiences of faculty and management with higher education reforms in general and TTS in particular. Multiple primary and secondary sources of information are used for this study, which includes preliminary data collection methods: face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions. Secondary sources of information included examining documents and reports about Higher Education Reforms in Pakistan, the TTS program, and written correspondence of HEC with universities.

The case study approach was utilized with in-depth qualitative interviews, which provided an opportunity to understand participant experience. Case analysis involves organizing the data by specific cases for in-depth study and comparison. Merriam (2012) defined the case study as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system," which is similar to other definitions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2016; Stake, 2005).

Criterion sampling was used to select only those cases that met the criteria of experiencing this phenomenon for at least three years. The following groups were made: a group of faculties of sciences, a group of faculties of social sciences, a group of faculties of humanities, and a group of university leaders and administrators.

Three sources (Teachers, Vice Chancellor, and Administration) of the University and three data collection methods (face-to-face interviews, focus group discussion, and documents) were utilized to put the whole study into proper

perspective. The documents included reports, TTS statutes, Statistics about TTS faculty, HEC notifications, and HEC correspondence with universities. Respondent interviews are an essential source of information about their experience with reform processes. These informal processes are usually described outside of formal documents. Therefore, all interviews were tape-recorded to ensure the credibility of the data. The total number of participants from this University was 14 (Vice Chancellor, Professor, a focal person for TTS, Professor (Tenured), Six Assistant Professors (Tenure Track) from Science discipline, Four Assistant Professors (Tenure Track) from the Social Sciences and Humanities Discipline); all participants were women, as this is a women's University; see details in the appendix. Moreover, the same interview protocol was used, which helped to compare empirical data.

Focus group discussions posed different challenges during data collection. Two focus group discussions were held – one with faculty members from the sciences disciplines and the other from the social sciences disciplines. A researcher brought together participants at the case study site with the help of a collaborator. A focus group allows the researcher to question several individuals systematically and simultaneously.

Individuals working on the tenure track system formed a unit of analysis of the study. First, the individual participant case studies were collated at the discipline level. Then, discipline case studies are combined to make university case studies. This approach is a layered case study, which nested cases within cases.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

A Professor on TTS explained how the Process of TTS began at this University:

One fine morning, we were called to the Vice-Chancellor's Office. We needed to find out the agenda. The Vice-Chancellor told us the existing PhD faculty members are being shifted to TTS. They would get a two to threefold rise in their current salaries. We did not ask any questions from V.C., and we were unaware of the requirements of TTS. We were happy that our salaries increased. At that time, there was no selection board for awarding tenure track, as few PhDs were available at the University. Later, the selection board was held when the number of Ph.D. applicants increased.

Many participants said they were not free to choose to join TTS. A participant said, "This was the only university that forced their regular faculty to join TTS." The university management told them that PhD faculty would only be promoted to assistant professors by joining TTS since the University adopted TTS statutes developed by HEC, which mentioned that the University would recruit all Ph. D.s as assistant professors on TTS. A participant said, "University

administration is still recruiting faculty members on BPS, which violates TTS guidelines. Moreover, as mentioned in the guidelines, we have not been given increments."

Many participants highlighted that TTS's main problem must be better implementation. The University's technical structure needed to be developed to implement performance-based compensation in the traditional women's college. However, a vice-chancellor said, *"We are humans with biases; the development of the process would reduce human biases, and TTS could become a success if leaders truthfully intend to resolve matters."*

Participants said that HEC intended to improve university research activities but did not expect TTS to turn sour. However, many participants wanted to be more satisfied with the responsiveness of the management of HEC regarding the implementation of TTS. For example, a participant from social science said, *"Nobody was ready for this transition. They did not provide any orientation to stakeholders – the Vice Chancellor, Registrar, and faculty members. TTS was like throwing the baby out with the bathwater."*

