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The Effects of Gender Diversity on Work Group Performance in Pakistani Universities

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I

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the effects of gender diversity on workgroup performance in Pakistani universities. The study explores the cultural context of KPK in Pakistan and theorises how social constructs attempt to regulate human gender relationships. Qualitative methods are employed to identify, explore and explain how the concept of gender covertly contributes to shaping the professional roles of men and women within extreme patriarchal cultures. The perspectives of both men and women academics, acquired through semi structured interviews and non participant observations of academic meetings, are analysed in this study. They contribute to a deeper understanding of gender disparity that arises and prevails among the individuals working in gender diverse groups.

The findings support Goffman's (1954) work on performance and an argument is developed that social and cultural dynamics disempower women by affecting the way they control others' impression of them (women). The study posits a theory that segregation of men and women in Pakistani society, the attitudes and behaviours of individuals as well as social structure, all work to the advantage of men. This is based on cultural values influenced by traditional practices and different interpretations of religious beliefs. In this way, the study undermines Lukes' (1974) and Marxist feminist views of gender relations by arguing that religious thought and traditional customs imposed for social control rather than economic interests can be a powerful reproducer of patriarchy.

The study concludes that religious thought embedded in deep rooted historical religious traditions might be a more powerful reproducer of patriarchy than capitalist relations of production, particularly in South Asian cultures. Unlike western cultures where the influence of religious thought has been challenged and diminished over the course of last three centuries, there is no equivalent enlightenment in Pakistan that challenges the hegemony of religious thought. This being the case, the popular (activist) base from which to challenge the dominance of religiously informed patriarchy is not yet sufficiently well developed to support enforcement of legislation.

The study recommends a four-step model to university stakeholders and activists for bringing change and promoting equality. Demonstrating social justice in universities

to young adults brings the hope of a larger change in the society. By contributing to the understanding of gender related dynamics, the study expects to promote gender equality and embrace the notion of gender studies as a source of improving the human condition.

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that my work entitled "Effects of Gender Diversity on Work Group Performance in Pakistani Universities", for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, embodies the results of an original research programme and consists of an ordered and critical exposition of existing knowledge in a well-defined field.

I have included explicit references to the citation of the work of others or to my own work which is not part of the submission for this degree.

Zeeshan Zaib Khattak

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Lastly and most importantly, I wish to thank my parents. They bore me, raised me, supported me, taught me, and loved me. To them I dedicate this thesis.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my father, who taught me that the best kind of knowledge to have is that which is learned for its own sake. It is also dedicated to my mother, who taught me that even the largest task can be accomplished if it is done one step at a time.

1.0   Introduction

This thesis studies the effects of gender diversity on the performance of academics among academic workgroups based in the Khyber PukhtunKhwa (KPK) province of Pakistan. Studying gender gives the reader a unique vantage point from which to investigate how the concept of gender influences social and interpersonal behaviours, and how gender identity influences social and personal decisions (Roy D 2001).

Although this study refers to the specific social cultural context of KPK in Pakistan, it helps to highlight how social constructs attempt to regulate human gender in a wider sense. The study familiarizes the reader with men's and women's groups based on gender difference, and helps the reader gain an understanding of what men and women seek from membership of these groups. The study employs qualitative methods to identify, explore and explain how gender covertly plays a role in shaping the professional roles of men and women generally at work, and particularly in gender diverse academic work groups at universities within a social culture of patriarchy. The perspectives of both male and female academics and the non participant observations analysed in this study contribute to understanding how gender disparity arises and prevails among the individuals working in gender diverse groups. The study explores gender role assumptions and identity, which helps to explain the impact of gender identity on human relations and helps to investigate how gender stereotypes create tensions and expectations of and from others in diverse playing fields. By contributing to the wider understanding of gender related dynamics, this study expects to promote gender equality and to encourage the notion of using gender studies as a means of improving human conditions.

In this introductory chapter, a brief introduction to Pakistan is given, so that the reader can acquire a sense of the country's size, geographical location, political situation and the issues of gender segregation and women's place in the society. Second, the motivation for this research is set out, with a clear description of the research question and the author's pre-understanding of the described research problem. The contributions that can be expected from this thesis are also given by the writer then specifying the aims and objectives of the study. Finally, an overview

of the study is presented. This examines the aims of each chapter and gives a summary of the salient points of analysis and discussion therein.

1.1   Pakistan: A Brief Introduction

Pakistan is located in South Asia and shares an eastern border with India and a north eastern border with China. Iran makes up the country's south west border, and Afghanistan runs along its western and northern edges. The Arabian Sea is on Pakistan's southern boundary, with 1,064 km of coastline. The country has a total area of 796,095 sq km (Human Development Foundation, 2010). Pakistan is comprised of five provinces; Punjab, Sindh, Khyber PukhtunKhwa, Baluchistan and Gilgit Baltistan; together with some federally administered units including Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT), Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Northern Areas (FANA). Islamabad is the capital of Pakistan, and is located in the northern part of the country at the bottom of Margalla Hills near Rawalpindi. The official national language of the country is Urdu but a number of regional languages are also spoken in various parts of the country. The normal medium of education is Urdu, but English continues to be used in higher education and professional colleges, particularly in scientific and technical fields. Approximately 97% of the total population are Muslims and a Federal Parliamentary form of constitution exists in the country (D. Shah, 2003). Pakistan is the largest Islamic country, with a population of more than 180 million (World Fact Book, July, 2010) and with an almost equal sex ratio (1.07males/1 female). It has the highest mountain range of the world to the north of the country, and vast plains in the south, which offers an unusual diversity of climates. The country is gifted with agriculture crops, making the country self sufficient in food and also provides raw material for industry.

According to Country Watch (2010) Pakistan's Islamic history was incepted with the arrival of Muslim merchants in the 8th century. The British came to rule the region in the 18th century, and by the beginning of the 20th century, British India included all of modern Pakistan. The conflict between the British, Indian Muslims and Hindus ended in the independence of British India and resulted in the creation of the separate Muslim Nation of Pakistan in 1947. Pakistan originally consisted of two parts; the eastern part and the western part. The people of the eastern part felt that supremacy was unfairly concentrated in the west, which ultimately resulted in the

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eruption of civil war in 1971. With Indian support, East Pakistan won the war and subsequently became the separate nation of Bangladesh. The issue of the disputed territory of Kashmir also resulted in two wars in 1947-48 and 1965. The dispute still prevails in the region, but the tension between both countries is moderating with off and on discussion and confidence building measures. The Country Watch (2010) describes how the political situation of Pakistan has been stained by corruption, inefficiency and confrontations between various institutions. Civilian and military rule have prevailed in the country on an alternating basis, which has affected the establishment of stability. The latest coup in October 1999 expelled the civilian government and General Musharraf came into power. Public dissatisfaction over the Musharraf regime over post 9/11 decisions, together with assassination of the famous political leader Benazir Bhutto in late 2007, led to Musharraf's resignation in August 2008 and the election of Zardari (Benazir's widower), as president. The government and military forces are presently facing hardships in maintaining control over the tribal areas close to the border with Afghanistan, where Taliban linked militants are strongly established.

1.2 Background of the Study

Gender plays a significant role in terms of an organising principle for any society, and this is evident in the division of labour according to sex. Schalkwyk (2000) suggests that in most societies there are clear patterns of women's work and men's work, both in the household and in the wider community. There is a cultural explanation for such patterns in every society (Schalkwyk, 2000). In Pakistan, the characterization of gender places women at a lower position in society which manifests in a differentiated outcome for women in all aspects of life (Mumtaz, 2010). The Pakistan Review (2011) reports that, from the 78.7 million total population of women, only 7% are economically active. Pakistan ranks at 107 out of 140 in a gender empowerment measure (140 being the lowest in the empowerment measure). The Country Watch (2010) report suggests that women in Pakistan face a life of constant discrimination and harassment, in both domestic and employment sectors. In many parts of the country, there is a strong social pressure on women to stay at home which limits their mobility and contribution to society. The Federal Bureau of Statistics (2010) indicates that the total literacy rate of Pakistan is 54%, of which 66.25% are men and 34.75% are women. Out of 55.25% of the employed

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labour force, only 21% are female and almost 79% are male. This gap is far wider than in the neighbouring country of India (a country born after the creation date of Pakistan) where 62.10% of men and 47.10% of women work. The global gender gap report (2010) indicates that the overall ranking of Pakistan in the gender gap index is 132 (including educational attainment, literacy rate and economic participation and opportunity ranking) which is below neighbouring countries like India (112) and Bangladesh (82), and far below any of the western countries.

Pakistan, as a developing country, cannot ignore the strategic importance of gender empowerment and equality for economic development and global competitiveness. In a recent study survey (Sultan, 2008), it was argued that Khyber PukhtunKhwa (KPK) is one among the five provinces in Pakistan combating extremism and the social structure that prevents the realization of the full potential of women and their due place in the society (Mumtaz, 2010). According to a literacy rate survey of Pakistan in 2007-08, the province of KPK has around a 21 million population with a literacy rate of 47.41%, of which 69% are men and 24.6% are women. It lags far behind in this respect in comparison with other provinces (only Baluchistan sits behind KPK). The total literacy rate in Punjab is 60.8%, of which 70% are men and 51% are women, and out of 50.15% of the total literacy rate at Sindh 60.5% are men and 42.5% are women. The gap in labour force participation rate (LFPR) presents rather an extreme picture: the LFPR gap in KPK is 98.01% (men) and 18.68% (women) which is wider than Sindh (98.55% men and 19.47% women) and far wider than Punjab (96.82% men and 33.47% women). Only the province of Baluchistan lies behind KPK in terms of LFPR.

Alam (2009) commented on this issue in his article in Dawn News on March 8th 2009 'International Women's Day', and suggested that "*the percentage of women's participation in the workforce in KPK is encouraging only in the Education and Health sector, the situation in other sectors if compared is quite alarming*". This is verified in the gender gap index 2010 which shows that the approximate gap in the Agriculture sector is almost 73% (men) to 24% (women), in the Manufacturing sector the gap is almost 76% (men) to 23% (women), whereas in the Health sector it is nearly 58% (men) to 41% (women), and in the Education sector the gap is 56% (men) to 44% (women). This reflects the fact that education is one of only two professions where

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women are able to work. This was also verified by figures produced by the Directorate of Literacy and Higher Education in February 2009, which showed that among the total academics in KPK Universities more than 60% were male and the rest were female.

In attempting to identify the reasons for such conditions, Hanna (1971, p521) described that "the culture of social distance and maintenance of moral standards specified by the society in KPK sharply segregates men and women and limits their interaction. Separate compartments in trains and buses, screened pathways, curtained cars, separate sections for male and female at schools and colleges and separate offices and staff rooms for men and women at organizations are consequences of the culture of sex segregation". In such a context, there are many challenging influences on the ways in which men and women might work together collaboratively in universities (for example Boards of Studies, Academic Councils, Syndicates and other committees). Such extreme gender segregation is likely to have an impact on an academic's performance in workgroups which necessarily entail gender interaction, and this provides an interesting area for research. The meaning of performance in work groups refer to individual's expressiveness that determines his/her capacity to give a certain impression to observers/participants (Goffman, 1954). However, an extensive search of the literature shows that there appears to be no existing work on gender and group dynamics in higher education in Pakistan. Being an academic for the last six years in one of the universities in KPK, and hailing from the same area gives the researcher a personal motivation to pursue a project on this issue. Furthermore, the claim of various theorists that only women are suitable for feminist studies as only women (see Hammersley, 1992) can appropriately voice for female emancipation may require, in the writer's view, an empirical response from men. Investigation of women's emancipation from men in this extreme culture of patriarchy may help to contribute to the establishment of the notion that men do sincerely want emancipation for women. Moreover, increased collaborative work between men and women in universities may serve as a role model for young people and may help in shaping a society of social justice. This study will contribute to this debate by addressing the following research question.

1.3 Research Question

What are the effects of gender diversity on the performance (individual's capacity to give real expression that fosters positive impression on observers) of academics based in the Universities of Khyber PukhtunKhwa (KPK) of Pakistan? Extensive review of secondary literature will be undertaken to address the research question analytically and comprehensively.

1.4 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The aims and objectives of the study are to explore the effects of gender diversity on the performance of academics in academic work groups based in the Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK) of Pakistan. The research will focus on the effects of gender diversity, culture and the gender equality legislation of Pakistan on gender thinking and behaviour, and its impact on the performance (individual's capacity to give real expression that fosters positive impression on observers in group discussion) of individuals in formal work groups. The key goals of the programme are:

- To review the literature on the concept of gender, gender theories and gender diversity.
- To review the literature on the culture of Pakistan and KPK and formal initiatives taken to promote gender equality in the country.
- To observe and explore the effects of gender, gender diversity and cultural influences on gendered thinking and behaviour amongst academics.
- To explore the impact of gendered thinking and behaviour on the performance of individuals in formal work groups.
- To offer theoretical contributions on gender diversity to explain workplace differences between male and female behaviour in a fundamentalist Islamic state.
- To make recommendations to Universities' Vice Chancellors about group structure and dynamics to increase and develop collaborative working between men and women.

The overall objective is to critically analyze the policy environment, socio cultural context, customary practices, changing norms, traditions and human behaviours which have a strong impact on female and male academics' performance in

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Universities of KPK, Pakistan. Figure 1 below shows the pre-understanding of the author of the study.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework
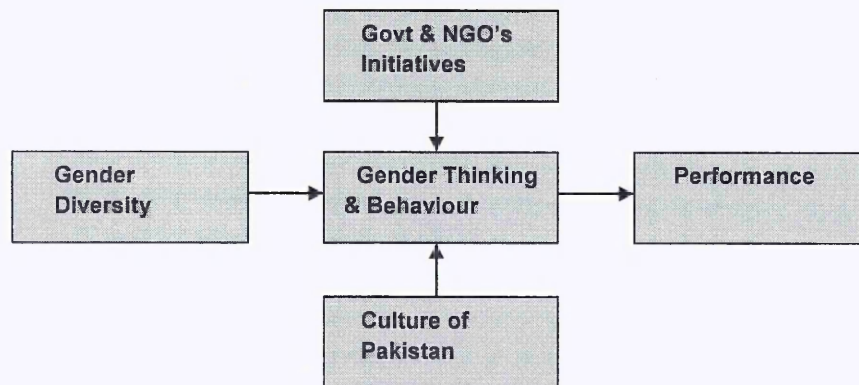
The figure above reflects the author's pre-understanding that gender diversity is a socially constructed concept which suggests that males and females in work groups have different social identities and expectations. Literature (further explored in the section below) suggests that these different social identities are deeply rooted in the social, cultural, economic and political experience of Pakistan (Moghadam 1992, Critelli 2010). However, this cultural phenomenon is now being addressed by policy initiatives, both in the public and private sector of Pakistan. The study seeks to reveal how these dynamics influence gender thinking, behaviour and the performance of male and female participants in group work. The individual academics and academic work groups of the universities are taken as units of analysis, so as to identify gender related policies and implementation processes that could be changed following interventions in universities.

1.5   Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into 9 chapters. The introductory content of the study presented above is included in Chapter 1. The following is an outline of the rest of the chapters which comprises this thesis.

Chapter 2 critically discusses assumptions underlying the concept and theory of gender. The first section of the chapter describes the assumptions of various authors on the concept of gender and its theoretical impact on broader social structural

arrangements as a result of gender conception and various related theories. This follows a review of the social arrangements at workplaces and the implications of such social perceptions and arrangements on personal or individual attitudes and behaviours. The section that follows analyse and discusses the underlying assumptions of different authors about the effects on performance in the work setting where gendered interactions take place, i.e. in groups. Lastly, these gender dynamics are discussed in the context of universities so that the whole review informs the study of the research question. This chapter elaborates on the issue of gender disparity in the context of western and liberal cultures and developed economies to inform the study of gender dynamics in comparatively religious and conservative cultures, and underdeveloped economies. This chapter, therefore, presents the theoretical foundations for this study.

Chapter 3 provides a critical evaluation of gender disparity in Pakistan and a more detailed description of women's position in the country. The chapter begins with an overview of the political background of the country and the commitments of different governments in promoting social justice in terms of gender equality. The subsequent discussion is focused on the situation of women across the whole of Pakistan, and the comparative differences for women in the provinces of Pakistan. The intention is to establish the need to study gender issues in one specific province. The views of different authors regarding gender gaps and disparities highlight the socio-cultural attributes that resist gender equality and empowerment. The discussion that follows, therefore, is focused on assumptions (social and cultural) across the whole of Pakistan and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK). This includes a detailed description of gender specific traditional norms, religious interpretation and practices of the joint family system. The next section evaluates the response of different stakeholders to national legislation and international ratifications. The chapter ends with a summary of the assumptions of various authors regarding implementation of initiatives taken to promote gender equality and to control gender disparity in Pakistan.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology used to explore gender dynamics and the effect of the same on individual attitudes and behaviours. It discusses the research approach and techniques (interviewing the academics and nonparticipant observation of academic meetings) used to collect and reconstruct the narratives of

knowing and belonging in this thesis. The first section of this chapter comprises a presentation of the reasons for choosing a qualitative research approach and discusses the ways in which the quality of the research process used can be assessed. The second section introduces the research strategy applied in this study, including the techniques employed for collecting the relevant data. The final section of Chapter 4 reveals the processes utilised in negotiating access to the field and the conduct of the researcher in the field during the data collection phase.

Chapter 5 comprises a comprehensive exposition of the approach used for interpreting the data obtained for this study. It details the techniques employed to conduct the analysis of a large scale qualitative dataset. The idea is to assist the reader in understanding the process, and to endorse the transparency and trustworthiness of this study. The researcher's journey in terms of the overall process, including choice of method for analysis and coding details, are discussed in this part of the thesis.

Chapter 6 provides details of the immediate settings and venues of the interviews and group meetings, as well information pertaining to the wider context of the cities in which the identified universities themselves are located. The purpose of this chapter is to set out and describe all the relevant contextual factors so that the important thematic categories embedded within this context can be fully understood. The rich description of the context contributes to the 'trustworthiness' of the research. The idea is to clarify for the reader the factors that have affected the fieldwork.

Chapter 7 interprets findings from transcripts of interviews, observations and field notes of the study. The thematic category/ selective codes are thoroughly analysed and discussed with the aid of narratives from the interviews and observations. The thematic categories are discussed in a logical order and a clear conclusion is cited at the end of the chapter which demonstrates the researcher's interpretation of the primary data.

Chapter 8 critically discusses the findings of this research in the light of previous findings made by other researchers, so that areas of agreement and disagreement between the primary findings of this study and those set out in previously published works can be investigated. The entire findings of the study are divided into three

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distinct categories which are then discussed sequentially in the context of existing literature. The areas of harmony and counterpoints with the other authors are discussed so as to position interpretation of this study within the current wider debate on gender diversity, and to kick start debate on gender diversity in those places where it is most needed. The first section of the chapter elaborates on the prevailing cultural issues in order to explain the perceptions and beliefs held by academics in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, and the way they are influenced by cultural attributes (gender stereotypes, acceptance of traditional norms and values, religious interpretations and adherence to the family values). The next section focuses on workplace issues. This section explains the interactional issues which are prevalent in workgroups, and covers issues of acceptance and the participation behaviour of academics in workgroups. The subsequent section of the chapter discusses the implications of formal and informal interventions made by the government and other stakeholders in relation to gender equality. The implications of the same are analysed in terms of awareness and adherence, using as part of the process critical discussion and evaluation by different authors regarding legislative and non legislative commitments by the state to promote gender equality. Finally, the findings pertaining to the three categories are inter-linked and synthesized in order to explain any change to the author's pre understanding to understanding of this study. The chapter concludes with a summary of arguments relating to this research.

Chapter 9 presents the writer's final reflections. It sums up the theoretical contributions and methodological arguments which have guided this research. This chapter aims to bring together the previous analyses and discussions and to advance an understanding of the issue of gender dynamics in extreme patriarchal and religious contexts by describing the theoretical and practical implications of the study. Reflection on the researcher's own engagement with feminist methodology and experiences gained by going through the qualitative research process is also mentioned in this chapter. The thesis concludes with a description of the limitations of this study and suggestions for further research on the collaborative working of men and women in a group setting.

The overall aim of this research is to contribute to the advancement of knowledge and understanding of Pakistani concepts of gender and the way the same are

determined by genetics and socialization. The author pledges to display empathy, tolerance and understanding toward those previously thought of as 'others'. The study highlights the social and cultural issues which inhibit the empowerment of women empowerment and the establishment of gender equality by drawing attention towards the issues of gender in universities. The research highlights opportunities for activism to challenge the culture of injustice and to bring about social justice. This thesis acknowledges how recent research on gender has helped to advance understanding of gender diversity in work groups. This study aims to further deepen the understanding of the nature of gender issues in the workplace in extreme patriarchal cultures.

CHAPTER TWO: GENDER DYNAMICS

2.0   Introduction

Gender polarization and segregation remains the focus for numerous researchers, writers and academics, as gender segregation is considered an important dimension of gender inequality (Blackburn 2009, Gellner 2011, Racko, 2006). Investigations into gender segregation give a comprehensive view of the nature of gender inequality involved in segregation (Racko, Blackburn and Jarman, 2006). Moreover, a substantial body of work in this area by researchers working in developed societies shows the importance of gender segregation as an issue which exists to some extent in almost every country. Jerman and Brookes (2000) suggest that the extent to which the universal tendency of gender segregation occurs varies from country to country, and over time, but the differentiation is always present. In relation to one of the strongest economies of the world, Kanter (1977) suggests that sex segregation of occupation is a fact of American life. The US Bureau of Census (2006) shows that in all US labour markets approximately 62% of the decision making occupations are populated by men, while only 38% are populated by women. Jarman and Blackburn (1997), who studied gender segregation in western and Scandinavian countries, concluded that those countries are the countries which demonstrate the highest level of gender integration. The nature and extent of such segregation was recently confirmed by Jenssen and Gellner (2011), who concluded that, despite the great strides made towards gender equality in many western countries over the last fifty years, gender segregation still persists as a very real phenomenon. Haghihmat (2005) describes the more extreme situation which exists in developed Muslim countries, and suggests that even rich and developed Muslim countries in the Middle East and Central Asia have greater gender segregation when compared to western countries.

The conclusions above are supported by the latest [1]Gender Gap Report (2010) published by World Economic Forum. In the overall ranking of global gender gaps,

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[1] Gender Gap Report is prepared and published by Word Economic Forum under the programme of women leaders and gender parity. The gender gap report index assesses 134 countries on division of resources and opportunities among male and female population. The report measures the size of the gender inequality gap in four areas i.e. Economic Participation and Opportunities, Education Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment.

the United States of America is listed at 19th and the United Kingdom at 15th out of a total of 134 countries. In the area of economic opportunity and labour participation, the United States of America ranks at 6, whereas the United Kingdom ranks at 34. Other developed western countries like France, Italy, Germany and Sweden do not even feature in the top 30. Countries in Asia and the Pacific are generally to be found occupying positions below 50 in the overall ranking. The position in Middle Eastern and North African countries as reflected by the ranking system is much more alarming: of the 16 countries in the region, only Israel is listed above the 100 mark, (at 52) despite the fact that countries like Kuwait, Egypt, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates are considered to be economically well developed countries. This ranking system further confirms that gender segregation continues to exist in even the most developed western economies; countries where most of the research on eliminating gender disparity is undertaken. The review in this chapter is based on this research.

Numerous authors and researchers link gender segregation with the sociological concepts of gender, gender socialization and development, and consider these as the basis for systems of social structures and practices (Walby, 1990, Bennett, 2006, Barclay, 2008). In order to understand these sociological concepts, the assumptions of different authors are discussed. The first section of the chapter describes the assumptions of various authors toward the concept of gender, gender theories and gendered social values and behaviours. There then follows a review of the social arrangements at workplaces and the implications of such social perceptions and arrangements on personal or individual attitudes and behaviours. The subsequent section of the chapter analyses and discusses the underlying assumptions of different authors on performance effects in work settings where gendered interactions take place (i.e. groups). Lastly, these gender dynamic issues are discussed in the context of the university, in order to bring the focus of the review back to the research question.

2.1   The Concept of Gender

Gender is defined as a concept that refers to the social distance between women and men. It is learned over time and varies both within and between cultures (European Commission 1998). This definition implies that the concept of gender is a

socially constructed phenomenon which changes over time and alters in its meaning in different cultural contexts. TOy`er´onk´e Oyew`um´i (2005, p11), an African feminist, argues that, "If gender is socially constructed, then gender cannot behave in the same way across time and space. If gender is a social construction, then we must examine the various cultural/architectural sites where it was constructed, and we must acknowledge that variously located actors (aggregates, groups, interested parties) were part of the construction. We must further acknowledge that if gender is a social construction, then there was a specific time (in different cultural/architectural sites) when it was constructed and therefore a time before which it was not". It can be deduced from this line of argument that gender, if seen as a social construction, is also a historical and cultural phenomenon.

Sanday (1981) comments on the historical perspective, and suggests that research on ancient societies shows that men have been inclined to be warriors, hunters, and processors of hard raw materials used for weapon and tools, whereas women have tended to undertake the cooking and preparation of foods. Sanday (1981) argues that this inclination, gave rise to the differentiation between men and women and the constructed concept of gender. Friedl, (1975) and Sanday (1981) argued further that this gender differentiation created a division of labour between men and women, whereby men, as warriors and hunters, were in a better position to acquire and control the valuable resources of their society. This laid a foundation for a pervasive inequality of power, status and privilege between men and women in all societies. Whilst describing differences between the inclinations of men and women, Mayes (1989) referred to the concept that gender and sex are inseparable, and individuals are naturally inclined to a certain type of activity. Men and women have certain tendencies and abilities (or lack of abilities) which are natural and thus innately suit them to various roles in society. Mayes introduced the theory that it is the natural sex difference which determines the inclination of individuals towards certain roles, encouraging the idea that different roles should be allocated to men and women according to their sex specific skills. The word 'gender' became famous when feminists sought to distinguish sex, or the physical attributes that define people as males and females, from social and cultural meanings given to the body, such as masculinity and femininity. Agnew (2004) suggests that the distinction made between sex and gender was empowering for women because it disputed the notion

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that "biology was destiny" and suggested instead that societal norms had constrained women's freedom to develop their human potential. Women's lack of participation in the labour force, for instance, had less to do with their sex than with the norms imposed by society on their bodies.

By the 1980s, it was widely accepted and understood that gender is a socially constructed category based on the social knowledge of people. West (1987) suggested that sex is ascribed by biology, anatomy, hormones and physiology, whereas gender is constructed through psychological, cultural and social means. However, despite the wider agreement regarding the nature and meaning of gender, some disparity was still in evidence, with the general acceptance that both sexes are significantly different as Ridgeway & Lovin (1999, p 345) also suggested gender as "a social organism that constitutes people differently in socially significant ways and systemizes the relations of disparity on the basis of such differences". This means that continued acceptance of the gender system moulds people's experiences and cultural beliefs to further strengthen the mindset that both sexes are significantly different in a way which confirms the greater power and control of one sex (men) over other sex (women). Adding to this argument, Valian (1999, p 22) also argued that "sex difference refers to a difference between men and women linked to chromosomal or reproductive status and gender is our psychological and social concept of what it means to be a man or a woman". This reveals that sex is used to categorise human people into two groups, and gender is used to describe our belief about sex based categories.

The concept of gender can thus be said to be rooted in theories of gender socialization and social compliance as the structural arrangement of work and family that builds some capacities, determines the difference between men and women, and constructs the concept of gender and its associated norms in a society. These structural arrangements vary in different cultures and shapes different norms and roles for men and women. Compliance with these norms further intensifies the concept of difference between men and women, and further strengthens social structural arrangements on the basis of belief in these gender differences. Pettigrew (1961) argues that people are simply conforming to the norms that exist in their

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society. To further elaborate on such concepts, various theories of gender development and roles are discussed below.

2.2   Theories on Gender Development and Gender Roles

According to Anselmi and Law (1998, p 195), gender roles are "socially and culturally defined prescriptions and beliefs about the behaviours and emotions of men and women". West (1987) suggests that gender is a powerful ideological device which legitimates and limits choices for men and women. These choices are the gender roles defined for men and women and are dependent on ideology and belief about sex categories i.e. gender. However the prominent theories briefly discussed below may posit different assumptions of various theorists about gender roles.

Evolutionary theory on gender development stems from the argument of *functionalists* (Shields, 1975) that men and women have evolved differently to perform different functions which are complementary to each other and are critical for survival. The evolutionary theorists base their argument on the biological differences between men and women. Archer (1994), Buss (1995) and Simpson and Kenrick (1997) viewed gender differentiation as ancestrally programmed and suggested that the behavioural differences between men and women originate from different sexual and reproductive strategies that have evolved to warrant that women and men are able to efficiently replicate and effectively pass on their genes. Expanding on the argument of biological difference, Buss (1995) advanced a *socio-biological theory* and suggested that, although gender roles and behaviours are influenced by natural selection, stimulus also has a role to play, as natural behaviours can change in response to the environment.

On the other hand, *cognitive development* and *social learning* theorists focus on the effects of socialization on gender development. Kohlberg (1966) and Lorber (1994) suggest that the social behaviour of an individual is shaped by the environment, as individuals learn by observing and imitating the actions of others. The favourable and unfavourable consequences that follow individual actions also influence the social behaviour of an individual. Bandura (1997) also notices the role of cognition in the development of social behaviours. The assumption of these theorists is essentially that social behaviour and the concept of gender is the product of social influences

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and systems encountered in everyday life. The conception of gender points towards *gender identity theory* as Kohlberg (1966) argued that the social learning of individuals is the basic organizer of gender identity. Social learning theory posits the concept of a difference between thinking and behaviour in men and women. One dimension for such difference concerns biological differences between men and women. Wilson (1978) suggests on the basis of biology that men are more aggressive, hasty and fickle than women. Singh (2003) suggests that the genetic makeup of individuals tends to dictate physiological and behavioural differences between men and women. Singh concludes that certain biological differences between men and women lead men towards aggressive behaviours, whereas women focus more on language. Avoiding technical biological terminology, it can be broadly interpreted that the argument of behavioural difference advanced by these theorists is based on hormonal differences between men and women. Singh (2003) suggests that hormonal differences with the opposite sex primarily influence the behavioural patterns in demonstration of aggression. The assumption indicates that biological difference may not necessarily enhance the difference between the sexes in relation to other spatial skills.

The other dimension of attitudinal and behavioural difference stems from cognitive development theory. Buss (1990) suggests that the difference between gender thinking and behaviour is an early childhood phenomenon whereby a child imitates and learns from his/her interaction with their immediate stimuli. This leads to the concept that girls identify themselves with their mothers and psychologically merge with them, whereas boys identify themselves with fathers and psychologically merge with them. Buss suggests that girls see their mother as a sympathetic and caring nurturer, whereas boys look up to their fathers as hard workers, bread winners and leaders as the head of the family. Therefore, girls are more caring, sympathetic and polite than boys, and boys are tougher and more aggressive than girls (Buss, 1990). In investigating this theory, Sayers (1986), however, suggests that there is no empirical evidence to support the proposition that the attachment bond of girls is stronger with their mother than their father and vice versa in the case of boys. Building on the same argument, Bandura (1999) refers to Deaux and Major's (1987) suggestion that gender behavioural difference and gender functioning is not confined to childhood, but continues throughout life. This implies that thinking and behaviour

changes over time and is largely influenced by social context. Kohlberg earlier (1966) postulated that gender identity is an organizer of an individual's behaviour which produces social stereotyping in the society encountered by individuals. Different stereotypic images are encountered by an individual in different stages of life, and this thus influences and differentiates gender behaviour based on sex.

Gender schema theory (Bem, 1981, Valian, 1999, Yoder, 1991 & Aronson, 2007) highlights the role of cognitive function in addition to socialization. According to these theorists, the self concept and schemas are developed from culturally based information about gender. Culturally based information about gender, according to Bandura (1999), leads to gender stereotypes. Bandura (1999, p. 678) cited Huston, (1983), Martin (1993) and Signorella (1987) suggested that "Knowledge of gender stereotypes, which are generalized preconceptions about attributes of males and females influences gender linked conduct". This means that social behaviour is shaped through an individual's core belief about gender, and subsequently that individual tries to fit him/her self into a schema developed on the basis of his/her gender related core belief. This also leads to the assumption that the behaviour of an individual largely determines the attributes which an individual associates with his/her gender identity. Eagly (1987) suggested gender stereotypes could be defined as the cultural attributes associated with men and women. Eagly (1987) further elaborated on the concept of gender stereotypes by distinguishing between the communal and agentic dimensions of gender stereotyped characteristics. The communal role is characterized by traits such as nurturance and emotional expressiveness and is associated with women. The agentic role is characterized by aggressiveness and independence largely associated with public activities and with men. Similarly, Bem (1981, p 354) states that the "difference between male and female serves as a basic organising principle for every human culture. Although societies differ in the specific tasks they assign to the two sexes, all societies allocate adult roles on the basis of sex and anticipate this allocation in the socialization of their children. Not only do boys and girls have to acquire sex specific skills, they are also expected to have or to acquire sex specific self concept and attributes to be masculine or feminine as defined by that particular culture". A similar suggestion is made by Martin (1991); that the generic knowledge structure about maleness and femaleness influences the gender linked preferences of men and

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women. So it can be inferred that generic knowledge about maleness and femaleness contributes to Eagly's (1987) concept of gender stereotypes, and provides a basis for the behavioural expectation of men and women.

Eagly (1987) provides another explanation for gender development and identity on socialization. According to Eagly's *social role theory,* sociological theories suggesting that societal expectations are based on stereotype emphasizes the social construction of gender roles at the societal level. Lorber (1994) adds to the same argument and suggests that these roles are constructed at an institutional level. The core perspective presented in Eagly's social theory is that behaviours are strong gender stereotypes which are endorsed by culture and, as a result, strong expectations are formed which determine gender roles.

The review of these theories set out above has examined the assumption that biological difference and social development of gender produce male and female identities and stereotypic images about gender roles. This creates the context for gender segregation in all spheres of life including employment. According to Walby (1990), the ideas about masculinity and femininity and corresponding gender roles make up a patriarchal structure. Bennett (2006) also emphasized that perceptions of gender difference form a socio-ideological and political system of patriarchy which is rooted in ideology, culture and society. In order to better understand the nature and concept of a patriarchal structure, the theory of patriarchy is discussed below.

2.3   Patriarchy

In reviewing the theories and discussions advanced by the majority of most of the authors in the field, one is led to the perspective that the notion of masculinity and femininity in all areas of social relations forms the structure of a society, and that gender segregation and representation prevails on the basis of inequality, mostly advantageous to men. This societal structure is popularly known as patriarchy. Walby (1990, p 20) defines patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". Elaborating on the structure of social systems in which such male domination prevails, Barclay (2008, p 83) defines patriarchy as "a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure, or through rituals, traditions, law and language, customs, etiquette,

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education, and the division of labour, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male". In using the word 'social' in explaining patriarchy, researchers emphasise the socialization theory as an agent for shaping the social structure of patriarchy, as opposed to the evolutionary theory of biological difference. However, Walby (1990, p 90) states that "the social significance of biological attributes remains one of the issues that social theories of gender identity must deal with".

Socialization with the notion of masculinity and femininity begins primarily from childhood when children learn the appropriate behaviour for their sex. Walby (1990, p 91) suggests that "masculinity entails assertiveness, being active, lively, and quick to take initiatives. Femininity entails cooperativeness, passivity, gentleness and emotionality". Walby refers to magazines and television as media via which the notion of masculinity and femininity is enhanced by stereotypic images of girls and boys. These contribute to expectations of both present and future gender roles. Men are shown as occupying a position of power, and women are shown occupying a position of compliance and engagement with household activities (Walby, 1990). Walby refers to Deem's (1980) suggestion that the process of unequal socialization continues in education, which also subsequently influences the division of labour. The assumption contributes to an unequal distribution of social roles in society on the basis of unequal socialization. Heath and Ciscel (2001) suggest that socialization based on the notions of masculinity and femininity determines institutional arrangement in the family, the economy and other social organizations which clearly favour male predominance.

The overall system of social structure in which patriarchy is studied is divided into two main forms; private and public patriarchy. Walby (1990, p 24) suggests that "private patriarchy is based upon household productions as the main site of women's oppression and public patriarchy is based principally in public sites such as employment and state". Heath and Ciscel (1988) suggest that patriarchy in the household substantiates patriarchy in employment. As a result, private patriarchy confirms and substantiates patriarchy in public spheres. This is also confirmed by Grasmick, Blackwell and Bursik (1993) who argue that women in less patriarchal families assume positions of authority in the workplace more often than women who

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are the product of more patriarchal families. Grasmick, Blackwell and Bursik (1993), in discussing the social control theory, postulated that patriarchy revolves around the issue of power used to control social arrangements. Monteiro (1988) also associated patriarchy with power dynamics by suggesting that changes in the patriarchal structure of societies significantly changes with the power relation between two sexes. Lukes' (1974) further expanded on the exertion of power through social arrangement, and presented a radical view of power. According to Lukes, power which is least accessible to observation is the most effective. Lukes highlighted the power exerted by the dominant over the weak by culturally patternising behaviours and socially structuring institutions in such a way that the needs of the weak could be controlled in order to secure their compliance. Ridley-Duff and Bennett (2011) also discussed a radical view of power to explain potential conflicts that are not visible. Ridley-Duff and Bennett (2011, p 108) cited Gramsci (1971) and described the concept of hegemony as "a circumstance where ruling elites propagate their values and beliefs in such a way that it shapes the thoughts and feelings of the population'. The assumption is that in societies where the dominant (gender) influence the weak (gender), a gender disparity will arise through the controlling and shaping of values and beliefs in such a way that the weak (gender) do not even realize that there exists disparity and inequality. Ridley-Duff and Bennett (2011) consider that in such hegemonic circumstances the conflict between parties (gender) prevails but does not rise to the surface. Price and Priest (1996) also indicate that Lukes' view of power suggests that change agents need to recognize this invisible form of power to break the boundaries of gender inequality. This shows that a supreme form of power which endorses patriarchy is mostly invisible.

However, Lukes' (1974) put forward the view that hegemonic power has a material basis and consists of coordination of the real or material interests of dominant and subordinate groups. He suggests that the primary interest of the social actors rests in capitalist production which influences the relation of the dominant with the subordinate class under capitalism. Walby (1990) extends this thought and suggests that gender inequality derived from capitalism constitutes an independent system of patriarchy. She suggests (p.4) that "men's domination over women is a by-product of capital's domination over labour. Class relations and economic exploitation of one class by another are the central features of social structures, and these determine

the nature of gender relations. Gender relations are seen as importantly constituted by discourses of masculinity and femininity which are not immediately reducible to the economic relations of capitalism". Walby (1990) suggests that the Marxist feminist view of women in employment, household production and state policy towards gender relations are determined by the thought process of capitalist production. Walby's argument on Marxist feminism and Lukes' theory of hegemonic control jointly put forward the perspective that the social relationships of men and women are a product of capitalist thought. In other words, both authors posit a theory that patriarchy is reinforced by the ideology of capitalism.

However, various feminists perspectives with different theoretical assumptions describes different reasons for women's oppression and prescribe strategies for women emancipation. The following discussion is aimed to enlighten the reader about feminists perspectives relating to patriarchy.

2.3.1 Feminists Perspectives

Marxist feminists believe that it is impossible for women to obtain genuine equal opportunities in a class society (Tong 1992). Marxist feminists view capitalism as a greater social rule under which men are privileged over women. This influences gender equality and female autonomy. Marxist feminists believe class ultimately better accounts for women's status and function. Tong (1992) suggests that Marxist feminists invite every woman to understand that women's oppression is not so much a result of intentional actions of individuals but the product of economic structure associated with capitalism. The Marxist view of society also suggests that class distinction in society oppresses women, as men have an economic hold in both the social world of business and industry as well as in the family sphere. Therefore, men are able to express themselves in different spheres (Tong 1992). In this way, Marxist feminists criticise the perception that a woman's place is in the home, which takes the form of female alienation and female oppression (Tong). Contemporary Marxist feminists have tended to focus on female work related concerns and suggest that, under capitalism, women's domestic work is trivialized, as family and the house hold are not seen as sites of production under capitalist theories. The feminists of the Marxist school of thought suggest that, for successful female liberation, the capitalist

system must be replaced by a socialist system in which everyone is economically independent.

On the other hand, Liberal feminists argue that female subordination is rooted in a set of customary and legal constraints that block women's entrance or success in the public world because society has the false belief that women are, by their nature, less intellectual or physically capable than men. It excludes women from the academy, the forum and the market place (Tong 1992). As a result of this, the true potential of women goes unfulfilled. Tong suggests that the contemporary liberal feminists consider gender justice as the single main goal of women's liberation. Tong states, "liberal feminist wish to free women from oppressive gender roles, the roles that have been used as excuses or justification a lesser place or no place at all, in the academy, the forum and the market place".

Liberal feminists argue that a patriarchal society assumes that women are ideally suited for only certain types of occupations i.e. nursing, clerking and teaching (Tong 1992). Liberal feminists argue that this type of stereotyping is unacceptably unequal and must be remedied if the goals of liberalism are to be realized. In response to the argument that men are also victims of de facto discrimination in terms of finding scarce chances to pursue careers as baby sitters and nurses, Tong (p 29) states that "liberal feminists do sympathise with men experiencing difficulties in adopting such careers but argue that the kind of de facto discrimination that societal structure and system offers men is not nearly as systematic as the kind that women experience".

Liberal feminists insist that the rules of the game should firstly be made fair and, secondly, that none of the participants in the game should be systematically disadvantaged (Tong, 1992). Walby (1990) suggests that most liberal feminists believe that even a modest goal such as 'creating equal employment opportunities for women' will require ambitious efforts i.e. ending gender prejudices, which in turn will require a major redistribution of resources and vast changes in consciousness. In this way, liberal feminists deliver the argument that gender equality cannot be achieved through women's willpower alone; it will require major alterations to be made to the deepest social and psychological structures.

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The liberal feminist view is criticised for its emphasis on the priority of the individual over the community and for bringing a selfish *self force* into the community (Tong 1992). The enforcement of individualism may result in a clash of conflicting self interest. Critics also argue that liberal feminism insists on the adaptation of traditional male behaviour and values for progression in public spheres (Walby 1990, Tong 1992).

Radical feminists believe that the patriarchal system oppresses women, and is characterized by power, dominance, hierarchy and competition (Tong, 1992). According to radical feminists, the legal and political structure along with social and cultural institutions, are all contributors to patriarchy. Walby (1990) and Tong suggest that radical feminists recognise the effects of biology on women's self perception, status and behaviour in the private and public domains, but differ from the conservative thought which considers biology a destiny and insists on preserving natural order by making sure that men remain manly and women remain womanly. Tong (p 97) states, "in contrast to conservatives, radical feminists have no interest in preserving the kind of natural order or biological status quo, that subordinates women to men rather their aim is to overcome negative effects of biology on women". Tong suggests that if women are to be liberated, then each woman must determine to use for her own benefit her reproductive nature, her choice of rearing the children and her sexuality. However, Jaggar's standpoint criticises the radical feminist view by commenting on the materialism in their views. Jaggar argues that radical feminists bring reproductive biology, sexuality and childbearing practices into the domain of politics (Tong, 1992).

Another important feminist philosophy which must be considered is socialist feminism. To overcome the limitations of Marxist feminists and radical feminism, the socialist feminists present two different theories; the dual system theory and the unified system theory. The dual system theory suggests that patriarchy and capitalism are two different forms of social relations having different sets of interests and, upon a clash of these different interests, women are oppressed (Tong 1992). Tong (p 176) states that the "social feminists theory insists that no matter how much modes of production change, the biosocial and ideological aspects will remain the same thus the way women relate to men will almost remain the same i.e. somewhat

oppressed". The theory therefore suggests that female emancipation is only possible if patriarchy and capitalism are dealt with as separate phenomena, and the defeat of capitalism must be accompanied by the defeat of patriarchy. The critics of the dual system theory raise the point that the dual system theory reduces the Marxist single system theory in which capitalism is the primary reason of female oppression, as the theory of patriarchy supplies the form of female oppression but the Marxist theory supplies the content behind patriarchy (Walby 1999, Tong 1992). In contrast, the unified system theorists analyze capitalism and patriarchy together as they (unified system theorists) believe that patriarchy and capitalism are inseparable (Tong, 1992). Unified system theorists believe that female emancipation is only possible if all the dimensions of oppressions are viewed in a combined and unified way (Tong 1992). Tong (p 189) suggests that, "MacKinnon criticises unified system theory of socialist perspective and suggests that synthesis of patriarchy and capitalism may invariably reduce the women question to the worker question". As such, the unification of different forms of feminist views may end in confusion.

The arguments found in the literature regarding patriarchy generally refer to the assumption that gender socialisation and gender roles construct a social system where men both overtly and covertly dominate women. It can also be inferred that this social system is based on capitalist gender relations and originates from private or domestic spheres and transforms the public spheres of individuals. The existing literature also establishes that the theoretical distinction between men and women and the social system of patriarchy influences the self concept of the individual and individual's concept about the opposing sex. This leads to the understanding that perceptions of the distinction between men and women develop behavioural expectations for both genders which constructs an unequal social arrangement and produces gender inequality in both the private and public spheres. The literature largely suggests that such gender dynamics are extensively investigated at workplaces, as such issues can be observed more easily in public spheres than in private domains. The discussion below therefore reviews the literature relating to gender dynamics at workplaces.

2.4   Gender Dynamics in the Workplace

The debate so far relates more to gender dynamics and the implications of those dynamics at a broad sociological level. The discussion that follows concentrates more on personal and individual behaviours. The intention is to discuss the implications of those gender beliefs which exist at a broad societal level in the context of individual beliefs in the context of the workplace. Moreover, the literature suggests that workplace inequalities originate principally from beliefs regarding working behavioural differences between men and women. Raggins (1998) suggests it is commonly accepted that men and women think and behave differently from each other at work. Whilst researching and discussing the behaviour of women, Singh et al., (2002, p 122) argue that "women's work styles are interactive, more people-oriented, usually more co-operative, and working with and through people and making considered decisions based on familiarization". In contrast, Rigg and Sparrow (1994) argue that men's work styles are characterized as either more overtly political, flamboyant, forceful or more traditionally operating close to policy, practice and tradition.

Fischer (2006) proposed that men are thought of as less emotional than women and more inclined to use logic and reason when dealing with stresses in the work place. The emotions of happiness, sadness and fear are believed to be a trait more associated with women, whereas anger is recognised as a characteristic of men, These commonly held beliefs influence the leadership and decision making roles assigned to men and women in organisations (Fischer, 2006) . Such attribution of differences in human behaviour in the work place on the basis of gender signifies the importance of stereotypic images or schemas in influencing men and women in their professional lives. Valian (1999, p 42) suggests that "set of implicit or non conscious hypothesis about sex difference plays a central role in shaping men's and women's professional lives. These hypotheses are gender schemas and it affects our expectation of men and women, our evaluation of work and their performance as a professional". This implies that gender schema induces different expectations for men and women, and both genders behave accordingly in order to confirm the expectations that are developed. Valian (1999, p 55) further elaborates that "we also develop expectations for our own behaviour based on characteristics we believe we possess and then we explain our successes and failures in terms of those abilities

and traits". This means that adherence to schemas determines not only our self concept but also the self evaluations of individuals. It can be related to the concept of social and self categorization as Tuner et al., (1987) argue that social categorisation theory posits that individuals seek to define themselves through a process of self categorization on any salient characteristic such as sex, race/ethnicity and age, which is then reflected in individual self perception and behaviour.

An important dimension of gender schema is its favourability towards men or women. In relation to this, Aronson (2007) explained the legacy of prejudiced society by referring to Clark and Clark's experiment demonstrating that women have been taught to consider themselves the intellectual inferiors of men, and to regard their own output as necessarily inferior to that of men. It can be associated with Luke's (1974) argument about controlling and shaping the desires of individuals in such a way that protects the interest of the dominant group. The interest of dominants is elaborated in Valian's (1999) argument that schemas are consequent to overrating of men and underrating women in professional lives. She emphasizes that gender gives men a small advantage, a "plus mark", and what emphasizes a women gender gives her a little loss, a "minus mark", which leads to a wide gap between those who are gaining advantage and those who are losing out. On the other hand, Eagley and Mladinic (1989) suggest that there is a different perspective on favourability in gender stereotypes of men. They conclude that stereotypes of women are extremely favourable, more favourable even than those applied to men. Werner and LaRussa (1985) also concluded that women come to be evaluated more favourably and men less favourably. Still, Valian (1999) argues that people and occupations are multidimensional, and the use of schemas simplify both. Gender schemas portray that all prestigious professions are professions for men, not simply professions. As a result, schemas for women are incompatible with a schema for a successful professional life, resulting in lower expectations for potential achievement. So, a woman who is very feminine runs the risk of seeming less competent; the more she typifies the schema for a woman, the less she matches the schema for a successful professional. On the other hand, a woman with masculine traits runs the risk of appearing unnatural and deviant and the more she typifies the schema for the successful professional, the less she matches the schema for a woman. Therefore, Valian (1999) argues that a successful woman may see herself as having masculine

traits or consider luck as a reason for her success, and therefore runs the risk of seeming unfeminine to herself, and starts losing her gender identity and belief in her ability. This idea resembles Martin's (1991) argument on the effect of schemas on self concept. Martin (1991) suggested that the stereotypic social knowledge of individuals about self and the opposing sex brings more disadvantages to women than men, as inferior competency attributes are associated with women, and superior competency attributes are generally associated with men.

The assumption which surfaces mainly points towards gender distinctions, gender identity issues and associated behavioural expectations which influence gender behaviours and constructs a social system at work in which gender inequality exists either overtly or covertly. This assumption can be associated with Goffman's (1954) view of performance during social interaction. Goffman suggests that social information about an individual helps to define a situation, enabling others to know in advance what he/she will expect of them and what they may expect of him/her. This information influences behaviour, and shapes the actions of an individual in a social circle according to the expected and desired behaviour of the participants. Behaviours contrary to expectations of the social circle in Goffman's view are not acceptable, and bring embarrassment to the performers. This shows that individual expressions, acts and behaviours are influenced by gender-related perceptions, beliefs and stereotypic information. Most researchers working in this field have analysed and explored such dynamics in the workplace in gender diverse work groups, principally because the majority of gender interaction takes place in heterogeneous work groups. The discussion below focuses on studies of performance and interaction in workgroups.

2.5 Effects on Performance

The notion of performance in tight social circles and groups is mostly linked to an individual's expressive behaviour. Goffman (1954) suggests that the expressiveness of an individual determines his/her capacity to give an impression, and performance is largely determined by an individual's ability to convey a certain impression to participants/observers. According to Goffman (p 16) "performance refers to all activities of an individual which occur during a period marked by his/her continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which have some influence on the

observer". This means that performance is the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants. In simple terms, it can be said that a positive influence by a performer on an audience leads to a positive impression which is regarded as a successful performance and vice versa. Despite being written almost fifty seven years ago, Goffman's theory of performance is still the subject of much debate in academic circles. Alfandary (1992), Lemert and Branaman (1997), Heslin (2005) and Morawski (2010) all drew attention to Goffman's view of performance and endorsed his theory as a guide to determine performance in face-to-face interactions. Goffman's view of performance is used as a basis for the research question in this study.

Goffman (1954) suggests that positive or negative influences which create an impression and determine performance are largely affected by the traditional role identity of an individual. This means that individual behaviour and acceptance of the same by others is based on social information about an individual's characteristics and role image. Thomas (1951, p 5) states that "we live by inference and inference is dependent upon the amount of information we have about others". This statement on one hand signifies the role of social information in shaping the images and roles of individuals, and on the other hand emphasises the view that information an individual holds about others helps that individual to assess expectations. This enables the individual not only to offer acceptable behaviour but also to achieve desirable responses from others. This is a view also highlighted by Goffman (1954, p 9); "sometimes an individual will act in a thoroughly calculating manner in order to give the kind of impression that is likely to evoke from them a specific response he is concerned to obtain". Goffman further explained that in an endeavour to control the responses of an audience, some expressions are given by the individual and some other expressions are given off. The choice of expressions is directed by the traditional role of individuals. Goffman (p 11) stated that, "sometimes the individual intentionally or consciously express him/herself in a particular way chiefly because the tradition of an individual's group or social status require this kind of expression". Goffman further suggested that sometimes the traditions of an individual's role will lead him/her to give a well designed impression of a particular kind.

The strength of influence on individual behaviours exerted by social knowledge and stereotypes is a measure of the influence of such social information on individual behaviours in gender diverse social circles. The assumption leads to the impression that such influences affect performances. Goffman (p 31) states that "performance for presenting ourselves in a way in which society expect us to perform is like staying away from reality". This, according to Goffman, creates a discrepancy between appearance and actual activity. Such misrepresentations foster impressions which are not real and which are difficult to maintain. Goffman suggests that such discrepancies also disrupt the expressive coherence in groups and affects the performance of individuals. If an individual is convinced that the impression he/she is giving is the one and only reality then he/she is confident. But if he/she is intercepted and the audience requires him/her to act in a socially proper way, then his/her performance is consequently affected. Goffman also made reference to reciprocal dependence of members in groups, and suggested that the success of an individual performance depends upon the conduct and behaviours of fellow members in that group, as any member of the group has the power to disrupt the performance of other fellow members by inappropriate behaviour or conduct.

Goffman regarded gender as one of the prominent dimensions in explaining these performance-interaction dynamics. It can therefore be interpreted that social information relating to gender and gender stereotypes configures conduct and role for individuals, and requires a person to possess certain attributes. In order to fit into the culturally configured gender role, an individual sometimes expresses him/ herself contrary to his/ her character. This type of expression is difficult to sustain, and thus affects the performance of the individual. Gender distinctions and stereotypes in the workplace context (as interpreted from the review of literature earlier) assume that women are more negatively affected than men. If this argument is linked with Goffman's view, the assumption regarding influence of gender related social perceptions on performance in social groups is that the performance of women is more negatively affected than men.

In addition to gender distinctions and stereotypes (Goffman's view of social information affecting performance), gender identity and gender categorisation also influence performance in workgroups. Goffman viewed performance as expressive

behaviour in groups. Conversation largely defines expressive behaviour (Steven and Redmond, 1996). Bommer et al (1995) also regarded participation in interpersonal dialogue in groups as a basis for supervisor ratings of performance. Therefore, the effects of gender identity and categorisation can be analysed through studies of conversation in the context of formal workgroups. Kollock, Blumstein, and Schwartz (1985) and West and Zimmerman (1977) suggest that in group discussions, men talk more, more often assume a leadership position, receive more positive statements and fewer negative statements and are more likely to show non verbal task and dominance cues. The reason for such tendencies is elaborated in Ridgeway's (1983) suggestion that people who occupy a higher status are asked their opinions more often, talk more, receive more positive comments, are chosen as leaders more frequently, are more likely to influence group decisions and in general dominate the conversation. Elaborating further on this argument, Ridgeway and Berger (1986) later suggested that it is the status differentiation among gender which creates and legitimates conversational dominance. Similarly, Lovin and Brody (1989) suggested earlier studies had found that men interrupt women, and individuals with masculine identities interrupt those with feminine self images. Levin and Brody (1989), during their investigation of the findings of earlier studies, conducted an experiment on gender diverse groups comprising six members in order to investigate and explore the transition of speakers within the group. They found that men discriminate in their interruption attempts, disrupting the speech of women far more frequently than that of men, while women do not discriminate, interrupting women and men equally often. These findings seem to suggest that interruptions are more likely to succeed when made against women than against men, and that the reason for such a pattern of interruption is the influence of sex as a characteristic of status. Such interruptions hinder the adherence of the part assigned to individuals in groups and foster an improper and sometimes inappropriate impression from an interrupted individual, consequently negatively influencing their performance (Goffman, 1954). The tendency towards a greater level of interruption towards women due to gender categorisation in groups implies that the performance of women is more negatively affected due to these gender dynamics. It also implies that such gender dynamics construct a social atmosphere of inequality in the workplace.

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On the other hand, gender equality is often cited by intellectuals as a critical condition for attaining the best out of gender diversity. Stasser (1992) suggests that gender diversity leads to diverse opinions and perspectives which increase the potential for success. Equal integration, however, is crucial for attaining such potential. This was later confirmed by Levin and Resnick's (1993) suggestion that integrated social interaction in gender diverse groups is conducive to the emergence of new insights. Jehn and Northcraft (1999, p 758) also highlighted the importance of integration through valuing diversity by suggesting that "being able to work together successfully may result in greater morale because the group has overcome as serious challenge to its effectiveness as these groups may have discovered that social category difference were not good signals to value diversity". Most convincingly, Walter (2007, p 144) suggests that "gender diversity is a means to consider and promote different skills, different resources and the potential of women and men in their diversity as equivalent". However, some of the authors present a different view of the significance of gender diversity. Compton & Harris, (1998) and Gottfried (2000) believe that generally researchers experience greater negative emotional consequences associated with gender diversity than with age or seniority diversity, or with other less visible forms of diversity, such as occupational diversity. Milliken & Martins (1996, p 424) state that "One of the most striking and most important findings of research on diversity is that groups that are diverse have lower levels of member satisfaction and higher rates of turnover than more homogeneous groups". Williams and O'Reilly (1998, p 16) concluded their analysis by noting that "the preponderance of evidence shows that increased diversity within a group can be associated with lower levels of satisfaction and performance". At the same time they also emphasized the asymmetric nature of group gender composition. They also noted that gender diversity appears to have a greater negative impact on men than on women. Chattopadhyay et al. (2004) further supported this view, and suggested that, psychologically, men may have more to lose than women from being in a different gender work environment. For this reason, workplace gender dissimilarity could be expected to have a more pronounced unhelpful influence on men than on women. Tolbert et al (1999), on the other hand, presented a different viewpoint, by highlighting that the impact of group gender composition on employee attitudes may differ between men and women, and suggesting that it is women rather than men who are most strongly negatively affected by gender diversity. The diverse opinions

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on the significance of gender diversity and its implications provides a sense of the complexities involved in the promotion of equality and management in gender diverse groups.

The review of existing literature so far depicts that gender is commonly considered as a concept derived from biological and socialization differences between men and women. The assumptions about these differences shape different social images for men and women which set schematic patterns of behaviours for both genders through which each gender identifies it's own self and each other. Social stereotypic images and schemas identify roles for men and women which construct a social structure based on gender inequality. Such constructions in the workplace overtly or covertly affect the performance of individuals in gender diverse work groups. Most of the studies conducted seem to support the theory that women are generally on the receiving end of the disadvantages fostered by such gender dynamics. The review also concludes that the meaning of performance for the purpose of this study is 'the activities of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence any of the other participants or receive reciprocal influence'. This definition is derived from Goffman's view of performance and is considered a suitable measure of performance for this study because this study is aimed at exploring the effects of gender diversity on face-to-face performance in the interactions of academics in workgroups.

In order to further explore the aforementioned gender issues and inequalities, the literature relating to gender affects in universities and among university academics is reviewed below. Universities are regarded as relatively liberal institutions which are more anxious to follow socially just policies and practices than other occupations (Blackstone and Fulton, 1975). Such liberal institutions also present a comparatively better representation of both genders among its human resources. Therefore, the knowledge gained from studies of gender issues in such institutions is likely to help in understanding more widely the dynamics of gender.

2.6   Gender Inequality in Universities

Universities are generally considered to be institutions in which the highest level of concern is expressed in relation to ensuring equal opportunities exist, and as places

in which the greatest measures are taken to stamp out sex discrimination. University academics are considered best qualified to fight for equality as a result of their education and standing (Smith, 1985). Ackre (1980) also argues that academics are 'best qualified to fight for equality'. Despite this theory, the career patterns of women in universities, even in developed western economies, still differs from men. Referring to the Higher Education Statistical Agency (HESA) survey of 2002, Doherty and Manfredi (2006) concluded that the progression of women to senior level positions in English universities is much slower than men. The HESA survey indicated that, the higher up the employment scale one goes at universities, the number of women found occupying positions of responsibility decreases. At the top level, the statistical difference is significant, with only 13% of women working at the level of professor, and 87% of these positions being filled by men. Blackstone (2000) describes a similar situation in the US, where professorial positions are filled in 82% of cases by men and only 18% by women. Doherty and Manfredi (2006), referring to National Association of Teachers at Higher Education (2002) figures, describe that only 4% of female academics progress to the level of professors, compared to 14% of men who achieve this position within English universities.

The dramatic difference between the progression of men and women within universities in comparatively developed countries indicates that there are subtle factors which operate and construct gender inequality in even the most liberal institutions. Blackstone and Fulton (1975) investigated this situation by controlling all the obvious and possible factors for explaining such discrepancies (i.e. marital status, subject variation used for rate of promotion, qualification attainment, prestige of institutions from where the qualification is attained and publication rate among both men and women). The results confirmed that, in countries like the US and UK, women are not promoted as frequently as men. Blackstone and Fulton (p 268) suggested that in the light of their findings, "women have smaller chances of becoming professors compared not only with men with equivalent publication records, but even with men in the next lower category". Blackstone and Fulton compared the proportion of men and women who obtained jobs overall in universities (i.e., at all levels of employment), and suggested that the proportion of each sex in job obtainment was the same, which demonstrates the non existence of overt discrimination. Blackstone and Fulton (p 271) concluded that, instead of an overt

discrimination, "an intermittent, mild and largely unconscious prejudice, which may emerge in such mild but damaging forms as the 'invisibility effect' could easily account for the difference we have found". In seeking to explain some of the reasons behind these unconscious prejudices, they indicate that women frequently abandon their careers to focus on the socially approved role of house wife. They also indicate that there exists a stereotype in relation to women's preference for teaching over research.

Blackstone and Fulton (p 270) suggested that "action to change these differences is surely worth taking, but it would be foolish to expect that this in itself, without wider societal change, will radically change the position of women in the educational institutions".

The arguments of Blackstone and Fulton can be interpreted using the aforementioned theory of patriarchy (Walby, 1990) and Lukes' (1974) view of a third dimension of invisible power. It can be interpreted that, beyond overt institutional factors, there are certain covert cultural and patriarchal factors in play, such as culturally configured social roles, stereotypes and schema's, which all affect gender equality in universities.

Doherty and Manfredi (2006), investigating the proportion of female representation in senior positions at universities, also indicated a culture of male dominance and suggested that leadership and management roles have been associated traditionally with masculinity. While further analysing this argument, the researchers suggested that the association of "softer skills" with women may restrict them to middle management positions, since senior management is seen as being a domain of "hard skills", which are traditionally possessed by men. Ackre (1990) also regarded social role conflict as one of the reasons for the relatively low advancement of women in universities compared with men. Ackre used the term 'greedy institutions' to describe the work setting and the family setting and regarded the demanding and conflicting nature of both institutions as the reason for social pressure on women which negatively influences their advancement in universities. Doherty and Manfredi (2006) also found female academics reluctant to put themselves forward for advancement for the sake of maintaining a work life balance. This is confirmed by Ackre's (1990) suggestion that the competing claims of the family and work setting

influences women's performance in universities. Ackre (p 83) highlights that "women, while keeping up with family, teaching and research, have less time and energy left for committee work and image enhancing departmental activities".

Ackre (1990) regarded large committee meetings comprising both male and female participants as being the most comfortable situations in which female members can speak out in order to advance and make an impact, but argued that gender stereotypes and inequality hinders women's performance in even these situations. Ackre (p 84) states that "It takes certainly an aggressive style even to enter the discussion. It is necessary to begin speaking at precisely the moment a previous speaker finishes and before another begins, while a number of others are trying to accomplish the same feat. A tentative polite, soft spoken person finds herself making a critical point after the moment has passed, if not while the coffee is served. People expect a woman professional to show just the right degree of emotion, an impossible task if colleagues are likely to condemn both wishy washy speakers and emotional women". Ackre further confirms that studies of conversations between men and women also suggest that men complete women's sentences, interrupt without negative sanctions, and give minimal response to topics initiated by women. Smith (1985), elaborating on how female academics are excluded in committee settings, also gives several examples of ways in which a woman's contribution to professional conversations is restricted, including the practice of pausing while a woman speaks, then responding to a previous speaker or topics, as if she had not spoken. This inequality of position in relation to group performance and making an impact clearly demonstrates the existence of gender disparity even in universities. The assumptions of authors working and researching in the context of universities commonly indicates towards socio cultural norms and values as being the principal reasons behind the identified gender disparities. The arguments put forward by existing authors who have researched in this field focus principally on a deeply rooted patriarchal structure in both institutional (workplace) and non institutional (societal) spheres. It is suggested that change needs to take place in non institutional structures prior such changes being transferred to institutional structures.

2.7 Summary

The review of existing literature demonstrates that the concept of gender is generally seen to be based on perceptions of socio-biological differences between the two sexes, which are thought to be to the advantage of men and to the disadvantage of women. These perceptions and beliefs lead to the development of stereotypic and exclusive gender images which influence the determination of segregated roles. This forms a culture of patriarchy in both the private and public spheres where women remain subjected to overt or covert forms of power and at a social disadvantage, which further strengthens the concept of gender difference. In public spheres the places of immediate gender interaction (i.e. gender diverse workgroups) provide better access and potential to explore such power influences. The review presents an investigation and an understanding of such dynamics in the patriarchal cultures of western and comparatively liberal cultures. Bearing this in mind, it will be interesting to explore and understand the nature and impact of such dynamics in underdeveloped and conservative cultures. The next chapter therefore aims to provide an insight into gender disparity in the culture of Pakistan, which is recognised as extremely patriarchal in its nature (Shah, 2009).

CHAPTER THREE: GENDER DISPARITY IN PAKISTAN

3.0   Introduction

The value and extent of civilization can be said to be judged by the place given to women in society (Singh, 2007). However, the discussion in the previous chapter highlights that gender disparity remains an issue in almost all parts of the world, including the most civilized societies. Clein (2006, p 3) states that in this gender disparity "a woman's position in the society is inferior to that of the average man, as whatever is considered most valuable in the society is placed under the direction of men and whatever is considered less valuable is given to women" Wiess (2003 p 582) states that "gender disparity in rights continues to constrain women's choices in many aspects of life worldwide".

The World Bank (2001) acknowledges that there is no region in the world where women are equal to men in terms of legal, social and/or economic rights. The labour force participation review carried out by the World Bank (2001) suggest that cultures in many developed and developing countries segregate and constrain men and women into different gender roles, and that such gender stratification generally results in disadvantage to women. Traditional social prejudices and conservatism have been debated by many Western and American authors as reasons for sexual discrimination leading to the formation of patriarchy in even the most liberal countries. This leads one to conclude that a much graver situation must exist in underdeveloped conservative societies. The regional cultural context which exists in such countries makes a significant difference in the shaping of women's levels of autonomy, specifically in public domains (Jejeebhoy and Sathar, 2001).

The southern part of the continent of Asia which is comprised of Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka is considered as a complex and challenging region in relation to the concept of gender issues (World Bank, 2011). The cultural and social norms which prevail in the region are considered as significant and persistent barriers to gender equality (World Bank, 2011). The global gender gap ranking as introduced in the previous chapter indicates that none of the countries which feature in the first 80 of 134 countries are from the South Asian area. In this regard, Pakistan is no exception, where the society is

characterized by strict social and cultural norms. Women in Pakistan experience discrimination in their public lives (Ali and Knox, 2008). Syed (2008) identified deep rooted patriarchal customs leading to exclusion and discouragement of women in their employment and professional lives. Similarly, Jejeebhoy and Sathar (2001) also argued that women in Pakistan occupy a separate and distinctive position which effectively denies them education and autonomy.

In order to better understand the aforementioned distinctive position occupied by women in Pakistan, this chapter sets out a critical evaluation of the issues of gender disparity in Pakistan.

According to Jejeebhoy and Sathar (2001), the influence of social systems measured on women's autonomy is stronger when measured by region that by nationality. Therefore, the position of women in the very conservative and strictly cultured province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa within the country of Pakistan is also specifically evaluated in this chapter. The intention is to understand the socio cultural attributes that deny gender equality in Pakistan and KPK in particular, and to evaluate the implications of initiatives driven by the state to promote gender equality.

It is important to set out and describe the political background which exists in the country as a whole before examining the assumptions of various authors on the gender situation and the position of women in Pakistan, so that a holistic view of the issues can be presented.

3.1   Political Background of the Country

The political history of Pakistan began with the end of the conflict between British and Indian Muslims and Hindus which resulted in the creation of the separate Muslim Nation of Pakistan in 1947 (EIUL, 2008). The Country Watch (2010) describes that the political history of Pakistan has been stained by corruption, inefficiency, confrontations between various institutions and social injustice. Civilian and military rule prevailed in the country on an alternating basis, which affected the establishment of stability.

Following the establishment of independence, the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, became the first Governor General of Pakistan, with

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Liaqat Ali Khan becoming the first Prime Minister of the country. The death of Jinnah in 1949 resulted in a real political crisis in the country as it stumbled through a period of political instability and struggle for power and supremacy (Country Watch, 2010).

The following table presents a detailed account of the political history of Pakistan.

Table 3. 1   Governments of Pakistan- History

Head of Governments	Political Party in Power	Form/types of Govts	Political Agenda	Tenure	Reasons for Change
Mohammad Ali Jinnah as Governor General	Pakistan Muslim League	Democracy	Independent State for Muslims	1947-1949	Natural Death
Liaqat Ali Khan as First Prime Minister	Pakistan Muslim League	Democracy	Independent State for Muslims	1947-1951	Assassinated for Unknown Reasons
Ayub Khan as Field Marshall/ Army Chief	Nil	Martial Law	Nil	1951-1960	Referendum 1960
Ayub Khan Ex-Army Chief as President of the Country	Nil	Partial Democracy/P residential form of Government	Nil	1960-1969	Unrest and Disturbance in East Pakistan
Agha Muhammad Yahya as Army Chief		Martial Law	Nil	1969-1970	Election in 1970
Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto as President and Cheif Marshall Law Administrator	Pakistan People's Party	Composite Government of Martial Law and Civil Rule	Food, Shelter and Clothing	1971-1977	Elections in 1977
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	Pakistan People's Party	Democracy	Food, Shelter and Clothing	March 1977-July 1977	PM convicted for murder of political opponent and hanged till death
General Zia-ul-Haq as Chief of Army	Nil	Martial Law	Explicit promotion of Islam to hold ethnically divided country together	1977-1988	Died in Plane Crash probable result of sabotage/ Elections in 1988 after Zia's death
Ms Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister of Pakistan	Pakistan People's Party	Democracy	Food, Shelter and Clothing/ Restoration of Democracy	1988-1989	President Khan, sacked Ms. Bhutto because of governance issues/ Election 1990
Mr Nawaz Sharif	Islami Jamhoori Itihad (IJI)	Democracy	Coalition Government formed for implementation of Islamization/ The coalition popularly schemed by Intelligence Agencies of Pakistan	1990-1993	Battle for Supremacy between President Ghulam Ishaq and PM Nawaz Sharif made General Waheed to force both men to resign
Ms Benazir Bhutto	Pakistan	Democracy	Food, Shelter and	1993-1996	Military High

as Prime Minister	People's Party		Clothing		Command Urged President Laghari to Outset Ms Bhutto for corruption and Governance issues/ Following Election in 1997
Mr Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)	Democracy	Islamisation and closest ally of powerful military establishment	1997-1999	Military Coup by Army Chief General Musharraf
General Musharaff as Chief Executive	Nil	Martial Law	Moderate Islam/Anti Fundamentalism	1999-2003	Elections in 2003
General Musharaf as President and Mr. Shoukat Aziz as Prime Minister	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam)	Democracy	Moderate Islam/Anti Fundamentalism/ Anti Talibanisation and War Against Terror	2003-2008	Elections in 2008
Mr. Yousaf Raza Gillani as Prime Minister and Asif Zardari (Ex-Husband of Late Benazir Bhutto) as President	Pakistan Peoples Party	Democracy	Moderate Islam/Anti Fundamentalism/ Anti Talibanisation/ War Against Terror and Stability of Democratic Government	2008- till date	Nil

Source: The Economic Intelligence Unit Limited (2008)

Table 3.1 shows that political instability and uncertainty has prevailed in Pakistan since its inception. It can be seen that the country has remained under military rule for the majority of the time, and civilian governments have regularly been toppled by military elites. The only government which completed its full five year tenure from 2003 to 2008 saw three changes to the appointed Prime Minister and remained under the influence of an army chief, General Musharaf, who later became President of the country. The table reveals that the political affiliations of the different ruling political parties were based more around religious ideologies, with less focus on issues relating to social justice and development. It can be seen that issues relating to gender discrimination and equality have never been included in the main agendas of any ruling political party to date. Moreover, the climate of constant political instability has meant that none of the ruling governments have had adequate time to successfully meet even their primary objectives. This indicates that any gender issues which may or may not have been included among any government's secondary objectives have not been given due consideration or addressed as matter of concern.

The discussion focused on interventions for gender equality by different governments which features in the later part of this chapter will evaluate the commitments and strategies extended by those governments for promoting equality in detail. However, it must be noted in the overall context of this discussion that the political background of the country as set out above demonstrates the extent of the power struggle between civil and military forces, which has diluted the nature and level of any commitment towards social issues such as gender equality in relation to any given government.

The country of Pakistan today comprises five provinces: Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and Gilgit Baltistan.

Punjab is the most populous province of the country and is the home land for almost 56% of the total population of the country. Around 15% of the population lives in Sind, 14% in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, and only 3% in Baluchistan. The remainder of the country's population lives either in the Gilgit Baltistan province or in other federally administered areas (Geopolitical Entities, 2010). The Country Profile (2010) confirms that the province of Punjab is the most prosperous province of the country, and it is considered as the economic centre of Pakistan. The province is traditionally known as a strong base for the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), and most of the ruling elite of Pakistan belong to this province. The Punjab province is naturally gifted with five rivers, and the rural areas of the province comprise rich agricultural land. The culture of Punjab is generally considered to be rather liberal, because of the influence of Indian culture and media.

The province of Sindh is the most urbanized and industrialized province of the country, and includes the largest metropolitan city of Karachi. The principal sea port of Pakistan is also located in Karachi. The general flavour of the culture of Sindh is one of a resemblance to Indian culture, as the majority of migrants from India at the time of independence settled in Karachi and other parts of the province. Pakistan People's Party (PPP) enjoys strong bases in the interior of the Sindh province, whereas the urban regions of Karachi and Haiderabad are dominated by the Muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), the party which represents Urdu speaking Muslim migrants from India.

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The province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK) is known as the land of Pukhtuns (people who speak the Pushtu language and follow the Pukhtunwali code of honour) but the province actually accommodates people from diverse sectors of ethnicity. In terms of the political backdrop, the KPK province leans more towards parties with Islamic ideologies, which is why parties with Islamic mottos like Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Islam (JUI) and Jumat-e-Islami (JI) are popular among the masses. Regardless of ongoing militancy and the ever changing law and order situation, the province is extending its industrial network in order to strengthen its economic base. The culture of Pukhtunwali (code of honour) provides a moral and social guide in respect of the lives of people living in the province.

Despite of having rich natural resources, the Baluchistan province lags behind the other provinces in terms of economic prosperity (Country Profile, 2011). However, the availability of raw material and minerals in the province is seen as a real basis for hope in terms of promoting economic stability in the province. The culture in Baluchistan principally mirrors that of the KPK region, with principles of hospitality and honour being seen as the moral orders of society. Like in the KPK province, the political orientation of people in Baluchistan is principally towards parties with Islamic agendas (Afrid, 2010).

Gilgit Baltistan is a relatively new province located in the northern area of the country. Tourism provides the primary economic resource of this province (Country Profile, 2010). In terms of its political leanings, in its first and recent elections the province showed an overwhelming confidence in the Pakistan People's Party (PPP).

The review above reveals that the nation of Pakistan has thus far been a centre for an ongoing battle for power between the military elite and political stake holders. Islamic customary laws and social behavioural codes have been used to acquire power and to ensure that parties remain in power (Graham, Krenavi and Zaidi, 2007). The review also reveals a diverse geopolitical situation across the five provinces of Pakistan, in which the province of KPK is economically weak, politically represented by radical Islamist and conservative forces and largely identified by the distinctive code of honour (Puktunwali). This makes the KPK province an interesting region to investigate from a woman's perspective.

The subsequent discussion focuses on the position of women in Pakistan as a whole in terms of their public lives, and identifies any comparative differences between the five provinces.

3.2   The Public Life of Women in Pakistan

Women represent almost half of the total population of Pakistan. 51.40% of the total population are male, with 48.60% of the total population comprising females (Federal Bureau of Statistics Pakistan, Labour Force Survey, 2007-08).A the recent survey carried out by the Federal Bureau of Statistics Pakistan (2010) reveals that there is a significant gap between the level of literacy in women and men, and in relation to labour force participation rates. Of a total literate population of 54% nationwide, 66.25% of this total is male and 41.75% is female. Furthermore, in considering the employment situation, of the 55.25% employed labour force across the country, only 21% of this figure comprises women, with 79% of the employed labour force comprising men. The gap in labour force participation as between the male and female population in Pakistan is far wider than in neighbouring countries like India, where 62.10% of men and 47.10% of women participate in the labour force (Raju & Bagchi 2006).

According to the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Report (2010), the overall rank of Pakistan is 132 of 134 (the country ranking 1 possessing the smallest gender gap and the country ranking 134 possessing the biggest gender gap), which is far below the rank assigned to developing neighbouring countries and western developed countries where various research endeavours have been undertaken to overcome gender disparity. The table below provides a further comparison of the gender gap in relation to some of the developed western and neighbouring countries.

Table 3. 2   Gender Gap

Country	Overall ranking	Economic Participation and Opportunity Ranking	Educational Attainment Ranking
United States of America	19	06	01
United Kingdom	15	34	02
France	46	60	05
Poland	43	63	29
Germany	13	37	51
Bangladesh	82	117	108

India	112	128	120
Pakistan	132	133	127

The United Nations Development Pakistan, UNDP (1996), regarded economic and human development as the principal method of bridging the existing gap between men and women. However, the table above demonstrates that both in educational attainment (human development) and economic participation and opportunity (economic development) Pakistan lags far behind many of the developed western countries and behind some of its neighbouring countries. The overall rank of 132 out of 134 countries and the one of the lowest rankings in respect of both educational attainment and economic participation opportunity shows that the position of women in Pakistan is one of the worst in the world.

Similarly, the trend of employment in Pakistan also demonstrates the significant gender difference, and further reveals the gap between men and women in terms of their participation in different sectors of employment in Pakistan.

Table 3. 3   Gender Gap Index 2010

Employment by Sectors	Men's Participation	Women's Participation
Agriculture	73.24%	24.56%
Health	58.15%	41.84%
Manufacturing	76.12%	23.12%
Primary and Secondary Education	54.89%	45.23%
Higher Education	57.13%	39.54%

The table above indicates that in almost all of the formal sectors of employment, there is a wide gap between the level of participation of women and men in the workforce. Looking in more detail at the various sectors, the Agriculture and Manufacturing sectors are strongly dominated by men, whereas Health and Education sectors fare comparatively better from a woman's perspective. Salim (2004) regards religious and cultural leniency as factors leading to the tendency for women joining the health and education sectors more than in other sectors. Participation of women in the health sector is "allowed" and encouraged, in order to enable women to treat female patients, thus avoiding female patients having to

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undergo treatment by male practitioners. Female participation in the education sector is relatively high because of a low tendency of men to join education sector (Salim, 2004). However, overall, it can be seen that the majority of participants across all sectors are male.

The Tables below set out the disparity in educational attainment and participation in economic activities as between men and women in the different provinces of Pakistan.

Table 3. 4   Literacy Rate Survey- Pakistan 2007-08.

Provinces	Total Literacy Rate	Literacy Rate Men	Literacy Rate Women
Punjab	60.8%	70%	51%
Sindh	50.15%	60.5%	42.5%
KPK	47.4%	69%	24.6%
Baluchistan	34%	45%	23%
Gilgit Baltistan	N.A	N.A	N.A

Source: Compiled from Literacy Rate Survey- Pakistan 2007-08.

The gender gap in the literacy rate reveals a substantial difference in relation to the levels of educational attainment between men and women. The labour force participation rates set out below reflect a similar gap.

Table 3. 5   Labour Force Participation Rate- 2009/10

Provinces	Total Participation Rate	Participation Rate Men	Participation Rate Women
Punjab	62.68%	96.82%	33.47%
Sindh	56.99%	98.55%	19.47%
KPK	51.98%	98.01%	18.68%
Baluchistan	49.63%	99.69%	10.34%
Gilgit Baltistan	N.A	N.A	N.A

Source: Compiled from Federal Board of Statistics- Pakistan 2009-10

Note: Figures for the Gilgit Baltistan area in both tables is missing due to the non availability of data arising from the province's relatively recent inception.

A comparison of the gender literacy rate gap and the labour force participation gap across the different provinces of Pakistan provides further insight into the differences across the country. The provinces of KPK and Baluchistan can be seen to be lagging far behind the provinces of Sindh and Punjab when it comes to these statistics. Syed (2009) suggests that the recent uprising of the Taliban from tribal areas and from the

neighbouring country of Afghanistan are contributing factors to maintaining conservatism of society in relation to women's independence in the KPK province. Nevertheless, the tables clearly indicate that the position of women in KPK is the poorest within Pakistan, a country which itself ranks at 132 out of 134 countries in terms of the gender gap. In other words, the province of KPK provides an extremely stark context within which issues of gender operate to the disadvantage of women.

The reason for the existence of such gaps is generally considered to be the patriarchal structure of the society. Critelli (1992) suggests that in the majority of families in Pakistan, men control women in their roles as fathers, husband and brothers. Such control over women in the private sphere of family life spills over in relation to women's lives in public spheres (Walby, 1990). Critelli further suggests that women across the whole of Pakistan, and more particularly in certain areas, are considered as the repository of family honour and are under tremendous pressure to protect that family honour and respect (Critelli, 1992). The discussion later in the chapter is given to assist in the reader's understanding of these cultural attributes across the whole of Pakistan, and in the KPK province more specifically. However, it is firstly important to understand the concept of culture and the effects of the same on people's assumptions, values, norms and behaviour.

3.3   Understanding the Concept of Culture

Many researchers have attempted to provide a composite picture of culture by examining its components and dimensions. Harzing and Ruyssevldt (2004) suggest that cultural dimensions rest on a value system that affects human thinking and, consequently, culture is presented as a system consisting of organized values. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, p 181) state that "Hofstede's definition of culture presents traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially there attached values as the essential core of culture". Harzing and Ruyssevldt suggest that individuals raised in a certain society acquire components and attributes of that culture and individually attach value to these components and attributes in the same way in which the same were traditionally valued by the previous generation. This makes culture a transgenerational phenomenon which is partly learned unconsciously. Hofstede describes culture as mental programming that influences people's thinking and actions.   Hofstede believes that there is always some

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mechanism at work in society that permits the maintenance of stability in cultural patterns across many generations (Harzing and Ruyssevldt, 2004). The value systems are influenced by social and physical factors and are later expressed as societal norms that help to develop and maintain institutions such as family and social groups. Harzing and Ruyssevldt (p 149) highlight that "the institutions developed by societal norms, once established, reinforce the societal norms and the conditions that led to their establishment. In a relatively closed society, such a system will hardly change at all".

Harzing and Ruyssevldt suggest that people make sense of their world with meanings, i.e. how they interpret what is around them. This means that culture is making sense of the environment, not just a shared way of living or working together. This leads to the formulation of the concept that differences in understanding of norms and values distinguish cultures, and therefore human interpretations are at the core of culture. Schein (1985, 1989) presented a three layer model of culture which can be depicted via the use of concentric circles as set out below.

Figure 3. 1 Components of Culture

The explicit artefacts and products of the society

The norms and values that guide the society

The implicit basic assumptions that guide people's behaviour
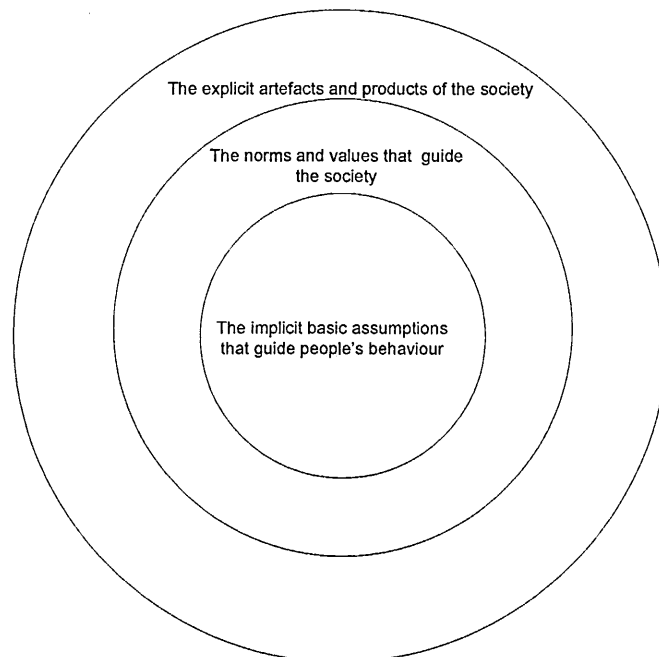
Source: Schein Model: International Management: Culture Strategy and Behaviour. Hodgets, Luthans and Doh. (2006, p 97)

The outer ring of the circle consists of the explicit artefacts and products of the culture. At this level, products of the culture such as language, food, buildings and arts can be observed. The middle ring consists of norms and values of the society, and the inner circle contains the basis implicit assumptions that govern behaviour (Hodgets et al, 2006). This highlights that the basic assumptions of people are the knowledge which they acquire from learning and experience. The acquired knowledge forms values which can be identified as those basic convictions people have regarding what is right and wrong, good and bad, important and unimportant (Hodgets et al, 2006). This means that values are learned from the culture in which an individual is raised. The values can be seen in explicit artefacts and products of the society, as these values direct an individual's behaviour. Hodget et al (2006) suggest most scholars agree that culture is a way of life that is learned by people through experiences and interaction with the environment, shared by members of groups, organizations and society, passed down from one generation to another, based on human capacity to symbolize, adaptive, structured and integrated in the society.

The effects of cultural components on individual beliefs can also be seen in the transformation of culture from larger society to the micro environment of organisations. Hatch (1997) argues that every organisation expresses aspects of national culture. The employees are an immediate source of outside influence on the organisational culture. Hatch suggests that individuals within organisations are influenced by multiple cultural institutions such as family community, nations, state, church (i.e. religion), educational systems and other work organisations. An individual's association with these institutions shapes their attitudes, behaviour and identity. These attitudes, behaviours and identity are then brought by individuals to the organisation. It is therefore difficult to separate an organisational culture from the larger cultural processes. This means that culture impacts on both employee and managerial attitudes and affects organisational relations.

In summary, it can be said that culture is acquired knowledge used by people to interpret experiences and generate social behaviour (Hodgets et al, 2006). It can also be interpreted that culture is developed via basic assumptions, beliefs and societal norms and, once it is established, it reinforces those societal norms and

conditions that led to its establishment. Given, the authors assumption about the attributes that constitute a certain culture, the discussion that follows describes the characterisation of culture of Pakistan and KPK.

3.4   The Culture of Pakistan

The culture of Pakistan can be characterised as a 'patriarchal' culture, within which male dominancy is visible in all walks of life. The majority of women are kept restricted to their homes, while men play an active role in all other external activities (Ali and Knox, 2006).

Syed (2006) described the Pakistani culture as a patriarchal culture, where the concept of gender inequality is deeply ingrained in the society. The patriarchal form of control over women includes the institutionalisation of extremely restrictive codes of behaviour for women, a practice of rigid gender segregation, specific forms of family and kinship, and powerful ideology linking family honour to female virtue. Moghadam (1992) argued that men are entrusted with safeguarding family honour through their control over female members. Critelli (2010) referred to Mumtaz (1987) and Rai et al (2007), suggesting that a strong inside/outside dichotomy exists, whereby women are restricted to the inside space of the home and a household that is embodied in the ideology of "Pardah" (veil, curtain), which refers to the physically veiling of women, and an of the institution of segregation sexes and secluding women. There also exists the notion of chardewari, which is used to denote the confinement of women, limiting their role in society, and promoting their modesty. Such confinements of women imply socialisation differences between men and women, and leads to the stratification of male and female roles within society (Ali, 2006). This theory suggests that gender socialisation influences role determination for men and women.

Shah (2010) comments on the phenomenon of Izzat (honour code), suggesting that the term embodies enormously powerful cultural judgements, part of which women are expected to uphold the honour of the family, community and almost everyone else through strict maintenance of an honour code (Pardah), which itself is usually defined by men. In seeking to try and explain the honour code, Shah highlights that, according to the code, a woman is required not to be seen appearing without a veil (Pardah) in front of any man who is not a blood relation (father, brother, husband and

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son). Similarly, a woman is required not to interact with any men who are not a blood relation.

Critelli (2010. p 238) citesd the argument of Abraham (2000) and Bari (2000), suggesting that "there is a considerable pressure on women as the repositories of family honour to maintain harmony and minimize actions that would jeopardize the stability of family and community". This social pressure on women in Pakistan results in the segregation of men and women in formal and informal settings.

These assumptions clearly resemble the definition of patriarchy extended by Barclay (2008, p. 83), that patriarchy is "a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure, or through rituals, traditions, law and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labour, determine what part of women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male". Shah (2010 p 39) states that "the fear of consequences to family izzat (honour code) effectively discouraged women communication across boundaries. Women are disciplined into segregation and silence in anticipation of possible social and [2]physical threats".

Such disciplined segregation through traditional norms indicates towards Luke's theory of radical power. Lukes (1974) put forward the idea of power being exerted by the dominant over the weak via culturally patternising the behaviours and socially structuring the institutions in such a way that the needs of the weak could be controlled in order to secure their compliance. A woman's silence in anticipation of social and physical threats can also be associated with Lukes' one and two dimensional theory of power. According to Lukes, one dimensional power is the most observable and overt form of power which involves a successful attempt by the stronger to get the weaker to do something he/she would not otherwise do (ibid. P. 82). Lukes' two dimensional theory of power highlights a secondary and comparatively less observable form of power, which involves the failure of the weaker person to act because he/she anticipates a reaction from the stronger person. The physical threats mentioned above relate to the exertion of the most

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[1] In Khyber PukhtunKhwa a woman was flogged because she went out with her father in law and in Baluchistan five females were buried alive because they left the home without permission. The former instance occurred in 2009 in Swat (Khyber Pukhtun Khwa) and the latter in 2010 in Jafarabad (Baluchistan).

observable form of power, i.e. one dimensional power, and the social threat indicates towards the less observable form of power, i.e. two dimensional power. Such power dynamics influence participation in decision making and non decision making as the preference of the stronger overtly or covertly prevails (Luke, 1974).

The arguments indicate towards a situation whereby social pressures on women mean that not only are their public and private lives influenced, but any endeavour to give voice to the discrimination carries with it a social price and the threat of physical harm. Foucalt (1980) saw these honour codes as gender discriminatory and highly marginalising for women, promoting male control by subjecting women to surveillance and disciplining. The patriarchal nature of the society in Pakistan is further reflective of the prevailing system of family orientation (Critelli, 1992). Gill (2004) argues that this family orientation is synonymous with the interests of men. To further elaborate on this cultural phenomenon, the joint family system in Pakistan is discussed next.

3.5   The Joint Family System in Pakistan

The joint family system can be defined as a family system whereby father, mother, children, father in law, mother in law, uncle, aunties and cousins all live in the same house (Amir, 2005). Distinguishing between the gender roles within the joint family system, Shaheed (1987) suggests that the female members of the family share the domestic responsibilities, and it is usually the eldest female of the household who distributes those domestic responsibilities amongst the other women. On the other hand, male family members are responsible for the financial well being of the family and, in the same way as the eldest woman assumes overall responsibility for domestic issues, the eldest male member of the family is charged with taking care of all financial and other "out of home" affairs. Azam (2006) suggests that the joint family system can be best understood as an organization with defined values and a definite set of principles which every family member must follow in their entirety. Jehan (2010), elaborating upon the advantages and disadvantages of the joint family system, suggested that married working females who are living with their in-laws have less to worry about in terms of their domestic responsibilities. While they (the married working women) are out working in offices, the other women of the family stay behind to look after the house hold responsibilities, including caring for any

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children. However, this advantage is gained by some women at the expense of other women, as women in for paid jobs work at the expense of other unpaid women. Moreover, Kalsoom and Waheed (2004) argues that paid working women are nevertheless still liable for looking after elderly family members like father in laws and mother in laws and, in most instances, because of time constraint and an imbalance in work and family life, a conflict arises whereby working women are often seen as unable to give ample time to elderly family members. It can be seen that the lack of infrastructure and social welfare system for the elderly which exists in western countries also bring a disadvantage to women in Pakistan. Investigating this issue, Kalsoom and Waheed (2004) confirms that Pakistan is lacking a well established infrastructure for accommodating elderly people. Nasir and Ali (2000) also describe that the social welfare system for elderly people in Pakistan is not well formed and requires additional resources and consideration. The Pakistan National NGO (2011) data base does list a few NGO's and social welfare organisations like the APWA (All Pakistan Women Association) and Edhi Welfare Trust which are available to provide support to elderly people, but these NGO's are generally located in urban areas with limited resources.

Cultural values also contribute to the notion of a woman's responsibility for looking after the elderly members of the family. Kalsoom and Waheed (2004), while analysing policies for older people, suggests that admitting elderly members of the family into social welfare organisations for older people is against the cultural values of the people of Pakistan.

Nevertheless, whether it is the lack of a comprehensive social welfare system or as a result of cultural values, the burden of caring for elders in the family generally sits on the shoulders of women (Kalsoom and Waheed, 2004). The influence of such cultural norms relates to the theory of patriarchy and Luke's theory of power as explained earlier.