The participants suggested to HEC representatives for improvement in the TTS, but nothing happened, and the status quo would continue. One participant said, *"There were HEC management meetings with the University, but the details were never shared with faculty members. Our direct feedback to HEC was seen as disobedience in the University."* Most participants indicated that HEC needed to implement the TTS guidelines in the letter and spirit and created ambiguities and confusion through inconsistent letters and notifications. A participant said, *"The leaders of HEC have not achieved their objective of improving research work due to the poor implementation of their educational policies and programs."*

The TTS guidelines provided by HEC did not define some basic terms, such as 'tenure track' or 'tenured.' When some faculty members have completed their tenure track, the university administration notifies them of their status as confirmed. The misunderstanding began when HEC notified that tenure-track faculty could not hold an administrative position at the University. It also mentioned recovering salaries from tenure-track faculty for that period during which they had an administrative role. A professor said,

Many people left the track in the middle, but I continued. This confusion of terms allowed the opponent groups to raise objections to my confirmed status. All were due to the absence of a definition of terms. This confusion was increased as this University copied the statutes and practices of engineering universities, which faced the same problem with their TTS faculty members.

The main issue relates to the monitoring and implementation of the TTS (cf. Patfield & Harris, 2021). HEC leaders did not foresee the complexities involved during the implementation of TTS in the University and did not actively intervene in the implementation phase. A participant said,

We told the representative of HEC that we used to teach 16-18 hours a week, sometimes 20 hours. He asked how it was possible and I would talk to the university administration to reduce this teaching work. However, nothing improved, and the status quo continued.

Organisational Process and Implementation of TTS

Many faculty members said that the Vice Chancellor and the Registrar needed to understand TTS adequately and showed their confusion on various occasions. The participant said, *"TTS is passing through an evolutionary phase, and university leaders and managers may understand it one day."* A young academic said, *"The university management did not have the intention, infrastructure, and expertise to implement TTS in true spirit. We did not get annual gratuity, as mentioned in TTS guidelines."*

However, a vice chancellor said that faculty members should have taken responsibility for bidding tenure and expected someone to tell them what to do. A Vice-Chancellor noted that the role of a leader is to focus on the positive aspects and to direct the University's Leadership for progress. She said, *"If implementation and monitoring of TTS would improve, then TTS would be a better system than BPS."*

The participants perceived that the University Administration used different rules to reduce the benefit of TTS faculty members. The continuous tension between the university administration and TTS faculty members affects their morale and distress. The participants said they felt like they were working in a school, and the staff of the Registrar's office treated them as contractual employees. In contrast, the BPS faculty are treated as permanent university employees. Moreover, the structure and culture of the University needed to appreciate teachers' voices in decision-making about the governance and management challenges of the University (Sultana & Jabeen, 2020). Several participants complained that they needed to be provided with proper space and computers for their research work. She said, *"We did not have our offices and shared a small space for computing. We were sharing a standard faculty room because it had air conditioning. How could research activities be performed when so many women gathered in one room? Then, they expect us to produce high-quality research papers."*

Most of the TTS faculty was at the junior level; therefore, they had no say at the policy level in the University. Thus, there were many matters in limbo. One of the participants said, *"The criteria for success on the tenure track were incongruent with the existing structure and culture of the University. University management was operating the University like a school."*

A participant said, *"Initially, there was no focal person for TTS matters; Nobody*

in the University wanted to take ownership of TTS. A focal person for TTS did not comprehend the rules and regulations of TTS and gave ambiguous answers to queries of faculty members." A professor said this is a new university and culture and structure are in the transition to develop the character of a university. A participant noted that TTS faculty members had been assigned extra work in the department to rationalize their better compensation. She said,

We have been termed as 'highly paid employees' in the University. The university administration and the heads of departments assigned us additional tasks because they thought we were better paid than the BPS faculty. However, they ignored TTS's fundamental spirit of motivating faculty members for research work.

A participant said that the behaviour of the administrative staff is insolent towards them, as they are envious of their better compensation. She said, "Our Registrar's office was not giving us due respect." Another participant said that we do not have any real financial advantage on TTS: "We did not have a summer break like our colleagues, but we have an annual 12 days of leave. Our timings were from 8 am to 4 pm., observed on the register. We used to mark our attendance at the head office."