Similarly, women's aspirations to work also relate to their marital status in Pakistan (Khan & Khan, 2009). Khan and Khan suggest that unmarried females are less involved with domestic activities so, after completing their education, they tend to join the professions that are "allowed" by male members of the family (i.e. the health and education sectors as indicated and discussed earlier). Jasmin (2002) researched

female office workers in Lahore and suggested that, before getting married, women are "allowed" to work because some have to contribute to arranging a dowry for their marriage and some of them are happy to develop relations with other females. Adding to this argument, Khan & Khan (2009) suggest that some women in Pakistan want to work to fulfil their financial needs. This is more common amongst young women, who are satisfied with their jobs because they are being "allowed" to perform their jobs by men; they (women) never care about the problems at work place as the permission granted by their family men for the job is even a privilege for them (women). Such extreme situations again symbolise Luke's theory of radical power, as women are cultured in such a way that they view their right to work as a huge privilege, keeping women feeling obliged and preventing them from voicing any problems arising in the workplace. Such a situation also illustrates Walby's theory of patriarchy, as the social system of patriarchy is transferred from private spheres (family) to public spheres (workplace) as the woman's need to seek "permission" to work from the men in the family generally influences women in the workplace and ensures their compliance.

However, the situation can be seen to change after marriage. Following marriage, many women leave their jobs because of increased domestic responsibilities. A married woman with children tends to spend more time at home than a married women without children. Similarly, married women without children desire to spend more time at home when compared to unmarried women. A married woman has to seek permission from her in-laws to go to work (Duncan et. al. 1993). This demonstrates that the choices and priorities of women are influenced by family responsibilities, and such influence travels with them from one family (parents) to another family (husband). On the other side of the coin, employers also generally prefer to employ unmarried females because they (employers) have not to pay for maternity and other benefits (Anker & Hein 1985).

The discussion above leads to the conclusion that the majority of women in Pakistan are socially dependent on men, which leads to their economic dependency also. This tends to point to the shift of patriarchy from private to public spheres as set out by Walby (1990). Such attributes of the culture typically indicate towards the symbolic culture of patriarchy.

3.6   Culture of Khyber PukhtunKhwa

The culture of KPK is derived from the concept of *Pukhtunwali* ("the way of life of Pukhtuns") which is based on the traditions of hospitality and loyalty and describes a complete code of living for traditional Pukhtuns. Pukhtunwali is an unwritten code of life for Pukhtun and comprises certain canons or principles (Afridi, 2009). The unwritten code of life for Pukhtuns is derived from traditional norms which form basic assumptions and organize the values and behaviours of people, as well as constructing the overall culture of Pukhtunwali. Hofstede (1980) sees culture as a system that is formed of traditional ideas and their attached values (Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952). Harzing and Ruyssevldt (2004) also suggest that Hofstede further believed that the system of culture affects people thinking and behaviour which permit the stability of the patterns of culture. This means that cultural patterns, by affecting human thinking and behaviour, reconstruct themselves and transfer from one generation to another.

Faqeer (2009) suggests that the Pukhtun society is embedded in religious and tribal practices which have been followed for centuries. These customs define the way of living, ranging from the permitted interaction between male and female members of society, to the social and economic responsibilities ascribed to both sexes. In this respect, the Pukhtun society is ruled by the concept of 'namus, or 'Izzat' (honour code) which clearly defines the accepted and acceptable social distance between men and women. Farooq (2009) examined this honour code and further suggested that in Pukhtun culture males and females are not allowed to socially mix together, especially when they are not blood related. Although to some extent dependent upon the individual family set up and the place a family lives, it can nevertheless be said that in most families, female members are generally restricted to remaining in their homes. The people in the province mostly live by way of the 'joint family system', but there remains an even greater observable distance between men and women. The Pukhtun culture suggests that, in Pukhtun society, one cannot even think about establishing a friendship with a member of the opposite sex.. Male members of the society keep a respectful distance from females and it is considered inappropriate to address a female with her name directly. If a male wishes to make contact with a female, this is done via the elders of the families. It is also unacceptable to praise a female by specifically taking her name. This is considered to be an insult towards

the woman and her family. Men are traditionally responsible for meeting the financial needs of the family. In the Pukhtun culture, it is shameful for the family if a female is bearing/sharing the financial burden of the family (Mustafa, 1997).

In the Pukhtun culture, females are considered as pivotal players in upholding the family's honour. This is further linked to the concept of 'namus or izzat' (honour code). [3]Killing in the name of honour is not considered out of the ordinary among many Pukhtuns. The [4]Jirga (an informal system that includes a range of traditional, customary, religious and informal normative frameworks and mechanisms to handle and solve disputes) even allows and orders honour killing. The elderly and rich people of the village or area are normally members of the Jirga. Unmarried females are particularly heavily scrutinised, and are not even allowed to talk to their male relatives of a similar age, and are asked to keep a respectable distance from them (Dawn, 2005).

As a woman is considered to be the symbol of her family's honour, so she needs to be very conscious of her behaviour and controlled and considered in all that she does. Even those acts which are beyond her control, such as unsolicited and unprovoked assaults can bring shame to her and to her family. In being tied to 'namus or izzat' (familial honour) female members of the society are subjected to countless checks on their social lives. If a female needs to go to a public place, for example to do her shopping, she must be accompanied by an immediate male relative and must cover her body with a 'Burqah' (a cloth which covers the whole body).

The consequence of a violation of the Pukhtunwali committed by a man is not as dire as for a woman. Afridi (2009) suggests that a man's attempt on a woman's 'Izzat'

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[*] A British couple were murdered in an honour killing in North-West Pakistan after they called off their daughter's planned wedding to a local man. The Telegraph, 28th June, 2011.
A woman was pelted with stones and then shot dead in the name of honour by a group of men led by her husband in the Bairoch village in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province of Pakistan, a media report said Wednesday, 22-06-2010. Dawn News Pakistan

[4] Jirga orders murder of 16 years old girl in KPK. According to Asian Human Rights Commission 13th October 2005 (AHRC, 2005) Ms. Bashi of the Luhar tribe left her parents home to marry Mr. Munaware of the Otho tribe. When her father and several relatives approached the elder of their tribe, Mr. Mir Hassan Luhar, he called upon a Jirga of the eminent persons of his tribe. The Jirga at first found that the girl must be returned to her tribe. In a second hearing it decided that the girl must be killed. Accordingly, the girl's father and six other relatives took the girl to a nearby canal where they suffocated her and buried her body

(honour) may result in the initial announcement of a similar punishment as would be expected for a female offender. However, the punishment ultimately meted out for a woman is normally execution, whereas most men are later released. Salim (2004) describes that the strongest form of punishment for men in severe circumstances in the Jirga system is *'Biraderi Badar'* (Ostracising a person from the tribe) whereas for women it is the death penalty. The reason for such an imbalance lies in the association of the woman with the honour of the entire family and the lack of any such association for the male members of society (Salim, 2004). This implies that any endeavour to change the status quo may be far more costly to women than to men.

It can be seen that the culture which prevails in the KPK province represents an extreme form of the patriarchy which exists within the overall culture of Pakistan, and that women in KPK experience all three dimensions of influence expressed by Luke (earlier discussed) because of the physical and social threats to which they are exposed. The review suggests that the Pukhtun society is largely based on an extreme form of patriarchal practices whereby females are reliant on the male members of society for virtually all of their social and economic needs. The social and economic rights of women are in the hands of the male members of society. All females, whether forcefully or by choice, have to observe the Pukhtun values and practices in order to keep their family honour intact. This observance may vary according to family background and geographical location, but adherence to the 'pardah' observation and segregation from males is common among all families. The assumptions show that social interaction of women with men is not liked behaviours in both domestic and organisational life. The arguments also infers that both men and women experience social pressures in their interactions in the immediate work setting, such as in work groups, but the pressure on women is far greater than on men, as women are considered to be the repository of family honour. The review suggests that segregation of men and women and the notion of 'pardah' in the Pukhtun culture are associated with the interpretation of religion. In order to better understand the impact of religion in relation to women's 'pardah' and permission given to women to gain employment, some aspects of Quran (Holy Islamic Book) are reviewed below.

3.7 Pardah in Islam

"Pardah" is an Arabic term which translates as "covering/hiding" and is applied to women. The Qur'an says: *To the believing men that they cast down their looks (gaze) and guard their private parts, that is purer for them, and say to the believing women that they cast down their looks (gaze) and guard their private parts and do not display their "ornaments" except to their husbands, or their fathers or the fathers of their husband, or their sons, or sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or the sons of the their brothers, or their sister's sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or male servants not having received of women, or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women, (and let them) not strike their feet, so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known: turn to Allah , all of you, O believers, so that you may be successful (24:30,31Q).*

Women are not entirely forbidden from speaking to the opposite sex, but as a safe-guard to all possible inclinations of the heart to evil thoughts, they are advised not to indulge in soft and amorous conversation with the opposite sex. Similarly, as mentioned in 24:30,31Q above, women are not wholly forbidden from venturing outside their homes. If that were to be the case, then the Qur'an would not have ordered men to lower their gaze, and nor would the message be given to women to cast down their looks, as such directives would be meaningless if women were not permitted to leave the home.

Jehan's (2010) interpretation of the Quran (Holy book of Muslims) suggests that Muslim women are not forbidden from going out in the community, working or visiting relatives and female friends, provided there is no objection from their "guardian" (husband/father or mother) and that they are covered and behave and speak in accordance with Islamic guidelines and, if necessary, are escorted by their *Mahram* (a close male relative). However, a woman's home should be the "base" from which she works. This shows the practical implications of religion in terms of a woman's place in society, and seemingly confirms that women in Islam are not prohibited from working and leaving their homes. However, a major condition in relation to women's ability to seek and gain employment is the wearing of the 'Pardah/ Hijab'. Jehan (2010) suggests that *Pardah* in Islam means a cloth which is used by women to cover all parts of their body except their face, hands and feet. The basic purpose of

'Pardah' is to control obscenity in society and the wearing of Pardah is thought to reduce the chances of adulteration occurring (Jehan, 2010).

Analysis of the literature suggests that the culture of Pakistan and the KPK province in particular provides inherently strong barrier to gender equality and that female development is significantly inhibited. In a wide sense, the review shows that gender disparity is rooted in the culture of the country and is particularly deeply rooted in the culture of KPK within Pakistan.

This chapter and the preceding one presents the review of literature on the concept of gender, gender theories, gender performance and gender situation in Pukhtun culture. It is now important to draw together the strands of literature to bring forth a clear articulation of gender performance and Pukhtun culture.

3.8   Performance of Gender and Pukhtun Culture

The discussion in the literature concludes that the concept of gender is rooted in theories of sexual difference, gender socialization and social compliance. Sexual difference and the structural arrangement of work and family that builds capacities determines the difference between men and women and constructs the concept of gender and its associated norms in the society. These structural arrangements vary in different cultures and shape different norms and roles for men and women. Compliance with these norms further intensifies the concept of difference between men and women, and further strengthens social structural arrangements to the advantage of men (Walby, 1990; Valian, 1992; Barclay, 2008; Critelli, 2010). Butler (2004) refers to Braidotti's work and suggests that the framework of sexual difference reveals the persistent cultural and political reality of patriarchal domination. Butler (2004, p. 314) further states that 'whatever permutations of gender takes place, they do not fully challenge the framework within which they take place, for that framework persists at a symbolic level'. This means that sexual difference forms a continuing power difference between men and women in language and society and functions at a deep level to establish a symbolic and social order in a society. The assumptions also bring forth the idea that normative conceptions of gender construct a social system which is more restrictive for women than for men.

Butler (2004, p. 14) whilst arguing that 'being a certain gender does not imply that one will desire a certain way, there is nevertheless a desire that is constitutive of gender and as a result, there is no easy or quick way to separate the life of a gender from the life of desire'. Butler further refers to the Hegelian[5] traditions and associates desire with recognition and suggests that (p. 19) 'desire is always a desire for recognition and it is only through the experience of recognition that any of us becomes constituted as socially viable beings'. This means that the terms of recognition are socially articulated. Desires that are contrary to recognised norms make individual survival more difficult. According to Butler, the options for individual survival may become loathsome if personal desires go far away from recognised sets of norms (e.g. an individual adopting a queer / homosexual life style). This makes socially articulated recognition a site of power by which an individual's personhood is differentially influenced. If an individual's desires are contrary to the recognised set of norms then an individual's ability to suspend the need for recognition might let them have a liveable life. Butler further explains this point and states (*ibid.,* p. 39):

> "If I am someone who cannot be without doing, then the condition of my doing are in part, the condition of my existence. If my doing is dependent on what is done to me, or rather the ways in which I am done by norms then the possibility of my persistence as an "I" depends upon my being able to do something with what is done with me."

This means that an individual's self-determination is dependent upon the norms that are laid out in advance prior to one's choice. Butler (*ibid.*, p. 142) also states:

> "One only determines "one's own" sense of gender to the extent that social norms exist that support and enable that act of claiming gender for one self. One is dependent on this "outside" to lay claim to what is one's own. The self must, in this way, be dispossessed in sociality in order to take possession of itself."

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5 Transmission of customs or beliefs from generation to generation. A long -established custom or belief that has passed on this way.

This means that norms and conventions determine the conception of gender for an individual which may permit or restrict the conditions of their life. Butler regards gender as 'cultural configuration of a body' and suggests that the meaning of the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' radically change depending upon cultural constraints.

Butler (2004) in one of her essays *'Acting in a Concert'* thoroughly elaborates the performance of gender in contexts that have a restrictively normative conception of sexual and gendered life. Butler (p. 9) states that:

> "sometimes the normative conception of gender can undo one's personhood, undermining the capacity to persevere in a liveable life. Other times, the experience of normative restriction becoming undone can undo a prior conception of who one is only to inaugurate a relatively newer one that has greater liveability as its aim."

Butler's statement refers to the thought that the real expression of an individual's personhood enhances liveability, however the normative restriction determines one's personhood which sometimes may affect each individual's capacity for expression and liveability.

Butler, adding to the argument further, suggests that the terms that make up one's gender are authored in a sociality outside and beyond one's self. This means that the social norms that constitute our existence carry desires that do not necessarily originate with our individual personhood. In other words, it refers to the suggestion that any behaviour contrary to social norms reduces the chances of a liveable life. Butler's view of liveability, according to Boucher (2006), is minimization of the precariousness of life and its vulnerability to becoming a target of the politics of exception or of a repressive normative framework. Boucher (*ibid.*, p. 16) further states that:

> "For Butler, the liveability of life is not a biological issue, but a social and political one, and that means that life needs to be protected against ever looming precariousness. Butler seeks a normative commitment to equality and positive obligations to provide those basic supports that seek to minimize precariousness in egalitarian ways: food, shelter, work, medical care,

education, rights of mobility and expression, protection against injury and oppression."

Whilst commenting on the construction of social norms to the disadvantage of women, Butler (2004) suggests that knowledge and power together establish an explicit criteria for thinking about the world. However, the prominent constituent of the social world is power. As Butler states (p. 321), 'nothing can exist as an element of knowledge if it does not conform to a set of rules prerogative to the powerful'. This indicates that the validity of knowledge is also affected by the influence of power. She (p. 322) goes on to state that:

"If we consider this relation of knowledge and power in relation to gender, we are compelled to ask how the organization of gender comes to function as a presupposition about how the world is structured. There is no merely epistemological approach to gender, no simple way to ask what are women's ways of knowing, or what might it mean to know women. On the contrary, the ways in which women are said to "know" or to be "known" are already orchestrated by power precisely at that moment in which the terms of "acceptable" categorization are instituted."

Various authors (Nussbaum 1999, Young 2003, Boucher 2006) criticise Butler for framing gender as a fluid conception of individual behaviour beyond gender identity. Butler's belief is criticised when she views women not as a unified homogeneous group but as unique individuals owing to divisive differences between them in terms of class, race and ethnicity. These authors challenge Butler's argument that the categorisation of women into a unified group separate from men has actually been detrimental to feminists call for equality. Despite these specific criticisms, none question the view that all femininities are subservient to masculinities.

Butler's assumption of power influence over social knowledge can be linked to the arguments about the influence of religious thought on Pukhtun culture. Afridi (2009) suggests that most of the Mullahs' interpretation of Islam relating to women's autonomy is highly restrictive and contrary to the spirit of Islamic code of conduct given in the Holy Quran. As discussed earlier (p. 171), Jehan (2010) illustrates from the Holy Quran and suggests that the code of Pardah (veil) and employment for

women in Islam is more liberal than the Mullahs' interpretation of women's autonomy. This shows that different interpretations construct different set of codes for women.

However, Fukuyama (2001) argues that the social network that promotes informal norms are largely created by the donors of social capital who may exert the pressure for conformity and may restrict individual freedom. Afrid (2010) suggests that people in Pukhtun culture identify themselves with Hujras and Mosques which are the social organizations guided by Mullahs. It can therefore be interpreted that the restrictive informal norms for women promoted by these social organizations constitute the culture of Pukhtunwali.

Faqeer (2009) suggests that Pukhtun culture defines a way of living, ranging from the permitted interactions between male and female members of the society, to the social and economic responsibilities ascribed to both sexes. The concept of 'namus' and 'izzat' (women as repository of family honour) as discussed earlier (p. 50), defines a restrictive social and economic role for women (Moghadam, 1992, Critelli, 2010, Mumtaz, 1987).

Lukes (1974) theory of power (discussed p. 46), and the way social configurations of power incline women to compliance, can also be associated with the configuration of women in Pukhtun culture. It can be therefore be interpreted that Pukhtun culture is comprised of restrictive normative conceptions of gendered and sexual life that are similar to those that Butler (2004) refers to. This brings forth the thought that social norms derived from Mullas interpretation of religion brings cultural constraints that may create acute gender inequality to the disadvantage of women. Looking at the arguments (Mumtaz, 1987; Moghadam, 1992; Critelli, 2010) in the light of Butler's view, it can be interpreted that cultural constraints in Pukhtun society forms a normative conception of gender which is more restrictive to women's personhood. The social norms restrict what is considered acceptable behaviour for women in both private and public life.

However, Butler's argument that gender is fluid, deem phasing individual differences between people so that gender is not the main focus, may not be helpful in the context of Pukhtun culture where 'women as a category experience strong detriment'

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(Critteli, 2010). At the current stage of development, it is far more helpful to use gender as a concept to illuminate the issues. It seems a distant goal to then look at the differences between all individuals and to see gender as less clear cut and more diffuse. Nevertheless, it may be depicted that in such a cultural context, an individual's autonomy for expression is dependent on normative conceptions of gender and the way gender identity is formed by social norms. Behaviour and expression contrary to 'acceptable behaviour' (promoted by those in control of social capital) may have unwanted consequences. It refers back to Butler's articulation of *women's liveability in terms their right to work, education and expression* and the way this is restrained by the norms of Pukhtun culture.

If Butler's argument of compliance to the social norms for individual's liveability in terms of right of expression is applied to performance of gender in a context of immediate interactions between men and women, then it can also be tied to Goffman's (1954, p. 31) statement that 'performance for presenting ourselves in a way in which society expect us to perform is like staying away from reality'. This, according to Goffman, creates a discrepancy between appearance and actual activity which fosters impressions that are not real and are difficult to maintain. Such misrepresentation also shakes the confidence of an individual and influences individual performance. Butler's argument of a *'prior conception of who one is'* can be related to Goffman's suggestion of *social knowledge* and *social information* that shapes an individual's identity, self-concept and image. In other words, the term *social information* can also be linked to normative conceptions of gender.

As discussed earlier (*ibid.,* p 25) Goffman regards performance as activities of an individual which occur during his/her continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which have some influence on the observer. Goffman suggests that an individual can acquire a desirable response from the observers only when an individual offers an acceptable behaviour which is fundamentally determined by social norms. This can lead to the argument that a normative conception of gender constituted by social norms affects the performance of gender in the context of immediate gender interaction (i.e. mixed gender workgroups). However, one possible difference between Butler's and Goffman's view is that Goffman writes in a

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more gender neutral way. Butler writes specifically about social norms that place restrictions on the performance of feminine identities.

If Goffman's theory is seen in the cultural context of Pukhtun society then it may be interpreted that the normative conception of gender, more restrictive for women, affects performance of gender to the disadvantage of women. The context restricts women's autonomous expression. The social norms in Pukhtun culture are largely derived from Mullas' interpretation of religion (p. 52, 170) which in most restrict women's autonomy (Afridi, 2009; Jehan, 2010). This sets out the thought that such religious interpretation may affect women's self-expression more than men in the context of immediate gender interactions. The concepts of 'Izzat' and 'namus' (women repository of family honour) given by some Mullahs in Pukhtun culture (Moghdam, 1992; Critelli, 2010) defines such dress and conversation codes (i.e. Pardah) for women which constrain women's performance at work.

It can therefore be argued that the religious interpretations of some Mullas regarding women's autonomy make individuals intentionally express themselves in a particular way chiefly because social norms require this kind of expression. Such expression by individuals may foster an impression desired by social norms but not by an individual, and this creates a discrepancy between appearance and actual activity. According to Goffman, all activities by an individual which are not actual or real, and done for appearance, affects their individual performance. This means that cultural constraints in Pukhtun society may foster individuals to express in a way that may be contrary to individual desire. This accords with Butler's view of the conflict between individual desire and desire for recognition.

The discussion brings forth the argument that social norms construct normative conception of gender. Social norms in Pukhtun culture are largely determined by religious interpretation promoted by those who control social capital (e.g. Mullah). However, the interpretation of religion regarding women's autonomy by some Mullahs is more restrictive for women. This restricts the normative conception of gender for women. In such a cultural context, the performance of gender in workgroups is affected to the disadvantage of women, as the expected behaviour for women curtails their capacity for real expression and fosters unreal expressions and impressions contrary to the desires of each individual. The discrepancy between the

individual's desire and their appearance affects their performance in workgroups. Overall this discussion affirms that interpretation of religion in Pukhtun culture limits women's autonomy.

In this overall context, it is important now to analyse how governmental and nongovernmental stake holders have responded to try to bring about improvement in gender equality at both domestic and organizational levels. The section that follows presents an insight into this topic.

3.9 Pakistan's Commitment to Gender Equality

In response to the disadvantages faced by women, various initiatives are taken in different countries around the world to try and ensure gender equality in employment. Pakistan is no exception in this regard and, since its inception, various different actors have played a role in protecting women and providing equal opportunities for women in society.

Critelli (2010) argues that the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was an advocate of education and equal opportunities for women. Speaking out against the perpetration of female seclusion in 1944, Jinnah said: *"It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up with four walls as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life"* (quoted in Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987, p 19). Jinnah's ideology was transferred into the constitution of the country. As Farman (2004, p 428) describes, "In light of the guidelines given by the Founder of the nation, M Jinnah, the 1952 constitution of Pakistan in its article 25 ensures the right of gender equality to all citizens of the country".

In the post-partition era, the governments of Ayub Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (belonging to the rich/upper and upper middle class) both wanted to expand the labour force of their own social base (Moghadam, 1992). As a result, women from rich and upper middle class families obtained university degrees and joined the ranks of the professionals (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987), also becoming more active in a political sense. The class difference is mainly based on an ideology of economic wellbeing in Pakistan; economically rich people are considered to belong to the

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upper class and economically powerful people are considered to belong to the lower class (Zikaria, 2006). Mumtaz and Shaheed suggest that women from the upper/rich and upper middle class in urban areas principally belonged to liberal and educated families, which allowed them access to education and employment. As a result, women from such families were privileged in terms of benefiting from education and employment. During this period, the 1952 family ordinance and 1961 family law ordinance were passed. Both these pieces of legislation were aimed at protecting women's rights in relation to kinship property inheritance. In order to further safeguard women's rights, a separate division for women was formed within the federal government of Pakistan in 1959.

The military coup in July 1977 resulted in the resurgence of the military regime in Pakistan and the execution of late Prime Minister, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. General Zia sought to gain legitimacy via a programme of *Islamisation* (Moghadam, 1992). The Islamisation was based on an unprecedented religiously derived legal code which generally diminished women's rights. The mid 1980s in Pakistan was therefore a time during which there were high levels of female illiteracy (Habib 1984).

The [6]Hudood Ordinance was passed in 1984, which dealt with alcohol consumption, and sexual relationships between adult men and adult women who were not validly married to each other. The punishments for transgression were themselves discriminatory, as men were often forgiven because of a lack of evidence, whereas women were proven guilty via medical tests or, for example, becoming pregnant following a rape (Moghadam, 1992). Even the law of [7]Diyat (blood money, i.e., the waiver of a death sentence handed to a murderer upon payment of compensation money to the dependents of the deceased victim) was discriminatory, as half the amount of compensation was paid in respect of a female victim in comparison to a male victim.

The cancellation of population planning policies in the early 1980s and the Family law ordinance were legislative changes which brought about the highest fertility rates, and served to further increase gender inequality. The situation in urban areas

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[6] Sentencing women and men to death through stoning in case of sexual relationship without marriage

[7] Article 309-Waiver of Qisas (death sentence for murderer) for compensation money by the immediate dependent of the mudered. Widow in case of husband's death or mother in case of son's death if father is not living. Criminal Code Pakistan.

for women was adversely affected to some extent, but it was in the rural areas where the effects were most deeply felt. These areas became the worst places for women to live, as the rate of child birth increased but, conversely, there were fewer medical facilities to accommodate pregnancy and childbirth. As a consequence, women's ability to participate in employment was also adversely affected.

Moghadam (1992) further referred to Mustafa n.d, highlighting the results of a sociological survey carried out in the mid 1980s which found that 50% of participants questioned did not support women engaging in formal education, because they feared that, if they were sent to school, their daughters would not make good housewives, would lose their modesty, would read vulgar literature (literature encouraging women to work and interact with men), and would defy their parents.

Weiss (1989) found that the traditional view of family honour being protected if the women of the family remain within the boundaries of the home inherently restricted women to informal sector working only, such as working at home and small scale manufacturing within the confines of the house.

The Women Action Forum (WAF), Pakistan Women's Lawyers Association (PWLA) and All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) were the groups formally and informally formed in the mid-80s to promote the women's movement in Pakistan, but they remained largely ineffective in achieving the desired change of status for women in the country.

However, the government's lack of action in respect of cultural conservativeness was exposed after Zia's death, as there was then a strong objection against the institutionalising patriarchy which had prevailed in his era. The APWA and the WAF were at the forefront of such objections, and criticised Zia's era for the passive and negative role played by women in relation to their independence. In 1988 APWA and WAF spoke out against Hudood Law and publicised its negative impact on women's lives, arguing that the law did [8]not differentiate clearly between *Zina* (a sexual relationship between unmarried men and women with consent) and rape. Fearing being punished by being stoned to death (the punishment for *Zina*) rape cases were

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[8] According to the Hudood Ordinance three adult witnesses are required to support evidence of rape or otherwise any sexual encounter (even in case of rape will be considered as Zina).

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not brought to courts for justice to be handed down, meaning that such crimes largely went unpunished (Dawn, 2006).

Weiss (2003, p 594) states that 'women's groups expanded the critique on Zia's rule in limiting women's rights and became involved in such activities as instituting legal aid cells for indigent, opposing the gendered segregation of universities and playing an active role in condemning the growing incidents of violence against women and bringing them to the attention of the public'. Such social welfare activities were generally informally managed by women's groups organised as NGO's.

Following the regime of Gen Zia, Benazir Bhutto (daughter of ex- Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto) came into power in late 1988, as leader of the most popular party (Pakistan People Party) of the country. Public sentiment for Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and against military coup helped Benazir Bhutto to become the first and only female Prime Minister of Pakistan. During her (Benazir) election campaign, Benazir voiced concerns over social issues of women, particularly in relation to health issues and discrimination against women. Benazir also promised to repeal the Hudood Ordinance law which curtailed the rights of the women, but she was ultimately not successful in repealing Zia's Islamization laws (HRC, 1996).

Khalid (2006) highlights that the formation of the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women in 1989 and the upgrading of the women's division to a fully fledged Ministry for Women were both initiatives driven by Benazir during her brief tenure as Prime Minister. Both institutes were formed to try and identify discrimination against women, and to advance and protect equal rights. However, Moghadam (1992) suggests that no concrete steps were actually taken by either of these institutions to alleviate women's subjugation. During her tenure as Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto also made a vocal commitment to women's rights. The establishment of a commission dedicated to eliminating all forms discrimination against women occurred in 1996, during Benazir's second tenure as Prime Minister of Pakistan. The commission was established to eliminate discrimination against women in both the domestic and employment spheres. In 1989, the first ever women's bank was set up to promote female participation in the banking sector.

In the subsequent era of governance by twice elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (leading the Pakistan Muslim League, popularly known as a right wing party formed by military establishment), the National Plan of Action for Women (1998) and the Gender Equality Umbrella Project in 1999 were both launched. These initiatives were taken to promote the financial status of females within the family, to ensure women's participation in all economic activities and to protect women's rights in private and public places. In the same era, to promote uplift in the socio economic status of women in Pakistan, women activists formed the Women's Action Forum in 1998, with the major focus on highlighting women's roles in political and economic streams of the country within the defined Islamic limitations (Ministry of Women Development, 2011). Unfortunately, these projects suffered a setback as a result of the military coup in October 1999.

However, during the Musharraf period (1999-2008), a considerable effort was made to create a more tolerant society with a slogan of moderate Islam. The National Plan of Action for women (NPA) was formed in March 2000 and the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) was formed in July 2000, and set out as a priority action the empowerment of women in Pakistan in the areas of poverty, education, health, economy, decision making and advancement (Country Watch, 2010). The Women's Protection Bill (2006) was passed in the Musharaf era, and modified the Hudood Ordinance, finally allowing rape to be prosecuted under civil law.

The progressive improvements made in shaping a more tolerant society resulted in less resistance to the idea of female empowerment. However, the 9/11 world trade centre incident in 2001 and the US attack on Afghanistan resulted in Pakistan's engagement in the War against Terror. The focus of the government, which was at best already fairly diluted, completely shifted from development endeavours and issues of social justice towards law and order and managing the security situation within the country (Country Watch, 2010). The status of women remained the same, even after the Musharraf era. Presently, the impact of the war against terror is progressively increasing. The only prominent initiative of the present government has been the launch of the 'Benazir Income Support Program' which is aimed at economic well being of women in Pakistan.

The history of Pakistan's commitment to gender equality reflects a blend of both liberal and radical measures for female empowerment.

The liberal ideology of Quaid-e-Azam at the time of the creation of Pakistan brought article 25 to the constitution of the country, giving a constitutional right of gender equality to every citizen of Pakistan (Farman, 2004). Social liberalism evaporated during General Ayub's era. Although the Family Ordinances of 1952 and 1961 were passed during this period for the protection of women's rights for kinship and property inheritance, both these pieces of legislation took the state to a radical position whereby the state acted as an agent in limiting women to family roles i.e. reliance on women for biological reproductive tasks (Stromquist, 1990). The period of General Zia served as a central pillar in the segregation of men and women and female disempowerment, as Zia's version of Islam was largely influenced by the personal views of the leaders of the orthodox religious political parties (Shaheed, 2008). Shaheed (p. 19) states that "Zia's version of Islam was punitive, regulative and extractive". The legislation of Hudood Ordinance (explained earlier) in Zia's period further strengthened the state's radical position on women's disempowerment. The subsequent period of Benazir Bhutto rectified the situation somewhat, with some practical steps and amendments in legislation being made (i.e. the creation of Ministry of Development for Women and the withdrawal of the sanction on population control programmes). Such initiatives demonstrate the importance placed by the state on empowering women during that era. The Benazir regime was followed by the government of Nawaz Sharif, who is popularly known as the political heir of General Zia (Shaheed, 2008). However, the initiatives brought about in the Nawaz Sharif era (i.e. the National Plan of Action for Women and the Gender Equality Umbrella Project) show the state's orientation with liberal thought for women's emancipation and equal opportunities. Although Musharaf went for the political arrangement with religious political parties, considerable initiatives (i.e. National Commission on Status of Women, Women Protection Bill and amendments to Hudood Ordinance) taken in his period in office demonstrate the state's liberal position for women's empowerment. This shows that both liberal and radical initiatives for equality have been taken by different state actors in various periods. However, the literature on women's position in Pakistan (described earlier) reveals that the impact of such initiatives is presently still awaited.

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The initiatives undertaken in the different eras reveal that Pakistan's legislation for equality is highly protective in terms of its treatment of women. Ali and Knox (2008) suggest that the 1973 constitution of Pakistan assumes that women are in need of protection. Ali and Knox further state that the assumption of a woman's need for protection can also be seen in the international labour standards that have been ratified by Pakistan i.e. the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The assumption of women's need for protection for constituting legislation for gender equality in Pakistan is understandable if it is associated with arguments of socio cultural pressure on women and the findings described by various authors about prevailing gender disparity., However, as the discussion above reveals, Pakistan's commitment to gender equality has suffered as a result of political instability and a lack of commitment to implement and see through the structural initiatives introduced during the different eras. This lack of commitment can also be associated with a lower level of female participation in decision making roles at the country's legislation-making and implementation level, a typical feature of patriarchal culture. Weiss (2003) states that efforts to empower women are more constrained in Pakistan than in other countries because of political conditions which excluded women from politics. Weiss (p 588) endorses his view by further stating that "formal political participation remains an essentially male domain despite increasing recognition of the significance of women inclusion in it". The regime of Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister recognised to some extent the significance and importance of women's inclusion in politics (Fatima, 1991) but Weiss's (2000) argument reflects that this limited recognition was never truly substantiated.

Despite international pressure (in the form of tiding up developmental assistance to human right records) to improve conditions confronting women in the country, Pakistan remained committed to improving women position on paper only (Weiss, 2003). Ali and Knox (2008, p 233) state that "despite its numerous commitments to achieving equality in employment, Pakistan has made insufficient progress in its commitments to national EEO legislation consistent with ILO and UN conventions to which it is a party". The gap between the principal commitments and the practical manifestations of EEO is visible in the gender gaps in relation to the literacy rate and labour participation in Pakistan (as presented earlier). Ali and Knox (2008) consider

the social, cultural, traditional and religious environment in Pakistan a reason for the gap between legislation and the practical implementation of the same. Similarly, Weiss (2003), while elaborating on Pakistan's response as a state party to CEDAW (Convention of Elimination of Discrimination against Women), suggests that Pakistan has struggled to adhere to the conditions of CEDAW. Weiss suggests that one of the areas in which Pakistan is in dispute with CEDAW is in relation to coeducation. Weiss (p 591) states that "coeducation is often framed as being contradictory to those sentiments which prevail in the local culture, which largely operate under the idea of separate spheres for males and females". CEDAW also reports on the number of obstacles that the Pakistani government faces in eliminating discrimination against women and in implementing the Convention, notably the prevailing socio cultural norms and the existing patriarchal structure (Weiss, 2003).

3.10 Summary

The discussion above suggests that the culture in Pakistan is stronger than legislation. The prevailing culture is generally recognised as being patriarchal in its nature, and therefore a sincere effort to challenge and change the underlying culture is critical to the implementation of all kinds of legislation for protection and adherence to international commitment. The assumptions of various authors show that the position of women in Pakistan is far below that of men and therefore protective measures are understandably required to put women on an equal footing with men. Only once equality prevails can men and women be gauged with similar measures for distribution of resources. Protective legislations and ratifications with international commitments under pressure for international assistance are not enough, and a sincere and sustained effort is required to ensure adherence to such legislation and international commitments. It is argued that attitudinal change is required on the part of both men and women for any sincere effort to bring about change and gender equality to stand any chance of success. It is also argued that an intellectual effort from the researchers and the practical demonstration of the same by the academics themselves may also help in changing the attitudes of the youth and other social stakeholders in the country.

Moreover, the review also shows that the health and higher education sectors are the sectors where female participation is relatively comparative to the participation of

men. Such workplaces are potential areas in which to study the indirect gender discrimination arising from the patriarchal culture, as interaction between men and women in these close and numerically balanced work settings should, in theory, be more equal (Kanter, 1977).

The figures set out in the discussion above (table 2) reveal that health and higher education are the two employment sectors in Pakistan where women's participation is higher than in other sectors and, therefore, a better (though not ideal) numerical balance can be seen in these two sectors. In the sector of higher education, the structure of universities and institutions is based on participative management in which committees are formed to take decisions and execute the affairs relating to curricular and co-curricular activities (D. Shah, 2003). Such workplaces provide an interesting context in which to study gender issues. However, despite the existence of 122 universities and institutions of higher education in Pakistan, in which 37,428 faculty members (51% men and 39% women as indicated by the gender gap index 2010) are serving (Statistical Information Unit, HEC, 2011), unfortunately, no published research can be found which seeks to analyse the work group gender dynamics in Higher Education in the context of Pakistan. This study therefore aims to fill this gap in the research.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

In social research the researcher is encouraged to be reflexive about methodology in terms of perspectives used and techniques deployed. The researcher needs to justify the choice of criteria used and the preferences that have led the researcher to adopt a certain research approach. The aim of this chapter is to set out and describe this information via a discussion of the research approach. This chapter aims to present a description of how data was collected in the field and to set out the strategies adopted for data analysis and interpretation.

The first section of this chapter starts with a presentation of the reasons for choosing a qualitative research approach and discusses the ways in which the quality of the research process used in this research can be assessed. The second section introduces the research strategy employed in this study which includes the techniques for collecting the data. The final section in this chapter reveals the process of negotiating access to the field and the conduct of the researcher in the field during data collection.

4.1 Philosophical Perspective/Assumption

The endeavour of this study is to understand the effects of gender diversity on work group performance of academics based in the KPK province. The idea is to explore the dynamics of gender diversity and to explain workplace differences between male and female behaviour which affects the participation of academics in work group participation/discussions, and to make recommendations about group structure and dynamics to increase collaborative working between men and women.

Group dynamics and gender thinking and behaviours are a result of beliefs, motives, reasons and cultural social identity of both men and women working in a group. These factors are dynamic and these changes may be interpreted in order to achieve a better understanding of the impact on performance. Therefore, the ontology which best suits the research question is an interpretive philosophy. Hassard (1991, p 92) states that "In the interpretive paradigm the social world possesses a precarious ontological status". Hassard further believes that from this

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perspective, social reality, although possessing order and regulation, does not possess an external concrete form. Instead it is a product of inter-subjective experience. For the interpretive analyst, the social world is best understood from the view point of the participant in action. The interpretive researcher seeks to deconstruct the phenomenological process through which shared realities are created, sustained and changed. Researchers in this paradigm consider attempts to develop a purely objective social science as specious (Denzin, 2000).

This shows that the methodological approach which suits the study is inductive management research, which articulates interpretive philosophical commitments. As gender diverse group dynamics is a phenomenon which requires in-depth interviews and a constructionist approach to the topic. Moreover, much of the qualitative research focusing on organisational phenomena is concerned with expanding the context of discovery. Nocker (2006, p 86) states that "Qualitative research studies based on interpretive methodologies were introduced to provide an alternate to the often predominant managerial perspective on many organisational issues, to the quantitative methods, and to the structural-functional assumptions of mainstream organisational research". Guba and Lincoln (1994, p 106) note that "quantitative measures of phenomena are seen to impose an external researcher derived logic which excludes, rather than captures, actors' subjectivity from data collected". The point made here is that the researcher must access members' internal culturally derived logic in order to explain their behaviour, yet simultaneously ensure that this necessarily inductive process is undertaken in an objective manner to make sure that the ensuing descriptions are not contaminated by the researcher who, as in mainstream positivist research, should remain separate from the objects of research so as to produce neutral findings.

According to Johnson and Clark (2006, p 146) "With the mainstream positivist business and management research, observation and testing of hypothetical predictions entail a researcher's priori conceptualization, operationalization and statistical measurement of dimensions of participant's behaviour rather than beginning with an exploration of an actor's subjective perceptions. However within this positivist philosophical stance, the accessing of actor subjective perspectives is often considered to be inappropriate because it is presumed that this cannot be done

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in a direct objective neutral manner. In other words such 'inner' subjective processes, as well as Freudian notions of unconscious, are taken to be empirically unobservable and hence inadmissible as genuinely scientific explanations of what goes on in business and management areas. Positivists see that science must therefore limit itself to directly observable causes of human behaviour and their effects preferably using quantitative measures for such phenomena". This desire to exclude the subjective seems to resonate with Locke's (1690) theory of empiricism whereby he attempted to sever connections between science and religion by limiting the former to knowledge that had survived the test of sensory experience. However, according to Locke, our senses can only objectively reproduce what he called primary qualities - size, weight, motion and quantity- and only knowledge that is traceable to these simple, quantifiable, sensations is acceptable to science. Perhaps more importantly the barring of human subjectivity from legitimate areas of scientific inquiry simultaneously allowed positivistic social scientists to replicate the methods they presumed to be used to investigate the behaviour of non-sentient phenomena in the natural sciences and thereby pursue the hope of emulating the latter's only too perceptible operational successes.

Johnson and Clark (2006, p:146) cite Laing (1967) and argue that "the key importance is the neo empiricist commitment to *verstehen* (German word meaning the scientist's position which argues that precision can be achieved in natural sciences and is not possible to achieve in human sciences) premised upon the idea of following the positivist approaches that derives from natural sciences in the study of social world is an error because human actions, unlike the behaviour of non sentient objects in the natural world, has an internal subjective logic which must be understood in order to make it intelligible". On the other hand Alvesson and Deetz (2000: p 60) state that "the term being used is neo empiricist for those management researchers who view the collection of qualitative empirical data as capable of ensuing objective truth in correspondence sense yet who simultaneously reject falsificationism in favour of the inductive generation of theory 'grounded' in observation. The result is separation of the knower researcher from his/her inductive descriptions of other actions' inter subjective cultural experience which awaits discovery". For this reason the dispute with mainstream positivism is centred upon

what is open to direct observation through sensory experience and the continuing relevance of induction (Markus, 1994) to social science.

Johson & Duberley (2000, p 124) state that "In this thinly veiled attack upon methodological monism, Denzin (1971) describes what he calls the logic of naturalist inquiry. This is where the researcher activity enters 'the world of native people to render those worlds understandable from the stand point of a theory that is grounded in the behaviours, languages, definitions, attitudes, and feelings of those studied' and tries to theoretically explain what shapes and influences their behaviour". In his research Denzin (1971) discusses the implications of naturalism for the researcher' field roles, how data is collected and analysed, and the process by which theory is inductively developed whilst reducing the distance between (the researcher's) outside imposed concepts and those employed by the native person. Throughout this pragmatic statement for naturalism, Denzin (1971) preserves a commitment to what he calls *sophisticated rigour* so that theories are brought into closer touch with the empirical social world whilst resisting schemes or models which over simplify the complexity of everyday life.

However, the critical research approach, despite having an emancipatory interest in knowledge, is not adopted because the cultural sensitivity for issues like gender (see chapter of Remote Context) leave no emancipatory potential for the researcher. Any ambitious attempt to bring about change during the course of research, if taken by the researcher, might expose him to a risk of being harmed. This study therefore attempts to research and bring about an understanding of the situation and to come up with some recommendations for change, but leaves the responsibility of taking action to bring about any such changes to the stake holders.

4.2   Establishing the Quality of the Research Process

The quality of social sciences research is assessed by the process of validation via which we make claims about 'truth'. Validity in this study does not refer to an objective and unquestionable reality but is socially constructed by the many participants.

Reliability in this study is also contrary to the traditional notion of reliability which assumes that the phenomenon under study is stable. In this study, the narratives told

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and actions performed by the participants changed over time, and this helped in exposing the tensions and inconsistencies in narrative constructions. Generalisability depends on the representativeness of the sample for the wider population in quantitative research; however this kind of sampling is not easily available in qualitative research (Nocker, 2006). Silverman (2000: p 105) states that "sampling in qualitative research is neither statistical nor purely personal: it is, or should be, theoretical grounded". This study is based on cases identified in three large universities located in three big cities of the province, and a purposive sampling process is used to select the sample so as to analytically and theoretically examine the research question.

Tracy (2010) brought the crafts and best practices together and suggested eight criteria for the quality of qualitative research. Tracy (p 839) states that "high quality qualitative methodological research is marked by worthy topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, ethics and meaningful coherence".

Examining the quality of this research using Tracy's criteria, it can be safely concluded that this study attends the each of the eight pillars identified in Tracy's conceptualization of qualitative research, as set out below.

The topic of this study emerged from a motivation based on personal events and a drive to fill the existing research gap. The prevailing political climate and growing threat of extremism in the regions where this study was conducted demands, in the researcher's view, a response from the academic and intellectual community in order to address issues of gender equality. Being one of the academics in this area, it was researcher's professional obligation to carry out research on the issue of gender equality. Moreover, the researcher's interest in this topic developed over eight years of practical experience working in the sort of gender diverse environment which forms the basis of this study, which also became a motivation for the researcher choosing this particular research question. The review of the literature also shows that the majority of the existing research carried out in this area has been undertaken in western liberal countries, whereas countries like Pakistan have to date not benefited from any significant focus. This shows the relevance, significance, and timely emergence of this subject matter, which endorses the *worth* of the chosen topic.

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The *rigour* in this study is achieved via the appropriate selection of the samples taken to achieve the goal of the study. Purposive sampling was employed to ensure representation of both male and female academics belonging to the same cadre and to departments where gender balance prevailed. In order to ensure representation of the whole community in the province, the primary learning organisations from the three big cities (the only big cities in the province) were selected for data collection. Thirty six semi-structured interviews, non participant observations and field notes were used to gather data. This also adds rigour in terms of sufficiency to support any claims made as a result of this study. The concept of rigour is also reflected in the process of three phase coding and the constant comparison method which is used for data organisation and analysis, which is the most widely accepted method for qualitative data analysis (Larossa, 2005).

Credibility is achieved via a rich description of the prevailing social and cultural context. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that instead of using a conventional notion of validity, in qualitative research one can speak of *trustworthiness*, *plausibility* of knowledge claims (Hammersley, 1992) and *authenticity* of research (Lincoln, 1995). Adoption of different methods for data collection i.e. interviews and observation brings into play the concept of triangulation in this study, as triangulation may involve the use of different methods which forms the major data collection strategy for much qualitative research. This allows the researcher to compensate for any shortcomings arising from the use of any one method, and enables the researcher to claim credibility and *trustworthiness* of the study. According to Guba (1985), the use of different methods in concert compensates for their individual limitations and exploits their respective benefits. The prolonged engagement, familiarity and personal communication with the participant organization enabled the researcher to gain an adequate understanding of the culture of the organisation and also helped to build up a relationship of trust with the participants. Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommended such prolonged engagement for the establishment of a better understanding between the participant(s) and the researcher. The narration of stories by the participants during the interviews and the observance of the same narratives during meetings validate the narratives and add *plausibility* to the stories told in this study. The knowledge achieved in this research is gained via the process of social construction that arises out of different interpretations, actions and discourses of

participants involved. Direct negotiations with the stakeholders for accessing the participants for interviews and open negotiations for recommendations regarding gender equality brings fairness into this research. The participation of the interviewees was seen in the observation session, which showed improvement in the behaviour of both men and women academics. The act of empowerment by men in general and women in particular demonstrates the *authenticity* of this study. This study explores the complex dynamics of gender diverse groups; a better understanding of the phenomenon enhances the *reliability* of this research. The validation of the knowledge produced also demonstrates reliability, as Lincoln and Guba (1985 p 316) state that "since there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former (validity) is sufficient to establish the latter (reliability)".