The participants said that women are generally supportive of each other. For example, one participant said, "We had a women's network in different departments; we support each other for research work." The TTS scheme was a rational choice for earning more money at University. The University wanted to have more Ph.D. faculty. TTS allowed the University to bring more PhDs through this scheme. Multiple groups challenge the nature of academic work, and sometimes they demand conflicts, such as the tension between an excellent teacher and a good researcher (Rice et al., 2000)

Performance Evaluation on TTS

A Vice-Chancellor said that HEC intended to introduce research culture in public universities. However, the criteria for promotion on the tenure track are research publications, and this external pressure has prevented many faculty members from engaging in research work. Promotion cases of tenure were sent to foreign professors for their potential to be promoted to term. The Vice-Chancellor said that the Registrar's office's communication style could be more appropriate with foreign professors, as they ask those professors to count their publications and decide about granting tenure. She asserted that not all tenure decisions should be made on evaluation reports of foreign professors. This depicted the inherent mistrust of local evaluation mechanisms; therefore, the evaluation process gives higher weight to foreign evaluation. The Vice-Chancellor said,

The method and language of communication with foreign experts must be changed.

For example, the language of letters to these experts is like asking them to decide on granting tenure and to count a faculty member's publications. Instead, the letter's language should focus on obtaining an opinion about a faculty member's scholarly achievements and potential.

Many participants observed delays in processing their promotion cases on a tenure track. First, faculty members took longer to send their applications, as they were unaware of the technical and political implications of the processes. Second, some heads of departments take time to hold a technical review committee as they need to learn about the procedural requirements of TTS. Finally, there were delays on the university administration's end, mainly due to their need for more competence in comprehending and implementing matters of the TTS. Furthermore, HEC took a long time to endorse cases of TTS. HEC provided financial support for TTS salaries and released funds when the university administration provided all required documentation for TTS selection and promotion cases. Many delays occurred due to miscommunication between the university administration and the administration of HEC. TTS is time-bound; these delays derailed and stalled the whole system, affecting faculty members' motivation.

A professor said many young faculty members viewed administrative work as a waste of time. Many participants perceived that since their core job is to produce research papers, HODs, and University managers shall not assign administrative work to them as they do with other faculty members. However, a professor said this work was essential for the running of an institution. A participant said, *"Our workload included teaching, research, purchases, admission, administrative tasks, and all kinds of donkey work, which can easily be delegated to administrative staff. We published more papers than the BPS faculty; extra duties were assigned to us. We were on target due to a higher salary."* Participants of Focus Group said TTS disregarded our previous service to the University. A participant said, *"I left my years of seniority to join TTS, and now I am bound on this track."*

Participants from the social sciences highlighted that the evaluation criteria focus on research numbers. Furthermore, evaluation Performa was developed keeping in mind the needs of the science faculty. For instance, patents, projects, and laboratory work were not pertinent to social sciences and humanities faculty, and there is a need to develop a separate evaluation form for social sciences and humanities disciplines. Another participant explained why research budgets assigned to the social sciences by HEC were underutilized: *"These evaluation forms were made keeping the needs of natural sciences. Therefore, HEC's committees rejected our proposals as they did not meet their criteria."*

A participant said that impact factor journal criteria were generally unfair for social sciences (Bogt & Scapens, 2012; Gendron, 2008; Parker & Jary, 1995).

For example, many good international journals have yet to be considered for faculty evaluation by HEC, whereas low-quality local journals are considered for evaluation. Furthermore, the list has been revised annually, so if the publication process took more than a year, it would not guarantee that the publication would count towards the evaluation on the tenure track.

Some participants from the social sciences considered that the evaluation criteria ignored teaching; they criticized the present evaluation criteria (Donaldson & Firestone, 2021), this kind of evaluation form encouraged teachers to increase their research publications but gave less importance to teaching classes. Many people use shortcuts to meet the number requirements of research publications. A participant said, *"TTS decreased standards of teaching and research at the university."* A Vice-Chancellor elaborated, *"TTS required a research paper in a recognized journal, which did not affect faculty members' teaching and service work. Therefore, there is no negative effect of TTS on teaching work."* The tenured professor said, *"They should give equal weight to teaching. If equal weight was not possible, then an appropriate weight should have been given to teaching."*

Furthermore, many Professors on BPS evaluate the performance of TTS faculty members, as they hold senior academic positions on various university committees. A participant said, *"The Head of the Department, usually on BPS, evaluated our performance and did it according to their moods and wishes."* A participant suggested, *"There is only one tenured faculty member in the university, and she should become part of the evaluation process."*

Some participants highlighted that the main problem was opening the back door for Punjab Public Service Commission (PPSC) faculty for easy and fast promotion. These faculty members came from colleges of the Punjab Government. Some participants said that an important issue was that PPSC faculty come to this University in a Professor position. They have a less stringent requirement for the post of Professor. They need six articles and 12 years of experience as the professor, whereas, in the University, the faculty requires 15 years of experience with 15 publications. These PPSC teachers have been promoted to head of the department. TTS faculty claimed they have more experience and publications than PPSC teachers, but they were working under them. This is an irony of having multiple systems at the same time.

The TTS developed positive pressure on faculty members to produce research papers, and this external pressure was not present in their previous university service. LCWU comes under the General Universities category, primarily teaching universities in Pakistan. This University caters to only female students. Before joining TTS, many participants considered teaching the primary job responsibility. After TTS, many felt teaching was a secondary activity compared to research work.

TTS started a race among faculty members to increase research papers to fulfil the requirements of evaluation Performa. A participant said, *"Research publications build the personal profile of faculty members and improve the University's ranking. TTS engages every faculty member in a race for publishing research papers, and quantity precedes quality and ethics."* The participants said that TTS provided a better financial benefit to faculty members but did not see any direct benefits to the department and the University. This kind of compensation has never been heard in public universities. The only disadvantage is the absence of a pension.

Unintended Effects of TTS on Women

Many participants experienced anxiety and fear of failing on TTS, and fear derived their motivation to produce research papers. Many are reluctant to express their feelings and thoughts about TTS because they fear removal from university services. Many participants said that emotions of jealousy and envy from academic colleagues and administrative staff are common for TTS faculty members. The participants of the sciences discipline said that faculty members who failed on the tenure track developed resentment about TTS and tried to find loopholes in the system. Another participant said that many professors on BPS were heads of departments, and most resented the high salaries of young Assistant Professors on TTS. Therefore, these professors needed to be more receptive to TTS.

A cultural perspective highlighted that the pressure of TTS created insecurity and fear among faculty. These insecurities and fears are derived from faculty members' engagement in research activities (Merlo, 2016). The instinct of survival invokes and becomes a motivator for research. Women must have some flexibility in the tenure track when they are bearing a child or raising young children. These needs still need to be addressed in the statutes of the tenure track. There is no concept of stopping a tenure clock or sharing tenure between spouses to accommodate their family needs.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Many universities have tried to influence academic work with the help of incentive structures. These incentive structures comprise demands associated with external agencies and students (Ogbonna & Harris, 2004). Multiple groups challenge the nature of academic work, and sometimes these demands conflict with each other, like the tension between an excellent teacher and a good researcher (Rice et al., 2000). There needed to be more support to implement TTS effectively, and the coordination between university management and HEC management needed to be more effective in addressing matters

of TTS. The required processes and procedures for implementing TTS still needed to be developed. Therefore, confusion and complexities arose during the implementation of TTS.

The absence of consistent processes and procedures for implementing TTS provided space for different groups to influence the implementation of TTS. There were few teachers on TTS, and they needed to be more assertive in power than the dominant collation of teachers on BPS. These teachers held influential positions in the University, where they can influence policies, including the implementation process of TTS. There is a BPS professor who looks after matters of TTS faculty. Tenured professors did not become part of the evaluation committee for TTS teachers. Young faculty on TTS asserted to have tenured members in their evaluation committee, as some of them considered BPS faculty to be biased during evaluation.