The aim of the researcher remained throughout the study to enable the reader to understand the experiences of the participants by describing the prevailing rich cultural and social context, which helps to achieve empathetic validity (Daads, 2008) and adds the quality of *resonance* to this study. The understanding of the phenomenon carries with it the potential to improve practices in the studied institutions and in similar organizations, which also leads to *resonance.* As Tracy (2010) suggests, knowledge which leads to improved practice can be said to provide *resonance* in qualitative research. This also promotes the significance of this study in terms of its *knowledge contribution.* The academic motivation behind the study also adds worth to this project in terms of *knowledge contribution.*

One of the core concerns of qualitative research is *reflexivity* at different levels of the research process. Gilgun (2011, p. 6) states that 'reflexivity is the idea of awareness, that researchers are aware of the multiple influences they have on research processes and how research processes affect them'. Malterud (2001, p. 483) defines reflexivity as 'an attitude of attending systematically to the context of knowledge construction, especially to the effect of the researcher, at every step of the research process'. This means that the researcher has to take his/her preconceptions into account at every step of the research. Malterud (2001) further suggests that preconceptions only become biases when the researcher fails to mention them. Greenaway (2010) values the application of reflexivity in qualitative research as an

important tool of critical reflection that helps researchers to explore and understand the influence they have on their research.

Gilgun (2011) believes that there are three different areas in which the researcher can become reflexive. Firstly, there is the topic which the researcher wants to investigate. This means the personal and professional meaning that the topic carries for the researcher. Secondly, there is the perspective and experiences of the people with whom the researcher wishes to do the research; this includes research participants or subjects of research. Lastly, there are the people to whom the findings will be directed. This includes the stakeholders and policy makers who want to learn researchers' interpretations of research subjects' experiences and actions, which may have policy oriented consequences for the research subjects. In an order to account for all these three areas, researcher's reflexivity is debated in the last chapter.

Ethical dimensions have also been carefully considered throughout the whole process of this research project. The social and cultural specific ethics were taken into account both in the field work and in the presentation of data. The process of the research carried out and described in the later part of this chapter endorses the care with which subjects of this research have been dealt. Discussions with empirical evidence are included, and proper references to the appendices are given in order to provide valuable discussion and to avoid naive empiricism. Finally, the review of literature connects with and situates the findings, which are further meaningfully interconnected with the conclusions of this study. The claims in the objectives can be successfully compared with the achievements and outcome of the study, which confirms that the trait of *meaning coherence* is attained in the project.

The discussion above is intended to highlight those aspects of this study which confirms and establishes its quality. However, a more detailed outline of these aspects is depicted in the subsequent sections of this and the subsequent chapters.

4.3　Research Strategy and Techniques

The research focuses on qualitative methods, as it explores gender diversity in terms of its effects on gender thinking and behaviour. It involves in-depth interviews and

non-participant observations. The units of analysis are both the individual academics themselves (men and women) and the gender diverse group as a whole.

Exploratory semi-structured interviews with both men and women working in a gender diverse group are conducted to gather data in order to analyze the effects of gender diversity on the participation performance of academics in formal work group discussions. Saunders et al, (2007, p 84) state that "in semi-structured interviews the researcher will have a number of themes and questions to be covered, which might vary from one interview to another in relation to the research topic. However, additional questions might be required to explore the research question and objectives and depending on the flow of the conversation which will be recorded carefully". Flick (1998) also argues that the advantage of qualitative methods is that they allow the researcher the flexibility to probe initial participant responses – that is, to ask why or how. The researcher must listen carefully to what participants say, engage with them according to their individual personalities and styles, and use probes to encourage them to elaborate on their answers. The flexible format and structure of semi-structured interviews not only allows the researcher to modify the questions in subsequent interviews if required, but also allows the researcher to add or skip questions depending upon the flow of conversation.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p 3) (cited in Ritchie and Lewis 2003: 3) state that "Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recording and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world". This can be interpreted to mean that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. The researcher used a recording device for interviews and non participant observations in this study, which allowed the researcher to take field notes in situ, enabling the researcher to fully notice and describe the natural settings (see chapter 5) to the reader.

Qualitative research allows the subject being studied to give a richer and more detailed answer to the questions put to them by the researcher (Denzin and Lincoln,

2000). It also serves as complementary to quantitative methods of research. For example, if an area of interest has not been studied previously, then it is inherently difficult to develop a questionnaire without knowing the important factors involved and the sort of qualitative research to employ in order explore those factors. Qualitative research also helps to better interpret and understand the findings of quantitative research. For example if quantitative research shows that gender diversity has positive/negative/mixed effects on organizational performance, then qualitative research can be employed to try and explain *why* this is so. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) believe that the strength of qualitative research lies in its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the human side of an issue – that is, the often contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Flick (1998) argues that qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent.

This implies that qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of particular populations. Thus it ideally suited to the author's chosen area of research, as extremist and conservative culture is an important component of group dynamics as specifically studied in this research, which differs from the group dynamics which are apparent in other moderate and liberal cultures.

4.4   Data Collection Methods

4.4.1 Interviews

The interviews are organised in a way that examines the gender diverse work group dynamics and their influence on gender thinking and behaviour, and on the performance of male and female academics living in a culture which faces a movement of liberalism on the one hand and a threat of extremism on the other.

In this study, semi-structured interviews are conducted with male and female academics. Kvale (1996, p 186) states that "the semi-structured interview works with a defined topic, and some defined questions and defined 'prompts'. These may or may not be used, depending on the situation and whether the participant has already addressed the material but it still allows a conversational approach". In this study, as described by Kvale, some of the questions posed were predetermined and others were devised and asked as appropriate at the time of interview depending on the answers given by the participants. The predetermined questions posed in the interview consisted firstly of introductory questions, which were used for the purpose of gathering bibliographic information. Some of the other predisposed questions comprised questions relating to eliciting information about the socio domestic life of the participants, so that the influence on participants from supporters and non supporters can be understood. Questions relating to a participant's experience of working in gender diverse groups were also included so that a participant's belief system and the factors which construct and affect the belief system could be defined. The questions were directed towards both difficult and less difficult experiences, in order to further probe the participant's stories and to extract any inner and/or hidden feelings. Predetermined questions regarding a participant's awareness of his/her own gender rights were also asked as part of the interview design. Finally, questions about a participant's thoughts or suggestions on the key issue addressed in the study were also made part of the interview design. (See Appendix 1).

Silverman (1993, p 19) mentions that "we are part of interview society". Wengraf (2001) further elaborates on this idea by describing that knowledge of the social world requires a detailed understanding of the world through the eyes of the social actors themselves. On this topic, Kvale (1995) suggests that the qualitative research interview seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the world of the subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say. Oakley (1881, p 41) opines that "Interviewing is rather like a marriage; everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed door there is a world of secrets which can be known and understood by developing a rapport with the interview participants".

In the researcher's view, the rapport of the researcher with the male participants developed comparatively quicker than with the female participants, possibly due to the researcher's greater familiarity with the male subjects, or as a result of a culturally inherent level of comfort brought about by interaction with the people of same gender. However, the minimum required level of rapport to bring about candid responses in female participants was also established.

The semi structure nature of the interviews did help to 'break the ice' with participants and assisted the researcher in achieving the necessary level of rapport. The issues of the interaction between female participants and a male researcher undertaking gender research, and the ways in which such interaction can be capitalised in order to produce data are discussed below.

4.4.1.1 Gender Congruence

A considerable amount of work has been undertaken on interpersonal dynamics in the context of the role of gender dynamics in the mediation of the interviewer-interviewee relationship when women are being interviewed (e.g. Devault, 1990; Oakley, 1981). Gender congruence has been argued to be both a valuable resource and a limiting factor; it may allow forms of reciprocity but may also encourage the enactment of idealised cultural notions of 'manliness' (Schwalbe & Wolkomir, 2001). Although there is little existing literature which properly addresses such issues (see an exception, Pini, 2005), it is clear that the environment in which interviews are conducted, and indeed, the age and sexual orientation of the interviewer, may also have a strong influence on the emergent narrative forms (Manderson et al., 2006).

Literature on the idea of women interviewing other women in the qualitative interview is extensive. It has, at times, been argued that female interviewers are more able (than men) to access the 'real' experience of other women in an interview situation (e.g. Hamberg & Johansson, 1999). Reinhartz & Chase, (2001) argue that self disclosure is an ethical imperative within the interview, and disclosures made by female interviewers regarding their own gender identity are viewed as critical in establishing rapport with female interviewees. Given the history of women being subject to men's pursuit of knowledge within the researcher/ researched dynamics, the idea of men interviewing women is not necessarily a straight forward process.

However, contemporary feminist researchers have critiqued such a simplistic notion of gender congruence as being prima facie good (e.g. Oakley, 1998, 1999). The notion of qualitative methodologies, such as in-depth interviewing, as 'empowering' is also now viewed with considerable scepticism (e.g. Bowes, 1996). It is increasingly recognised that other social attributes also mediate and affect interpersonal dynamics (Edwards, 1993) and thus, data production. For example, the age, ethnicity and social status of women being interviewed have been shown to be influential factors in the power relations between women in the interview setting (Cotterill, 1992; Reinharz & Chase; 2001). William & Heikes, (1993); Hand & Lewis, (2002); Lohan, (2000) believe that, in the context of men interviewing women, there are many subject areas and contexts where women are equally as or even more comfortable speaking with a male interviewer than a female interviewer. Hand (2002, p.223) suggests that 'women taking part in his research perceived men to be naturally more interested in the personal and emotional which made it easier and more acceptable to discuss personal matters with male interviewer".

Developing an interview rapport with female participants living in a patriarchal and extremist culture appears challenging in the context of this study. However, it is important to understand that female academics working in Universities in such cultures have already successfully overcome the significant challenge of family resistance to employment. Therefore, interacting with a male interviewee may comparatively be a smaller challenge for such participants. Despite the arguments given by various researchers (Cotterill, 1992; Reinharz & Chase; 200, William & Heikes 1993, Hand & Lewis 2002, Lohan 2000) in favour of men interviewing women equally well as women interview women (discussed earlier, p 74), the researcher acknowledge that the power dynamics embedded in Pukhtun culture (see Moghdham 1992, Critelli 2010) may hinder the researcher to make women participants, at some occasions, sufficiently expressive to the interview questions. This may bring a potential limitation to the study. However, this study may also demonstrates an understanding of the work done on methodological issues in the context of the role of gender dynamics in the mediation of interviewer-interviewee relationships when women are being interviewed by male researchers in the context of patriarchal and extreme cultures of segregation.

Aside from using interviews to collect data, the other principal method used by the researcher to help gain an insight into group dynamics and gender thinking and behaviour in academic work groups was observation.

4.4.2 Observation

In order to gain a better understanding of the factors influencing gender thinking and behaviour and the performance of individuals, gender diverse academic work groups engaged in intergroup dialogue during formal and informal meetings were observed. Flick (2006) defines *observation* as a method of going into the field and observing people in their natural setting. Observation may be *participant* observation, whereby the researcher takes part in the activities of the subjects, or *non-participant* observation, whereby the researcher simply observes what takes place without taking part. In this study, non participant overt observation is chosen, whereby the participants know about the presence and purpose of the observer because, as Nason and Golding (1998, p 418) argue, "the idea of the completely unobtrusive observer, whilst seemingly attractive, hardly ever takes place because of the ethical concerns". In addition to consideration of these theories, the idea of using participant observation in this study is avoided because of practical and culturally sensitive considerations.

The observation of meetings at each department of the university and college was carried out after the interviews, (see interview/observation schedule in Appendix 9) in order to enable the researcher to compare the interview responses with the observation findings and to reach to the findings. This also helped in determining any influences caused by the researcher's interaction in interview with the participants, as the ensuing conduct of those interview participants amongst all the participants of the meetings was specifically observed and analysed.

Miles and Matthew (1994) highlight that observation enables the researcher to get close to the experiences of the social actors and their interpretation of reality. It gives the researcher access to situations as they occur, as opposed to relying on recollection of events. The researcher can give accounts based on subjects/participants' own language.

The advantages of using this method of data collection are accompanied by some limitations which should be borne in mind by the researcher and carefully handled. Flick (1998) suggests that, by using observation, the researcher may be influenced by the research context, or the researcher may him/herself influence the research context.

Careful consideration must be given to some practical steps to be taken regarding the recording of data, collection of field notes and the researcher's involvement with participants. In order to avoid any such adverse influences, the practical step taken by the researcher in this study was to reassure participants about ethical considerations like anonymity of the participant's identity and to carefully explain and clarify the purpose of research. This helped to ensure that all of the observation sessions were carried out in uninfluenced and natural settings.

Moreover, as an academic in one of the Universities in KPK and a citizen of the prevailing culture, it was much easier for the researcher to grasp the complexities of the intentions, beliefs and desires at play, and to understand the institutional and social context of gender diverse academic work groups during non participant observation in nine meetings in total (details mentioned in the section below). Despite an emancipatory interest and potential ability to bring about change during participant observation, this was specifically avoided by the researcher, as the researcher believed that the best use of the research process under the current circumstances would be to impart the study findings to the stakeholders to allow them to take any further action for change.

4.5 Participant Selection

The Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan recognises 128 Universities in the country, of which 22 universities are located in the KPK province. Of the 22 universities in KPK, only five universities are 'general universities', offering degrees in multidisciplinary areas. The remaining 17 universities have been established to offer degrees in specific fields like medicine, engineering, agriculture, information technology, management sciences and others. It should be noted that many of these universities now also offer degrees in fields other than the key disciplines for which

they were originally established. Overall, it can be said that the universities in KPK represent faculties and academics in diverse disciplines and fields.

Three among the twenty two universities of KPK are seen as the largest and best established public sector universities in the province (HEC, 2011). The three universities are located in the three biggest cities of the province - the University of Peshawar at Peshawar, the Gomal University Dera Ismail Khan at Dera Ismail Khan, and the University of Hazara at Abbotabad. These universities were selected for this study, as all major academic activities of higher education prevail in these universities, and the academics working in these universities largely represent the academic community of the whole province.

Statistical information gathered by the Higher Education Commission Pakistan (2009) shows that the orientation of men and women towards different disciplines is no different in Pakistan than in other similar countries (India, Bangladesh, Malaysia and China). Male academics are found more in the faculties of physical sciences, agriculture, engineering and science and technology, whereas female academics are principally concentrated in the faculties of biosciences, arts, literature and humanities. A more equal gender balance can be seen in disciplines such as medical sciences, education and management sciences.

As a result of this more equal balance, within each city academics from the disciplines of medical science, education and management science were approached for individual interviews. Academics from disciplines of education and medical science were approached in their respective faculties at the universities. Academics from the discipline of medical science were approached in the public sector medical college in each city. A purposive sampling process was used to select the sample so as to analytically and theoretically examine the research question. Thirty six interviews in total, comprising eighteen male and eighteen female academics were conducted to ensure a balance of representation from both sexes. Academics from the same official cadre i.e. Assistant Professors, were approached for individual interviews. The eligibility criteria set by HEC for the mentioned cadre indicates that academics from this cadre hold an experience of five to ten years (Job Specs- HEC, 2011) and the personal observation/experience of the researcher

suggests that academics from this cadre are more frequently engaged in departmental group activities.

The formal groups (Board of Studies and Academic Council/ Departmental meetings) formed in the faculties normally consist of representation from all levels of academia, i.e. from Professor to Lecturer. Therefore, for non-participant observation, these group meetings were observed. Nine meetings were selected and accessed for non-participant observation. In each of the three cities, two meetings were observed within the university setting, and one meeting observed at the medical college.. Table 4.1 below further elaborates on the design for data collection.

Table 4. 1   Participants Selection

City	University/Medical College	Subject Areas/Disciplines	Interviews	Observations
Peshawar	University of Peshawar	Mgmt Science & Education	04 Men & 04 Women	02
	Khyber Medical College	Medical Science	02 Men & 02 Women	01
Dera Ismail Khan	Gomal University	Mgmt Science & Education	04 Men & 04 Women	02
	Gomal Medical College	Medical Science	02 Men & 02 Women	01
Hazara/Abbotabad	Hazara University	Mgmt Science & Education	04 Men & 04 Women	02
	Ayub Medical College	Medical Science	02 Men & 02 Women	01
Total			36	09

4.6   A Research Tale

This section describes the researcher's experience of negotiating access, entrance into the field in universities at three major regional cities of the province and the

overall conduct of the researcher and participants. Sparkes (2002) suggests that the tale of field work takes the reader behind the scenes and enables them to capture the experience of researcher as lived in the field. Patton (2002) argues that such field work narratives enable the researcher to deliver the challenging aspects and nature of the research to the reader. However, the purpose of describing the fieldwork account here is not only to convey the challenges faced by the researcher during field work, but also to communicate those competencies required by the researcher in order to gather high quality qualitative data.

4.6.1 Negotiating Access

Davers and Frankel (2000) suggest that a researcher can increase the likelihood of identifying precisely relevant sites and subjects (organizations, groups and individuals) in the research once an initial sampling frame is developed. The purposive sampling employed in this study provided the framework by which to identify the sites and individual participants for data collection. The researcher's own social network and familiarity with the sites of the research helped the researcher to save a considerable amount of time in securing the required access to the participants for this research. 'Gate keepers' (e.g. vice chancellors and heads of departments/institutes/colleges) were approached either directly by the researcher or through more senior members of the researcher's own parent university.

Formal permission was secured via a letter sent to the Vice Chancellors of all three universities and to the Principals of the Medical Colleges (See Appendix 5). The letter sent was detailed, and sought to address all of the concerns voiced by gate keepers, such as the potential drain on time and resources, and the potential disruption caused during the process of data collection. The letter also highlighted the potential improvements which each learning organisation involved in the study could see as a result of the research project. Issues of confidentiality, privacy and risk to the individual participants were also adequately addressed in the letter. Approval of the applications for data collection was granted within more or less the same time period in each of the universities and medical colleges in the three different regional cities of KPK.

Approval to proceed with data collection led to the researcher holding a discussion with the focal person assigned by the vice chancellors and principals of each university and college. The discussion with all the focal personnel assisted the researcher in setting the time table for interviews and meeting observation sessions. It also enabled the researcher to sort out the practicalities of accommodation at each of the universities.

The data was collected in three phases of fieldwork. A separate phase was initially dedicated to each regional city of the province. However, in order to accommodate changes requested by a few participants, phases of data collections overlapped for some interviews and observation sessions.

A full description of all the details pertaining entry to the field is given in the appendices to this research (See Appendix 10). In those appendices, the reader is furnished with all relevant information regarding the approach adopted for entrance to each department in all the phases of fieldwork.

In order to further explore the research methods utilised, the conduct of the researcher during the fieldwork phase is presented below.

4.6.2 Conduct in the Field

Throughout the field work process, the researcher remained in formal dress in order to fit into the official environment of the offices and departments visited for the study. The acceptance level of the gate keepers, focal persons and participants remained well. One possible reason for this level of acceptance of the researcher is that the researcher went into the process of fieldwork as a research student from a foreign university. Most of the participants warmly welcomed the researcher and cooperated. Participants regularly asked for guidance in relation to securing admission to foreign universities for PhD programmes. Participants were also keen to know about the research culture and environment of universities located abroad. The researcher's prior experience and awareness of the cultural norms also helped the researcher to adjust with the participants, which further helped to set smooth discussion during the interviews.

It remained handy for the researcher to catch the interest of the participants, as most of the academics were themselves engaged in research projects, many of them using quantitative methods. The researcher was therefore, regularly asked questions about qualitative methods with a particular focus on how data would be analysed after the semi structured interviews. Such discussions took place with the participants in informal settings (i.e. cafeterias and recreational rooms) .

However, in all interviews and observation sessions a formal approach was adopted. The researcher handed over to the participant an information sheet, giving an adequate chance for participants to ask any questions before the commencement of data collection (See Appendices 2 and 3). At all times, signatures on the consent forms were acquired (See Appendix 4).

The researcher tried to remain careful to the participants concerns throughout the study, including addressing concerns about confidentiality of a participant's identity and opinions, the use of a recording device and explaining and reaffirming the short and long term advantages of the study (See Appendices 2 and 3).

In almost all interviews, the researcher tried develop a rapport for positive communication during the phase of introductory questions, which subsequently helped the researcher in gaining the requisite information in the later sections of the interview. On the whole, the participants paid attention and gave the researcher opportunities to ask reflective questions to better probe various aspects of their stories. Notes on paper were also taken along with using the recording device. Those notes and the recorded information were later compared so as to ensure that all the responses were correctly included in the transcripts.

During the observation sessions the participants were welcoming but curious as to the researcher's presence at the meeting. A comprehensive explanation for the researcher's presence and the primary goals of the research reassured participants that the researcher was not there to give feedback on appraisals, but was a research student and was there to collect data for research purposes only. Overall, relations with the participants in the non-participant observation sessions remained useful, as data was smoothly collected during the sessions. The researcher was permitted to record a few meeting sessions, while for the remainder of the meetings written notes

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were used as recording tools. The researcher tried to remain vigilant during the meetings, which helped the researcher to record non-verbal events as well as the verbal conversations of the participants. It was noted that many of the participants kept their eyes on the researcher during the meetings, showing a consciousness of the researcher presence. However, by and large, the disclosures made to the participants about the reasons for the researcher's presence ensured the meetings took place in a data naturalistic environment so far as possible.

The researcher's rapport with the participants remained helpful throughout the field work process. Any feelings of insecurity arising from the terror threat which has prevailed in the area for a long time, and/or from the researcher's engagement with a sensitive issue diminished in line with the researcher's growing familiarity with the participants. On the whole, the encounter with participants and other stakeholders remained pleasant.

4.7   Summary

The description above sets out the research design employed for this study which enables the reader to understand the researcher's approach to the process of data collection for the research.

This chapter describes the legitimacy of using an inductive approach to understand the effects of cultural assumptions, values and norms on individual behaviour in workgroups. The chapter outlines the logic of using a qualitative approach to probe for such subjective phenomenon. It highlights the use of both interview and observation to help achieve the hallmark of triangulation in the research process, along with other attributes for enhancing the validity of the study. In order to highlight the researcher's adherence to ethical dimensions during the study, the procedures adopted to gain entrance to and to remain in the field are also described, from negotiating access to subsequently gaining access, and the conduct of the researcher in the field.

The following chapter aims to provide a comprehensive exposition of the approach used for interpreting the data obtained for this study. It details the process used and techniques employed to conduct an analysis of the large scale qualitative material obtained. The purpose of the following chapter is to promote a greater level of

understanding in the reader, and to further endorse the transparency and trustworthiness of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: INTERPRETING APPROACH

5.0   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to put forward a broad explanation of the approach used for the interpretation of the data obtained for this study. The chapter details the whole process and techniques employed to conduct the analysis of the large scale qualitative material obtained. The intention is to further the understanding of the reader and to endorse the transparency and trustworthiness of this study.   As Larossa (2005: p 840) states, "outlining ones coding operation for analysis as clearly as possible is a sine qua non". The overall journey of the whole process, including a discussion of the choice of method utilised for analysis and coding data are discussed in this part of the thesis.

5.1   Choice of Methods for Analysis

The process began with an extensive period of reading various articles and books regarding the analysis and interpretation of qualitative data, although it should be noted that the researcher already had a basic knowledge of qualitative analysis prior to the field work. The works of Bryman and Burgess (1994), Denzin (1994), Marshall and Rossman (1999), Stirling (2001), Silverman (1993), Strauss and Cobin (1998) and Shannon (2005) suggest that if meaningful results are to be acquired from qualitative research then it is imperative that the qualitative data is analysed in a methodological manner.   Strauss and Corbin's (1998, p 98) suggestion that "students should stay within the general guidelines outlined in basic qualitative research and use the procedures and techniques flexibly according to their abilities and the realities of their studies" was found most inspirational to the reader at the stage where analysis was about to begin.

The search for a suitable methodological process of analysis for this study started with scanning through literature relating to different methods of qualitative analysis. This review established that the most popular methods for analyzing qualitative data in business and social sciences are discourse analysis, content analysis, narrative analysis and constant comparison method for analysis.

Further consideration of these different techniques revealed that the constant comparison method of analysis was the most relevant for the study as the data was collected in three phases. Boeije (2002) suggests that constant comparison is an interplay between researcher and data which enables the researcher to probe better for the data after comparison at each step. In this study using the constant comparison technique at each distinct phase provided further guidance for collecting data in the next phase.

At each stage of the data collection process, at each department within the same university, analysis of the data collected at every stage enabled the researcher to engage better with participants at subsequent departments. The engagement became easier in terms of initiating discussion, and also enabled the researcher to add some further pertinent questions during those subsequent interviews.

Marshall (1996) suggests that purposive sampling allows the researcher to study a broad range of subjects. The broad range of subjects in this study includes participants with both liberal and conservative family backgrounds. The purposive sampling employed in this study allowed the researcher to use a comparison process to select participants for subsequent interviews. This can be further elaborated with the help of the following example:

After interviewing three female participants in first phase of the study, the researcher realized that the gate keeper (head of department) was allowing the interviewer to interact only with those female participants who either came from a liberal background or who were being positively supported by family members in terms of their employment. The researcher identified that this selection of participants may have arisen as a result of the gate keeper perhaps anticipating a better response from these participants). However, the research design of the study demanded that the researcher gained the perspective of female participants from a wide variety of backgrounds (both liberal and conservative family backgrounds). Hence, the researcher requested of subsequent gate keeper exposure to females belonging to both conservative and moderate family backgrounds. To some extent, this enhanced visualizing the perspective from dependent women academics (on family members) as well as independent female academics.

After several interviews, comparing answers to one of the particular questions posed in the initial phase motivated the researcher to try and probe the participant in a slightly different dimension too. The question asked was 'What attracted you to make this career choice?' When compared, responses to this question revealed that the female participants commonly cited expectations of flexible hours and less interaction with men. They also revealed that their choice of profession was largely based on expectations or consideration of others, i.e., they were influenced by consideration of what might constitute a suitable environment in the eyes of their family members and social network.

For instance, when asked this question, one of the female participants said, *"My father didn't find banking suitable for me because of the working hours and public interaction so the second choice for me was to become a teacher".* **(Interview, P.MS.SK, 14-06-2010).**

Another female participant said: *"I came to the academic community for the reason that it is considered a much relaxed profession as compared to the clinical side by my husband. He says that I have a family to manage so on the clinical side I will not be able to do that".* **(Interview, D.GMC.NN, 24-05-2010).**

Such statements from the participants suggest that female academics with Masters degrees in Business Administration (MBA) preferred to leave the banking and industrial sectors in order to follow academic professions, with expectations of benefiting from more flexible hours and less public interaction. Similarly, academics with degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery (MBBS) preferred to leave clinical practice to join the academic side of medicine, i.e., within medical colleges, with similar expectations of flexibility in working hours and a lower degree of public interaction. These expectations were commonly found to originate from family pressures in relation to household responsibilities and a desire to interaction les with males, as promoted by family members. The similarity of the responses given in early interviews motivated the researcher to further probe into family influences on participants' participation in mixed gender groups. Hence, additional questions were posed to elicit information on this particular topic.

The comparison occurred unsystematically in the beginning but, as the analysis continued, the comparison became more systematic. Categories began to emerge,

and responses were carefully compared and placed in appropriate categories. The in-depth and more systematic process of analysis started with the process of coding, which is described below.

5.2 The Coding Process

Larossa (2005 p. 840) states that "researchers often encounter difficulties when they start to code their material. Undoubtedly, they want to know the precise steps to follow. It turns out, however, that the coding procedure differs, depending on researcher's choice".

The coding process selected for this study was divided into the three phases identified by Strauss (1987), and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998), namely *open coding, axial coding* and *selective coding*. The researcher selected this method as the phases identified by those authors have become the most widely accepted phases in qualitative research (Larossa, 2005). Strauss (1987) also suggests that the three phases of coding are most productive in the grounded theory method. The phases are further discussed below.

The operational ability of computer software like ATLAS and NVivo for organising data remained an attractive option for the researcher, given that the data from the study was large scale data comprising of thirty six interviews and nine non participant observation meetings. However, a simple Microsoft Office Word program for data organisation was utilised as the researcher was not trained to use NVivo and ATLAS at the beginning of the analysis phase. Later on, the training for NVivo was undertaken, but the researcher took the decision not to repeat the analysis with the NVivo software, as the researcher felt that much of the laborious work of data organisation had already been done using the simpler software. Having commenced the analysis using the Word program, the researcher elected to continue on with this program, even after undergoing the requisite training for NVivo. However, the researcher would aim to use NVivo in any type of qualitative research in future.

The coding scheme employed in this study is discussed below which gives the reader an idea as to the significant effort made by the researcher in interpreting and analysing the data.

5.2.1 Open Coding

The first part of interpretation analysis started with a careful reading of the transcripts. The purpose of the reading was to thoroughly examine the data and identify segments in texts that are comprehensible by its self and contain one idea or pieces of information of information different from one another. This exercise was repeated twice, and resulted in a large number of notes being made i the margins of the transcripts themselves. The marginal notes were then given appropriate initial codes. Glaser (1978, p 56) named the initial codes as open codes and characterised open coding as "running the data open". Words, phrases and the meaning of the statements became the basis upon which the narratives within open codes were grouped.

At this stage, for the convenience of the researcher, each interview transcript was given a coded title, for example, Interview, P.MS.JK. 03-08-2010. This can be interpreted as follows:-

- P- interview was conducted at the University of Peshawar
- MS - the interview was conducted at the Management Science Department
- JK - the interview was taken from Jehanzeb Khan (participant's name)
- 03-08-2010 - the date on which the interview was taken.

The responses of all the participants to each individual question were placed together beneath the question itself in MS Word. This helped the researcher to bring together in one place all the related narratives and answers to each question.

The coding process can be further elaborated upon with the help of citing a few examples of open codes from interview transcripts and transcripts of observation sessions.

Examples of Open Codes from Interview Transcripts

The interview transcripts comprised of over twenty seven questions covering almost all the relevant aspects of the study. Since the format of the interview was semi-structured, some of the issues were scattered throughout the transcript of each interview, with certain questions being posed at different times in different interviews. The resulting transcripts were carefully read in order to identify and collate narratives

and responses on similar issues. During this thorough examination of the interview transcripts, the researcher came across narratives such as:

"I meet with my female colleagues in the formal setting only, I mean faculty meetings or in some other committees. See if I will meet them in informal setting, I mean in coffee shop or in the gallery, I am sure it is going to harm their reputation." (Interview, H.AMC.MH, 04-08-2010)

And:

"Two of my cousins are in this university, one of them is even my colleague but I still can't openly meet him as you know I don't want to become gossip for people" (Interview, H.MS.MNK 01-07-2010).

These two statements both indicate towards the participant's perception of safeguarding their reputation by interacting less with men. As such, these statements were highlighted and labelled with the code name 'honour and reputation'. The concept of 'honour and reputation' was further defined considering the contextual meaning in which the narrative was provided by the participants and was then also defined as 'character image of academics'. Throughout the interview transcripts, all the statements which were identified as being relevant to this definition were thus labelled with the open code of 'honour and reputation'.

A similar technique was employed when the researcher came across statements like this (emphasis added by the researcher):

"I was very good in the subject of Mathematics; I wanted to become an Engineer but my father said that this field is saturated with men so it is not for you". (P.MS.SG, 12-06-2010)

And:

"My father was the first one in the village who sent my sisters to higher secondary school which was having coeducation as there were very few non coeducation schools in those days. All my uncles and other relatives resisted and were against my father for this". (Interview, P.MS.QB. 04-08-2010)

And:

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"I talk to my male colleagues only when it is very important, I don't want my husband to hear stories and ask me to leave the job". (Interview, D.ED.SH, 18-05-2010)

In reviewing the transcripts, the researcher noticed these statements indicated towards the concepts of 'family influence' and 'control by men'. The researcher identified that the latter concept was much more relevant than the former, as the references made to fathers and husband carrying a significant decision making status in the lives of these participants was felt to relate more closely to male control than family influence in general. Such comments highlighted the dominant role of men in the academics' lives. As the Social Science Dictionary (2011) describes patriarchy as 'conditions of men's superiority over women', so these statements were highlighted and coded with the label of 'Patriarchy' and were defined as 'authority of men over women'. The responses in all interview transcripts which identified any level of relevance to this definition were thus labelled with the same open code of 'patriarchy'. The concept of 'family influence' also became one of the codes employed by the researcher, but was only used for those statements where both male and female members of the family were indicated by the participant to have exerted an influence over the academic's professional life.

This code was used for statements such as:

"My mother thought that if I am not married in next two years then I will find no one to get married, she insisted that I should not leave for MPhil before marriage". (Interview, D.ED.SB, 23-05-2010)

And:

"My father in law and mother in law are old, I have to stay back and ask for leave when they are not feeling well". (Interview, P.KMC, ST, 05-08-2010).

The formation of broader categories at later stages further resulted in the integration of similar concepts like 'patriarchy' and 'family influence'. This is further explained later in this section.

Examples of Open Codes from Observation Transcripts

The academics' participation roles were also identified from transcripts of the observation sessions taken from the researcher's recording device, and from field notes which were taken by the researcher during the observation sessions. The field notes included observations made by the researcher in relation to the seating arrangement, the outlooks of the academics and their eye contact with each other. Along with the use of the simple reading and highlighting technique as described above, the narrative of the transcripts and the field notes were also interpreted in terms of the participation role of the academics during the meetings.

For this technique, the idea proposed by Clinton (2001) about participation roles in groups (Table 7.1) was utilised. Belbin (2004) also suggests nine *team roles* which also accords with Clinton's proposals. For instance, Clinton identifies the member who proposes new ideas as the *initiator*, whereas Belbin identifies the same individual as the *planter*. The member who concludes the group work is the *completer* or *finisher* according to Belbin, and for Clinton, the *summarizer*. The only discernible practical difference for researcher between Clinton and Belbin's suggestions is that Belbin focuses on defining the role of teams engaged in activities rather than in group discussion, whereas the roles defined by Clinton are more oriented towards and relevant to formal group discussions. Therefore, the researcher felt that Clinton's proposals better suited the phenomenon investigated in this particular study. The participation roles were identified from the interview transcripts, non-participant meeting observation transcripts and field notes, and then related to the open codes on the basis of contextual meaning.

For instance, within the meeting transcripts, the researcher came across statements from male participants responding to suggestions made by female participants such as:

"Why should we not learn from the last year's experience, why invent the wheel again? (Meeting.H.MS.BS, 06-08-2010).

 And:

"I think we have sufficiently discussed about this, let's move on to the next point" (Meeting. P.ED.MK. 07-06-2010)

In the light of Clinton's description of the different participation roles asumed in groups, these statements were regarded by the researcher as representing 'blockers', which Clinton defined as 'disagreeing or resisting beyond reasonable objection'. Both of these statements were made by male participants in response to suggestions made by female members of the group. In both cases, the researcher identified a resistance beyond reasonable objection. All of these points demonstrate the statements' relevance to the concept of 'patriarchy'. Therefore, these statements were highlighted and grouped beneath the open code of 'patriarchy'. It is important to mention here that these statements were identified in the transcripts of observation and field notes and they were therefore also placed under the open code of 'acceptance in meetings' which was later integrated into the selective code of 'interactional issue' (further explained later in this section where the connection of selective codes is elaborated).

The interpretation like *'At all the meetings it was observed that men initiated new ideas and provided information on key issues whereas women were observed to seek information on issues and were found to follow the discussion without bringing new ideas into brainstorming on issues in the meetings'* is acquired from such observations mentioned in the transcripts as follows:

A senior faculty member (Man) suggested that it may be ensured that equal distribution is done as this involves financial benefit for the faculty members so that no one is deprived of earning some money other than fixed salary. **(Meeting Observation Transcript, D.ED. 29-05-2010).**

And:

A male faculty member suggested that a lottery system may be used to distribute the students as last year many teachers were upset about the unfair distribution and they thought that brilliant students have been chosen by the senior faculty members where as comparatively weak students have been assigned to junior teachers. **(Meeting Observation Transcript, D.ED. 29-05-2010).**

And:

A female faculty member (without putting on veil) enquired about the formation of committees and asked the Coordinator that when and upon what basis the committees will be formed and will there be any remuneration for the organisers who will work in committees. (Meeting Observation P.UOP.MS, 16-08-2010).

These observations lead to the researcher identifying men as 'initiators' and 'information givers' and women as 'information seekers' in terms of Clinton's definition of participation roles. These statements were thus placed in the open codes of 'individual and group performance' as these observations indicated the participation performance of academics in group discussions. This pattern of identification, comparison and resemblance was followed in developing and integrating codes from the transcripts of meeting observations and field notes.

The data collected through semi-structured interviews covered many other issues relevant to the aims and objectives of the study which resulted in the formation of forty nine open codes initially. This later increased to fifty and then, after reading and rereading the transcripts, the researcher ultimately determined fifty three open codes in total. These fifty three codes were then used to form summaries of all the interview transcripts. Each code was made into a heading and all the relevant narratives were placed under each heading in a summarized form. The aim of the summaries was to identify and select descriptions of the relevant and pertinent narratives only from the lengthy interview transcripts. The summaries assisted the researcher in commencing another phase of coding, *axial coding,* which is discussed below.

5.2.2 Axial Coding

The second step of analysis for this study involved the researcher reading and rereading the summaries of interviews with an emphasis on comparing the meaning of open codes with each other. Corbin and Strauss (1998) suggest that 'the aim of the axial coding process is discovering how categories relate to subcategories in terms of their properties, dimensions and incidents'. So, at this stage of interpretation, the initial plan of the researcher was to compare and identify open codes with similar meanings, and to gather them together and label them with a code that captures the substance of the topic and identifies the cluster of open codes.

For instance the open codes like 'religious beliefs', which is defined as 'belief of academics regarding religious teaching about female interaction with men at work place', and 'religious interpretation', which is defined as 'interpretation of religion that affects women independence at work place' (see appendix 11), were compared and found to be similar, as the substance of both these codes mean 'the way religion influences female participation in a gender diverse environment'. Therefore, both these open codes were integrated to form an axial code of 'Religious Influence'. The purpose was to shorten the list of codes without overlooking any relevant concepts.

According to Strauss (1987), axial coding consists of 'intense analysis done around one category with special attention to context, conditions and consequences of paradigm items'. Hence why, at this stage of the research project, the codes were further closely examined using more critical reasoning and comparisons with emphasis on the context and conditions. This enabled the researcher to formulate broader codes, covering the axis of all the relevant sub codes (open codes).

This process can be better demonstrated using the example given above in relation to open coding, i.e. 'honour and reputation' and 'patriarchy'. The code of 'honour and reputation' was defined as 'character image of academics'. The participants used words relating to 'honour and respect' in terms of the theme of safeguarding women's honour and respect, which participants suggested might be harmed with frequent interaction with men. The context in which these statements were made suggested that women are considered as repositories for the honour of those people related to them and working/living around them (see context chapter), as a result of which frequent interaction with men is avoided and limited to only formal settings.

On the other hand, the open code of 'patriarchy' is attached to several narratives and is defined as 'authority of men over women'. The context suggests that, in most cases, men are seen to influence women's decisions in their personal and professional lives (see chapter on Literature Review).

If both these open codes i.e. 'honour and reputation' and 'patriarchy' are regarded holistically, keeping the context into consideration, it can be said that females are considered to be the repository of honour and reputation and, in almost all cases, women are accountable to men for losing their honour and negatively affect their

reputation by interacting with men (other than family). Therefore, it can be seen that there exists a sort of control system whereby men prevail over women in the name of honour and respect. If, as per Strauss, 'special attention to context is given', then it can be identified that, in most cases, men influence women's decisions in terms of limiting their mobility for the sake of honour and reputation. Thus, it was recognized that patriarchy is principally exercised for the sake of honour and reputation of men associated with women. Consequently, the open code of 'honour and reputation' was integrated into 'patriarchy', which was subsequently listed as an axial code.

This process resulted in the formation of twenty axial codes. Following the process of formulating axial codes, those codes were subsequently compared and integrated, resulting in the formulation of selective codes. This process is described in the discussion below.

5.2.3 Selective Coding

The aim of the researcher at this stage of the data analysis was to come up with a main story that would be understandable, lucid and reasonably accurate. Strauss and Corbin (1998, p 148) defined selective coding as explication of "the story line". Larossa (2005) also cited Strauss and Corbin, suggesting that selective code has analytic power because of its ability to pull together the other categories to form an explanatory whole. In this way, the axial codes were further compared and integrated on the basis of contextual similarities and differences. The idea was to develop a story line around which everything in the study could be draped.

Picking up on the same set of codes which the author used above to explain the identification of open and axial codes, the process of final integration can be better understood. For example, the axial codes of 'patriarchy' and 'family influence' were not integrated during the second stage of coding. The reason for this was that the code of 'patriarchy' was used to represent all those narratives from the transcripts which showed 'men's authority over women' or 'male domination or influence', whereas 'family influence' was used to represent all those narratives in which family was identified as influential for both men and women in their professional lives. Although the context and the transcripts revealed that on most occasions the family influence came from men,, it was not always directed towards female academics only, as such influence was also identified to have an effects on male academics.

'Patriarchy', on the other hand, was found to be directed towards women only. Due to this difference, these two codes were not integrated by the researcher at the second stage of coding. However, these two codes (along with several others) were subsequently integrated to form a selective code of 'cultural issues'.

Culture can be described as inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge shared by a group of people with common traditions, which are transmitted and reinforced by members of that group. The researcher identified that 'patriarchy' and family influence' can both be said to be attributes of culture and, therefore, these codes (along with other axial codes) were integrated to form the selective/core code of 'cultural issues'. The contextual definition of all the open and axial codes (see table in Appendix 11) which were ultimately integrated into the core code of 'cultural issues' also reveal that these codes are directly or indirectly associated with the cultural aspects of the studied universities. Therefore, these identified codes can be regarded as issues pertaining to culture.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the interviews conducted for this research were all semi-structured to cover all the relevant aspects of the study. Therefore, the data emerged into another selective code of 'interactional issues' as well.

Here again, the contextual definition and integration of open and axial codes legitimated the formation of this core/selective code. For instance, the open codes of 'difficult experiences' and 'communication gap' were integrated into the axial code of 'communication problems'. The open code of 'difficult experiences' is defined as 'difficult experiences of interpersonal dialogue in group meetings with members of opposite gender', and contextually the 'communication gap' is defined as 'a communication gap between men and women academics due to cultural limitations' (the word cultural limitation used in the definition is not placed beneath the selective code of cultural issues as 'communication gap in the study itself was not found a cultural issue instead it was found as an interactional issue and an outcome of cultural issue). The definitions of both codes were identified as relating to communication problems and, as such, the two codes (difficult experiences and communication gap) were integrated in the axial code of 'communication problems'. This code was ultimately integrated with other axial codes into a selective code of 'interactional issues'. For instance, the axial code of 'acceptance in groups' emerged

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from the open codes of 'outsider', 'respect in groups' and 'wish'. The definitions (see table in Appendix 11) of all these open codes and axial codes all related in some way to 'interactional issues', which can be defined as, 'issues relating to mutual interactions and influencing'.

The deliberate and reflective questions posed during the interviews and the non-participant observations undertaken both generated data which ultimately led to the formulation of the third and final selective code of 'interventions'. This code was labelled 'interventions' in recognition of responses made regarding formal and informal interventions in the region for gender equality. This category also emerged from the integration of several open and axial codes. For instance, the open codes of 'gender equality' and 'equal opportunity' were integrated into the axial code of 'gender equality'. Both these codes were not integrated at the initial stage for the reason that gender equality is defined as 'equal chances of participation to men and women in group discussion endorsed by structural or promotional initiatives', and equal opportunity was defined by the researcher in the light of contextual meaning depicted from participants narratives as 'equal chances of participation for academics (irrespective of gender) endorsed by structural or promotional initiatives '. The former concept was identified to be more closely related to the balance of participation between members of the opposite sex, whereas the latter was more closely related to the balance of participation between members irrespective of their gender. At the second stage of the coding process, these codes were integrated into the axial code of 'gender equality', as both codes could be said to be related with the concept of balance of participation. This axial code was integrated with others (see table in Appendix 11) on the basis of comparison and resemblance, which resulted in the emergence of the selective code of 'interventions'.

Initially the author formulated six selective codes. However, after repeated comparison and integration following a similar process, the researcher ultimately rested on three selective codes around which the story line of interpretation was built. The findings and discussions presented in chapter 7 describe the whole story with the assistance of the three final selective codes.

5.3 Summary

The discussion above provides a detailed account of the process used for interpreting the data gathered through the 36 interviews and 9 non-participant observation sessions. The discussion confirms that the entire process of interpretation of the data was carried out manually by the researcher.

The initial reading of the interview and observation transcripts resulted in the formation of fifty three open codes, on the basis of which the interviews were then investigated and summarized. The interview summaries were carefully read and, via a process of continual comparison and review, twenty axial codes were formed. The similarities and common contextual meaning among the axial codes were finally integrated, resulting in the formation of three selective codes.

It is hoped that the presentation of the process above will enhance the reader's understanding of the analysis process employed in relation to the review of large scale qualitative data.

The next chapter presents the context of the study, and aims to impart to the reader all the relevant factors so that important thematic categories rooted in the context can be understood in a context specific setting.

CHAPTER SIX: CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

6.0   Introduction

This chapter aim to provide the reader with comprehensive description of the context of this study which was conducted in three large universities in the KPK province of Pakistan. The discussion of the context of includes all those factors which the researcher identified as affecting this study in one way or another. The intention of the author is to describe all relevant contextual factors so that important thematic categories embedded in that context can be by the reader in a context specific setting.

In Chapter One of this thesis, a brief introduction of the country's profile has been presented. He writer now provides a detailed description of the North West KPK province of Pakistan so that the reader is able to gain a more complete understanding of the context of this study. This discussion is followed by a general discussion of the university sector in Pakistan. Further information specific to the university sector in the KPK province is also included.

The focus in this section of the thesis is on specific details pertaining to the studied universities. In order to assist the reader in understanding the 'onsite' contextual factors, detailed information about interviews and meetings venues is also given. The rich description of the context aims to confirm the 'trustworthiness' of the research. The idea is to clarify to the reader all of the important (and perhaps 'trifling' factors) that have affected the study in one way or another.

6.1   Khyber Pukhtunkhwa

The Khyber Pukhtunkhwa region is the smallest in size of the four principal provinces of Pakistan, and is popularly known as the homeland of the Pashtuns. Adjoining regions include Afghanistan to the west and north, the Northern Areas to the northeast and Kashmir to the east. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas form a buffer between the KPK and Balochistan regions. Punjab and the Islamabad Capital Territory are to the south and east. The principal language is Pashto and the provincial capital is Peshawar .According to the Directorate of Information,

Government of KPK (2011), the province is spread over 74,721 sq km and has a population of over 22million.

The majority language spoken in KPK is Pashto. Smaller pockets of Hindkowans (Hindko speaking people), who are often bilingual in Pashto as well, can be found in cities, and there are also Seraiki speakers living in the southeast. The majority of the population speaks Pashto, while Hindko is the predominant language in the Hazara division, and Seraiki is spoken in Dera Ismail Khan. Bilingualism and trilingualism is common, with Pashto and Urdu being the primary other languages spoken.