Many participants highlighted that TTS guidelines were out of context, and it provided room for multiple interpretations of TTS. Social science and humanities faculty were unhappy due to evaluation criteria. HEC leaders did not play a role in implementing TTS, and university managers and leaders were reluctant to implement the TTS effectively. Consequently, the TTS remains an orphan in the University.

TTS shifted power from university management to the Higher Education Commission, as HEC is the final authority to endorse TTS cases. TTS was a part of the quality assurance regime initiated by HEC. Quality assurance serves as an instrument to regulate the higher education sector. (Engebretsen et al., 2012; Lucas, 2014). Quality Assurance regimes became the primary regulatory tool in higher education management. Approximately half of the countries now have Q.A. regulatory bodies for higher education (Jarvis, 2014).

This University did not have a traditional academic norm of teachers' voice in matters of university governance. Furthermore, TTS curtailed any development in this regard.

This University was converted from a college, but there was a common perception that a college did not transform into a university. Faculty still hold the value that their primary work was teaching. The dominant evaluation component for TTS faculty was research, which contrasted with the actual work of faculty, which entails teaching and administrative duties in the department and University (Macfarlane, 2005). This sometimes became a source of conflict between teachers and department heads, as many TTS teachers considered research their core work.

The excessive focus of the TTS on quantitative indicators induces academics to use shortcuts to meet the standard requirements. The pressure of TTS created insecurity and fear among faculty. These insecurities and fears caused

faculty to engage in research activities (Merlo, 2016). The instinct of survival invokes and becomes a motivator for research. There was a perception that HEC was biased toward science faculty. One criterion of promotion on the tenure track was to publish in impact factor journals (Bogt & Scapens, 2012; Gendron, 2008; Parker & Jary, 1995). Many social science teachers considered these criteria biased towards sciences. The values of an organization influence individual motivation and performance (Hardré & Cox, 2009). If these values are aligned, it produces positive motivation and performance (O'Reilly & Caldwell, 1986), and if values are not aligned, then individual motivation locus externally and negatively affects persistence performance (Bono & Judge, 2003; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986; Richer et al., 2002). Here, TTS was not aligned with the basic norms and values of the University.

There were no unified performance and reward systems. Three parallel systems existed, and each system has its criteria for performance evaluation. Teachers compared their benefits with each other, and that caused a feeling of inequity among some TTS faculty members. They asserted that this anomaly of different career tracks needs to be addressed, as it is disturbing the equilibrium of power in the University. Once the faculty became a professor, he started giving their group benefits. He may hold a crucial administrative position in the University, where she/he would influence policy matters in the University. Other faculty groups may need to be more secure that their matters of promotion and rewards may get delayed.

The structure and culture of the University needed to appreciate teachers' voices in decision-making about governance and management challenges of the University (Sultana & Jabeen, 2020). Leading power brokers in public universities are the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar offices. Due to this structure, the University's administration became more potent than teachers. They considered TTS faculty as contractual faculty who might be fired at any time. Teachers' roles were reduced to completing credit hours and producing research papers for their promotion. Teachers with diverse experiences can become a catalyst for change in the University. Unfortunately, the most qualified resource of the University remained underutilized.

TTS was a recipe for increasing research publications, and a local version of TTS emerged. This local version assumes that TTS was a vehicle to earn money in university services. TTS was rationalized as a recipe for increasing research publications in a public university. Social science faculty were dissatisfied with TTS, as they considered TTS biased towards science faculty and remained frustrated due to evaluation criteria for promotion on the tenure track. Implementing TTS was coercive adoption (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983), as many social sciences and humanities faculty joined TTS to get promoted to Assistant Professor. The University adopted TTS but remains decoupled, so it

has little effect on main university activities.

The culture of obedience is rooted in socioeconomic factors of Society, and this obedience is reflected in the University's culture. LCWU converted from college, and vertical institutional depth was low. Therefore, education reforms were easily penetrated in the flexible structure of the newly formed University. University leadership did not resist any interventions of the HEC, as they wanted to increase their legitimacy in the eyes of the HEC. TTS was coercively adopted by the University, where PhD teachers were shifted to TTS overnight.

Pakistan is where teaching as a profession is considered desirable for women in the sociocultural context of Pakistan, as teaching provides flexibility for women to look after their family demands. Broadly, women have ascribed the role of raising and caring for children, and men are prescribed to be breadwinners in this Society. Therefore, women's income is often considered supplemental income and even the absence of pension benefits does not hurt women as much as it develops insecurities among men.

There needed to be more consistency of perceptions between central agencies and actors in the University regarding quality enhancement and accountability for these reforms. Many university actors need to see the purpose of these related quality reforms. Thus, actors on the ground were passively engaged in the process of reforms. That was why they performed the functions superficially. This ambiguity also arises due to the need for a clear link between these higher education reforms and learning and teaching (Evans, 2022). This confusion placed a burden on implementers to have a clear understanding of these reforms and how they make use of them. The experience of Romanian Higher Education Reforms provided evidence that there would be only improvement in the Quality Enhancement Process with the direct involvement and support of people affected by these reforms in higher education institutions Geven et al. (2014).

TTS led to the emergence of new academics who focused on quantitative indicators of performance and personal progress. However, the ethos of competition among colleagues challenged collegial ethos. TTS increased plurality in public universities, increasing friction among three parallel reward systems: BPS, PPSC (BPS), and TTS. High salaries of TTS were highlighted and developed envy among other teachers. Questions about the professional ethics of TTS faculty rose, and questions about the research performance of BPS faculty rose. TTS was presented as a system to increase the number of research publications. Implementing TTS made good teaching irrelevant for earning increments on TTS performance evaluation criteria.

CONCLUSIONS

Malen et al. (2014) emphasized the difficulty of implementing complex education reforms. The common challenge in implementing reforms was building organizational capacity (Elmore, 2002; Mclaughlin, 1987). During the initial years of HEC, money flowed into higher education, and many educational programs were launched in public universities. One may initiate the program if they have financial resources, but sustaining that program requires building the organization's capacity. The technical, social, cognitive, and cultural components should have been emphasized during implementation. It created challenges for leaders of HEC and public universities. These reforms developed ripple effects in the cognitive-cultural fabric of universities. University's lack of competency, training, time, and energy, these ties and ripples should have been promptly addressed. It exposed the already fragile technical structure and weak academic traditions in the University. Consequently, the program's overall effectiveness decreased and slowed progress. In some cases, the development stalled, and in some, it reversed. As Hatch (2001) said, "capacity at one level of the system depends on the capacity at other levels." Especially in the case of the new women's university, TTS did not consider the unique needs of women to stop their tenure clock for maternity and family obligations, which have been prescribed roles rooted in the socio-religious narrative about women's role in society.

Research on education reforms signified the productivity and resource dimension of the organization's capacity. For instance, organizational utility depends on the alignment between tasks at hand with available resources of the organization (Rice et al., 2000). Furthermore, research also indicated that policies might burden organizations, decrease or worsen organizational capacity to implement, and lead to a decrease in the organization's productivity. The absence of a performance management system for TTS, the implementation resulted in frustrating academics and exposing the fragile administrative structure of the college, which failed to make the transition to the university structure and culture.

TTS at this University was similar to other unprecedented non-incremental changes; university leadership, management structure, resources, teachers, and culture needed more time to sustain the pressure of different educational programs (Khan & Christensen, 2020). TTS was implemented symbolically and continued due to the pressure of HEC to recruit PhD faculty members for TTS. This increased the number of TTS faculty members in the University, but this scheme is still looking for grounds to survive independently. The scheme still needs to work on integrating into the central stream culture and structure of the University, and ambiguities and confusion still hover around its future. Nevertheless, TTS reached a critical juncture where universities and

HEC can decide whether to continue or suspend TTS based on sound analysis and reasoning.

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