The snow capped peaks and lush green valleys of unusual beauty in KPK attract tourists and mountaineers from far and wide, while its art and architecture are also key features, none less so than the historic Khyber Pass. Once the cradle of the Gandhara civilization, the area is now known for its devout Muslims who jealously guard their religion and culture and the way of life which they have been following for centuries. The *Pathan* way of life still maintains the age old time tested code of behaviour known as *Pukhtunwali*. Honour, revenge and hospitality are the fundamental principles of Pukhtunwali, while the *jirga* (informal courts) or tribal assembly play an effective role in the resolution of issues according to *riwaj* (traditional practices) or tradition. The Pashtun Cultural Institute (2009) describes that the traditional Pakhtun way of life is the joint family system, which signifies their deep love for the family's solidarity and welfare. The prevalence for communal life emanates from a consideration of economic security and integrity. All the family members, even the married sons, live jointly in a house large enough to separately accommodate each married couple under the authority of the father who, as head of the family, manages the family affairs and exercises an immense influence in his own domain. By and large, people in the province are religious and punctual in offering prayers five times a day. Fastening in the month of Ramadan, *Zakat* (charity for poor), performing the *Haj* (Muslim pilgrimage performed in Saudi Arabia) and the *Jihad* (holy war) are other principals generally followed in the urban areas and more particularly in rural areas of the province.

The Ministry of Information KPK (2011) highlights that the trend towards higher education is rapidly increasing in the province. KPK is home to Pakistan's foremost engineering university (Ghulam Ishaq Khan Institute), which is located in Topi, a

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town in the Swabi district. The University of Peshawar is also a notable institution of higher learning. The University of Gomal in the south and the University of Hazara in the north of the province are other dignified places of higher education in the region. In order to elaborate the relevant context further, a detailed account of the university sector in Pakistan and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa is given below.

6.2   University Sector in Pakistan

Universities in Pakistan are playing a vital role in the overall development of the country. The importance of the universities lies not only in providing people with degrees and thus producing quality human resources for various sectors of the economy, but also in making the youth of the country agents for bringing about socio economic changes in the country.

The importance placed on higher education in Pakistan has differed during different periods, though the pace of overall development has remained slow. In the first decade of the country's independence there were only four universities, increasing to seven in the second decade. The number of universities reached to 22 in the late 80s. Regimes in the last decade of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century contributed a significant amount to the physical expansion of those universities, along with qualitative reforms in the field of higher education generally.

According to the latest (2011) list of statistical information produced by the Higher Education Commission (HEC) there are 128 universities and degree awarding institutions in Pakistan, out of which 72 are recognised as public sector and 56 are recognised as being private sector bodies. The universities are identified by the HEC in terms of their affiliation with either the public sector or the private sector. The public sector universities are owned by the government, whereas universities in the private sector are privately owned by people/private bodies. Whether publicly or privately owned, all universities are liable to follow the guiding principles of the HEC.. The following table shows the distribution of universities between the provinces, as well as the division of universities between the public and private sector.

Table 6. 1   Universities Sector in Pakistan

Charter/Provinces	Public Sector	Private Sector
Chartered by Federal Govt	20	03
Chartered by Govt of Punjab	18	19
Chartered by Govt of Sind	12	22
Chartered by Govt of Khyber PukhtunKhwa	14	09
Chartered by Govt of Baluchistan	06	02
Chartered by Govt of Azad Jammu Kashmir	02	01
Total	72	56

Source: Higher Education Commission Web Site January 2011

The Task Force on Higher Education Report (2002) identified that, of the total enrolment in higher education, 85% is done in those universities which are recognised as being in the public sector. Thus, it can be said that public sector universities are mainly responsible for managing and controlling the higher education of a large proportion of the population (Pakistan Research Repository, 2005).

The universities in Pakistan are also identified either as general universities or as professional universities. The general universities have several academic functions to perform including teaching, research, academic supervision and holding of examinations for affiliated and constituent colleges. Different teaching departments work under different faculties and institutes in the general universities. The professional universities are those which are identified as being specific to certain disciplines; these universities are usually engaged in the supervision of academic affairs of professional and technical colleges (Higher Education Commission, 2010).

In terms of the normal structure of universities in Pakistan, the hierarchy described by the HEC (2010) shows that typically, a Pakistani university is headed by a Chancellor (who is the Governor of the province in the case of a provincial university,

and the President of the country in case of a federal university). It has a Pro-Chancellor (the Minister for Education for the province), Vice Chancellor and Pro-Vice Chancellor. The Vice Chancellor, selected from amongst the senior professors of the university, is appointed by the Chancellor to assist the Chancellor. Other administrative heads are the registrar, the treasurer, the controller of examinations, the resident auditor and the librarian. The structure of the academic faculties and institutes, however, differs. The dean is normally head of the faculty under which the various relevant departments work. The chairperson normally heads the department but, in case of an institute, it is the director who supervises academic affairs. The order in which academics are promoted is normally: Lecturer, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor and Professor consecutively.

The HEC is the guiding and supervising authority for all universities across the country. The HEC itself is an organisation formed from a restructuring of the former University Grants Commission, which was formed in 1974. The commission was originally formed to serve as a buffer between university administration and government bureaucracy, and to coordinate the programmes of the various universities and to develop facilities without any waste or duplication (Akhtar, 2005). The Commission was restructured and established as the HEC in 2002, and was given more resources and independence to enhance the quality of higher education in Pakistan. The HEC has contributed enormously to the development of universities in the country through curriculum development, faculty capacity building and promotion of research. The commission is helping the universities to secure adequate funds from the government for expansion of their physical infrastructures. The HEC is also making an impact on international research in all disciplines (HEC, 2011).

Despite the various efforts made to improve higher education in Pakistan, an overwhelming proportion of the large population of Pakistan still has no access to university education. According to the Economic Survey of Pakistan (2010), the percentage of the population between the ages of18 and 23 who are enrolled in universities is only 4.82%. The enrolment of females in higher education is comparatively lower than males. The Sustainable Development Policy Institute (2007) describes the gender profile in Pakistan and shows that, out of the total number of students enrolled in universities, 56% are male students and 44% are

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female students. According to the latest survey (2009) by Statistical Unit of HEC, the number of male students enrolled in public sector universities and degree awarding institutions is 447,272, whereas the number of females enrolled is 356,233, which show that the difference is almost the same, i.e. 56% males and 44% females.

The last survey carried out by the HEC in 2004 revealed that there were 37,428 academics in total working in the universities of Pakistan. Of this total, 15,616 were female and 21,812 were male academics, equating to 58% male and 42% female (HEC Statistical Information Unit, 2010). The difference between the levels of participation in this field is to some extent encouraging when compared to other industries in which female participation is less than 20% (Word Facts Book, 2009). Shah (2007) views the probable reason for this relatively smaller difference as being more flexible working hours and less public interaction required of women that prevails in the universities. The cultural context explained in the previous chapter which describes issues relating to women's confinement for the protection of a family's honour illustrates the basis for the low number of women working in universities.

In order to further improve the equality in higher education, three female universities have now been established. Two of these three universities are located in Punjab, namely the Lahore College Women University and the Fatima Jinnah University Rawalpindi. The other women's university is located in KPK, the Frontier Women's University Peshawar.

To further elaborate the context, a brief description of the universities sector in KPK is set out below.

6.3   Universities in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa

Khyber Pukhtunkhwa is effectively administered as two units: settled areas and tribal agencies. Education funding for the latter comes from the federal government. A separate education directorate exists for the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The education in settled areas is overseen by the provincial government of the province.

All the universities and degree awarding institutions recognised by the HEC are located in the settled areas of the province. Universities in the public sector are

particularly responsible for providing for students of deprived and troubled areas of the province. Most of the universities have places reserved for students belonging to those tribal areas which are deprived of any decent education institutions. The professional degree awarding institutions and universities have a mechanism of reduced fees and scholarships for these tribal area students.

Overall, the history of higher education in the province has not been very encouraging to date. The earliest college to be established in the province was the Islamia College Peshawar. The first ever university, the University of Peshawar, was established in 1951. After a gap of almost 23 years, the second university was established in 1974; the Gomal University Dera Ismail Khan. Some further degree awarding colleges and institutions were formed in the 80s and 90s , but the province saw the first real change in the early years of the last decade. It was in July 2001 that a Directorate of Higher Education was established by the government of KPK. The directorate worked in liaison with Higher Education Commission to establish many new universities and degree awarding institutions in both the public and private sector. The following table lists the universities in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa recognised by the HEC as being in the public sector.

Table 6. 2   Public Sector Universities in KPK

S/No	Universities/ Degree Awarding Institutions	Locations
1	Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan	Mardan
2	Frontier Women University Peshawar	Peshawar
3	Gomal University Dera Ismail Khan	D.I.Khan
4	Hazara University Abbotabad	Abbotabad
5	Institute of Management Sciences Peshawar	Peshawar
6	Islamia College University Peshawar	Peshawar
7	Khyber Medical University Peshawar	Peshawar
8	Kohat University of Science and Technology	Kohat
9	NWFP University of Agriculture Peshawar	Peshawar
10	NWFP University of Eng & Technology Peshawar	Peshawar
11	Shahid Benazir Bhutoo University, Shringal, Dir	Dir

12	University of Malakand, Chakdara, Malakand	Malakand
13	University of Peshawar	Peshawar
14	University of Science & Technology, Bannu	Bannu

Source: Statistical Information Unit HEC, 2011

Table 6. 3   Private Sector Universities in KPK

S/No	Universities/Degree Awarding Institutions	Location
1	Abasyn University, Peshawar	Peshawar
2	CECOS University of Info Technology &Emerging Sciences	Peshawar
3	City University of Science and Information Technology	Peshawar
4	Gandhara University Peshawar	Peshawar
5	Ghulam Ishaq Institute of Eng Sciences & Technology, Topi	Topi
6	Notheren University Nowshera	Nowshera
7	Preston University Kohat	Kohat
8	Qurtaba University of Science & Technology, D.I.Khan	D.I.Khan
9	Sarhad University of Science and I.T, Peshawar	Peshawar

Source: Statistical Information Unit HEC, 2011

These universities offer degrees of Bachelors, Masters, MPhil and PhD in various disciplines of arts, agriculture, religious studies, social, physical, environmental, information, natural and biological sciences[1]. The universities also have centres of excellence and various research institutes. The universities are located in different districts of the province and have several campuses and dedicated buildings to make access to higher education easier for people. The mission and vision statements of all universities reveal that the principal aim of the campuses is science and its use to uplift the socio economic status of the province and the country as a whole. The universities aim to encourage continuous learning and to shape a tolerant society, in order to promote the rapid development of the country. However, the rise of Islamic radicalization and a recent sway towards Islamic extremism have kept the province lagging behind other provinces in terms of higher education, particularly in relation to the two other main provinces of Pakistan i.e. Punjab and Sind (Ghani 2010).

The number of students enrolled in universities in KPK makes up almost 10% of the total number of students in the country (KPK Bureau of Statistics, 2008). The difference between male and female enrolment in universities in KPK is comparatively more significant than the figures for the rest of the country. The percentage of male to female enrolment in Pakistan as a whole is 56% to 44% (HEC,

2011), whereas in KPK it is 65% to 35% (KPK Bureau of Statistics, 2011). The difference between the male and female academic appointments in Universities differs in virtually the same way. At the national level, there are 58% male and 42% female academics working in universities across Pakistan (HEC 2011), whereas in KPK universities, there are 61% male and 39% female academics working in the teaching and research faculties.

In order to try and respond to issues regarding access to higher education and gender balance in KPK, the HEC and various NGO's are working in close partnership with the universities (Ghani, 2010). However, it can be seen that the statistical difference between male and female enrolment in higher education is more positive than the gender gap which can be seen in the overall literacy rate in KPK, which is 69% men to 24.6% women. Inam (2010) suggests two probable reasons for this difference. First, the majority of boys enrolled in schools and colleges do not pursue higher education, instead choosing to search for jobs and work. Second, girls are "allowed" to access higher education in the fields of medicine and education as a result of the fact that a proportion of the population want their daughters and sisters to become doctors and teachers so that female interaction with males can be curtailed on both fronts (Inam, 2010).

There now follows a concise description of the settings where the interviews were conducted and meetings observed in this study, so that the issues which emerge in the analysis can be understood in the context of the explicit settings.

The study was carried out in three different regions of KPK; Dera Ismail Khan, Peshawar and Hazara. The field work in the first phase was carried out in the Gomal University and Gomal Medical College at Dera Ismail Khan. In the second phase, the interviews and non participant observations were conducted in the University of Peshawar and Khyber Medical College at Peshawar. In the third and final phase, the interviews were conducted in the Ayub Medical College and the Hazara University in the Hazara division. A detailed description of the research sites is given in the appendices of the study, including a description of the cities and academic institutions is given in the order in which the field work was conducted (see Appendices 8 and 9). However, some detail regarding the immediate settings for the interviews and observation sessions is given below.

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6.4 The Settings

The specific settings of the researcher's interaction with participants in relation to both interviews and meetings were largely comfortable and free of distraction and interruptions. However, as a result of some issues of culture, weather and other factors, the interaction was interrupted on some occasions. The purpose of explaining the settings for interviews and meetings is to further elaborate on the situations during which data was collected so that the context becomes more understandable. The description of details such as the dress of participants and offers made for tea or soft drink during the course of interviews are specifically mentioned in order for the reader to see that such issues are significantly linked to the themes discussed in the subsequent chapter.

6.4.1 Interview Settings

Almost all the interviews at each institution were largely conducted in the offices of participants, with the exception of few which were conducted in staff rooms or in common rooms. At Dera Ismail Khan some of the offices of the academics were located some distance from the classrooms/academic block, but generally speaking, the offices were located near to the classrooms. It was observed by the writer that all the female faculty members including the female participants selected for this study had their offices within the academic blocks. Some of the male faculty members, in contrast, had offices located some distance away from the academic blocks. The personal communication the researcher had with the Head of Department and some of the faculty members (both men and women) revealed that the proximity of female academics' offices to the academic block was for their convenience, as it was felt that reaching the classrooms from offices located at some distance and walking through the crowd was difficult for women.

Those interviews which were conducted with academics in offices located in the academic block were interrupted on several occasions. This was mostly as a result of the noise made by students in the galleries. The interviews conducted in offices located away from the academic blocks were noted to be in a comparatively calmer and quieter environment, free from the noise of students. However, at the city of Peshawar both the university and medical college were found to have very rich campus. The academic blocks of the departments consisted of all the required

facilities i.e. student's classrooms, offices of the faculty members, staff rooms, libraries and computer laboratories in one building. The campus was designed in a careful manner so as to ensure faculty members in offices and staffrooms were not disturbed by the student's presence in the galleries and classrooms, which contributed to peaceful interaction of the researcher with the participants.

In case of Hazara, the university is presently situated on a temporary site due to earthquake devastation, as a result of which offices are currently shared by faculty members. It was therefore not possible to conduct one on one interviews with participants, and, in Hazara, participants were therefore interviewed in the presence of other faculty members. It was noted by the researcher that academics at Hazara shared offices with colleagues of same gender. Interviews at the medical college were conducted in the academic's personal offices in a largely noise free environment. Another factor of note during the interviews at Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan was the noise of the fans and air conditioners which were in operation due to the summer weather, whereas the relatively more clement weather at Hazara helped in this regard.

At Dera Ismail Khan all six female participants expressed a preference for keeping the doors of their offices open during the interviews. It was noticed that some of the students and faculty members were peeping into the office during interviews, showing their curiosity about the researcher's presence (a stranger's presence) with the female academics in question. The participants considered this as a normal and familiar behaviour. A similar type of setting prevailed at Peshawar also, where four of the six female participants were interviewed in their offices, and the other two interviewed in the staff room in the presence of a few other faculty members. During the interviews held in offices the doors remained open during the interviews but very little disturbance was observed from outside of the offices. On a rare occasion, some peers and other faculty members were observed peeping or coming in to the offices during the interview session. The female participants seemed to regard this as routine behaviour and did not show any signs of being bothered or disturbed by this behaviour. Students were rarely seen in and around the offices of female participants. This was primarily because of the design of the building which ensured

some space was maintained between faculty offices and the more socially interactive areas of the department.

At Hazara, the doors and windows of the offices were kept open during all six interviews but no noise distraction occurred during this phase of the fieldwork, as the students of the university were on holiday. On very few occasions, some students were heard in the galleries.

Interviews with men were conducted largely in offices and, on a few occasions, in staff rooms or shared offices. Doors and windows were kept closed or open at the discretion of researcher.

One of the six female interviewees at Dera Ismail Khan and two of the six at Peshawar did not allow the researcher to tape record the interview, giving the reason that more candid responses would be forthcoming if a recording device was not used. The remaining participants at both these locations, and all of the six female participants at Hazara did not show any such reservation in relation to the use of the recording equipment. In relation to the male participants, two academics at Dera Ismail Khan and three faculty members at Peshawar did not allow the recording, giving the same reason as was given by the female participants. All six male participants at Hazara allowed interview recording.

At both Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan, four among six (eight among twelve collectively for both cities) female participants wore a 'Burqah' (veil in which only eyes are visible) and the remainder of the female participants wore 'Chadars' (veil worn in which the whole face is visible). At Hazara, all six female participants wore Chadars.

In the case of the male participants, the dress worn was largely formal, i.e. dress trousers and a shirt with tie, with the exception of a few faculty members who wore the 'Shalwar-Qameez' (traditional national dress of Pakistan).

The researcher was offered a soft drink or tea by eight of the eighteen female participants during interviews at all three cities. Out of eight, three were from Dera Ismail Khan, two belonged to Peshawar institutions and the other three were from

institutions at Hazara. The same hospitality was however shown by all male participants during the interviews.

6.4.2   Meeting Setting

The meetings were attended by the researcher to collect data through non-participant observation. All nine meetings observed were faculty meetings and were chaired by the departmental heads. Considerable numbers of faculty members were present at each meeting. The majority of the meetings were held in conference halls and rooms at the venues, with a few meetings being held in the office of the chairperson. The seating arrangement in all meetings was noted to be broadly similar, with female members seated at one side of the room and male members seated at the other side of the room. A table or an empty chair was seen to separate the seating areas of the men and women on most occasions. On a few occasions (once in Peshawar and twice in Hazara), it was observed that male and female seating sections were bordered by an elderly female faculty member.

In the three meetings observed at Dera Ismail Khan, seventeen of thirty two female members were wearing the 'Burqah', with the remaining members noted to wear the 'Chadar'. slightly different picture was notes in Peshawar, where seven among twenty seven women members were wearing the 'Burqah' and the remainder were wearing 'Chadars' in all three meetings observed. Similarly, at Peshawar, across the three meetings five among twenty women members were seen wearing the 'Burqah' with the rest of the fifteen women wearing 'Chadars'.

The researcher was permitted to use a recording device in two of the three meetings held in each city. As such, the researcher was able to record six meetings out of total nine across the three cities. The constant noise of fans and air conditioners was noted to disturb the meetings at Peshawar and Dera Ismail, whereas at Hazara, the weather helped in this regard and no such noise was evident.

6.5   Summary

The description above provides a detailed account of the conditions which prevailed during the data collection phase of this study.

In summary, the description of the province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa shows that it is one of the provinces of the country with a rich natural resource and scenic geographical location, with proximity to the border of Afghanistan. The province is principally populated by Pukhtuns, with a small percentage of the population hailing from other tribes. The economic condition of the province is poor, as a result of several factors including the influx of militancy from across the border and the tribal areas.

This chapter describes the status of the university sector in Pakistan generally, and in KPK specifically, and lists and describes the number and type of universities to be found in KPK. The growth in the sector of higher education has been identified and explained. Finally, the chapter has furnished the reader with information on the immediate settings of the data collected during the interviews and observation sessions.

The basic contextual details given in this chapter can be supplemented with the detailed description of the cities and academic institutions of the research sites which can be found in the appendices (see appendix 9). The explanation of the situational aspects of the data production phase discussed here provides the platform for understanding the findings and interpretations presented in the next chapter.

The next part consists of a discussion on the empirical results and the position of the same in the current debate on issues of gender diversity.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

7.0   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to narrate the findings interpreted from interview and observation transcripts produced by this study. As previously described, similar events, interactions and experiences shared by participants during interviews and actions observed in formal meetings have been carefully grouped together forming 53 initial 'open codes'. Following continuous comparison and resemblance of the open codes, 20 'axial codes' emerged. Finally, based on contextual similarities identified within the axial coding, 3 'thematic categories' were complied as follows:

1. Cultural issues
2. Interactional issues
3. Interventions

These selective categories, as discussed previously, have the ability to pull together information utilised in other categories to form an explanatory whole (as per Larossa (2005) cited Strauss and Corbin (1998)).

In the following section, these thematic categories are analysed and discussed.

7.1   Cultural Issues

Culture emerged as a dominant phenomenon affecting the interpersonal and intergroup relationships of male and female academics. The beliefs and practices of the regions where data was collected were found to be closely linked to traditions and religion. Universities are seen to be much more relaxed and generally better places within all three regions, but wider community life in the universities was found to be influenced by cultural aspects. The nature of gender relations at universities in the three big cities of KPK was found to be more or less the same, although the culture outside the universities is slightly different owing to differences in the proximity of these regions with extremist tribal areas.

Issues such as expectations about attributes and behaviours appropriate to men and women, the acceptance of traditional norms, adherence to family norms and religious interpretation as rationale for discrimination influencing gender relations in

academic work groups as interpreted from the data are comprehensively discussed below.

7.1.1 Gender Stereotypes

The cultural meanings given to men and women are derived from assumptions of academics regarding gender traits, abilities and associated role behaviour. The roles of men and women are defined and segregated on the basis of genetic differences and effects of socialization on gender development. The social context is also identified as one determinant of this phenomenon, as men and women largely define their roles according to social norms and religious values. The stereotypes were found to be strongly internalized by people, and were identified as forming part of their core beliefs.

These perceptions and beliefs were explored by the researcher in order to better understand the attitudes and beliefs of academics regarding gender based difference in abilities. The intention was that a better understanding of these attitudes and beliefs would enhance the researcher's understanding of the behaviour of academics in groups. The stereotypes as identified in the data and which define male and female roles in universities and affect interaction in academic work groups are discussed below.

7.1.1.1 Gender Roles Determined By Biological Differences

Gender is considered as a differentiating factor between men and women. As between the three universities in which data was collected, the surrounding culture was noted to be slightly different owing to differences in geographical proximity with the extremist culture of tribal areas. Notwithstanding these differences, the perceptions of academics seem to reflect the same stereotypes associated with men and women.

Men and women viewed gender difference as being physical and psychological differences between men and women based on genetics. The participants felt that genetic difference leads to behavioural differences and determines their suitability for different roles in the society. The majority of academics, including both men and women, thought that the genetic differences which bring different characteristics to men and women, were gifted by nature for a reason. Participants were of the

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opinion that these characteristics determine the suitability of men and women to perform different roles in their domestic and professional lives.

The perceptions of academics regarding the genetic differences and the assumptions which they draw and generalize on the basis of these perceptions with regard women and men being suitable for different roles are explained next. However, the findings suggest that the perceptions of some of the academics show an orientation towards stereotypical roles, and the views of other participants show an orientation towards anti-stereotypical roles. As a result, the views of participants regarding gender roles are classified into two separate categories; stereotypical views and anti-stereotypical views.

Female Stereotypic Role

Stereotypical Views

The findings suggest that the perception of genetic differences between men and women limits the scope for women to fit into different roles. Most of the participants were of the opinion that natural abilities enable an individual to perform better which leads to satisfaction and motivation, and so people should be engaged in jobs which are suited to their natural capabilities and which could can lead to satisfaction.

One of the women participants argued the point as follows:

"Females have distinctive physical and psychological systems and their liking and disliking is different and it is all done by God. Females are made psychologically fit with children and home economics and she enjoys doing this work. If you place a woman into some good job, not matter how good the job and no matter how far she excels in the job, she cannot be as happy as a happy mother is at home so this is her natural right to have that enjoyment.".(Interview, D.GMC.N, 25-05-2010)

And:

One of the male participants explained this in this way:

"I think that females are more suited to jobs related with children, patients and vulnerable people and males are suited to the jobs where muscle work is required. I think that women should not be exposed to such jobs where they are not able to defend themselves and they do not feel protected."(Interview, H.MS.B, 06-07-2010)

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Upon exploring further the natural difference which participants perceive to position men and women into different roles, the researcher was told that men are physically and mentally stronger than women. This gives men the positive energy required to move ahead with their career and professional roles. On the other hand, women are emotional and physically weaker than men which limit the scope for them to fit into different jobs. Keeping women out of those jobs which require physical strength was seen in the majority of male and female participants. For instance, it was found that most of the women expressed a preference for themselves to work in indoor jobs. One of the female participants mentioned that:

"I think males are suited to the jobs which require more physical effort and females are better in performing the tasks which can be conducted indoors". (Interview, P.KMC.ST, (14-06-2010).

Another woman referred to her experience of working in a blood donation committee and an earthquake relief committee and stated:

"In the blood donation committee all the logistic work is done by males whereas we (females) are better in handling the donors inside the camp. Even in the earthquake committee males performed better in helping the affected people outside the medical camp and we took better care of patients who were in the medical camp".(Interview, P.ED.NA, 04-06-2010).

This shows that outdoor jobs which require mobility and physical stamina are perceived as suitable for men, whereas indoor jobs which require less mobility and physical prowess are considered appropriate for women. Male participants associated their perceptions with the idea that women are suitable to be housewives only, as that requires less mobility and less physical strength. Most of them believed that keeping women at homes was not an injustice, as women are made to be engaged in roles which demand less physical strength.

Men expressed that women are intellectually good in some areas like designing clothes, decoration, colour scheming and other areas relating to arts and fine arts. They believed that these abilities are gifted to women more than men by nature, and so women should be placed in jobs where these abilities can be capitalized. One of the male academics reflected on this issue like this:

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"I think women are more suited to the jobs which require aesthetic sense and men are suited to those job which require physical skills and may be decision making. The reason is that women have a very good aesthetic sense like their choice of colours and decorations are better than men but they are more emotional than men and at times very slow in decision making".(Interview, D.MS.BK, 21-05-2010)

On another occasion a male participant said:

"Females have more interest in beautifying things; most of the successful women we see around us are fashion designers, choreographers and beauticians. This is their natural ability so they must go into these sorts of jobs. (Interview, P.ED.SN, 18-06-2010).

In one of the meetings the researcher attended during the observation sessions, it was noted that when an agenda for conducting a workshop was discussed, a male member of the faculty suggested that females should be assigned the responsibility of decorating the conference hall and designing the stage **(Meeting, D.GU.MS, 15-06-2010)**. Similarly, in another meeting, the Chair (male) assigned the responsibility of beautification of departments and reception stalls to female academics on the occasion of student's week **(Meeting, H.AMC, 16-08-2010)**. On both the occasions, responsibilities relating to decoration and beautifications were assigned to women. This further served to confirm the perceptions revealed by the academics during interviews regarding natural skills of women.

The question which emerged during the course of investigation was, if men think that women are psychologically a better fit for certain specific jobs, does this mean that they are not at all fit for other jobs?

Upon further investigation, it was identified that the majority of men do believe that women are not suited to professions like engineering, information technology, marketing, banking and jobs in the manufacturing industry. One of the male participants explained this point and said:

"Competitive jobs which require lot of thinking and innovative approach are best suited to men as it needs continuous research and benchmarking which is difficult for women because of the inherent capabilities". (Interview: D.MS.ZH, 26-05-2010).

Such responses show that, according to the male perspective, women are considered to be more emotional than men and, for this reason, they are perceived to be less successful in decision making roles. They acknowledge that women are hard workers but, because of their emotional nature which is gifted to them by God, believe that they sometime panic in pressure situations. The notion that women are not good decision makers and do not lead well was found to be reflected in the seniority structure of the studied universities, as the gender balance overall in all nine departments of the three universities was very reasonable but the position of the head of department at all departments was held by male faculty members. During the observation sessions at meetings, it was observed that various committees were formed and tasked with carrying out workshops and arranging other student occasions, but no female faculty members were elected or selected to convene those committees.

Some of the male faculty members expressed that women are hard workers and very careful in performing their duties with honesty. Upon investigating through asking the participants to further elaborate hard work, honesty and carefulness through sharing some incidents or experiences, it was found that most of them gave examples associated with compliance and women working better in more subordinate roles. This again reflected men's perspective of women as being less suitable for leadership roles and better suited to working in non decision making roles.

While endorsing the argument that men are better suited to leadership roles, female participants referred to men's success in maintaining discipline in the classrooms. One of the female participants stated:

"They are well built, they can talk louder and they show their presence in the classrooms" (Interview, H.MS.MS, 05-07-2010).

Similar perspectives were noted with regard to men and women's participation in the meetings. The female academics indicated that, in most cases, men's participation is better than women's because they react to disagreements better than women, and they are assertive and can voice themselves louder than women in order to create an impact.

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In order to understand this further, the researcher tried to observe evidence of this perception in the meeting settings. At only one meeting was it observed that a male member of the faculty disagreed with a female member and raised his voice to make his point **(FN, Meeting.H.MS.BS, 06-08-2010)**. In the other eight meetings, it was found that members did disagree with members of the opposite sex on different issues, but the conversational tone and physical gestures remained quite similar in respect of both the male and female participants.

The contradiction between the responses given in interview and the data collected during meeting observations provided the motivation to further explore this opinion. As a result, the researcher referred back to the responses given by men in relation to the same question and noted that men had a similar opinion about themselves as women regarding the physical strength of men, but none of them identified that this was ever used by men to gain an advantage over women in participation at group meetings. On this specific issue, one of the male participants said:

"I think men are physically stronger than women but it has got nothing to do with participation in meetings, we all are educated and we understand that women are to be respected". **(Interview, H.ED.MH, 07-07-2010).**

Such responses demonstrate that participants believe women and men are different in their physical builds and strength, which determines their characteristics and abilities and suitability for different roles and jobs at the workplace and in the wider society. However, a slightly different view is also suggested in the findings which are subsequently explained.

Anti stereotypic Views

The views of some of the academics contradicted those given by other academics as described earlier.

For example, the issue of physical strength was viewed by a few female academics in a somewhat different way. A small proportion of women were of the opinion that women are in fact suited to jobs which require physical strength as a result of technology enabling women to participate in this section of the labour force. Those women highlighted in particular the participation of women in the labour workforce at factories and in the construction business in western countries, assisted by

technology and machinery. They referred to women lifting and carrying heavy weights with the help of machines such as bulldozers and electronic levers. A few women also mentioned female participation in wars in roles including fighter plane pilots and tank drivers. These examples, however, were given by a very low number of both female and male academics in the context of the overall studied sample. The more common perspective was of women being limited to the more traditional role of housewife, carer and nurturer as a result of the physical abilities attributed to women by nature.

Stereotypical roles for women were also defined on the basis of psychological differences between men and women as well as by physical differences. However, the psychological difference between men and women was seen as less intensive and anti stereotypical when compared to the perception of the physical differences. Most of the female academics were of the opinion that men and women are gifted with same psychological characteristics and, therefore, any job requiring intellectual abilities would be equally suited to both genders. The academics did express a view that, due to fewer women being able to access a quality education and gain relevant experience, they (women) might not be able to compete as well with men in certain jobs that require intellectual abilities. However, they largely believe that nature has given men and women the same intellectual capabilities and that, if women and men could be equally exposed to education and experience then they would perform equally well in respect of those sorts of jobs.

One of the female participants expressed herself on this issue and stated that:

"Women and men are creation of the same God; the physical difference is there because of some good reasons but I think mental capacities are same. You will find them perform similarly in jobs requiring mental strength if you compare a woman equally educated as men are". (Interview, P.MS.SR, 31-05-2010).

Such perspectives reflect that the academics were largely of the view that the suitability or otherwise of a woman for a certain role is based on the perception that men and women have different psychological characteristics on the basis of genetics and socialization difference. The overall interpretation of the views above shows that the perception of genetic differences consciously or subconsciously contributes to

shaping the stereotypic role of women as expressed by academics across all three universities.

Male Stereotypic Role

The participants' perceptions about the stereotypical roles of men can be partially extrapolated from the discussion above, as the perception that women are suitable for certain roles on the basis of biological differences implies the existence of the associated belief that men are also suited to other different roles. Nevertheless, a more detailed account of these perceptions is set out below.

Stereotypical Views

Most of the men and women interviewed expressed a belief that the biological differences between men and women determine the ability of men to better fit into a wide variety of roles, whereas the scope for women to fit into certain roles is limited. Referring to their professional roles, both men and women expressed that the presence of men in the teaching staff is important to the department to enhance the confidence of female faculty members and students. A male presence in the department was seen as a source of protection. By *protection,* the academics expressed a belief in the protection of departmental interests in terms of obtaining and maintaining the resources distributed by university administration. One of the female participants discussed this particular issue, stating:

"We are not bothered to fight with administration for visual aids, furniture and tours like things". (Interview, P.ED.SN, 10-06-2010)

It was revealed that in all three universities, academics identified feeling a rift between academics and the university administration (the majority of people employed in university administration are male) and they believed that the administration distributed resources not on the basis of need, but on the basis of might. Men were thought to be a better fit in relation to the role of leading the department due to their physical strength. Some of the participants, including both male and female academics, expressed a feeling that men are better at coordinating students on tours as the students tended to listen to male members of the faculty better than they listened to female teachers. This was confirmed on two different occasions during the meetings, when it was observed that tasks which required

outstation visits and management of logistics were given to men **(Meeting, H.AMC 16-08-2010 & Meeting. D, MS, 15-06-2010).**

Further, in regard to the same perspective, some of the faculty members, both male and female, also mentioned that men were better at leading long sessions with the students which demanded more mental and physical stamina. The point of emphasis here was the view that a male academic would be better suited for teaching at university level, as at schools and colleges the duration of a teaching session is not more than 45 minutes to an hour, whereas the shortest sessions at universities are not less than 3 hours. By and large, it was identified that there is an established perception that men are better suited to roles and jobs which require physical stamina and skills.

The difference in the suitability of men and women for different jobs on the basis of genetic psychological differences as perceived by the academics was less significant when compared to the perceived levels of suitability based on physical differences. Most of the male academics thought men were emotionally strong and intelligent, thus they were suited to any jobs requiring decision making in pressure situations. They believed that the major responsibility for the protection of the family and money for the family sits on the shoulders of men, and therefore they have been gifted with better physical and intellectual potential by nature. One of the male participants mentioned:

"Man as a father, husband, brother and son has to earn for children, wife, sisters and old parents that is why they are benefited with greater physical and psychological potential". **(Interview, H.AMC.J, 11-7-2010).**

Men's belief in their inborn capabilities was portrayed by some of the male academics, who expressed the thought that men are suitable for all kinds of jobs. They suggested that the perception that women can handle household affairs better than men is not necessarily correct, as men can become good carers, decorators and cooks. One of the participants explained it in this way:

"If you compare men and women at cooking jobs you will find out that the best chefs in the world around are men" **(Interview, P.MSS, 15-06-2010)**

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Although the view described above show some orientation towards an anti stereotypical view, it should be noted that the view was given by the participant in the context of emphasizing the suitability of women to a limited number of jobs and the suitability of men to all kinds of jobs. The discussion below presents a more in-depth interpretation of the anti stereotypical views.

Anti stereotypic Views

The opinion of some of the academics, including both men and women, differed, as they felt that university is a place where everyone is educated and an individual's worth and abilities are not measured by their physical strength. One of the female participants said:

"I think description of a teacher's job is teaching and research where we hardly have to use muscles" (Interview, H.MS.SK, 02-07-2010)

With a few exceptions, most of the female academics viewed the difference in psychological abilities between men and women in a totally different way. They expressed the view that women and men are naturally gifted with same levels of intellectual and mental abilities. It is only as a result of more opportunities and a greater level of exposure that men perform better in certain jobs. Female participants backed up their opinions by giving examples of different female leaders and high achievers. One of the female participants said:

"Women in the west are actively doing all kinds of jobs, so if they can do then why not us. This proves that women are equally capable to become leader and decision makers; there is no discrimination by nature as nature is God and God never discriminates" (Interview, H.ED.S, 02-07-2010)

On many occasions, the majority of the male participants cited their higher research output in comparison to women's research contributions to support their point of view. On the contrary, women did not consider it appropriate to compare men and women's intellectual abilities in this way. They justified their lower contribution to research by referencing their higher level of responsibilities in the home, which they felt diluted their ability to focus on research.

It was identified by the researcher that a few of the male academics actually agreed with the opinion of the women regarding the equality of the inborn intellectual abilities

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of the two sexes. They regarded the difference as a general perception influenced by culture, tradition and religious interpretation. However, on the whole, there was a significant level of disagreement between the opinions of male and female academics regarding the inherent difference between men's and women's intellectual abilities.

The interpretation of the responses of academics and the observation of meetings helped the researcher develop his understanding that academics at all three universities associate men and women with different traits and characteristics on the basis of genetic difference. These perceptions give rise to stereotypes of suitability of men and women for different jobs and roles, most often limiting the scope of career choices for women.

The stereotypes associated with physical differences on the basis of genetics are deeply rooted and strongly expressed, but the perception of psychological/intellectual differences between men and women on the grounds of genetics was found to be a view less often expressed and with a lower level of intensity among the academics who participated in the study. Nevertheless, the stereotypic roles of men and women defined by such assumptions shows the general mindset of academics regarding gender. Understanding of the interpretation of such assumptions is important, as the academic's performance in group work is linked to these interpretations and further discussed later in this chapter.

7.1.1.2 Gender Roles Determined by Social Development of Men and Women

In addition to genetic differences, differences in the social development of men and women are also perceived as a determinant of suitability of men and women for different roles. The academics interviewed attributed differences in abilities between the two genders to the social context and the difference in social development of men and women. Issues relating to social context which encourage or hinder equality between men and women are discussed later. The focus here remains investigation of the perceptions of the academics regarding the suitability of men and women for different roles due to differences in the social development of the two sexes.

The academics were of the opinion that exposure of the individual affects his/her ability to fit into certain roles. The perspectives of both men and women and observations relating to this issue are discussed below:

Female Stereotypic Role

The perspective of the men and women interviewed and observed was broadly similar with regard to the female stereotypic role in the context of social development. The majority of the men and women interviewed across all three universities were of the opinion that women are not given good exposure in terms of opportunities for a good education and decent job experience. As a result of this, they are not able to perform and contribute to a better extent within the organisations where they work. The majority of participants thought that, due to the cultural, religious and societal norms, a woman is "groomed" within the home and she does not get any ample opportunity to interact with the world outside. Consequently, a woman's vision and ambition in terms of work remains limited.

The perspective of the academics revealed that women at a young age live closer to their mothers, who are in most cases house wives. This is the case generally across Pakistan and particularly in the KPK province. As a consequence, women therefore learn to become housewives and mothers as this is what they learn to do and what, in most cases, is expected of them. In terms of employment, the participants viewed women as caring, sympathetic, compassionate and empathetic with sincere personalities and felt that, therefore, women are more likely to prosper in professions such as those working in the fields of healthcare and education. One of the male participants explained his views in this way:

"I think that we should understand that women at our society remain at homes most of the time which is not deprivation as they acquire good traits staying even at home and they are able to prove their substance in fields where those traits can be used" **(Interview, D.MC.I, 12-05-2010).**

Such perceptions highlight that female academics working within universities are considered to be well suited to their roles as teachers. Most of the participants (including men and women) used the words **caring, counselling** and **sympathetic** in describing the characteristics of women as a result of their social development.

This highlights the perception that a female teacher is accepted within the university setting as a good teacher if she has all these characteristics.

One of the male participants indicated that he preferred to have a female faculty member on the disciplinary committee, as he felt that, in handling disciplinary cases, a male committee member might make a strict decision, but the presence of female representation would ensure a measure of compassion and leniency, which would result in a more balanced decision being reached. This shows the association between women and the characteristics of sympathy and care.

During two separate meetings, it was observed that, when making a suggestion, the Chair (male), looked more towards female members than male. The researcher's interpretation of the situation was that the Chair seemed to want some sort of support or positive endorsement from women. Their search for a positive endorsement from female members more than males also reflected the prevalent belief that women are more caring.

The female participants' at all three universities did not deny or refute the association of such characteristics with them. The existence of a difference between the social development of men and women was seen as a source of negativity for women in terms of their ability to perform better in professional roles. One of the female participants reflected on the issue like this:

"My brothers were admitted at good private school but I along with my sisters were sent to ordinary government schools, I think this is the story of every family then how would you expect a woman perform better than men when men are more privileged by parents" (Interview, P.ED.NA, 29-06-2010)

Academics largely emphasised the point that teaching and research is a job which requires a good basic education, in which respect men are generally better privileged than women. They expressed a view that women do have certain abilities which are better than men, which they acquire as a result of spending more time with their mothers. However, it was felt that teaching at university level requires more than that. It is therefore interpreted by the researcher that the suitability of female academics working at university level is questioned by men. However, at the same time most of the participants agreed and acknowledged that if women are developed

with similar privileges to those afforded to men in society, then they are able to prove themselves equally well in professions like teaching and healthcare.

Male Stereotypic Role

There was no discernible difference between men's and women's perspectives regarding a man's role on the basis of their exposure and socialization. Both male and female academics concurred in their view that men, particularly in KPK, are afforded better opportunities than women in terms of education and their interaction with community. The privileges afforded to men provide them with a wider scope of employment and choice of profession. This perception was based on the acquisition of better abilities from better social exposure.

Most of the participants believed that men are more confident, independent and assertive because of their better social development. They were of the opinion that parents focus more on their sons than their daughters. This point of view was given by both male and female participants with the assistance of narrating the practices of their own families and surroundings. One of the female participants said:

"I think I have never thought of comparing myself with my male colleagues because men and women are not standing on the equal grounds. We have not been educated the way men are and I think it is because parents think that daughters will be married one day and will become a member of a different family so why to invest on them" **(Interview, H.AMC.NN, 15-07-2010).**

It was found that better schooling and college education was associated with a better performance in the professional arena. It was largely considered that good social exposure leads to better leadership skills. Consequently, it was felt that men were better suited to leadership roles as a result of their better social exposure. A female participant explained her views in this way:

"Men know how to lead from the front" **(Interview, P.KMC.MK, 02-08-2010)**

The same point of view was described on another occasion by a male participant:

"Practice makes a man perfect; we practice leadership a lot from the beginning in our families, at schools and universities so we learn how to lead. Had it been the same with women then they would have also be able to lead" **(Interview, D.ED.OK, 27-05-2010).**

This assumption has become so customary that even those privileged female academics who were better educated than their male colleagues were not found to hold leadership roles in the university.

During the observation sessions in the meetings it was also identified by the researcher that men habitually took the initiative to make suggestions and lead the discussions.

It was clearly imparted to the researcher by all the participants that the idea of men being better suited to different roles than women is also due to a difference in their social development. Despite women, as good councillors and carers, being identified as being suitable for teaching posts, they were not generally thought to be suited to roles as strategic thinkers or heads of departments due to differences in social development. On the basis of the same reasoning, men were considered more suitable for the roles of decision makers, creative thinkers and leaders.

The above indicates the attitudes and beliefs of academics reflecting cultural definition of differences in men's and women's abilities and determining gender roles. To further understand the cultural aspects influencing the behaviour of male and female academics, the role of acceptance of traditions and different religious interpretations as imparted by the data is discussed below.

7.1.2 Acceptance of Traditional Values Affecting Gender Relations

The part of the country from which the data was collected for this study is known for strict adherence to traditional norms and values. Interview data and findings in the observation sessions revealed and reflected this. As suggested above, the culture outside the universities in all three cities i.e. Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara is slightly different because of the influence of tribal extremist culture, but compliance with the traditional norms and values was found to be similar across all three universities. The data reflects that gender roles are strongly influenced by traditional norms. The discussion below focuses on the academics' perceptions and views regarding this issue and helps to deepen the reader's understanding of factors affecting gender participation equality in group meetings.

Honour and Respect (Pukhtunwali)

The academics, including both male and female participants, referred to the importance of honour and respect for women in the society in order to explain reasons for any disparity in gender diverse groups. The perspective of the academics revealed that traditions are much more strongly followed than religion. The traditional culture in KPK, as they described, is 'Pukhtunwali' which demands more honour and respect for women than men. Both male and female academics suggested that women are considered to be a symbol of honour for the family in the KPK province. They pointed out that, for the sake of protection of honour, women in most families are protected and kept separate from men from early childhood onwards.

The responses given to the introductory questions during interviews show that almost all the faculty members interviewed across all three universities studied for the primary, secondary and even higher secondary education at non co-education schools. Only the university education took place in a co-education environment owing to the non-existence of separate universities for men and women. Most participants identified the Pashto culture (Pukhtunwali) as the reason for this segregation. One of the female participants explained this further, stating:

"I have studied in non coeducation schools and colleges and my brother did the same. We belong to a Pukhtun (Family following norms of Pushtunwali) family and our father had to respect Pukhtunwali" (Interview, P.MS.SJ.03-08-2010).

And:

"My grandfather took part in the independence movement of Pakistan, he believed in independence of human beings, my father had the same ideology. My father was the first one in the village who sent my sisters to higher secondary school which was having coeducation as there were very few non coeducation schools in those days. All my uncles and other relatives resisted and were against my father for this". (Interview, P.MS.QB. 04-08-2010)

Another aspect of the following of this norm was reflected in apprehensions expressed by female participants in terms of interacting with males. Female academics viewed their jobs as symbols of the trust bestowed upon them by their families. The issue of trust was discussed by the female participants in connection

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with their family's trust in them to keep their honour protected by not frequently interacting with men. One of the female participants stated:

"I talk to my male colleagues only when it is very important, I don't want my husband to hear stories and ask me to leave the job". **(Interview, D.ED.SH, 18-05-2010)**

Reluctance to interact with the opposite gender was not expressed by female faculty members, but also by male participants, who identified respect as a sound reason for them not to interact with women. They were of the opinion that unnecessary interaction with a woman may harm her reputation and may fetch her problems in her family and/or professional life. Elaborating on the impact of family life, the academics suggested that fear of losing her job is a concern for a woman if her frequent interaction with men is known to family members. Problems in professional lives were associated with a fear of having questions raised on a participant's character, honour or reputation. One of the male participants further explained it in this way:

"I meet with my female colleagues in the formal setting only, I mean faculty meetings or in some other committees. See if I will meet them in informal setting, I mean in coffee shop or in the gallery, I am sure it is going to harm their reputation." **(Interview, H.AMC.MH, 16-07-2010)**

The observation sessions also confirmed a similar outlook. In all nine meetings none of the female academics sat close to the men. Any whispered conversation observed during the meetings was primarily seen to take place between members of the same sex. An interesting question which the researcher posed during the research process was why only a woman's reputation was at stake as a result of frequent interaction with men and not vice versa. Upon probing this issue further, the researcher found that only some of the male academics thought that a man's reputation could also be harmed if he was to be seen frequently interacting with female faculty members. Most of the participants were of the opinion that upholding a woman's reputation is more important in maintaining the honour of the family, whereas a man's reputation was more often assessed in terms of their ability to protect the honour of the women in the family.

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It was observed that most of the female faculty members wore the full veil (Pardah), covering their full face and leaving only their eyes uncovered. Academics identified this as traditional dress worn by women for the purpose of protecting her honour. The academics expressed that religion allowed the uncovering of the face but the custom of Pukhtunwali endorsed the need for a woman to cover her face. The opinion of male and female academics was divergent on this point. Most of the male academics thought that the Pardah was a sign of honour and respect for women and should be worn by women accordingly, whereas most of the female academics thought that the Pardah hindered them while teaching or talking in meetings.

The conception of protection of honour by separating women from men was also seen in the campuses' infrastructure. Separate staff rooms for male and female academics were found in every department across all three universities.

Another traditional aspect of Pukhtunwali was also identified, namely the idea of respect for women. Most of the male participants expressed that, by belonging to the Pathan (Pukhtunwali) culture, it is their obligation to respect women. They believed that every woman in the workplace is to be respected the way women are respected in their own homes. One of the male participants said:

"Even the Pushto (culture in Khyber PukhtunKhwa Province) culture is its self a constitution and it is traced out for fifteen hundred years back. Pushto has a lot of respect for women, it is Pushto which says that a friend's sister is your own sister, a friend's mother is your own mother and a friend's wife s your sister in law". (Interview, P.MS.SJ. 03-08-2010).

Demonstration of respect for male and female academics was reflected in a specific mode of conduct with women. This included; demonstrating very formal behaviour with female colleagues, interacting with female colleagues only when strictly necessary, not confronting and disagreeing with women, giving women a chance talk in mutual discussion in formal meetings, and not establishing unnecessary eye contact with female colleagues. One of the male participants discussed the issue of respect as follows:

"Females are more respected and facilitated than males. Our higher ups are more conscious about their transport and residence etc". (Interview, D.ED.MS, 13-05-2010)

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It was important for the researcher to probe and understand the way in which women perceive this respect. Most of the female academics considered this respect as a social right. They thought that women, particularly having to cope with other social restrictions such as not having any social independence, should demand and deserve respect in the workplace. Almost all of the female academics agreed on the idea of receiving respect in the workplace from their male colleagues. One of them stated that:

"I think male are more conscious about manners and the choice of words while they are sitting with female in groups". (Interview, P.ED.HI, 16-06-201)

Only a few female academics spoke negatively in relation to the idea of getting increased respect from their male colleagues. These participants felt that this behaviour made them even more conscious of their position, and increased the pressure on them to perform better. On the whole, however, most of the female participants considered this to be a positive behaviour, and suggested that the same respect is given by them to their male colleagues. The male participants acknowledged the respect given to them by females, and none of the men were found to have any grievance about the respect bestowed on them by their female colleagues. Interpretation of these opinions and perspectives indicates to the researcher that the segregation of men and women initiated by the traditional perception of maintaining honour is additionally strengthened and reinforced by the concept of respect.

Another interesting dynamic which the researcher identified as affecting the segregation of men and women is the factor of age. Most of the female academics suggested that their interaction with men was very limited in their early days at work due principally to their young age. With the passage of time, the women identified that their interaction with men improved as they aged. This is reflected in opinions expressed by the female participants such as:

"Initially there were certain barriers when I was entering into the academic field; I was very selective in my communication with male colleagues but now I am in mid thirties, I am a bit relaxed interacting with men" (Interview, H.AMC.R, 28-06-2010)

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And:

"Now I am comfortable working with men as I know that people won't complain if I am talking to them frankly due to my age but if I had done this when I was young, it would have harmed my reputation". **(Interview, P.ED.SN, 08-06-2010)**

The same perspective was given by men. Most of the male participants mentioned that their interaction with senior and older colleagues was much easier and more acceptable than interactions with their younger colleagues.

An additional factor identified by the researcher to affect interaction and segregation is marital status. Both male and female academics viewed their interaction as being much better with married colleagues of the opposite sex. The writer noticed on interaction with female academics during the interviews, that older and married participants were more confident, candid and outspoken than their younger and/or unmarried female colleagues.

It was therefore identified across all three universities that age and marital status are viewed similarly by academics in terms of their gender interaction.

The facets of traditional norms of honour and respect were found to be embedded in the culture which segregates male and female interaction amongst universities academics. An understanding of the following of these norms by academics will help in understanding acceptance issues of male and female faculty members in the universities, and the influence of the same on participation of men and women in group meetings, which will be discussed later.

Religious Interpretations

The academics' views and comments on cultural factors affecting gender relations also included the issue of different religious interpretation. Misunderstandings in many aspects of public consciousness about male and female interaction were seen as one of the barriers to developing an understanding between male and female academics in the context of group discussion. Religious scholars were considered to be more conservative by the academics in the North West of Pakistan. Both male and female academics believed that Mullas (teachers of religion in mosques less qualified than Aalims who are admitted as qualified religious scholars) are differentially interpreting Islam and conveying these different interpretations to the

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people at large, consequently contributing to making the wider society more conservative.

Academics revealed that there is a widespread perception that religion does not allow women to work, which naturally makes it difficult for women to find and sustain employment. The prevailing perception means that women who are engaged in jobs, and by extension those people who allow women to work, are seen to be going against Islam. This perception not only makes the situation for women in the workplace difficult, but also limits a woman's chance to work at all. Not only women are women in the work place considered to be acting against Islam, but those people who might otherwise permit women to work will also refrain from doing so for fear of being seen to also be going against religion.

The academics believed that achieving religious clarity in this regard would improve the situation for women. One of the female academics expressed herself on this topic as follows:

"I think every Muslim has the obligation to understand religion well, the limitations which people have imposed on themselves are because of the lack of understanding of religion. Some people do think that religion disallows women to go of homes and work with other men" **(Interview, H.ED.SA, 05-08-2010)**

Another factor of religious interpretation mentioned by academics was the perception of interaction between men and women in the workplace. They pointed to the interpretation that women are not allowed to interact with NAMEHRAM (men other than blood relatives) as also hindering their interaction with colleagues of the opposite gender. They referred to the views of those people who believe that, in certain dire circumstances women might be allowed to work, but interaction with men is never allowed. The academics elaborated interaction as being frequent and frank interaction.

One of the female participants explained:

"My attitude is positive for group work with men but my behaviour is reserved and restricted, you can't actually display whatever you feel and it is all because of the environment and interpretation of religion by political religious parties". **(Interview, D.ED.SH, 21-05-2010).**

This belief was also regarded by male academics as being a barrier to developing a *comfort zone* between men and women in the university setting. They also believed that if they were to be seen with female faculty members frequently talking in both formal and informal settings, their religious image would be at stake.

One striking finding made during investigation was that a few male academics actually supported and endorsed these beliefs as being purely Islamic, whereas they were considered by most of the academics to be un-Islamic. The researcher noted that academics expressing this opinion belonged to typical traditional Pukhtun (Puktunwali) families. One of them said:

"Well I believe what the religion believes about it and I understand that men and women have different roles to play in the society, today we are not truly following our religion that is why females are allowed to do jobs" **(Interview, H.MS.BS. 06-08-2010).**

Largely, however, the academics believed that religion is misinterpreted by people to further their own interests. In this context, they referred to the culture of patriarchy which they thought was promoted by Mullas. One of the male academics explained this in this way:

"You see some people do refer to Islam for their personal interest even when they do not themselves use religion in their own affairs of life. People when are in competition with women they do use Islam in their own favour" **(Interview, P.MS.SJ, 09-06-2010).**

Another aspect of religious interpretation which was narrated by most of the female and male participants was the teachings of Islam about the 'Pardah' (veil). They again held Mulas responsible for spreading the misconception that Pardah in Islam means covering the whole face leaving only the eyes visible, whereas academics actually believed that the meaning of 'Pardah' in Islam is covering the whole body except the face. Female participants considered this misconception to be a barrier to their performance in the classroom and to their interaction with members of the group. Male participants also considered this as a potential problem for females in terms of talking in meetings and teaching in classes. One of the female participants stated:

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"Imagine how much suffocation you will feel if you are asked to cover your whole face and talk, honestly speaking it is not Islamic teaching". (Interview, D.MS.OZ, 19-05-2010).

The academics believed that the traditional Pardah used for the protection of honour (Pukhtunwali) is legitimatized with the religious interpretation. It was found that most of the academics, including both men and women, were of the same mind regarding different religious interpretations. It was observed during the interviews and meetings that most of the female faculty members wore a full veil covering their faces. Female academics at Hazara University only were slightly more relaxed in their dress code, with some of the female faculty members, both young and old, wearing a half veil.

Awareness among academics of the influences of different religious interpretations made the researcher think that, if academics are aware of different religious interpretation, then this awareness should have a health contribution to the university environment. It was found that academics did think religious clarity would help in improving gender relations, but they thought that the identified set of religious interpretations were too strongly embedded in the culture, with such cultural norms being more fervently followed than religion. In simple terms, it can be interpreted that academics felt social pressures in the context of their professional lives within the universities.

Adherence to Family Values

Another key factor identified in the data as affecting gender equality is the role of family. Fathers, mothers, husbands, brothers and children were mentioned by most of the academics as people who they must consider in decisions made about their professional lives. The academics described their families as being their primary social network outside the universities.

The bindings and interdependency within the family unit were identified as being the outcome of a traditional collectivistic society. The joint family system and acceptance of father and husband as head of the family were found to prevail in almost all of the families of the faculty members across all three universities. The academics viewed the impact of this social influence as being more prevalent in KPK than the rest of

the country, as they described this province as being much closer to traditional practices.

Most of the academics, including both men and women, commonly identified their choice of becoming an academic as being made in order to meet the wishes of their fathers. One of the female participants stated:

"My father didn't find banking suitable for me because of the working hours and public interaction so the second choice with me was to become a teacher". **(Interview, P.MS.SK, 25-06-2010).**

On another occasion, a male faculty member said:

"My father always wanted me to become an academic at the university and he was very happy about it when I was appointed here. I was very discouraged when I missed the opportunities of going abroad for my PhD and I thought even leaving this profession but my father kept on encouraging me and advised me to remain in this profession. So I have always tried to fulfil my father's dreams and I am now even trying to excel so that my father feels proud about it." **(Interview, D.MS.ZA, 28-05-2010).**

Most of the academics considered their fathers to be a source of inspiration in their lives. However, a comparative analysis of the male and female responses on this topic reveals that a father's influence on a male academic's career and professional life was seen to be more encouraging when compared to female academics' experiences. This pattern of behaviour was identified by the researcher when out in the field, and encouraged the researcher to investigate in order to better understand the reasons for this discrimination. Upon further investigation, it was found that this behaviour is associated with the traditional norm of protecting honour and with the concept of religious interpretation.

Both male and female academics thought that fathers are more conscious about their son's career as opposed to their daughter's. Fathers were felt to be more comfortable when their daughters are at home or in education, or when working not far from home at a place less populated with men. One of the female participants said:

"I was very good in the subject of Mathematics; I wanted to become an Engineer but my father said that this field is saturated with men so it is not for you". **(P.MS.SG, 11-06-2010)**

And another female said:

"I wish I could have become a Chartered Accountant but the Academy was only in Peshawar, we lived in Charsada (city away from Peshawar), my father didn't allow me to live in hostels so I ended up doing Bachelor and Masters in Education and I am a teacher now". **(H.ED.NN, 06-08-2010).**

Whereas most of the male faculty members stated:

"My father encouraged me a lot; I never believed that I will become a doctor and then a teacher". **(Interview, H, AMC, DJ, 13-08-2010)**

"When I failed my CSS exam, I decided to quit studies and start business but my father didn't allow me for this. He encouraged me to study and now I am living a better life than a CSS officer". **(Interview, P, ED, HI, 02-06-2010).**

Responses from female faculty members revealed that teaching as a career for women was a preferred option for fathers. The few female academics who were encouraged by their fathers were of the opinion that they were, as a result, much more comfortable and confident in their interactions with men.

This perspective was strengthened when, during the interviews and meeting observations, it was identified that women who were privileged with their father's support were seen to be more confident and vocal than those who lacked their father's encouragement.

It was interesting to notice in the analysis that family influence for male faculty members related principally to the father's influence, whereas the responses of most of the female academics revealed that their fathers, mothers, husband and children all have a dominant role in their life, affecting their decisions about careers and jobs. A question which came to the researcher's mind here was why men were not being influenced by their mothers and wives. In order to further investigate this point, the researcher talked to the participants in an informal setting, which revealed that men were in fact sometimes influence by their mothers and wives, but this was found to be a rare occurrence. However, men did not like to admit this influence in front of

others (outside of immediate family) as being perceived to be influenced by women is considered to be shameful by men. Overall, the researcher found that influence on women by men is customary, whereas the opposite is relatively exceptional.

It was found that the idea of influence continued for the women in the shape of their mother's concerns, although these were found to relate principally to concerns about the marriage of their daughters. Most of the unmarried female faculty members discussed the limitations which are placed on them in the form of their mother's persuasion to maintain marriage as a priority over professional growth. One of the female participants stated:

"My mother thought that if I am not married in next two years then I will find no one to get married, she insisted that I should not leave for MPhil before marriage". (Interview, D.ED.SB, 11-05-2010)

The influence of brothers was less of a feature for female academics, as they expressed that a brother's influence was generally only felt when parents passed away.

The responses reveal that the influence of father, mother and brother remains a key factor in the pre marriage period of a woman. Additionally, influence from a husband enters into the life of women after their marriages. Influence of a husband was found to be more akin to a father's influence. However, in some cases, it was found that the direction of female academic's professional life changed upon marriage because of their husband's likes and dislikes. In some cases, the likes and dislikes were found to be associated with traditional norms of honour (Pukhtunwali), such as academics expressing that their husbands want them to wear the Burka (full veil covering face) and to socialise only with other females at the university. In most cases, the desire of the husband was expressed in terms of them wanting their wife to maintain a balance between work and family life. Most of the female participants were of the opinion that their husbands had allowed them to work only on the condition that their family life would not be disturbed. This idea was confirmed when the majority of the female faculty members of the medical colleges studied mentioned that they had entered into the teaching profession and left behind hospital and clinical practice because of the lengthy working hours associated with hospital work, which their husbands disliked. One of them explained this in this way:

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"Actually my father is a doctor and he is entomologist and I was more attached to him so I followed his profession and right from the child hood I wanted to be a doctor and to be in the same profession but I came to the academic community for the reason that it is considered a much relaxed profession as compared to the clinical side by my husband. He says that I have a family to manage so on the clinical side I will not be able to do that". (Interview, D.GMC.NN, 24-05-2010).

The female academics living in the traditional joint family system (with their in-laws) expressed stronger ideas about their husband's influence. One of the female participants said:

"My father and mother are old, I have to stay back and ask for leave when they are not feeling well". (Interview, P.KMC, ST, 09-08-2010)

The influence of children was regarded as a natural phenomenon by the female faculty members. Most of the faculty members described that their professional life ceased with their pregnancy and that they remained out of work until their children were grown up. One of them said:

"I had to quit the job when my first baby was born. My male class fellows are now Professors and Associate Professors and I am still an Assistant Professor". (Interview, D.GMC.NN, 24-05-2010).

Female academics associated their periods of leave, late arrival into and early departure from the profession with their responsibility to look after the children. They admitted that this influence negatively affected their jobs and careers but at the same time considered it as a natural affection and source of motivation for them.

The analysis of responses made and sessions observed draws a picture which confirms that family influence is derived from both traditional culture and religious interpretations. The situation generally looks to be much more difficult for female academics than their male counterparts. It was interpreted by the writer that positive family influence is supportive for male academics but not strictly necessary to ensure good career progression. By contrast, a supportive family is critical for female academics to ensure good career progression, as having the support of her family has exceptional potential for increasing the confidence of a female academic in the workplace.

The analysis depicts that gender stereotypes, acceptance of traditional norms, adherence to family values and religious interpretation all help to form the culture of KPK. The studied universities are the only general universities in the province and are distributed among the three big cities of the KPK region. The common perspectives of academics regarding these issues across all three universities show that the whole culture of the province is embedded with the same cultural ingredients. Although awareness of these issues among the academics is improving, the external social pressure to conform from outside the universities makes the situation very difficult in terms of gender relations and cross-gender interaction. The interpretation indicates that the situation is more difficult for women than for men.

The detailed discussion of these cultural issues above enables the reader to understand the factors which help to form the attitudes and belief systems of academics, which in turn influence their behaviour and interaction with each other. The interactional issues affecting participation of academics in workgroups forms another thematic category in this research, which is discussed below.

7.2 Interactional Issues

The transformation of gender stereotypes, traditional values and adherence to family values develops a culture in the universities which set the gender boundaries for the interaction of academics working therein. These boundaries and social norms operate and influence the social connection between men and women in academic workgroups. The mediation of these norms affecting the interactional mechanism and gender equality among academic workgroups is comprehensively examined in this section.

7.2.1 Acceptance

The issue of acceptance remained a key focus throughout the field work process, as it was important for the researcher to explore this topic and the impact of the same on determining gender relations in group meetings. In order to further explore the issue of acceptance, the influence of gender on relationships with colleagues was investigated via thorough discussion and examination of responses given, all the while keeping the context under consideration.

The responses of male and female academics were fairly similar. Most of the participants, including both men and women, were of the opinion that their relationship with colleagues of the opposite gender is formal, distant and unfriendly, when compared to their relationship with colleagues of the same gender. The participants commonly viewed cultural barriers as reasons for this difference. One of the male participants stated:

"When we are in professional relationship we have to treat male and female equally. But there is always a cultural effect; even professional interaction gets different when it is with opposite gender". **(Interview, D.ED.MS, 14-05-2010)**

On another occasion a male participant stated:

"My relationship with male colleagues is quite good, it is not that I am in not good terms with female colleagues but you know if I compare I would say I am more open with my male colleagues. I think it is because of culture, if even we try to come closer we will get our reputation harmed". **(H.ED, SS, 06-08-2010).**

The female participants gave responses such as:

"Off course I am much closer to my female colleagues; I can meet and talk to them much easily. If I am seen with men standing in the gallery and talking then I will have to wait and hear a story cooked and disseminated". **(Interview, D.ED.SB, 19-05-2010).**

And:

"For me and I think for every female here it is much easier to share my problems with female colleagues". **(Interview, P.KMC.S, 10-08-2010)**

The opinions expressed by both male and female academics revealed that relationships between male and female academics are largely influenced by the idea of cultural norms. These responses helped to explain the interpersonal relationships between male and female academics. It was then important for the researcher to further explore the issue to examine the influence of these relationships on the intergroup relationships between male and female faculty members.

Upon investigation of this topic through interviews, it was identified that the academics believed they accept each other very well in group work sessions. Most of the male academics thought that women were in fact respected and accepted more than the male faculty members. They viewed this respect as arising from an important cultural and religious obligation. They felt that this respectful behaviour was accepted in good faith by them and did not make them feel inferior to women. One of them said:

"Our belief is that females are respectable and they are comparatively more caring than males so they have to be treated with similar care" **(Interview, P.ED.AL. 22-06-2010).**

Most of the female faculty members perceived the issue in a similar fashion and accepted that they are indeed given more respect and are accepted well in groups. It was found that women viewed this as their right and considered it to be a religious and cultural value. They were of the opinion that they were given more chance to participate and to make suggestions in the meeting setting. One of the female participants said:

"I am working in admission committee and also in Unfair Means Committee (UFM) and I have found that members of the opposite gender and the supervisors have always been very respectful to me". **(Interview, H.MS.AS. 28-07-2010)**

At this point, a dichotomy was identified in the responses of the academics. Most of the participants, including both men and women, expressed that gender had a unhealthy impact on their relationships with faculty members of opposite gender but, at the same time, they expressed the view that men and women accepted each other well in group situations. In order to investigate this apparent dichotomy further, the interview responses of some of the female academics and a few of the male academics were examined in more detail, where the opinions given were different to the opinions expressed by the majority of the participants.

This minority of female participants were of the opinion that male members in the group accepted them very well when they were quiet and did not disagree with the male group members. However, when they were vocal and/or disagreed with men, then they were not accepted. For instance, one of the female participants said:

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"I was not accepted and people looked at me as a girl who has come from the NGO's sector having liberal thinking". **(Interview, P.KMC.SH, 23-06-2010).**

A few of the faculty members referred to the stereotypes set out above. For example, they mentioned that, if they were confident and outspoken in their communication, they would be labelled with the terms "open minded" or "frank lady" which, they felt, was identified as being a character failure in women. It was noticed by the researcher that this point of view was given by those women with a more privileged back ground and better family support. The female academics who expressed agreement with the notion of acceptance tended to lag behind those participants in terms of their educational background and levels of family support. This suggested that acceptance level for members of the opposite sex in academic workgroups does not prevail in real terms. On the other hand, the perceived set criteria of acceptance show the social conformity pressure which affects gender equality. The sessions of meeting observation carried out by the researcher further clarified the picture. The researcher closely assessed the levels of interaction, and found that, in all nine meetings observed, female participation did not even equate to one third of the participation of male faculty members.

The findings of acceptance and gender relationships were related to the findings made regarding the likes and dislikes of academics in terms of working in gender diverse groups, and their understanding of the advantages of working in heterogeneous groups. The researcher found it interesting that academics across all three universities liked to work in gender diverse groups for different reasons, including enhanced learning, division of work, shared responsibility, and accessing a diverse pool of opinions.

The question which arose in the mind of the researcher was why academics prefer to work in gender diverse groups when the acceptance of the opposite gender is generally non-existent, and when relationships with the members of the opposite gender is also affected as a result of cultural issues.

The question was partially answered when this finding was related to the findings mentioned above in the explanation of culture, where the researcher identified that the academics were aware of the perceptions, religious interpretations and traditional

norms causing difficulties to them in interacting with the opposite gender but that even then these norms were strongly influential on them as a result of social conformity pressures. It was therefore understood by the writer that the academics preference for working in heterogeneous groups was a result of their understanding as acquired from their education, but that their conduct was the result of social conformity. This interpretation showed again the importance of social pressures in gender relations among academics.

The aspects of age and marital status emerged here also in terms of affecting academics' relationships with the opposite gender. Most of the female and some of the male participants indicated that their advancing age had impacted positively on their relations with members of the opposite gender. One of the female participants said:

"I had difficulties in conversation with male faculty members, maybe I was shy or maybe it was because I had a little interaction with males during my education and you know sometimes I even felt that men were comfortable talking to me but now when I have grown in age and a I am married I think it has become much easier talking to men". **(Interview, AMC, RK. 30-07-2010)**

Men also expressed the same opinion. One said:

"Some of the young faculty members are two or three years older than my daughters, so it is much easy for me to talk to them and I can feel that they share their problems less with other young faculty members. **(Interview, D.ED.OK. 28-05-2010)**

Similar opinions prevailed in almost all the responses, which indicated that acceptance increased with age and/or a change in marital status. It was also noticed in the meetings that the older members of the group participated more frequently than their younger colleagues.

To further investigate this issue, responses relating to the issue of the academics' professional support were examined. It was found that most of the female and male academics sought support from older male colleagues, with very few female and only one male participant mentioning that they looked to female colleagues when they needed support in the university.

These findings lead the researcher to two possible conclusions; firstly, that acceptance of academics increases with the age and, secondly, that men tend to hold most of the posts within universities from which they can extend support to more junior colleagues.

Upon investigation, it was found that both concepts are prevail. Most of the participants believed that their older colleagues were much more supportive, and none of the nine meetings observed were chaired by women (reflecting that it was indeed the male faculty members who tended to be in positions of power from which to provide other staff members with support and guidance). The reason for the former tendency can be better understood if it is related back to the earlier findings about the influence of Pukhtunwali, whereby the culture dictates that people are more conscious about issues such as the honour of women when they are young and unmarried. This again shows that the concept of cultural norms also mediates in relation to the acceptance issue.

The analysis suggests that academics are aware of the advantages of collaborative work in gender diverse groups, but perception and the social pressure for conformity with the macro culture of the region affects the level of acceptance of academics from the opposite gender. The gender acceptance is not found good enough to develop and maintain a social connection between academics required for collaborative work in groups. The analysis, however, indicates that improvement is required principally from the men's end.

7.2.2 Participation Behaviour

The strain of a lack of acceptance among the academics was found to affect the participation behaviour of academics in group meetings. To determine the participation behaviour of academics the focus remained on behaviours which helped the group to perform the task and maintaining the relationships between the members. The researcher also wished to identify any behaviour which was directed towards someone on a personal level rather than at the group.

During the interviews, the male participants suggested that men were more active performers than the women. They were of the opinion that men take the leadership role and initiate, contribute and conclude group meetings on many more occasions

than women. Their desire to ensure equal opportunities led them to give women more chances to participate, but even then women were noted to be less talkative.

One of the male participants stated:

"I have been sitting in senate, academic council and board of studies meeting and I have found that female faculty members rarely show keen interest and participate in the activity. Normally they are sitting quiet even when they are asked to talk; most of the talk is done by men". **(Interview, H.ED.SK. 08-07-2010).**

Most of the male participants blamed culture for this behaviour. For instance, one said:

"Probably this culture has got to do something with this, yes probably culture or for sure culture because like in the part of the world we are living, probably they don't get the opportunity to communicate and they are like raised behind curtains so that might have kept them suppressed so what we expect from good women is that she must be like very introvert, silent and quiet so we expect that women to be a good women. So probably for that reason in the meetings when we sit and debate on a point of issue, our women colleagues do participate but not at the level at par with their male colleagues" **(Interview, H,MS,DSK, 08-07-2010)**

The female participants partially agreed with men's perspective. They were of the opinion that men do talk more than women in the meetings but that the focus of the men remains more on the female conversation and attitude than the overall proceeding of the meeting. Their responses revealed that male academics are primarily more interested in the way they talk and the way they look. They suggested that, in most instances, this attitude from male faculty members serves to block their participation and conversation in the meetings. One of the female participants said:

"Their attitude was different with both students and teachers specifically like us who are a bit liberal. I mean like if I am not having a veil on my head then they would always pinpoint that thing and would talk about personalities rather than issues". **(Interview, D.GMC.G. 20-05-2010).**

The slightly divergent opinions of men and women were closely examined and compared with the observations carried out during the nine different meetings. The tables below show the participation behaviour of academic in the meetings.

Table 7.1   Participation Role of Academics in all Meetings Observed

Participation Role	Participation Role Description	Male Member	Female Member	Chair	(Old/Married/Supported by Family) Members
Initiator/contributor	Proposes goals, new ideas, and solutions; defines problems; suggests procedures; points out benefits	09		09	09
Information giver	Offers facts and relevant information or experience	12	01		09
Information seeker	Seeks clarification of suggestions based on facts relevant to problem	05	03		02
Opinion giver	States belief about alternatives	18	04	06	04
Opinion seeker	Asks for clarifications in relation to the problem	08	04	03	03
Coordinator	Clarifies the various suggestions, ideas, and opinions and coordinates them	13		09	10
Summarizer	Summarizes and restates back to the team; draw member's activities together, offers conclusions	09		09	09
Evaluator	Subjects the team's activity to some criterion, for example, practicality, logic etc.	14	02	09	14
Encourager	Praises good points, exhibits acceptance and group solidarity	08	01	07	05
Harmonizer	Attempts to mediate differences among members or their points of view; reduces conflict and tension	06		05	04
Follower	More or less a passive and accepting person; going along with the ideas of others	28	22		18
Aggressor	May express disapproval of others. group or the problem, show envy, etc.	02		02	02
Compromiser	Is willing to compromise or yield his or her idea or point of view admit an error	-------	-------	-------	
Blocker	Is negativistic and resistant, disagreeing beyond reasonable objections.	04	-------	02	03
Recognition seeker	Tries to get attention; calls attention to self, boasts; loud or unusual behaviour; excessive talker	18	06	04	06
Avoider	Acts indifferently; withdraws from discussion; daydreams; wanders off, talks to others.	28	18	-------	09

It was observed that in all nine meetings men were *initiators* as, for every meeting they were in the position of Chair. Men were also seen in the roles of *information giver* and *opinion maker* as, most of the time, male faculty members were seen to inform the group about the key issues on the agenda and were seen to suggest their own opinions and solutions. On only a few occasions across all nine meetings observed by the researcher were women seen to make suggestions and/or inform the other participants on the key issues. The suggestions were mostly countered by men using comments such as, *I think you are right, it makes sense or I don't agree, I think it is not a good idea.*

It was also observed that men mostly acted as *harmonizers* where they tried to mediate differences arising between members.

For instance, on one occasion a male faculty member was noted to say:

"We can consider both suggestions, why not to move forward now". **(Meeting, D.GMC. OB, 01-06-2010).**

It was also found that men were more aggressive than women in conversations. At times they were seen to block other members and oppose them bluntly. For example, at one meeting observed by the writer, one of the male members directly addressed a female member and said:

"Why should we not learn from the last year's experience, why to invent the wheel again? **(Meeting.H.MS.BS, 12-08-2010).**

It was also observed that the communication style of the male faculty members changed depending upon the gender of the member with whom they were communicating. They were seen to talk more gently and politely when in conversation with women.

In all of the meetings, men were noted to hold the role of *summarizer*, as a result of all nine meetings being chaired by men. The chair was observed to be the one making the concluding remarks and asking for any further points of discussion arising out of the agenda.

The role played by women in the meeting was largely invisible. On only a few occasions did the researcher note women to actively participate in the meetings. They were more often seen whispering to each other and avoiding participation in the main discussion. On only a few instances did the researcher see women participate in the group discussion. This was overwhelmingly in order to either seek information or to ascertain the opinion of another group member. For example, on one occasion a female member asked:

"Will the members of the organising committee have to sit back till late?". (Meeting, P. ED. SN. 07-06-2010).

On another occasion, a female member asked:

"My students will finish their work in a week's time, will there be any remuneration for extra supervision?" (Meeting, H.MS.MN, 06-08-2010)

On one occasion, a female faculty member suggested also:

"How about inviting the students of affiliated colleges also?" (Meeting, D.MS.SH. 28-05-2010).

It was noticed that female members who were involved in interviews with the writer spoke comparatively more those who were not participating in the study, which indicates that there is potential for a greater effort to be made to enhance female participation.

It was also observed by the researcher that female members wearing the 'Burka' (full veil) participated less than others. Most of the female participants at all nine meetings wore the 'Burka' and were seen sitting in silence in the role of *listener* only. A few of the women participated by way of minimal verbal responses, indicating agreement by using phrases such as 'yeah' and 'hmm mm'.

This observation supports and verifies the perspective given by the participants in the interviews, where they suggested that the 'Burka' hinders women in their communication. It can also be seen that female members wearing the 'Burka' are under comparatively more social pressure in terms of the Pukhtunwali and religious interpretation.

The vast majority of female academics were seen to be taking the role of *follower* in the meetings, and were seen to simply go along with the ideas generated by the men. Most of the participants in interviews suggested cultural norms as being the reason for women's lack of participation. Some of the female participants were of the opinion that their exposure and understanding levels were lower than those of the men, and they feared embarrassment in case they were seen to be suggesting something that would be identified as not worthy in the meetings. This perspective indicates the low self worth felt by female academics. A few of them also thought that all the decisions would ultimately be taken by the men, so their suggestions and participation would be meaningless.

The context of the region and analysis of the interview responses overall indicates that social pressure negatively affects the behaviour of academics in formal group meetings. The analysis also indicates that the situation is more difficult for women, but the improvement is required at both ends. It further indicates that women need to improve in order to actively take on roles as *initiator, contributor*, *opinion giver* and *coordinator.* On the other hand, men need to improve in terms of acting as *expeditors* so that communication is encouraged and every member is helped to take part in the discussion, irrespective of gender differences. The perceptions and traditional norms leading to such behaviour are factors which need to be addressed to help create more conducive environment for better gender interaction in group work.

7.2.3 Visual Dominance

The analysis of observation data revealed that male faculty members maintained eye contact better than their female counterparts. Most of the male faculty members looked directly into the eyes of the chair and fellow members while speaking in the meetings observed by the researcher. It was difficult as a matter of practicality for the writer to observe the eye contact of all members of the group while the chairs were addressing the different meetings. The focus of the researcher remained specifically on those members who participated in the discussion or who were addressed directly by the chair.

At all nine meetings it was observed that the chair (male in all cases) established eye contact with different members when addressing them directly or indirectly. The researcher felt that this observation referred to the issue of leadership dynamic more than gender. However, it was observed that most of the male faculty members were establishing eye contact with the chair even at times when the chair was more aggressive and was talking about progress on different issues. Female academics were mostly seen to be looking down or at each other during the meetings. Male faculty members were generally noted to establish eye contact with fellow members and the chair while suggesting, informing or disagreeing during the meetings. On the other hand, female members were rarely seen to establish eye contact. Only very few female group members were seen looking confidently towards the chair while talking. Those women were noted to be either older faculty members or married, and were those participants who had confirmed a strong family support.

The findings in the observation sessions indicated that visual dominance was mostly shown by men. The writer identified three probable reasons for this. Firstly, the writer felt that female members are generally dominated by men in the group work and, because of this dominancy, they are not confident enough to try and demonstrate visual equality. This reason can be better understood if it is related back to the female responses in interview, where the female faculty members mentioned that they are respected and given more opportunity to participate in the meetings as a result of religious and cultural factors. It was also observed during the observation sessions that the chairs were encouraging equal and sometimes more opportunities to female members in terms of participation.

The second possible reason identified by the researcher was the low self worth felt by female academics (as a result of less exposure to good education and experience) which meant they were not able to participate fully in meetings. This reason also carries some weight, as the interview data also indicated towards the same feelings in the case of a few female academics, although this was not a view widely expressed.

The third probable reason identified by the writer was the possibility that not interacting with men frequently and not staring and establishing eye contact with men is a sign of honour and respect in the traditional culture of Pukhtunwali. This

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reason chimes with the opinions given by the majority of the interview participants. During the interviews, it was observed that the women wearing the Pardadhar (veil covering their entire face leaving only eyes uncovered) and belonging to more conservative families did not establish eye contact with the researcher (male). On the other hand, those comparatively older female participants who had strong family support and were not wearing the Pardah were noted to establish and maintain better eye contact with the researcher.

The second and third possible reasons identified above seem to align more closely to the interview responses and observation findings and, as such, seem likely to be the principal reasons for the lack of visual contact by female members. This reveals that the visual dominance displayed by men and the relative weakness of women are due to pressures of conformity which derive from the prevailing social culture.

The interview responses and meetings observations indicate that interaction between men and women is largely influenced by perceptions, unconstructive traditional practices and unhelpful family norms. These factors are found to set boundaries for male and female academics in the universities resulting in segregation in the workplace. The interview responses indicate that the desire for collaborative work on equal grounds does in fact exist for both male and female academics but that segregation results in a communication gap between the two. In simple terms, men and women's will to interact is not understood by the other due to a lack of interaction and communication. Unhelpful social norms and values are hindering frequent interaction and any significant communication. It is concluded by the writer that the impact of the culture that prevails outside the universities is stronger than the impact of the universities themselves in terms of changing and relaxing the external culture.

The impact of interventions made by the government and NGO's in this regard is discussed below.

7.3   Interventions

The responses of the academics demonstrate that awareness and understanding of the structural and promotional initiatives taken by the government and NGO's (non governmental organizations) among academics is very limited. In all three

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universities most of the academics, including both men and women, revealed that awareness about adherence to these policies has rarely been discussed in either formal or informal settings. The responses of academics regarding these initiatives have been analysed to try and understand the level of awareness among academics about gender equality legislations and adherence to the same in universities.

7.3.1 Awareness

The general awareness among most of the academics about equality legislation was largely only in relation to the basic and fundamental principles of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. The academics revealed an understanding that no direct discrimination is allowed by the government in all policies relating to human resources in the universities. Very few male academics were found to be knowledgeable about the details of specific gender equality legislation and the circumstances in which this legislation could be of benefit.

The participants described knowledge that various NGOs are working in rural areas of Pakistan in relation to gender issues. This information had largely been brought to their attention through the media. In relation to gender equality issues, it was found that there had been no workshops or seminars on this topic held in any of the three universities. One of the male participants said:

"I haven't heard of any such program or a policy which is in place for promotion of gender equality but as far as protection is concerned I know that there is a law in the country called equal opportunities act. Since it is a law of the land therefore I understand that the university is bound to follow this law. And I understand this law for the protection of all sorts of equalities". (Interview, D. MS.DBK, 09-06-2010)

One of the female participants described the situation in this way:

"Well locally as far as I know we don't have any such mechanism or policy for promotion of gender equality but on the national level lots of NGO's are working in this direction and we know it because of the media" (Interview, H.AMC. RT. 09-07-2010).

Almost all of the academics had a similar perspective in relation to the issue of awareness. The reason for this perspective was divulged via discussion with the

academics. It was found that this issue is considered to be very sensitive in the regions. Any issues relating to a woman in terms of disagreement or conflict or discrimination is so sensitive that it creates a lot of complications for both men and women. The participants revealed that, in such situations, the families of women are also involved and the issue sometimes pervades beyond simply the professional role. Such issues are seen as being more personal and less about professional roles. The participants generally thought that people are very preventive in relation to any such discrimination. If any gender discrimination occurs, it is mostly preferred by the parties (those members falling in conflict) to keep it confidential, in order to avoid any personal enmity or issue. One of the female participants said:

"If it happens to me, I will avoid it instead of confronting it" **(Interview, H.MS.MNK 01-07-2010).**

The participants suggested that these issues had never been raised by anyone within the universities because of the sensitivity of the issue, hence why no promotional policies had ever been launched. A discrepancy appeared among the responses of the academics on this topic, as most of them viewed the NGO's role in promoting awareness of gender equality as being more active in those rural areas which participants identified as being more conservative. The question which came to the researcher's mind was, if these issues could be discussed in such conservative rural areas then why could such issues not be discussed in the more educated and urban areas which were identified by the participants as being slightly more relaxed? It was interesting for the researcher to further investigate this issue via discussion with the participants. They expressed a belief that awareness initiatives might not be taken by the government and NGOs in universities as they might expect that the university, as a place of education, should be less influenced by cultural norms.

Another interesting perspective which appeared from the academics was that these issues are seen as being very sensitive, and there are different interpretations of the religious teachings given by Mullas regarding this issue. As such, if any debate or awareness campaign regarding this issue was to be launched, then the situation might spiral out of control, as Mullas are seen to have a significant influence on university students and society as a whole.

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This analysis therefore again refers back to the social pressure on academics to conform to the cultural norms. It also highlights the communication gap between institutions because of less academic and non academic debate on this issue.

7.3.2 Adherence

The perspective of academics regarding the impact of and adherence to gender equality legislation is clarified with the discussion above. The academics were largely unaware of gender legislation. Some of the academics, both male and female, thought that the university's constitution may include some legislation regarding rights relating to gender, as the university's constitution is obligated to align with the constitution of Pakistan. Academics referred to the existence of the Equal Employment Opportunities Act in the constitution of the country. One of the male academics said:

"I think the statutes of the university may have these legislations as the universities are liable to follow EEO present in the constitution". (Interview, H.AMC.KK, 01-07-2010)

On another occasion, one of the female participants said:

"I think that our higher ups ensure the adherence of these policies because of the legislation that is there in the country" (Interview, P.MS.SM, 23-06-2010).

Another interesting perspective that was found among some of the academics (mostly female but also a few male) was that the formal legislation introduced by the government is seen to be weaker and less important than the regional traditional norms. The academics were of the opinion that adherence to such legislation (or otherwise) is largely determined by issues of culture and tradition, in which sense this issue is considered to be very sensitive. One of the female participants said:

"Look the whole idea here in Khyber PukhtunKhwa is, it's not about policies or legislation, it's about areas where legislation is kept stronger and the culture would let it be so and then there are areas where the culture will over rule legislative act. When it comes to females' culture does overrule the legislative act and it does not matter that what the legislation is all about. So culture leads the legislation, it's not the legislation leading culture here and culture even leads religion at times also and in

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PukhtunKhwa it's mainly the culture as it rules the religion most of times so what to say of the legislation so there is a law but there is no implementation what so ever". (Interview, P.MS.SG, 11-06-2010).

Regarding this issue, a conversation with a male academic went as follows:

Participant: *"The benefit of this law probably has got a big social price because if you are reporting a matter of like some sexual harassment or gender discrimination or anything for whatever reason if you are making it public probably first you will be taking most of the brunt of it personally. People will have so many things to say about it like what have happened or like actually something else would have happened but she is reporting the other way around, this and that so character assassination is in the air and even people at very responsible and very educated positions will say things which they should never have said. So we are living in the part of the world where making anything public has a price.*

Interviewer: *So is this price same for women and men?*

Participant: *For women it's simply unacceptable as the price might be too high socially. She will be carrying a stigma which will be very difficult to erase, her life will be made difficult. So we will have all sorts of guess works at the back of our mind, so it will be like very difficult and very unacceptable for her.* (Interview, H.MS.SIK. 12-07-2010)

This shows the high levels of sensitivity in relation to gender issues which prevail among the academics. The lack of awareness of the academics about the legislation and the lack of desire to debate on this issue reveals the influence of unconstructive and unhelpful traditional norms on the gender situation in the universities.

7.4   Summary

The discussion interprets the interview responses and observation findings with the help of three core categories formed as a result of the coding process. The interpretation begins with an explanation of the first core category; culture. The interpretation suggests that cultural issues, i.e. gender stereotypes, traditional values and norms and religious interpretation, all contribute to the existence of the dark side of the culture of Pukhtunwali, which further constitutes an extreme culture of patriarchy and gender disparity. The findings suggest that such cultural attributes

enter into the university culture and affect the way of life of academics in the workplace and their behaviour at academic workgroups.

The findings suggest that the level of awareness of the legislation for the protection of gender rights is minimal. Adherence to the legislation is also a potential area for problems to arise, even for those people who are aware of the existence of legal rights in the constitution of the country. The data suggest that the situation prevails due to the extreme culture of patriarchy, where gender is considered as a sensitive issue masked with religious interpretation. The findings lead the writer to conclude that this extreme culture of patriarchy is stronger and more powerful than any equal opportunity legislation. This therefore demands a careful response from those more enlightened people in society.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

8.0   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the findings of this research in light of the existent literature so that areas of agreement and disagreement can be highlighted and discussed. In the previous chapter the findings of the study were integrated into three selective categories to form and present an explanatory whole. Now those categories are discussed in more detail in the context of the existing literature in the relevant areas. The areas of harmony and any areas of counterpoint with other authors are discussed so as to position the interpretation of the study in the current debate on gender diversity. The intention of the author in this interpretation and discussion is to "kick start" the debate on gender diversity in the place, where the researcher thinks, that it is most needed.

The first section of the chapter describes the prevailing culture and presents a debate on those cultural components and their influence on individual thinking and behaviour. This description is expanded to highlight the beliefs and perceptions of academics in KPK, and how they are influenced by cultural attributes like gender stereotypes, acceptance of traditional norms and values, religious interpretations and adherence to family values. The explanation is then related to and linked with existing theories on gender, gender development and roles and patriarchy. The subsequent section focuses on issues of workplace gender behaviour among academics; it sets out the interactional issues in workgroups and covers issues of acceptance and the participation behaviour of academics in workgroups. This section critically discusses the influence of cultural attributes as set out in the first section on the participation performance of academics in workgroups using the existing gender theories on workplace gender dynamics. There then follows an examination of the implications of formal and informal interventions made by the government and other stakeholders for gender equality. The implications are analysed in terms of awareness and adherence using the critical discussion and evaluation by different authors regarding legislative and non legislative commitments by the state to promote gender equality. Finally, the explanations of all the three categories are linked to each other and synthesized to present the argument of this research.

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8.1 Cultural Dynamics

As can be seen from the preceding chapters, culture emerged as the dominant phenomenon effecting the academics' perceptions relating to gender development, socialisation and role determination. The findings made by the author suggest that the academics' beliefs regarding gender difference are based on perceptions relating to biological and socialisation differences between men and women, and that these beliefs and assumptions are deeply rooted in the culture of KPK. It is these factors which largely determine the academics' perceptions of gender roles. It is therefore important to analyse the socio cultural attributes of the Pukhtun culture, the role of religious interpretations and the joint family system, in order to better understand the perceptions and beliefs which arise from these attributes.

The empirical evidence of this study reveals that the gender perceptions and beliefs of academics in the three universities located in three different cities of KPK are very similar. This suggests that the socio-cultural attributes relating to gender which prevail across KPK are largely identical irrespective of geographical regional differences within the province. The acceptance and adherence to traditional and family norms, and the perceptions and beliefs of academics regarding attributes and behaviours appropriate to men and women are the key cultural aspects which act as a rationale for discrimination in gender relations in academic work groups. The following discussion aims to elaborate upon these issues in light of the findings of this research and assumptions of the previous authors.

The findings of this study suggest that strong cultural values are accepted and adhered to by academics based at the three big universities of KPK. The data reveals that gender roles are strongly affected by cultural and traditional norms which keep women under the control and influence of men, and thus lead to a gender disparity. This conclusion is identical to the findings of Syed (2006), who portrayed Pakistani culture as patriarchal, whereby gender inequality is ingrained in society. More particularly, the participants in this study, and the literature more generally, both indicate that the extremely patriarchal culture of Pukhtunwali is a principal reason for the social distance between men and women. The discussion below analyses the socio cultural attributes of this culture and examines its impact on the perceptions and behaviours of academics.

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8.1.1.1   Pukhtunwali- The Code of Life for Pukhtuns

The findings suggest that the concept of Pukhtunwali guides and shapes the way of life of the people living in KPK. As previously discussed, the code is based on traditions of respecting the elders and women, hospitality and unity. The participants in this study, including both men and women, concurred that women's *'izzat'* (honour) is considered one of the important hallmarks of Pukhtunwali. Accordingly, women are considered as a repository of family honour and respect. The findings suggest that one of the important dimensions of Pukhtunwali for women is to remain in *'Pardah'* (veil) and to avoid interacting with men who are not blood relations. The primary data reveals that the custom of Pardah is observed among Pukhtuns from a school going age. Boys and girls are educated in separate schools and colleges. Although education in universities takes place in a coeducation setting, the seating arrangements in the classrooms and other facilities ensure the continued segregation of gender in pursuit of the norms of 'Pardah' as required in Pukhtun culture. The findings suggest that the culture of Pukhtunwali is strongly followed by the people of KPK, and that respect for women in this culture is associated with 'Pardah'. One participant's statement on this subject:

"Even the Pukhtu (culture in Khyber PukhtunKhwa Province) culture is its self a constitution and it is traced out for fifteen hundred years back. Pukhtu has a lot of respect for women, it is Pukhtu which says that a friend's sister is your own sister, a friend's mother is your own mother and a friend's wife is your sister in law". (Interview, P.MS.SJ. 03-08-2010*).*

The participants explained that the culture of Pukhtunwali is strongly followed in the whole of the KPK region. Participants highlighted that the requirement for respect for the women in Pukhtunwali obligates men and women in different ways. Men are obligated to respect the female family members of others by not interacting with them and not looking at them without 'Pardah', so that the family respect and honour of others is not harmed. Similarly, women are obligated to remain in 'Pardah' and not to interact with men who are not blood relations. However, the participants clearly revealed that the obligation on women is much greater than men. In relation to these obligations, women are held accountable to men, but men are not in turn accountable to women. The interpretation supports the argument extended by Shah

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(2010) that the 'Izzat' (family honour) embodies enormously powerful cultural judgement, as the females are expected to uphold the honour of the family, community and almost everyone else through maintenance of an honour code which itself is often defined by men, and which requires not appearing without a veil in front of any man who is not a blood relation. The findings also support the findings of Critelli (2010), Abraham (2000) and Beri (2000), who all suggest that there are considerable pressures on women as the repositories of family honour in maintaining harmony and minimizing any actions which might jeopardize the stability of family and community. This means that the notion of respect for women is directed towards upholding the social dignity of men. The violation of the norm of 'Pardah' is not only harmful in terms of respect for women, but also in respect of the dignity of the men of the family, as men's dignity is largely linked to the family honour which is itself based on women's 'Pardah'. This shows that 'Pardah' is not only important in terms of women's social position, but also important to the men of the family, which in turn increases the pressure on women to observe 'Pardah' according to the norms of Pukhtun culture.

Another set of important considerations relating to women's 'Pardah' and interaction with men which was revealed by a few female participants was age and marital status. The participants described that being older and married as factors which would source a relaxation in the observance of the norms of Pukhtunwali. The primary findings reveal that the social pressure on women to practice 'Pardah' and to maintain a social distance with men relaxes with increasing age and the acquisition of marital status. The participants' accounts reveal that the communication of those women who are wives, mothers or of an old age is better with the opposite gender than those women who are young and single. Female participants regarded their family men s being more sensitive to the 'Pardah' of young and unmarried women when compared to that of married and older women.

Such findings confirm Moghadam's (1992) argument that men are entrusted with safeguarding family honour through their control particularly over young and unmarried female members. The participants argued that the reason for such a tendency is the perception that there is a maturity which comes with women with age and marriage, and which decreases a woman's vulnerability to lose her honour.

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Maghadam also highlighted the same basis for such a tendency. This shows that women's interaction with men is a highly sensitive issue in the culture of Pukhtunwali and hinders gender relations in the workplace also. The interpretation of the participants' narratives reveals that male and female interaction is limited to formal settings (i.e. workgroup meetings) only, and that informal gender interaction among colleagues is a rare occurrence. The writer finds that such behaviour among academics exists due to the norm of 'Pardah' for the protection of family honour. The interpretation strengthens Shah's view (2010) of the fear of the consequences to family *izzat* (honour) which discourages women from interacting with men. This also supports Critelli's (2010) interpretation of Mumtaz (1987) and Rai et al (2007) w who view women's confinement as a prerequisite for maintaining family honour. Farooq's (2009) suggestion that males and females in Pukhtun culture are not allowed to socially mix together, especially when they (males and females) are not blood related, is also strengthened by the findings of this study. This corresponds with the study findings acquired from non participant meetings, where the writer observed that female academics wore the 'Burqah' (veil in which only eyes are uncovered) and sat together, leaving the space of a chair or two between their seating area and that of their male colleagues. Such segregation of male and female academics belonging to the same profession with a similar economic status shows that the cultural norm of 'Pardah' is a more powerful reason for gender segregation than economic status, which is different to the Marxist feminist view.

The segregation of males and females from childhood and its effect on gender relations is reflected in the findings of this study. The responses of the participants revealed that female academics are more comfortable with other women in their professional relationships. Similarly, male academics also regarded their relationships other male colleagues as being more open and relaxed when compared to their relationships with their female colleagues. A male participant stated:

"My relationship with male colleagues is quite good, it is not that I am in not good terms with female colleagues but you know if I compare I would say I am more open with my male colleagues. I think it is because of culture, if even we try to come closer we will get our reputation harmed". **(H.ED, SS, 06-08-2010).**

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The quote alludes to the reputational risk for the academics which can be regarded as the public perception of the character of an individual as a result of their actions. The quote highlights that both men and women fear that their reputation may be damaged if they talk to 'others'. However, the findings further suggest that the reputational risk to men is not as high as it is to women. The following quote by a male participant describes this concept:

"I meet with my female colleagues in the formal setting only, I mean faculty meetings or in some other committees. See if I will meet them in informal setting, I mean in coffee shop or in the gallery, I am sure it is going to harm their (women) reputation." (Interview, H.AMC.MH, 16-07-2010)

The female participants also regarded the risk of losing family honour as a reason for maintaining a distant relationship with men. The findings showed that women in the Pukhtun culture consider even a professional interaction with a man as a potential danger in terms of losing family honour. The interpretation shows that the Pukhtun culture leaves women with less freedom to keep and maintain open and comfortable professional relationships with men than with other women. Moreover, whilst the majority of academics from all the three universities indicated a preference for working in gender diverse groups because of diversity of opinions a desire for equality of gender representation in work groups, they nevertheless considered the cultural pressure of maintaining gender difference as a major obstacle for inter-gender interactions. This highlights the gravity of the social distance between men and women and the influence of the same on gender behaviour and relations. The findings strengthen Shah's (2010) argument which describes the disciplining of women into segregation and silence in anticipation of the possible social and physical threats which prevail in Pakistan. The fear of the female participants of losing their jobs due to putting their family honour at stake by their frequent interaction with men in the workplace indicates towards Shah's findings, and further shows the influence of the culture of Pukhtunwali on gender relations between men and women in the workplace. It can also be associated with Lukes' (1974) second level theory of power, as it points towards a comparatively less observable form of power which involves the failure of the weaker party to act because he anticipates a reaction from the stronger party in the form of losing some sort of social right or

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privilege. Lukes' first level of power is the most observable and overt form of power which involves a successful attempt of the stronger party to get the weaker to do something he would not otherwise do owing to a fear of suffering physical harm (ibid. p 82). In the context of Luke's theory, the study does not provide evidence of any such "first level" fear among the academics. The writer believes this is because the second and third levels of power are working effectively. The fear of academics from acting in ways that can be criticised refrain individuals to bring issues onto the agenda and moving things to Luke first level of power from second and third level of power.

Foucault (1982) saw the honour codes (Izzat/Pukhtunwali) as gender discriminatory and highly marginalising for women, promoting male control by subjecting women to surveillance and disciplining. Likewise, most of the female participants of this study described themselves as being privileged for being allowed by men to access education and work. Women considered themselves as being privileged for having permission to enjoy even the most basic human rights of acquiring an education and employment. This shows the exertion of an extreme form of power which seeks the compliance of the weaker without that person even realising that compliance is sought. This indicates towards Lukes' (1974) theory of radical power which suggests that such power is exerted by the dominant over the weak by culturally patternising the behaviours and socially structuring the institutions in such a way that the weak can be controlled in order to secure their compliance. The exertion of Luke's radical power in the culture of Pukhtunwali can also be seen in Critelli (2010), Mumtaz (1987) and Rai et al's (2007) explanation of the culture of Pakistan which describes that a strong inside/outside dichotomy exists in Pakistani culture, whereby women are restricted to the inside space of home and household that is embodied in the ideology of "Pardah" (veil, curtain), which refers to the physical veiling of women and institution of segregation sexes and secluding women, and the notion of *chardewari* (four walls/ within the house), which is used to denote the confinement of women, their role in society and their modesty. Such confinements of women imply socialisation differences between men and women and lead to the stratification of men's and women's roles in society (Ali, 2006). Unequal socialisation and unequal distribution of social roles are considered as characteristics of a typical patriarchal society by Deem (1980), Walby (1990) and Heath and Ciscel (2001). This brings the

researcher to the interpretation that the culture of Pukhtunwali portrays the typical culture of patriarchy which is defined by Walby (1990) as the culture of gender segregation and inequality, and which is advantageous to men.

8.1.1.2   Religious Interpretations

One of the dimensions of segregation and social distance between men and women which appeared in the findings is religious interpretation. The participants pointed towards to a widespread interpretation that the religion of Islam does not allow men to interact with women under any circumstances. The participants also indicated towards the interpretation that it is mandatory for women to wear the 'Burqah'. The majority of the academics, including both men and women, regarded this interpretation as a perception of the bindings of religion. The academics explained it in this way:

"I think every Muslim has the obligation to understand religion well, the limitations which people have imposed on themselves are because of the lack of understanding of religion. Some people do think that religion disallows women to go out of homes and work with other men". (Interview, H.ED.SA, 05-08-2010).

And

"You see some people do refer to Islam for their personal interest even when they do not themselves use religion in their own affairs of life. People, who are competing with women, do use Islam in their own favour". (Interview, P.MS.SJ, 09-06-2010).

Such narratives from the participants indicate towards traditional and socially constructed networks for gaining and maintaining social control over a society. The participants note the pressure on people to identify themselves with the Pukhtun culture and include themselves in the social network of Pukhtunwali which exists in the entire province of KPK. The concept of social networks relates to the concept of social capital recognised as an informal norm to promote cooperation between individuals (Fukuyama, 2001). However, commenting on the darker side of social capital, Portes (1998) argues that association with certain social networks sometimes restricts individual freedom and exerts the pressure of conformity with the

norms of the network. Portes further suggests that social organisations create social capital and that the donor of social capital has reciprocal expectations in the form of the enforcement of norms, whereas the recipient of social capital gains the benefit of recognition as a member of the social network. Afridi (2009) suggests that the informal institutions of Hujra (a place where elders of the community informally meet and discuss issues relating to individuals and community) and mosques (a common of place Muslim prayers guided by Mullas i.e. head of the mosque) are the social organisations which exist in KPK. It can therefore be said that the Mullas bringing religious thought into Pukhtunwali and the elders of Hujra (people who value traditions and are known to follow Mullas) are the donors of the social capital of Pukhtunwali. The donors exercise a tight social control for identification and recognition in a society having little or no desire for economic benefits. The economic benefit is secondary, as Mullas and Hujra elders are not classified among the richer classes (Hussain, 2009). The attraction for recipients is identification with religion and the valued culture of Pukhtunwali.

The participants regarded interpretation of religion by some Mullah's, as a barrier to the development of a comfort zone between men and women among academics at all three universities. Such views support Graham, Krenavi and Zaidi's (2007) view of the culture of Pakistan formed of Islamic customary law, the movement to Islamize social policy and social behaviour codes. The findings also support Loyn's (2008) argument of the sway of radical and political Islam as a reason for extremist culture in KPK. Jehan (2010) interprets the version from Quran (Holy book of Muslims) and suggests that Muslim women are not forbidden from going out in the community, working or visiting relatives and female friends, provided certain conditions are met. These include that is no objection from their guardian (husband/father or mother) and if they (the women) are covered and behave and speak according to Islamic guidelines and, if necessary, are escorted by their Mahram (a close male relative). However, a woman's home should be the base from which she works. This interpretation shows the practicality of religion and conveys that women in Islam are not in fact prohibited from working and going out of the home.

However, the major condition for women's permission for employment is 'Pardah/ Hijab'. Jehan (2010) suggests that Pardah in Islam means a cloth which is used by

women to cover the parts of their body except face, hands and feet. The basic purpose of 'Pardah' is to control obscenity in the society and to reduce the chances of adulteration (Jehan, 2010). The interpretation shows that the concept of the wearing of the 'Burqah' (veil covering all parts of body) for women is akin to a cultural concept than a religious obligation. This suggests that the strict social segregation of men and women under all circumstances is not endorsed by Islam, but is more like a cultural ritual endorsed by the culture of patriarchy and Pukhtunwali.

It was observed by the researcher *(Field Notes)* that most of the female academics were quiet in the meetings and were not really involved in the discussion which was dominated by men. The women were also noted to observe 'Pardah' and were seen to wear the 'Burqah' (veil in which only eyes are visible). However, in contrast, during the interviews, most of the women indicated that they like active participation and that they are respected and given an equal chance of participation in the meetings. The findings confirm Lukes' (1974) explanation of the exercise of power by the dominant over the weak by influencing, shaping and determining his wants. It is the supreme exercise of power to get another or others to form the desires you want them to have, that is to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires. The course of hegemonic control in Lukes' theory of radical power stems from capitalist relations of production, but this study suggests an alternative source of hegemonic control, i.e. cultural influence through religion. This shows that women's thoughts and desires are shaped and controlled by the male dominated culture to such an extent that they do not even recognise that they (women) are deprived of the basic right of equal participation in the meetings (endorsed by EEO legislation, Moghadam, 1992). The same can also be said in the choice to wear the the Hijab (veil in which face is not covered) instead of the 'Burqah' (veil in which face is covered), according to one set of interpretation of religion, (Jahan, 2010). The study suggests that religious interpretation plays a role, but different interpretations of religion brings different set of codes for women's autonomy. Butler's assumption of power influence over social knowledge can be well associated with the argument of influence of religious thought on Pukhtun culture promoted by the donors of the social capital. Afridi (2009) suggests that some of the Mulla's interpretation of Islam relating to women's autonomy is highly restrictive and contrary to the spirit of Islamic code of conduct given in the Holy Quran. Religion in the wider sense, by the

interpretation of other Aalims, is more liberal than the Pukhtun culture in permitting women to work, although there are still some constraints which arise as a result of religious factors. However, this brings forth the thought that social norms derived by some Mulla's interpretation of religion brings cultural constraints that create acute gender inequality to the disadvantage of women in Pukhtun culture. This also suggests that religion based on such interpretations is used an ideology to maintain embedded patriarchy in Pukhtun Culture

The patriarchal nature of the society is further identified from its basis with family orientation (Critelli, 1992). Gill (2004) also argues that family orientation is synonymous with the interests of men and enhances patriarchy in the society. The findings of the study also cover the issue of adherence to values of the joint family system, which are analysed in the discussion below:

8.1.1.3   The Joint Family System

The interpretations suggest that the joint family system can be considered as one of the factors that affect gender equality. Amir (2005) defines the joint family system as a family system whereby father, mother, children, father in law, mother in law, uncle, aunties and cousins all live in the same house. The findings of this researcher suggest that academics across all three universities live in the family set up described by Amir. Khan and Khan (2009) also confirm that the majority of people in Pakistan live in a joint family system. Afridi (2009) particularly regarded living in such a set up as an important aspect of Pukhtunwali. The interpretation of the findings can be used to argue that people living in joint family system are influenced by the bindings of family values and the interdependency of the other members of the family. This supports Azam's (2006) argument, who suggests that the joint family system can be best understood as an organisation with defined values and a set of principles to which every family must adhere.

The study findings indicate that in the joint family system, men are responsible for earning money for the family, and women are responsible for household activities. This verifies the findings of Shaheed (1987) who distinguished the gender role in the joint family system and suggested that the women in the family fulfil the domestic responsibilities and men are responsible for the financial wellbeing of the family. This study finds that the elder men, fathers in most cases, have a dominant role to play in

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the decision making of the family. It was identified that the influence of father on son was highly encouraging and motivating in terms of the pursuit of their (sons) career. This is indicated in the following statements made by one of the make participants:

"My father always wanted me to become an academic at the university and he was very happy about it when I was appointed here. I was very discouraged when I missed the opportunities of going abroad for my PhD and I thought even leaving this profession but my father kept on encouraging me and advised me to remain in this profession. So I have always tried to fulfil my father's dreams and I am now even trying to excel so that my father feels proud about it." **(Interview, D.MS.ZA, 28-05-2010).**

Similarly, other narratives from the participants also show that men are encouraged and supported to study and excel in their careers. The majority of the male academics considered their fathers as a source of inspiration in their lives. On the other hand, the responses of the female academics interprets that the influence of their father's on their own career choice was often quite dominating. For example, one of the women participants said:

"I was very good in the subject of Mathematics; I wanted to become an Engineer but my father said that this field is saturated with men so it is not for you". **(Interview, P.MS.SG, 11-06-2010)**

And another woman said:

"I wish I could have become a Chartered Accountant but the Academy was only in Peshawar, we lived in Charsada (city away from Peshawar), my father didn't allow me to live in hostels so I ended up doing Bachelor and Masters in Education and I am a teacher now". **(Interview, H.ED.NN, 06-08-2010).**

Such responses indicate towards the patriarchal culture of Pukhtunwali discussed above. It shows that the concern of fathers as elder members and men of the family is focused on safeguarding the honour of the family through disallowing women from going out in public and interacting with men. This again validates the findings of Shah (2010), Moghadam (1992), Critelli (2010), Mumtaz (1987) and Rai et al (2007),

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whereby the authors commonly agreed on segregation and confinement of women due to the notion of 'Izzat and Pukhtunwali'.

Another dimension of family influence identified by female academics was the social role of house wife which women are required to perform after marriage, alongside their employment. The participants identified and described pressure from their husbands for making career choices and fulfilling the household responsibilities. Academics associated the birth of their children with an even greater pressure. Narratives such as the following highlight the women's perspective.

"My father and mother are old, I have to stay back and ask for leave when they are not feeling well". (Interview, P.KMC, ST, 09-08-2010)

"I had to quit the job when my first baby was born. My male class fellows are now Professors and Associate Professors and I am still an Assistant Professor". (Interview, D.GMC.NN, 24-05-2010).

The above statements clearly indicate that married women in Pakistan are subjected to increased domestic responsibilities when compared to unmarried women. The findings do not support Jehan (2010) argument which suggests that married women living in the joint family system are exempted from work. The literature suggests that after getting married, many women leave their jobs because of increased domestic responsibilities. Married women with children and older in-laws are required to spend more time at home than those without children. Similarly, married women without children are asked to spend more time at home than unmarried women. A married woman has to seek permission from her in laws to enter into employment (Duncan et. al. 1993, Khan and Khan, 2009).

The literature also points towards the lack of infrastructure and social welfare system for elderly people (as established in the western countries) as also being disadvantageous to women in Pakistan. Kalsoom and Waheed (2004), for example, suggest that the country is lacking a well established infrastructure for accommodating elderly people. Nasir and Ali (2000) also describe that the social welfare system for elderly people in Pakistan is not well built and requires additional concern and resources. The Pakistan National NGO (2011) data base lists a few NGO's and social welfare organisations like APWA (All Pakistan Women

Association) and Edhi Welfare Trust which provide support to elderly people, but these NGO's are located in urban areas and have limited resources. The lack of such infrastructure validates the findings of this study that married working women are bearing the burden for caring for older members of the family, as well as trying to maintain employment.

Cultural values also contribute to women's responsibility for the elderly people in her family. Kalsoom and Waheed, while analysing the policy for older people, suggests that admitting elderly members of the family into social welfare organisations is against the cultural values of the people of Pakistan. Nevertheless, whether it is as a result of a lack of a decent social welfare system or a product of cultural values, the responsibility of caring for elders in the family lies squarely on the shoulders of the women (Kalsoom, Waheed 2004).

The study findings show that unmarried women workers experience less social pressure in the face of fulfilling the responsibilities of household for the economic assistance of the family and arranging dowry for their marriages. This is depicted from the views of unmarried women participants who considered their family commitments related to children and in laws, comparatively less important and regarded economic wellbeing for marriage and family more important. However, the findings show that control over unmarried and young women's choices of profession still lies ultimately with the fathers and brothers in the family, and single young women are still accountable to the men in terms of family honour. The finding differs from Engel's perspective that the material conditions of people affect the structure of familial relations (Walby, 1990). This study suggests that, despite providing economic assistance to the family, women are still controlled by the men of the family. The empirical evidence of this study does support the argument of Jasmin (2002) and Khan and Khan (2009), which suggests that unmarried women are allowed to work for the economic assistance of the family and to arrange a dowry for their marriage. However, the economic assistance of the family and the arrangement of the dowry for marriage are the domestic responsibility of the family in the joint family system (Jasmin, 2002). This means more pressure on women in the shape of fulfilling the domestic and economic responsibilities of the family under the control of men. This shows that the choices and priorities of women are influenced by family

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responsibilities, and such influence travels with the women from one family (parents) to another family (husband).

The findings indicate that women belonging to comparatively more liberal families and supported by family members remained confident and active in conversation with the researcher and participation in the meetings *(meeting notes)*. This support the argument of Blackwell and Bursik (1993) who viewed women from less patriarchal families as being more active in the workplace when compared with women from more patriarchal families. This also shows the significance of family influence on women in the workplace. The study findings show that only a few women participants who were married, older and supported by family, were aware of the existence of inequality and influence by male dominated social and cultural norms. This shows that female suppression comes from the norms of Pukhtun culture, as the culture relaxes female suppression with age and marital status. This also highlights that the social pressure to adhere to the norms of Pukhtunwali may largely comes from the joint family system, as the support from the joint family system relaxes the pressure to confirm to Pukhtunwali. Thus, the study differs from the Marxist feminist view of the neutral effect of family on women's oppression, and also differs Engels view that the material conditions of people affect the structure of familial relations (Walby, 1990).

The findings of this study and the assumptions of the previous authors commonly identify that the culture of KPK is identical to the social system of patriarchy in which social structures and practices are dominated by men to oppress and exploit women (Walby, 1990). The dichotomy between academics' levels of awareness about the discriminatory social structure and religious interpretation, and the workplace practices actually revealed by them shows the gravity of the male dominated culture which shifts from the private domain to public spheres. This confirms the argument of Heath and Ciscel (1988) which suggests that patriarchy in the household substantiates patriarchy in employment. The findings also support the social control theory propounded by Grasmick, Blackwell and Bursik (1993), who argue that patriarchy revolves around the issue of power and is used to control social arrangements. The discussion establishes that the power basis of patriarchy is identical to Luke's theory of radical power, which involves power being exerted by

the dominant over the weak by culturally patterning the behaviours and socially structuring the institutions in such a way that the wants of the weak can be controlled in order to secure their compliance.

However, contrary to the Luke's argument, the study identifies the culture and traditional practices as being the basis of such hegemonic control rather than capitalist interests. The study shows that the culture in KPK allows the identification of men as holding more socially powerful positions than women, which creates gender disparity by controlling and shaping the values and beliefs of the weak (gender) in such a way that the weak do not even realize that there exists any disparity or inequality.

It can therefore be interpreted that socio cultural attributes and dynamics affect the gender behaviour and gender relations of men and women and place women at a disadvantage. The argument is supported by the findings of world life expectancy chart in World Fact Book (2010), which indicates that the average age of men in Pakistan is 61 years and for women is 59 years. World Health Organization (2010) statistics indicate that the difference between male and female cardiac patients is 47.2% to 53.1%, whereas the difference in hypertension disease is 48.9% to 51.6%. The suicide rate is consistently higher in men than women with a ratio of 12:7 (Jiddat, 2005), but the suicide rate is associated more with crime and drug addiction than with domestic family problems (Rasheed, 2005).

The themes which surface in this study indicate principally towards the existence of social structure and the culture of patriarchy. Hofstede regarded culture as the dominant determinant of an individual's values and beliefs (Harzing and Ruyssevldt, 2004). The study also identifies the effects of Pukhtun culture on the perceptions of academics regarding gender roles. The discussion below aims to explain these perceptions of academics.

8.1.2 Gender Stereotypes and Gender Roles

The interpretation and findings of this research suggest that the cultural meaning given to men and women is derived from the assumption of academics regarding gender traits, abilities and associated role behaviour acquired from genetic and social differences. The meanings given to men and women on the basis of culturally

based information are gender stereotypes according to Bandura (1999). Bandura (1999 p 678) cited Huston (1983) and Signorella (1987) and suggested that "knowledge of gender stereotypes are generalised preconceptions about attributes of males and females that influences gender linked conduct".

The findings of this study suggest that gender roles of men and women are defined and segregated on the basis of perceived genetic differences and the effects of socialisation on gender development. This fits with the socio-biological theory extended by Buss (1995), who argued that gender roles and behaviours are principally influenced by natural selection, yet stimulus also has a role to play, as natural behaviours can change in response to the environment. This study shows that the stereotypes relating to genetic and socialisation based differences between men and women are strongly internalised by academics, which influences their perceptions and beliefs regarding gender role. The discussion below covers these issues in more detail.

8.1.2.1   Gender Roles Determined by Biological Difference

The review of the literature shows that the concept of gender difference on the basis of biology is a traditionally held perspective. The evolutionary theory on gender development is based on the argument of an inherent biological difference between men and women. Archer (1994), Buss (1995), Simpson and Kenrick (1997) viewed gender differentiation as ancestrally programmed and suggested that behavioural difference between men and women originates from different sexual and reproductive strategies that have evolved to warrant that women and men are able to efficiently replicate and effectively pass on their genes.

Some of the participants, both male and female, thought that there was a natural genetic difference between men and women which creates different physical and psychological characteristics in both men and women, and expressed that these characteristics determine the suitability of men and women to perform different roles in their domestic and professional lives. The notion that men and women are naturally born different to each other provides natural legitimacy for segregation of men and women into different roles according to the participants. The participants, including both men and women, regarded men's relatively greater physical strength

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as a reason for their suitability for jobs requiring physical strength and they regarded women to be better suited to indoor jobs requiring less physical strength.

The participants' perceptions can be associated with Sanday (1981) and Friedli's (1975) views on the division of labour between men and women on the basis of gender differentiation. These perceptions resemble the ancient perspective that men are inclined to become warriors, hunters and processors of hard raw materials used for weapons and tools, whereas women tend to do the cooking and preparation of food. In terms of the participant's views, one of the female participants who participated in the earthquake relief committee and the blood donation committee made specific reference to her experience of women participating primarily in indoor activities, and to the overwhelming participation of men in the outdoor activities undertaken by those committees.

Gender distinction was also based on the idea that women have certain tendencies and interests which meant that they would perform certain jobs well. A number of the male participants expressed that women have more interest in beautifying things, supporting their point of view by referring to successful female fashion designers, choreographers and beauticians. These male participants regarded women's aesthetic sense as a natural ability and a reason for women's greater suitability for these sorts of jobs. Such arguments strengthens Mayes' (1989) suggestion, who referred to the concept that individuals are naturally inclined towards certain types of activities, and that men and women have certain types of tendencies and abilities (or lack of abilities) which are natural and which thus suit men and women to various roles.

The distinction on the basis of stereotypic natural abilities and related inclination to perform certain jobs seems to influence men's perception regarding women's suitability for decision making and creative roles involving innovative decision making. The male participants thought that men were better suited to competitive jobs requiring lots of thinking and innovative approach, whereas women were said to be better suited to those jobs requiring a lower level of thinking and creativity. The men expressed that women have more aesthetic sense for beautification and decoration and, therefore, they (women) are suited to perform jobs which require an aesthetic sense. Such comments reveal that, in the men's view, the role of women

should be limited to non-decision making positions, whereas the men are considered suited to competitive and decision making roles.

A similar argument is made by Fischer (2006), who suggests that men are thought to be less emotional then women and more inclined to use logic and reason while dealing with stresses. The emotions of happiness, sadness and fear are believed to be more traits associated with women, whereas anger is recognised as a characteristic of men. These commonly held beliefs influence the leadership and decision making roles for men and women in an organisation. The findings from the observations made in two meetings confirm this perception, as women were seen to be assigned the tasks of decorating the conference halls and departments (Meetings, D.GU.MS & H.AMC).

The interpretation of some of the participants agree with Shields (1975) argument of functionalist theory, insisting that men and women have evolved differently to perform different functions which are complementary to each other and critical for survival. The statement of one of the male participants strongly supports the functionalist perspective:

"Man as a father, husband, brother and son has to earn for children, wife, sisters and old parents that is why they are benefited with greater physical and psychological potential". (Interview, H.AMC.J, 11-7-2010).

The statements of the participants of the study regarding the difference between inborn psychological potential and emotionality among men and women can be associated with Wilson's (1978) theory. Wilson regarded biological difference as the basis of men's greater aggressiveness, hastiness and fickleness when compared to women. Singh (2003) also suggests that the genetic makeup of individuals tends to dictate psychological and behavioural differences between men and women. Singh concludes that certain biological differences between men and women lead men more towards aggressive behaviour whereas women are inclined towards less aggressive behaviour. Singh et al., (2001) more clearly suggest that women's work styles are interactive, more people oriented, and usually more cooperative. The view of some participants supports Singh's perspective, with some of the participants

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suggesting that a male presence in the departments and classrooms is more helpful in terms of controlling problematic students.

However, most commonly, the female participants in this study suggested that men and women are equally suitable to all kinds of jobs. One female participant stated that:

"Women in the west are actively doing all kinds of jobs, so if they can do then why not us. This proves that women are equally capable to become leader and decision makers; there is no discrimination by nature as nature is God and God never discriminates" (Interview, H.ED.S, 02-07-2010).

Women suggested that men are born physically stronger, but felt that both sexes are in fact gifted with the same psychological strength and, since almost all the muscular jobs are now undertaken using technology, this difference in physical strength as between the genders should not imbalance the equality of men and women in terms of their suitability to perform different kinds of roles. Some of the participants referred to women participating in professions associated with the heavy industries in the West. These findings can be associated with Amretti's argument in an IFC (international finance corporation) report (2010) that more opportunities are accessible to women in western countries and in the United States in jobs requiring physical skills, as female participation in the sector of heavy industry and construction in these countries is rapidly increasing. The report shows that female participation increased from 8% to 10% over the last year.

The findings provide some support to the evolutionary theory extended by Archer (1994), Buss (1995) and Simpson and Kenrick (1997) which is based on biological difference between men and women and the legitimacy of biological difference for men and women suitability for different jobs. The findings suggest that such beliefs are more favourable to men as wider and leadership roles are considered suitable for men and limit the scope of roles for women. This clearly supports Valian's (1999) argument of non-conscious hypothesis about sex difference that influences men's and women's domestic and professional lives. Such implicit and non conscious hypothesis is more advantageous to men. Such a belief system which deforms gender equality in favour of men also points towards the ideology of subsuming

women under men, such ideology according to Barclay is called patriarchy. This shows that perceptions relating determination of gender roles to genetic gender difference ultimately lead to the ideology of a social system of patriarchy. Such findings also indicates towards Butler's (2004) argument of sexual difference that forms a continuing power difference between men and women in language and society and deeply functions in establishing symbolic and social order in a society

Another dimension of the determination of gender roles which is more strongly supported by the findings of this study is the idea of gender difference on the basis of socialisation. These interpretations are now analysed in light of the arguments given by theorists posing theories of cognitive development and social learning.

8.1.2.2   Gender Roles Determined by Social Development of Men and Women

The perspective of the majority of participants reflects the view that a difference in the social development of men and women is largely perceived as a determinant of different attributes between the sexes on the basis of which different gender roles are thus perceived as pertaining to be ascribed to men and women. The academics at all three universities concurred that there is a visible difference between the social development of men and women, with such development being far superior for men than for women due to the influential cultural context of the KPK region. This endorses the argument of Toy er onke (2005) which suggests that social construction of gender is mainly affected by the cultural sites.

The majority of academics at all three universities perceived that females are groomed within the home and live closer to their mothers, which mean that women acquire certain specific characteristics i.e. being caring, sympathetic and empathetic. The participants believed that women should capitalise upon these attributes to prosper in professions which are better suited to individuals displaying such characteristics. The participants expressed these opinions in the following ways:

"I think that we should understand that women at our society remain at home most of the time which is not deprivation as they acquire good traits staying even at home and they are able to prove their substance in fields where those traits can be used" **(Interview, D.MC.I, 12-05-2010).**

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A suggestion given in a meeting by a male participant demonstrates this sort of perception about women's traits:

"I think Miss Faiza (coded name) and Miss Ozmah (coded name) may also be nominated as members for discipline committee, their presence may give a soft touch to the decisions of the committee" (Meeting H, ED, 23-07-2010)

The idea of nominating a woman to bring a "soft touch" to the committee indicates towards the belief that sympathy and leniency are seen to be characteristics of a woman. These arguments support the cognitive development theory propounded by Buss (1990), which suggests that the difference in gender thinking and behaviour is an early childhood phenomenon where a child learns and imitates from his/her interaction with their immediate stimuli. Buss described the attachment of girls with their mothers and boys with their fathers, and that idea clearly resembles the arguments of the participants of this study. However, the information gathered from the participants does not accord with the theory put forward by Sayers (1986), who suggested that there is no empirical evidence that the attachment of girls is stronger with mothers than their fathers and vice versa. Most of the participants associated the characteristics of softness and caring with women due to their close affection and interaction with their mothers. Participants regarded the difference in the social development of men and women throughout the course of life as a reason for the difference in the performance between the two genders, which tends to reflect Deaux and Major's (1987) suggestion that gender behavioural difference and gender functioning is not confined to childhood but is settled in throughout the course of life. The study supports Kohlberg (1966) and Lorber's (1994) theory of learning by observing and imitating the actions of others, as the participants admitted that children see men more in the leadership role in families and therefore they (children) assume that only men are born to lead. This implies that men get more chances to practice leadership skills when compared to women.

The empirical findings also reveal a difference in the schooling and education afforded to boys and girls. The participants revealed that boys are generally sent to good schools, colleges and universities, whereas parents invest less in relation to female education. This shows that, in the social development stakes, men are at an advantage in comparison to women.

The participants linked better socialization with attainment of leadership and decision making positions in the workplace and regarded such position as being a source of greater control over resources. Both men and women saw the leadership roles more as a source of autonomy and self actualization and less as position of more responsibility and work. The interpretation of these beliefs chimes with Walby's (1990) understanding of patriarchy, which describes socialization as encompassing the notion of masculinity and femininity beginning from childhood when children learn the appropriate behaviour for their sex. Similarly, Deem (1980) argues that the process of unequal socialisation in education determines the division of labour. This argument is also strengthened with the findings of this study. More clearly, the findings of this study support Heath and Ciscel's (2001) suggestion that 'socialisation with the notion of masculinity and femininity determines institutional arrangements in the family, economy and other social organisations which favour male predominance' , as the participants categorically regarded men as being in an advantageous position as a result of socialisation differences.

The study also endorses Ridgeway and Lovin's (1999) suggestion that describes gender as a social phenomenon which constitutes people differently in socially significant ways and systemizes the relation of disparity on the basis of such differences. The endorsement becomes apparent when investigating the participants' views that men and women are socialised in a segregated environment based on inequality, which delivers a disadvantage to women.

The study findings largely support Kohlberg's (1966) theory of gender identity, which suggests that the social learning of an individual is the basic organiser of gender identity. Most of the participants regarded the differences in social learning as logical determinants of the gender roles identified for men and women. Kohlberg postulated identity of gender as an organiser of an individual's behaviour which signifies the notion of the influence of social stereotyping in the society that is encountered by the individual throughout his/her life. This means that the perceptions and beliefs of individuals regarding gender socialisation and associated traits influence and shape the behaviour of individuals. Walby (1990) referred to magazines and television as mediums via which the stereotypic images and notions of masculinity and femininity are developed. Walby argued that men are shown as occupying positions of power and women are shown as occupying positions of

compliance. The influence of such stereotypes can be seen in the views of participants which show that the traits of men are superseded over the characteristics of women. It can therefore be interpreted that perceptions and beliefs of individuals regarding gender traits are largely based on gender stereotypes. A similar view can be seen in Eagly's (1987) theory which regards gender stereotypes as cultural attributes associated to men and women.

The culturally based stereotypes regarding the attributes of men and women influence the self concept of an individual (Bem, 1981, Yoder, 1991 and Aronson, 2007). Valian (1999) called such stereotypes gender *schemas*. The aforementioned authors opined that the knowledge of gender difference between men and women serves as a basic organising principle for every human culture. The specific tasks assigned to men and women are based on these stereotypic traits, and boys and girls are socialised and expected to acquire the relevant sex specific set of traits. Martin (1991) also suggests that the generic knowledge structure about *maleness* and *femaleness* influences the gender linked preferences of men and women. The interpretation of the findings of this study suggests that gender stereotypes construct the perception of gender roles for men and women, which endorses Eagly's social role theory which postulates that culture constructs strong gender stereotypes and behaviours and as a result strong expectations are formed, which consequently determine gender roles.

The perception and beliefs of the participants of this study clearly signify the importance of gender stereotypes in determining gender role and shaping the professional lives of men and women. The study endorses Valian's (1999) view of gender schemas in that participants (both men and women) associated different gender traits with men and women on the basis of natural and socialisation differences, and regarded these differences as an appropriate reason for segregated gender roles. The narratives from the participants clearly support Valian's concept of self evaluation on the basis of gender schemas. Valian suggested that individuals develop expectations for their own behaviour based on characteristics which those individuals believe they have, and explain their successes and failures in relation to those abilities and traits. The participants' beliefs of differences in gender traits and the suitability of men and women on the same basis also indicate towards the concept of the social and self-categorisation argument given by Tuner et al. (1987).

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This theory posits that individuals seek to define themselves through a process of self categorization on any silent characteristic such as sex, race, ethnicity and age and such categorization is then reflected in an individual's self perception and behaviour.

The interpretation of the findings shows that gender stereotypes play an important role in determination of men and women suitability for jobs. However, the findings interpret that gender stereotypes are more favourable to men, as participants perceive men to be better suited to a wide range of jobs which require both physical and psychological characteristics, including the leadership and decision-making roles. Women, on the other hand, are perceived to be better suited to the role of carer, counsellor, fashion designer and beautician. This study therefore disputes the conclusion that stereotypes are more favourable to women which was reached by Eagly (1989) and Mladinic (1989), and also differs from the same argument made by Werner and LaRussa (1985). The findings of the study provides little evidence of any prominent negative stereotypes relating to men, which also differs to Wilson's (2010) findings of gender stereotypes having a negative impact on men. However, the interpretation of favourability of stereotypes for men supports Valian's (1999) views that gender stereotypes and schemas lead to the over rating of men and under rating of women in the professional arena. Martin's (1991) view is also endorsed, as the participants' associated inferior competency attributes with women and superior competency attributes to men, thus indicating that the stereotypic and social knowledge of the participants about their own and the opposite sex brings a greater disadvantage to women.

The discussion above highlights that the findings of this study support the argument that gender is a socially constructed phenomenon which segregates men and women on the basis of socio-biological differences. Although the findings show a stronger support for socialisation differences than the biological difference between men and women, the findings do suggest that evolutionary theory has shaped women's and men's thinking to some extent. This recognises Valian's (1999) concept of the influence of non-conscious hypothesis in shaping men's and women's thinking, behaviour and lives. Nevertheless, the belief of the existence of a gender

difference on the basis of socio-biological differences between men and women places men at a more advantageous position in comparison to women.

The discussion above shows that culturally derived attitudes and perceptions affect the behaviour of men and women, and that traditional and cultural norms affect gender relations. The arguments reflect that the culture of patriarchy serves to construct an extreme form of gender inequality and social power imbalance between men and women, both in private spheres and in the workplace.

It is now important to understand how such dynamics influence the performance of academics in settings requiring immediate interaction i.e. workgroups, as Ackre (1990) regarded large committee meetings involving both men and women as being the most comfortable arena in which to speak out to advance, make an impact and show performance. The discussion which follows is therefore focused on analysing the effects of socio-cultural attributes (discussed earlier) on the performance of academics in workgroups.

8.2   Effects on Performance

This study argues that the perceptions, beliefs and behaviours of academics at all three universities are strongly influenced by socio-cultural gender dynamics which result in acute gender segregation and formation of the social culture of patriarchy. This social culture further intensifies the perceptions and behaviours of individuals and strengthens the patriarchal culture. The findings suggest that such gender dynamics covertly affect the gender relations between academics and create gender inequality in favour of men. In this way, the findings of this study clearly support Luke's theory of radical power. This study suggests that these socio-cultural dynamics are formed of gender stereotypes and acceptance of the traditional cultural norms including Pukhtunwali, religious interpretations and the joint family system.

Such cultural norms and social information forms the perceptions of different attributes in the two sexes, and consequently different expectations are developed for men and women. The study suggests that in this way the self concept of academics is affected, which influences the behaviour also. As Bandura (1999, p 678) cited Huston (1983) and Signorella (1987) suggests, "Knowledge of gender stereotypes are generalised preconceptions about attributes of males and females

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that influences gender linked conduct". Valian (1999, p 118) called this phenomenon *the gender schema* and supported the argument of Bem (1981) and Yoder (1991) while suggesting that "a set of implicit or non conscious hypothesis about sex difference plays a central role in shaping men's and women's professional lives. These hypotheses are gender schemas and it affects our expectation of men and women, our evaluation of work and their performance as a professional". This implies that gender schemas lead to the development of different expectations for men and women and both genders behave accordingly in order to confirm the expectations that are so ascribed. Goffman suggests that such gender dynamics affect the gender interaction in tight social circles, and regarded gender interaction in groups as performance. Goffman (1954) suggests that social information about the individual helps to define the situation, enabling others to know in advance what he/she will expect of them and what he/she may expect of him/her.

The findings of this study agree with Goffman's theory, as it was identified by the researcher that gender stereotypes and culturally-based expectations of different behaviour from men and women influences the behaviour and shapes the acts of individuals in workgroups according to the expected and desired behaviour of the participants. This is supported by the following responses given by the academics.

One of the male participants stated:

"I have been sitting in senate, academic council and board of studies meeting and I have found that female faculty members rarely show keen interest and participate in the activity. Normally they are sitting quiet even when they are asked to talk; most of the talk is done by men". (Interview, H.ED.SK. 08-07-2010).

Another male participant elaborated on this point, saying:

"Probably this culture has got to do something with this, yes probably culture or for sure culture because like in the part of the world we are living, probably they don't get the opportunity to communicate and they are like raised behind curtains so that might have kept them suppressed so what we expect from good women is that she must be like very introvert, silent and quiet so we expect that women to be a good women. So probably for that reason in the meetings when we sit and debate on a point of issue, our women colleagues do participate but not at the level at par with their male colleagues" (Interview, H,MS,DSK, 08-07-2010)

"My students will finish their work in a week's time, will there be any remuneration for extra supervision?". **(Meeting, H.MS.MN, 06-08-2010)**

The influences of age, marriage and the level of family support on a woman's performance in a group setting was also noticed in the meeting observations. The model presented by Clinton (2001) is used to determine the participation role of academics in the meetings, and can be used to define and highlight those roles played by the participants. The table at 7.1 shows the differences between the participation of men and women and highlights the dominance of men in the meeting sessions. Women's silence and their passive performance in the meetings can be associated with the suggestion that they are acting to confirm with the culturally configured role. As Goffman (1954, p 9) states, "sometimes an individual will act in a thoroughly calculating manner in order to give the kind of impression that is likely to evoke from them a specific response he is concerned to obtain". This indicates that in an endeavour to control the responses of the audience, impressions are given off by the individual. The choice of expressions is directed by the traditional role of individuals. Goffman (p 11) stated "sometimes the individual intentionally or consciously expresses him/herself in a particular way chiefly because the tradition of an individual's group or social status requires this kind of expression". This means the traditions of an individual's role will lead him/her to give a well designed impression of a particular kind. The weight of the socio-cultural pressures exerted on women as discussed earlier, and the findings from observation sessions and participants' narratives infer that in addition to the gender segregation effect, conformity to societal norms and expected role behaviour can also be cited as reasons for women's inactive performance in the meetings. However, such influence on performance according to Goffman is the performance away from reality. Goffman (p31) called this difference between actual performance and displayed performance 'a misrepresentation' and stated that "to perform for presenting ourself in a way in which society expects us to perform is like staying away from reality". This according to Goffman creates a discrepancy between appearance and actual activity. Such misrepresentations foster impressions which are not real and which are difficult to maintain. Goffman suggests that such discrepancies also disrupt the expressive coherence of groups and affects the performance of individuals. If the

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individual is convinced that the impression he/she is giving is the one and the only reality then he/she is confident, but if he/she is intercepted and this requires him/her to act in a socially proper way, then his/her performance is affected. This indicates towards Butler's (2004) argument of compliance to the social norms for individual's liveability in the context of restrictive normative conception of gender. The discussion also indicates towards Butler's view point and interprets that cultural constraints in Pukhtun society forms normative conception of gender which is more restrictive to women's personhood and the social norms that determine individual's liveability and articulate restrictive acceptable behaviour for women in both private and public life The findings also suggest that the male academics were visibly dominant over women in the meetings. This also demonstrates the difference in social power as between men and women as, according to Ridgeway (1992), such visual behaviour is an indicator of the (im) balance of social power in inter-sex interaction.

A few of the women spoke of interruption by male members as being a barrier to their performance in the meetings. One of the women stated:

"Their attitude was different with both students and teachers specifically like us who are a bit liberal. I mean like if I am not having a veil on my head then they would always pinpoint that thing and would talk about personalities rather than issues". (Interview, D.GMC.G. 20-05-2010).

At one meeting, a male academic interrupting a female colleague, stating:

"Why should we not learn from the last year's experience, why invent the wheel again? (Meeting.H.MS.BS, 12-08-2010).

Such views and observations support the findings of Lovin and Brody (1989), who suggest that men discriminate in their interruption attempts, disrupting the speech of women far more frequently than that of men, while women do not discriminate, interrupting women and men equally often. This also strengthens Ackre's findings (1980) that studies of conversations between men and women suggest that men complete women's sentence, interrupt without negative sanctions, and give minimal response to topics initiated by women. Similarly Smith, (1985) while elaborating on

how female academics are excluded in committees, also argued that women's contribution to professional conversations are restricted, including the practice of men pausing while a women speaks, then responding to a previous speaker or reverting to previous topics as if she had not spoken. According to Goffman (1954), such interruptions hinder the adherence to the part assigned to the individual within the group and foster an improper impression of the interrupted individual, thus affecting their performance. Goffman also referred to the reciprocal dependence of members in groups and suggested that the success of an individual's performance depends upon the conduct and behaviour of fellow members, as any member of the group has the power to disrupt the performance of other fellow members by inappropriate behaviour or conduct. This supports the perspective of the female participants and of the observation conducted in this study, which suggest that women's performance is affected by negative interruptions during the meetings.

The discussion highlights the influence of gender stereotypes and cultural dynamics on the performance of academics in work groups. The findings demonstrate and reflect the negative influence of socio-cultural dynamics in the behaviour of academics in work groups and suggest that social and cultural information about gender and gender attributes affects self concept and the concept of the opposite gender. Such culturally configured concepts affect women's performance in a negative manner. In this way, the study prominently endorses Goffman's theory of performance which also suggests that social and cultural information about an individual affects his/her performance in groups. Given the unhelpful effects of socio-cultural dynamics on academic workgroups, particularly for women, it is interesting to note that participants still express a preference for working in gender diverse groups. This shows the desire of academics to take whatever opportunities are afforded to them within their culture to mix with 'others'.

In terms of addressing these disparities, the literature suggests that various initiatives have been taken by different governments in Pakistan to protect women's rights and to promote gender equality. The discussion that follows aims to evaluate the effect of such interventions in relation to awareness of these initiatives and adherence to the rights extended by the interventions.

8.3   The Effects of Interventions

The reviews of Pakistan's commitment to the promotion of gender equality by various authors assume that different legislative and non legislative steps have been taken to protect women's rights and to bring them (women) on a par with men in the public domain. The literature (p 40) indicates that since the inception of Pakistan, different governments have realised the extent of patriarchy and inequality endorsed by the culture and have responded to it with protective measures introduced for the benefit of women and the concept of a diversity model. However, numerous authors highlight that legislative and non legislative measures have not been truthfully adhered to or implemented. The findings of this study portray a very similar picture, as the majority of the academics working at each of the three universities demonstrated very little awareness of or adherence to the government's policies to protect gender rights.

The findings suggest that, in the context of KPK, awareness about the existence of any gender policy was limited to the legislation of the Equal Employment Opportunities Act (EEO). The academics assumed that since EEO legislation is the part of the constitution, universities were therefore bound to adopt and adhere to this legislation.

It was found by the researcher that the majority of the participants were not aware of the existence of any legislation at all, including the EEO. The lack of awareness of the legislation naturally suggests a lack of adherence. Such findings confirm the gap between the legislative commitments by the government and the practical manifestation of the same, as suggested by Ali and Knox (2008). The findings suggest that the issues relating to gender within the universities are considered to be more personal and less organisational in their nature. Female academics perceived these issues as being highly sensitive and personal, and suggested that if any such issue was raised in the workplace, the families of women would be involved, as women are seen as the symbol of the honour of their whole family. This reinforces the findings and assumptions discussed earlier regarding the social pressure on women as the repository of family honour.   This endorses the argument of Maghadam (1992), Weiss (1989), Critelli (2010), Abraham (2000) and Beri (2000), who suggest there is considerable pressure on women as repositories of family

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honour to uphold harmony and curtail any actions that would endanger the stability of their family and community. The notion of honour resisting adherence to the legislation and the reluctance to bring issues relating to gender into the public eye reinforces the existence of the culture of patriarchy. The findings also serve to reinforce the concept discussed earlier that women in Pakistan experience a radical and hegemonic power.

An explanatory piece from one discussion with a participant may help the reader to better understand the perspective of academics.

Participant: "Look the whole idea here in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa is, it's not about policies or legislation, it's about areas where legislation is kept stronger and the culture would let it be so and then there are areas where the culture will over rule legislative act. When it comes to females' culture does overrule the legislative act and it does not matter that what the legislation is all about. So culture leads the legislation, it's not the legislation leading culture here and culture even leads religion at times also and in PukhtunKhwa it's mainly the culture as it rules the religion most of times so what to say of the legislation so there is a law but there is no implementation what so ever". (Interview, P.MS.SG, 11-06-2010).

Participant: "The benefit of this law probably has got a big social price because if you are reporting a matter of like some sexual harassment or gender discrimination or anything for whatever reason if you are making it public probably first you will be taking most of the brunt of it personally. People will have so many things to say about it like what have happened or like actually something else would have happened but she is reporting the other way around, this and that so character assassination is in the air and even people at very responsible and very educated positions will say things which they should never have said. So we are living in the part of the world where making anything public has a price.

Interviewer: So is this price same for women and men?

Participant: For women it's simply unacceptable as the price might be too high socially. She will be carrying a stigma which will be very difficult to erase, her life will be made difficult. So we will have all sorts of guess works at the back

of our mind, so it will be like very difficult and very unacceptable for her.
(Interview, H.MS.SIK. 12-07-2010)

Such perspectives paint a picture of an extreme culture of patriarchy in which women are under tremendous cultural pressure. The comments highlight that the weight of the cultural pressure is such that it supersedes any commitment to national legislation and international commitments of gender equality. This supports the argument of Ali and Knox (2008) who considered the social, cultural, traditional and religious environment as a reason for the gap between legislation and its practical implementation. The findings also strengthen Weiss's (2003) argument that Pakistan's failure to fulfil ratification to UN conventions is due to the socio-cultural issues which exist in the country. The study findings and assumptions of various authors therefore commonly identify and recognise cultural issues as being major barriers to the implementation of national legislation and international commitments ratified by the country.

8.4   Summary

The overall discussion in this chapter establishes the argument that socio-cultural dynamics, notably gender stereotypes, the traditional culture of Pukhtunwali and the joint family system and religious interpretations produce a radical form of female oppression and forms the social system of patriarchy. This system endorses gender segregation, and serves to influence and intensify the perceptions and behaviours of academics in KPK. Such perceptions and behaviour adversely affect gender relations in universities and the performance of women academics in academic workgroups, as socially constructed gender norms affect an individual's ability to participate in mixed group meetings The study suggests that basic assumptions derived from traditional beliefs and religious thought create values and norms in the society, which lead to gender inequality in the favour of men. These values and norms direct people's behaviour and reinforce a strong culture of patriarchy. The study highlights that a set of religious interpretations within the Pukhtun culture play a strong role in creating an environment of gender disparity.

Given the criticism levelled by a number of authors (Jawad 2010, Critelli 2010, Beri 2000) towards the nature of national legislations for gender equality in Pakistan, this study argues that interventions made by the stake holders are protective in nature for

women rights, which is understandable and appropriate considering the social and cultural pressures on women in KPK and Pakistan. Moreover, any debate on the appropriateness of the legislation is a secondary issue, as the ratifications to the international UN conventions to which majority of the world are party are not even fully implemented in Pakistan. The study identifies the potential social risks of being ostracised from the social network of Pukhtunwali and, more seriously, from religion for those who ambitiously challenge the status quo. In this way, the study establishes the argument that the primary issue to be considered is the existence of a strong culture of patriarchy, which surpasses the implementation of any legislation and hinders any adherence thereto.

The discussion above presents the areas of agreement and disagreement of this study in the context of assumptions made by various researchers and authors. The detailed analysis also briefly touched on the theoretical position and the main argument of the study. The discussion shows the strong hold of those dynamics which affect gender equality and inter-gender relations and, in so doing, highlights potential areas for bringing about change. The next chapter provides a detailed account of the contribution of this research study in increasing knowledge and making recommendations for practical steps to be taken to improve and promote gender equality in KPK universities.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.0   Introduction

This chapter aims to summarize the main findings of this study and seeks to draw out its potential theoretical contributions and practical implications for collaborative working between men and women in academic workgroups based in the universities of Pakistan. It aims to enrich the reader's understanding about norms which shape the attitudes and perceptions of gender and affect the behaviours and social and professional relationships between individuals of the opposite sex. The purpose is to assist the reader to develop an understanding of the specific social cultural context of the KPK region of Pakistan so as to better grasp an understanding of how patriarchal social constructs attempt to regulate human behaviour and gender relations. This chapter highlights the importance of the debate on gender and establishes that such debate is required generally in the cultural context of Pakistan, and particularly in the province of KPK.

The first section of the chapter provides a conclusion on the research issue and problem. It summarizes the research findings in relation to the research question and the aims and objectives of the study. There follows a summary and reflection on the methods used to explore the research problem. This will also explain those aspects of methodology that bore more fruit in terms of producing useful and candid data. The subsequent discussion presents the theoretical contribution of the study and clearly highlights the difference between the established theories and the theory which has emerged as a consequence of this study. This is followed by a discussion focused on the practical implications of this research, along with the researcher's suggestions and recommendations to provide a clear course of action for the benefit of university stakeholders. Finally, the limitations of this study are set out, together with a discussion of potential areas for future research.

9.1   Conclusion on the Research Issue and Problem

This thesis examined the effects of gender diversity on the performance of academics among academic workgroups based in the universities of the Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK) province of Pakistan. The specific research question of this

study was; 'what are the effects of gender diversity on the performance of academics based in the Universities of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK) of Pakistan?

In an endeavour to answer and investigate this question, extensive interpretation of both primary and secondary data are analysed and discussed. The study finds that gender is a socially constructed phenomenon which segregates men and women on the basis of assumptions and perceptions of socio-biological difference. However, there is some support amongst participants for the evolutionary perspective of gender development that stems from the perception of biological differences between men and women. There is stronger support for cognitive and social learning theories of gender development. In this sense, the study to some extent recognises Butler's (2004) theory of sexual difference that forms a continuing power difference between men and women in language and society and functions at a deep level to establish a symbolic and social order in a society.

The study finds that beliefs regarding gender development affect the self concept of an individual and their conceptualisation of the opposite sex and that such beliefs are more advantageous to men than to women. The study details the effect of gender stereotypes on individuals' belief that direct thinking and behaviours of individuals and determination of gender roles at places of work to the advantage of men. The study argues that attitudes relating to masculinity and femininity and corresponding gender roles form a social system of patriarchy in both the private and public domains.

The study highlights an extreme culture of patriarchy within the culture of Pukhtunwali in KPK and suggests that Pukhtun culture contains a good deal of rhetoric about respect for women, but in practice it limits women's mobility to a greater extent than men's. Women are seen as accountable to men (but not vice versa). The study suggests there the power to restrict religious interpretations is key, and also that more liberal interpretations of Islam in Pukhtun culture (such as observing 'Pardah' (veil) and permitting women to work) can develop within certain constraints. The study supports Lukes' (1974) theory of radical power and hegemonic control, but concludes that the roots of hegemonic control lies in power over religious and cultural thought rather than capitalist relations of production in Pukhtun culture. The study argues that Pukhtun culture in KPK is influenced by

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traditional and social norms of the joint family system. This, and the power to control interpretations of Islam, keeps men in socially more powerful positions and women in comparatively less powerful positions (creating gender disparity) by controlling and shaping the values and beliefs of women in such a way that they do not even realize that there exists any disparity and inequality. Association with the dominant culture of Pukhtunwali is seen as a means of recognition and identity with the tradition, culture and religion. The controllers (i.e. Mullahs) of social capital (Pukhtunwali) are considered as sources of religious knowledge, and the approval of such donors is considered as a means of social recognition and survival.

The study suggests that restriction on women's independence in the culture of Pukhtunwali through religious interpretation is the primary reason for female oppression and gender segregation. In this way, the study not only differentiates from the Luke's perspective of power through capitalist relations of production, but also differs from the Marxist view of patriarchy which stems from the development of the capitalist family (Bloodworth, 1990).

The study highlights the effects of gender stereotypes and cultural dynamics on the performance of academics in work groups and demonstrates the negative effect of socio-cultural dynamics on the behaviour of academics performing in gender diverse work groups. The study also argues that social and cultural information about gender and gender attributes affect the self concept and the concept of the opposite sex. The study supports Butler's (2004) argument on gender conception which regards masculinity and femininity as cultural configuration of a body and suggests that norms and conventions determine the conception of gender for an individual which may permit or restrict the conditions of their life. Such culturally configured concepts affect women's performance negatively. The evidence bears out Goffman's (1954) work on performance, and argues that social and cultural dynamics prevent women from controlling others' impressions of them, as their performances are disempowered.

The study argues the legislation for gender equality in Pakistan aims to advance and protect female equality, but the Pukhtun culture in KPK is so strong that it affects religious thought and overrides the legislation. The study recognises cultural dynamics as barriers for women to utilise the law for the protection of their rights,

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because the potential damage to a woman's reputation is perceived as being too high.

The study concludes that religious thought embedded in deep rooted historical religious traditions is a more powerful reproducer of patriarchy than capitalist relations of production, particularly in South Asian cultures. The study concludes that, unlike in the West where the influence of religious thought has been challenged and has diminished over the course of the last three centuries, there is no corresponding enlightenment in Pakistan to challenge the hegemony of religious thought. This being the case, the popular (activist) base from which to challenge the dominance of religiously informed patriarchy is not yet sufficiently well developed to support enforcement of any legislation.

9.2   Theoretical Implications

The theoretical assumptions which have evolved from the literature present a broad based feminist perspective. Whilst agreeing with many aspects of the description, explanation and prescription of existing feminist authors, this study takes up a different position in terms of its contribution to the theoretical debate on female oppression and emancipation. The study examines the Pukhtun culture and suggests that the culture that now exists in KPK has evolved from centuries of interaction between various socio-cultural practices and religious beliefs.

The core components of the Pukhtun culture are its basic assumptions or beliefs that take the form of values which become the norms of Pukhtun society. In KPK, these basic assumptions are affected by the power of Mullahs over traditions and religious interpretations which shape such values, norms and behaviours. These in turn covertly or overtly affect the status of women in Pukhtun society. The power of religious interpretation which identifies women as representatives of family honour restricts their social interactions both before and after marriage. The social stereotypes which emerge from such religious interpretation encourage the admiration of women who are reserved, less interactive with men, and who observe Pardah (veil) as defined by Pukhtunwali (i.e. the wearing of the Burqah, a veil covering all the body).

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The study uncovers that stereotypes are so strongly embedded in the culture that most women consider even the basic right of accessing an education and going out in public to work (under certain conditions allowed by the religion), as being privileges. This naturally affects women's participation in socialization and their performance in an employment context, as the empowerment of women in both the private and public spheres is adversely affected by these stereotypes. Although some privileged women do profess to have knowledge of their rights, they still nevertheless feel helpless and unable to take any action or to speak out for fear of the potential social censure to which this might lead.

The joint family system derived from Pukhtunwali also rests on the idea of patriarchy and this system consequently serves as a key factor affecting female oppression. The study explains why domestic life and the home are considered natural and essential domains for women. However, it does not follow that women are empowered in the home, as family decisions are nonetheless taken by men in Pukhtun culture. A woman's movement is restricted as a consequence of the boundaries laid down by fathers and brothers before marriage, and by husbands after marriage. This means women have very little access to the education and socialization required to develop their performance in organisations and institutions. Pukhtunwali norms in society are so highly valued that they supersede the law, and lead to the development of a patriarchal society. Consequently, women's empowerment is inhibited in both private and public domains.

In light of the above arguments, the study amends the initial conceptual framework and recommends the establishment of the following changes (see Figure 8.2) to reflect the shift from the author's pre-understanding to the new understanding gained during the course of the study.

Figure 8. 2 Proposed Conceptual Framework
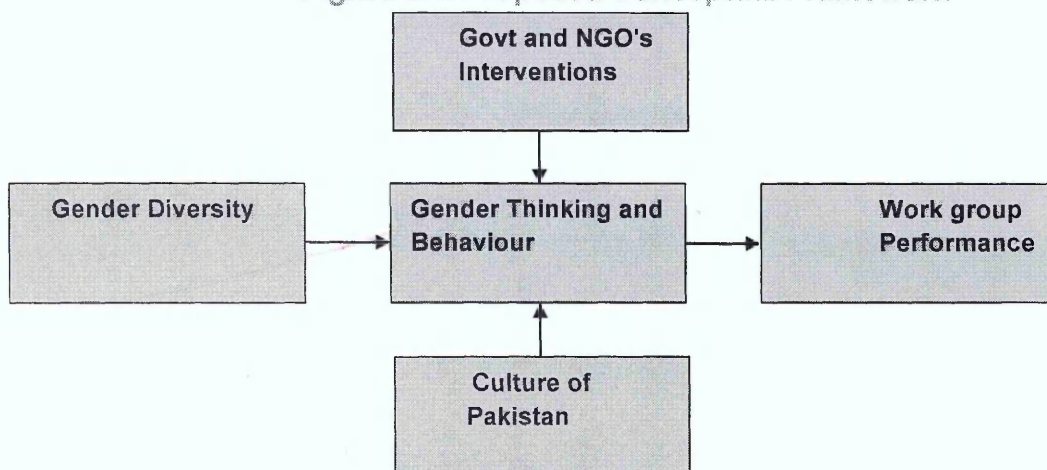
Figure 8. 3 Conceptual Framework

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                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │   Govt & NGO's   │
                    │   Interventions  │
                    └────────┬─────────┘
                             │
                             ▼
┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
│ Gender Diversity │─▶│ Gender Thinking  │─▶│    Work group    │
│                  │  │ and Behaviour    │  │   Performance    │
└──────────────────┘  └────────▲─────────┘  └──────────────────┘
                             │
                    ┌────────┴─────────────────────┐
                    │         Culture              │
                    │                              │
                    │   Power                      │
                    │   •  Patriarchy              │
                    │   •  Pukhtunwali             │
                    │   •  Power of Religious       │
                    │      Interpretation          │
                    │   •  Joint Family system     │
                    │   •  Gender stereotyping     │
                    └──────────────────────────────┘
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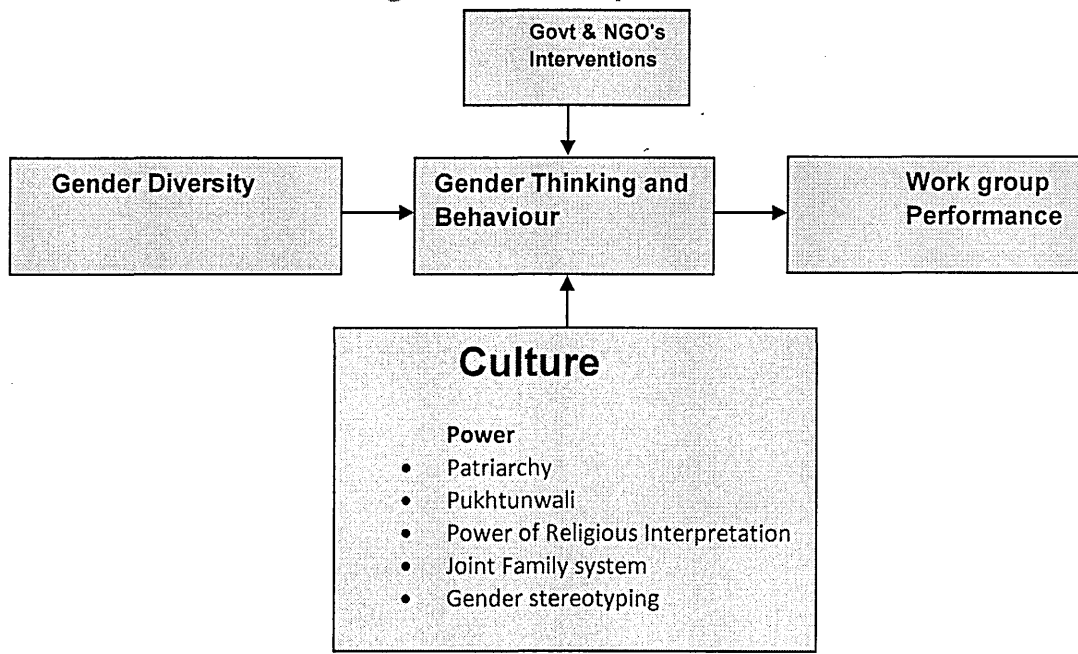
The models above show an increase in the size of the box representing culture, and a decrease in the size of the box relating to government and NGO interventions. This reflects that the culture of social distance and sharp segregation shapes the thinking (perceptions) and behaviours and creates the culture of extreme patriarchy. The extreme patriarchal culture adversely affects the performance of female academics in work groups. The model communicates that the effects of gender stereotypes, Pukhtunwali (Pukhtun culture), its power over religious interpretation, and on the joint family system, constitute hegemonic power over women that contributes to the culture of patriarchy by inhibiting the changes required by national law and UN conventions. The model suggests that there is no equivalent effort made in the implementation of national legislation and international commitments to challenge these cultural issues. The influence of culture is much more pervasive than the researcher previously thought and, conversely, the influence of legislation is much weaker than anticipated.

In this way, the study takes up the position that *people living in the most extreme cultures value traditional norms and religious thoughts more than economic interests. In such cultures, the interpretation of religion as a strong social control mechanism restricts women's freedom more so than for men, as even the traditional norms are influenced by religious thoughts. Such tight social control is exerted to bind*

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individuals who share the same religion and inherit the same traditional norms in order to establish social capital for the purpose of identity and dominance. The endeavour of building social control permits maintenance of cultural patterns in society which are transferred from one generation to another.

Put more clearly, the study contributes the argument that *segregation of men and women in Pukhtun society, the attitudes and behaviours of individuals, and the social structure which is to the advantage of men, are based on cultural values influenced by traditional practices and power over religious interpretations. The perception of the status of women is based more on customs and less on religious interpretations that argue for equal power amongst men and women. This means that unequal gender relations and women's oppression stem from the patriarchal culture brought about by traditional norms and restrictive religious interpretations for women in Pukhtun culture, rather than the pursuit of capitalist accumulation.*

The theoretical argument advanced by this study differs from those arguments propounded by other theorists in the following ways:-

➤ Marxist feminists have tended to focus on women's work-related concerns and have related the institution of the family to capitalism (Tong, 1992). In contrast, this study shows that patriarchy exits and is transferred from private to public spheres despite the representation of women in the working class. The study shows that norms associated with women's work and women's conduct in the workplace put women at a disadvantage. Such norms are implicitly justified by interpretations of values that influence gender behaviour.

➤ The study findings differ from the argument propounded by liberal feminists, who suggest legal constraints are a major barrier to women's independence (Tong, 1992), This study finds that, despite the existence in Pakistan of protective legislation and international legislation as agreed by the majority of the world, the achievement of women's emancipation has still not been feasible because of the power exerted by religious thought and the traditional norms in Pukhtun culture, which overrides any influence exerted by legislation. Therefore, the study suggests that consideration of legal constraint is perhaps much less important than consideration of cultural and religious

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issues when it comes to explaining the lack of progress in the emancipation of women.

➢ The study questions the view of radical feminists who suggest using women's natural reproductive nature and child bearing as tools for their emancipation (Tong, 1992). This study challenges this view on the grounds that keeping women from their reproductive and nurturing nature for the purpose of attempting to achieve independence from the patriarch would be to pay a high price for a relatively small gain. This is tantamount to suggesting women should be prevented from exercising their choice to stay close to their children purely for the purpose of achieving independence from the influence of men, which this study shows is unlikely to occur in any event.

➢ The study also differs from the socialist perspective of the dual system and unified theories. Both of those theories assert that capitalism is linked to patriarchy as a basis for female oppression (Valian 1999, Tong 1992). This study identifies that the power of religious thought in the patriarchal culture is much more significant a factor than capitalism.

➢ Among the theorists who worked in the cultural context of Pakistan, Jawad and Ali (2006) appreciate the extent to which religion, economy and tradition are intertwined and permeate into the society. Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) also suggest that the broad range of restrictions imposed on women through tribal customs, economic positions and the power of religious interpretation are key reasons for the oppression of women. Moghadam's (1992) elaboration on Islamization programs for political gains in Pakistan does also indicate that religious thought can be a base mode of patriarchy, but the focus of these authors remains on the selective use of religious interpretations for women's oppression. These authors (Moghadam 1992, Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987, Jawad and Ali 2006) remain unconcerned about the pervasive power of religious interpretation in the Pukhtun culture as a key and distinctive factor in the oppression of women.

➢ Weiss (1989) and Cretelli (2010) consider traditional practices as being primary reasons for women's oppression in the context of the Pakistani culture, but are silent about religious thought as a basis for women's oppression. Moreover, those authors focus on the inscription of religion in the

legal framework of Pakistan and regard the interplay of religion, politics, economic factors and gender as a reason for gender inequality.

➢ The debate instigated by these researchers has successfully highlighted the social barriers for women's entry into the workplace in the relatively liberal social sites of Pakistan i.e. the provinces of Punjab and Sindh, which are comparatively more industrialised and economically competitive provinces. This reflects that the focus of researchers has traditionally been shifted away from the more conservative Pukhtun culture of Pakistan. This can be argued to be the reason for those theorists identifying economic factors with tradition and religious thought as the reason for women's oppression and for their view of economic independence as being an important factor in defeating traditional and religious interpretation.

➢ The authors working on gender equality in the workplace in Pakistani culture (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987; Moghadam. 1992; Jawad, 2006; Ali, 2006; , Crettelli, 2010) have not to date focused on the workplace contexts in which comparatively better gender representation exists (i.e. universities and higher education institutes). More specifically, the context of immediate gender interaction (gender diverse work groups) has not been examined to any extent by researchers conducting studies in the workplace context of Pakistan. Most of the studies in existence have focused on workplaces where women are in the minority (such as in the context of the spheres of manufacturing, agriculture and banking).

➢ Although the researchers have talked about the power of religious thought, patriarchy and traditional norms (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1989; Weiss, 1989; Moghadam, 1992,) with regard to gender issues, they have not clearly contributed to demonstrating the strength of such power. *In contrast, this study focuses on the most extreme patriarchal Pukhtun culture of Pakistan and examines the gender issue in the context of a balanced representation of both genders. This clearly advances the theory that the power of cultural and religious thought is a much greater and stronger reproducer of patriarchy.*

In these ways, the study argues that a challenge to the basic assumptions, values, norms and behaviours derived from culture is critical to produce female emancipation and gender equality. The study suggests that the implementation of

gender legislation is only possible if the process also includes debates which focus on those cultural norms which conflict with women's independence. If it does, attitudes towards women's rights, which are ostensibly permitted by religion but are in fact prohibited by the Pukhtun culture, can be changed by engaging in public discourse. The study recognises that bringing about this sort of change in such an extreme culture of patriarchy will be an ambitious effort. However, such change is not impossible, and the study also identifies universities as being a genuine potential intellectual base for activism in the pursuit of change. The discussion that follows focuses on recommendations for change to advance a new discourse on gender relations.

9.3   Recommendations and Practical Implications

This study finds that men and women state a preference for working in gender diverse groups. This shows the desire of academics to take whatever opportunities are afforded within the culture to mix with 'others'. It also finds that the majority of academics are enlightened about the effects of power over interpretations of religious thought and about the potential advantages of gender diversity. It also finds awareness that the culture prevailing outside the universities is so powerful that it hinders the behaviour of those academics inside the universities.

The existence of some aspects of liberal thought in the context of the academic's perceptions of religious interpretation (i.e., permission being given to women for employment and interaction with men under certain circumstances, and the enforcement of Pardah rather than the Burqah) provides a glimmer of hope for promoting gender equality. This tends to suggest that enlightenment in popular (activist) bases, of which universities are a prime example, may in fact help to bring about a change in the situation.

Changing the cultural status quo in KPK looks challenging, but may be comparatively easier in universities. Such changes could potentially contribute towards a more general level of activism against patriarchy. Moreover, the universities provide a context of a numerically better balanced gender pool within the culture of KPK, and so may play a critical role in breaking the barriers of patriarchy in the wider society by demonstrating gender equality in the universities to the young people attending

there. Social actions taken at a micro level in the universities (i.e. within academic workgroups), could be a critical first step to activate a wider process of change across universities and ultimately across society.

In an endeavour to demonstrate gender equality in universities, the academics initially may need to break the constraints imposed on them by the culture of Pukhtunwali by asserting their own power to interpret Islam. This is a key factor, as this study identifies the power of Pukhtunwali over religious thought underpins all of the other issues identified(i.e. performance in academic workgroups). However, this is not likely to be a simple task, as the empirical evidence suggests that the culture of Pukhtunwali is so strong that it supersedes more liberal religious interpretations and the constitution of the country.

Nevertheless, such a challenge is certainly not impossible. The strong cultural norms masked by power over religious thoughts may be challenging constraints when it comes to gender equality, but initiatives introduced the purpose of education may still overcome such constraints. Such a process will inevitably take more time than those programs instituted in other geographical and social contexts where the culture is more relaxed. This means that the change process in the universities of KPK may come about at a slower pace owing to the extreme cultural constraints which exist in the region. Although such changes may take longer, there is no reason why they cannot be equally as effective as measures introduced elsewhere.

In terms of looking at potential measures, the researcher draws upon knowledge of interventions proposed and implemented in the universities of the United Kingdom (UK). However, owing to the significant cultural difference that exists between the culture in the UK and the culture of KPK, the researcher proposes appropriate modifications to any such interventions in order to take into account the corresponding culture differences.

The specific models for intervention identified by the researcher as potential measures for promoting change in KPK universities are Moss Kanter's (1983) model used by Price and Priest (1996) for the promotion of gender equality in Oxford Brookes University, and the five level framework proposed by Doherty and Manfredi (2009) for improving women's representation in senior positions in universities.

Moss Kanter's model as used by Price and Priest in Oxford Brookes University is a three staged model. The model recommends formation of an activist group of self motivated and enlightened individuals who can work as an agent for change.

Price and Priest identify four key areas for generating success in progression towards change - demonstrating commitment, changing behaviours, building ownership and making the investment. *Demonstrating commitment* refers to a strong and consistent vision of the top layer of management. This entails the insertion of the agenda of gender equality into the strategic vision of the university. *Changing behaviour* requires the commitment of the top level of management to support the change agents in shaping the behaviours of individuals by controlling the deviant behaviour with their (top level management) legitimate authority. *Building ownership* demands that the top management own the change practices by personal demonstration. *Making the investment* requires the senior management to allocate critical resources including time, finances and human resources to the activist group.

In terms of explaining the 3 stages of the model, the first stage of the model was the *Problem Definition stage.* The aim of the activist group was to achieve dual goals of collecting data about the problem and identifying the potential supporters to bring about the change. The second stage was the *Coalition Building stage,* which was aimed at moving from verbal talk to action for execution in terms of raising consciousness through informal talks. The third stage was termed the *Mobilization stage,* in which the activists moved from 'composing' to 'conducting' the activities in terms of talking about the specific issue in formal settings i.e. conducting issue specific workshop, seminars and conferences.

The framework proposed by Doherty and Manfredi (2009) for helping to shape the gender equality schemes in universities is comprised of five levels as follows:-

- At level 1, Doherty and Manfredi propose the adoption of good HR practices in terms of establishing transparent and fair selection and promotion procedures.
- At level 2, the proponents recommend the universities support parents and carers in terms of establishing friendly employment practices like flexible hours, career breaks etc.

- At level 3, the authors suggest tackling indirect discrimination by recognising the way in which women are statistically excluded through selection or promotion.
- At level 4, the proponents propose to target positive action at women directly, by running interventions like workshops or awareness and networking programs for the purpose of raising women's awareness of gendered differences in career advancement.
- At level 5, Doherty and Manfredi propose to validate and promote an enabling leadership style through management development interventions.

It is acknowledged that the models described above are proposed and directed towards promotion of gender equality in universities located in western and comparatively liberal contexts. Nevertheless, the substance of these models identify and challenge the culture of patriarchy and male dominance and, therefore, there is no reason why these models may not be appropriately used for the promotion of gender equality among academic workgroups in the universities of Pakistan, provided some changes are made to address context specific issues.

It is worth mentioning here that the main thrust of this study points towards a key problem of adherence to equality practices in academic workgroups due to the hegemonic power of Pukhtun culture, supported by Mullahs power to issue restrictive religious interpretations that affect the performance of female academics. The study recommendations are therefore directed towards the promotion of equality practices among academic workgroups, with the idea that micro level action within workgroups may be transferred externally to bring about change across universities and wider society.

In light of the above information, the researcher suggests the following course of action to the decision makers and self motivated enlightened academics, including both men and women. The recommendations given below would preferably be followed sequentially but could be followed simultaneously depending upon the contingencies of the individual situation.

1-Identifying Supporters

The empirical evidence of this study suggests that universities located in the extreme patriarchal culture of Pakistan nevertheless still retain a small pool of liberal and self motivated academics in every department and academic institute. The study finds that these academics include both men and women.

The researcher suggests that such allies may be identified to gather together a pool of activists in every department of the universities. In the university setting, the writer opines that such supporters are likely to be found in the faculties of social sciences and religious studies. The faculties of social sciences are likely to provide social scientists with deep insight into the issues relating to culture and social justice. The faculties of religious studies may help in the process of targeting and bringing on board supporters for the purpose of asserting power over the interpretation of religious teachings that will be key to the process of change.

The work done by academics including research publications, seminars, workshops and conferences/talks are likely to be the best method of identifying such people. The researcher thinks that the beliefs and ideologies held by the academic can be judged through their academic and research work. Those academics who address social issues and promote social justice in their academic and research work can be identified as potential activists and allies.

Another method for canvassing such views could be the gathering of information about the academics' opinions within the context of discussions that take place in more informal settings like canteens, staff rooms and on other social occasions. The judgement of an academic's opinions should not be restricted to overt views given specifically on the topic of gender, as opinions relating to other social issues such as politics, juvenile or minority rights, can also be used to form an impression of an individual academic. The softness and flexibility of an academic, and the conduct of an academic in situations of opinion conflict can also be helpful indicators for the identification of potential supporters, as such people are either well self-motivated or can be easily convinced of an alternative viewpoint.

The findings of this study, both from the literature and the primary data collected by the researcher, reveal that those academics who are married or older in age and/or

educated in a liberal environment (i.e. western context) and/or supported by their family are comparatively more relaxed than those who are single and/or young and/or have been educated in comparatively stricter cultures and benefit from little or no support from their family. The researcher therefore suggests that gathering such information about academics would also be a good method for identifying likeminded people who may be potential supporters of the process of change.

2-Qualifying Supporters

The supporters, once identified, should then be qualified. Steps taken to qualify the supporters may go hand in hand with the process of identifying them, as the supporters who are qualified may identify and introduce more like-minded people to the network.

However, in order to qualify the potential supporters, the researcher recommends the activists draw their potential supporters' attention towards the effects of cultural dynamics on the performance of academics in different department committees. The empirical findings and theoretical argument of this study may be used for this purpose, as the academics in the universities, who are already identified as people enlightened on issues of social justice, are likely to have enough of an intellectual base to clearly understand the social and cultural issues identified in this study. The activists may be furnished with the information on the effects of power over religious interpretations, stereotypes and negative traditions on the basic assumptions of people, which then form values and norms and further direct people's behaviour. Activists may be guided by theories of culture which covertly and overtly affects individuals and constructs gender inequality in both the private and public spheres. Activists might be suggested to relate the argument of the study with real life experiences in gender diverse workgroups. With the help of Goffman's (1954) theory of performance, the activists may be advised that such dynamics affect the performance of academics in workgroups.

The researcher suggests that the process of *convincing* the identified supporters should not be overtly-publicised but, at the same time, should not be executed covertly. A thorough explanation of the findings of this study may assist in this process, and the researcher therefore voluntarily presents himself as an assistant to

support the process in this regard in focus group discussions, seminars and conferences.

Such covert activism on such sensitive issues is likely to create suspicion and may subject the activism and the activists themselves to risks. It is recommended that such activities be executed at departmental level with an appropriate label; one that shows the substance of the activism, and carries the message of promoting social justice and religious understanding, for example, promoting equality, Islam and workplace ethics. This will prevent the activists from facing counter-pressure from supporters of Pukhtunwali (Mullahs and Community elders). Any label or title which gives the impressions of women being encouraged to interact with men or which might be seen as encouraging women to seek work runs the risk of conveying an unwanted meaning to both the community inside the university and to the general public outside. Such impressions might include the promotion of western ideas which are against Islam, or the promotion of non-religious and non Pukhtun values. Such impressions may provide ammunition to assist supporters of Pukhtunwali in preventing the effort for change.

At this stage, the identification of potential supporters and their qualification for the purpose may help to bring like-minded people together. Bringing like-minded and self-motivated people together and successfully convincing them of the potential benefits of gender equality will add strength to the activism and may add to the potential for success.

3-The Wakeup Calls, Shaping the Thinking and Behaviours

"Wakeup calls" may be given once the readiness of the supporters is established. The wakeup calls may be given to the academics to draw attention to their (male and female academics) performance in the workgroups.

Initially, the activists can informally talk to individual male and female academics immediately after the meetings and may reveal to the academics the roles which they perform and which are witnessed in the meetings i.e. the roles of *blocker, passive listener, aggressor, recognition seeker and passive follower*. The study findings suggest that senior members of the faculty, including men and women, are more readily accepted by the academics when it comes to interaction, especially by

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the young or unmarried female academics. The researcher therefore suggests that senior male or female academics preferably should talk to women, and male supporters should talk to the male members of the workgroup. This will increase the chances of successful interaction; without which the intervention may not succeed. Men can identify the participation role which they (men) perform and women should be informed about the role which they (women) perform in the meetings. Likewise, the effects of their (men and women) corresponding roles on the opposite gender might also be highlighted to both the male and female academics.

It is important to understand that the identification of such roles and the effects of these roles should not be conveyed to the academics in an aggressive manner. The activists should preferably adopt a softly convincing tone. Forceful or pushy behaviour may lead the academics to become defensive and may thus create resistance to change (Certo, 2003). Academics may be attracted by a rationale that the presence of every academic in formal groups comes with an expectation of conduct from them (i.e. self participation and giving a chance of participation to others).

Informal discussion may provide a chance for academics to critically think about and identify the reasons for the behaviour adopted by themselves and others. The activists may help the academics to think and differentiate between the problems arising from their personal capacities that prevent them from a successful performance in groups and those which arise as a result of the behaviour of others. This might include discussion with individual academics about issues relating to socially expected behaviours, stereotypes, family pressures, religious and social values and all other relevant norms of the society.

Individual discussions with academics might follow the group discussions on the same issue at the departmental level, but it is imperative that generic discussion about the academics' individual roles should take place without specifically highlighting any individual. If this occurs, members may go into defensive mode and discussions are not then likely to end fruitfully.

An "open space discussion" is the best idea at this stage, and the same may be set up with the assistance of the Head of Department. Harrison (2008) suggests that

open space discussion helps in eliminating controlling behaviour and enhances co-workers support and individual effectiveness, as individuals are able to share and overcome the problems preventing collaborative work in a relaxed environment. The use of hypothetical stories and case studies in open space discussion are a feasible way in which to acquire candid responses from individuals (Harrison, 2008). A hypothetical story of an academic with an imaginary name confronted with performance problems in workgroups could be narrated to those academics gathering at the departmental level. The story may consist of the roles and problems which were individually identified and discussed with the academics earlier. The academics might further be asked to project the story and make suggestions in terms of solutions and improvement. This may assist the academics to come up with candid responses about their own problems and the corrective actions which matters to them. This can then become effective in bringing about the change.

The researcher suggests that activists can actively and carefully participate in the open space discussions and enlighten the academics about issues (i.e. cultural influences including power over religious interpretation and traditional norms). This is where the activists with Islamic insights (volunteers from the department of religious studies) may perform a key role by providing religious clarity on interpretations of Islam in relation to female employment, Pardah and interaction with men. The researcher suggests that active participation by the activists is required to challenge participants to think reasonably and to draw their attention to presenting problems. The activists can refrain from making any sweeping statements regarding religion or aggressively challenging the religious beliefs of any participant. The researcher recommends that a 'yes' and 'but' approach may be adopted so that any conflict is confronted rather than coerced, avoided or compromised. The activists can help all participants, both men and women, to participate in open space discussions. This can be done slowly and progressively with intervals, and without forcing people to participate.

The researcher suggest that men and women can be allowed to remain in their traditional modes (i.e. less interaction with the opposite gender) at first. However, the academics can gradually be encouraged to interact, participate and discuss with members of the opposite sex. The activists (including men and women) may

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demonstrate through their own interaction with the opposite gender, to demonstrate the performance endorsing equality in workgroups. This will give ample opportunity to the academics to learn and practice interaction in a non-discriminatory manner. This is how at this stage, not only the academics' thinking, but also their behaviours may be shaped to achieve a better performance in gender diverse workgroups. The successful execution of activities at this stage are intended to question of the status quo, and ready the participants for the next stage, which is promoting and enabling equality.

4-Promoting and Enabling Equality

The idea of Doherty and Manfredi (2009) for validating and promoting an enabling leadership style for change is used here, as the findings of this study suggest that the blessings of senior management such as Vice Chancellors and Deans are critical in this stage. Disapproval of discriminatory practices by the top management is likely to motivate the activists and accelerate change amongst most likely to resist (Moss Kanter, 1983).

The management may help to accelerate change by convincing hardcore opponents through justifying activities linked to the promotion of religious and human motives. The idea of such an approach is to advance a more persuasive discourse than the one currently informing Pukhtun culture. Hardcore opponents of change may be dealt with by words of wisdom from either management or religiously enlightened supporters who can refer to the Holy Book if required.

The study findings reveal that social identity and social control by supporter of Pukhtunwali affect patriarchy through their power to issue restrictive religious interpretations. Therefore, the researcher recommends that such hardcore opponents should be politely invited to become a prominent part of the activism. Hardcore opponents can be encouraged to participate through recognition of their religious wisdom. Such recognition may help in bringing even the most stubborn and hardcore opponents into discussions. Senior and religiously knowledgeable academics should be allowed to try and convince such opponents without openly and forcefully challenging their beliefs. A slow and steady approach towards the purpose may help to avoid any potential resistance. The idea is to make opponents into friends by appealing to their desire to do good.

The Vice Chancellors, Deans and the Head of Departments (HOD's) must ensure equal representation and participation of both genders on committees, boards and councils, and should encourage women to actively participate in the ensuing meetings. Seminars, workshops and even short term crash courses on relevant topics (for example, ethics of group discussion, how to convene a meeting or how to lead group discussion) might be arranged at convenient times for eligible HOD's and academic staff. This will help the chairs of workgroups to adopt good practices, i.e. ice-breaking for silent and passive participants, involving everyone in discussions, gaining and integrating ideas from all the participants. The chairs and conveners of the meetings should be encouraged to discourage interruptions of women and men, and should actively seek to maintain equality in opportunities to contribute to conversation at group meetings.

Any act of gender discrimination should be opposed by the Head of Department, and the victim should be supported to protect her/his rights in a court of law.

Price and Priest (1996) suggest that external communication is important in maintaining the momentum of change. This means that success stories coming from any department can be disseminated to supporters in other departments so that the belief of post-effort success can be strengthened, and a greater level of motivation of the supporters could be achieved to ensure continuous positive action.

The writer acknowledges that the journey of change will be a long and difficult one, but it is also recognised that it could produce a long lasting impact.

9.4   Reflection on Engagement in the Feminist Approach to Inquiry

The feminist approach to inquiry has always been a contested area for critics engaging in feminist's methodologies. It is widely believed that feminist methodologies are methods of knowing and seeking 'truth' and also a form of political commitment to the empowerment of women. Ramazanoglu (1992) suggests that feminist methodologies are remarkably creative and productive in promoting an understanding of social life and female emancipation. Williams (1993, p 204) states that "feminists have documented and theorised women's experience and they underline the importance of gender, meaning both the experience of women and men, in understanding social life and promoting social justice and equality". Miess

(1993) concludes that an emphasis on feminist research provides a substantial theoretical contribution which provides the scope for action, research and activism against the patriarchal structure. Hammersley (1992) presents a different perspective and criticises feminist methodology on the basis of the four themes used to mark its distinction.

Although the issues raised in relation to feminist methodologies have been addressed by many authors (Ramazanoglu,1992); Williams,1993; Miess,1993; and Hern, 2004), the researcher's experience of engagement in feminist research, by agreement with some of the points and counter agreement with the others, also addresses the issues raised by Hammersley. A discussion on the four themes of feminist methodology, relating to the issues raised by Hammersley and the responses of different authors to Hammersley, may help the researcher to present his reflection on the engagement of feminist approaches to inquiry.

Hammersley suggests that the feminist methodology principally focuses on gender in the context of the argument that human social relations of all kinds are heavily structured by differences in the social position of women and men, and the difference between them in terms of power. Hammersley suggests that the ubiquitous significance of gender limits the scope of social science to critical assessment of male bias only. By so doing, feminist methodology confuses the goals of science and rationality with goals of politics and personal commitment. In response, Hearn (2004) suggests that female deprivation places men into a social category of responsibility, and in this way, critical studies on men can be transformative and an emancipator for both women and men.

This study also highlights the hegemonic power of men which places men into positions of responsibility in both public and private spheres. This study, by critically assessing and discussing the hegemonic influence of men over women, not only contributes to the emancipation of women but indirectly also attempts to contribute to the emancipation of men from the position of greater responsibility. In this way, the political motive of feminist methodology is more than commitment towards women goals. Williams (1993) also suggests that most of the contemporary feminists' work takes the meaning of gender to be both masculinity and femininity.

Hammersley (1992) suggests that feminist methodology considers women's personal experience as a significant indicator of reality and, in so doing, feminist methodology emphasizes that only women can undertake feminist research. This perception is based on the feminist argument of the very nature of the relationship between oppressors and the oppressed. Hammersley highlights the views of feminist methodology which suggest that the experiential knowledge of the oppressed can only be understood by women and that, therefore, men lack empathy and the ability of sociological imagination which can help a researcher understand the feelings of the victims of oppression. Hammersley (1992) signals towards the feminist methodology argument of women's "double consciousness" i.e. their knowledge of both the dominant culture and their own experiences. Hammersley (p. 180) further states that "this often leads to the rejection of structured method research in favour of unstructured and qualitative method of data collection and analysis, on the grounds that these will give access to women's experience in a way that other methods do not".

On the basis of these arguments, Hammersley implies that feminist methodology recognizes feminist research as an appropriate domain for female researchers only.. Miess (1993) responds to this issue and suggests that criticism of the quantitative method actually focuses on the bias of positivism (methodological bias) which excludes women from social science research. Miess (p. 163) states, "the focus of criticism on positivism is on the claim of neutrality and the structural separation between theory and practice as the purpose is to attack on elitism and inherent class bias of this approach".

Responding to the same issue, William (1993, p 202) states that "feminists are not limited to the use of qualitative methods for their political motives as some feminists practice quantitative methods, incorporate reflexivity and challenge power and search for new understanding of knowledge". However, Miess (Year 1993 , p, 64) states that:

> "If women's studies are to be made into an instrument of women's liberation, we cannot uncritically use the positivist, quantitative research methodology. If women's studies use these old methodologies, they will again be turned into an instrument of repression. New wine should not be poured into old bottles".

Ramazanoglu (1992) also suggests that knowledge creation is a political process as it is intrinsically political. The issue of validating the knowledge which sociologists produce is an issue of producing knowledge for political motives and can be seen as general weakness of sociology rather than feminist methodology.

Regarding the issue of women's experience being critical for feminist research as raised by Hammersley, William (1993, p 212) also suggests that "by establishing a relation between results of research and data related to the production of research, the feminists are able to show how the experience of those encountered by researchers often mirrors the researcher themselves".

However, this study attempts to contest the idea that only female researchers can bring an element of empathy and understanding of women's feelings in feminist research. The empirical evidence and the arguments established in this study impart the feelings and problems associated with women in their interaction with men in work groups. The empirical evidence of the study endorses Oakley's (1998, 1999) beliefs on the empowering attributes of in-depth interview. The study challenges the power of culture covertly exerted on women and, in this way provides evidence that men can also try to understand women's issues and can provide a loud and clear voice for emancipation. The study raises the idea that those who are at a certain sociological position can also try draw upon the experiences of those who are in different sociological positions.

Hammersley (1992) suggests that feminist methodology brings forth the idea that there is an ethical requirement for female researchers to always treat other women as equal and not as subordinates, which raises an assumption that feminists may only study women. In response to Hammersley's criticism, Miess (1993) suggests that the *view from above* must be replaced with the *view from below*. The view from above refers to the view of a powerful and elite class of women, whereas the view from below refers to the view of exploited and oppressed group of themselves. Miess supports this argument, and suggests that in the case of the *view from above,* the research objects (women) experience acute distrust when interviewed by male interviewers who occupy a higher social position. Hammersley (1992, p. 186), responding to this issue, states that "the lives of men and women are closely

interrelated and restricting focus only on women's experiences may not tell us much about the world that produced those experiences".

The researcher's experience of engagement with female participants for this study slightly differs with Meiss's argument of acute distrust between a male interviewer and a female interviewee. The researcher had lengthy discussions on sensitive issues in an extreme culture of patriarchy. This engagement with female participants during interviews undermines the idea of acute distrust between male interviewer and female interviewee. However, the researcher did experience constraints in developing rapport with female participants on some occasions. This shows that the relationship of the researcher and participants the subjects of research could not always bridge differences of gender and the social positions of the researcher and the researched.

The other key issue relating to feminist methodology raised by Hammersley (1992) is the main purpose behind such research. Hammersley (p. 181) states that:

> "Many feminists define a central goal of their research as the emancipation of women rather than production of valid knowledge. This is why when feminists investigate a particular topic the whole process of research will reflect her commitment to feminism".

In response, Miess (Year 1993, p. 167) states that:

> "Participation in social actions and struggles, and the integration of research into these processes implies that the change of status quo becomes the starting point for a scientific quest. The motto of this approach is that *if you want to understand a thing, you must change it*".

Miess suggests that attitude or opinion surveys impart little understanding of women's consciousness as, even in everyday life, women understand their true condition upon rapture of their normal life.

The researcher's experience brings about a similar view, as the researcher realises that an interest in emancipation helps one to understand the status quo better. Such

a will to challenge the status quo provides motivation for a deeper analysis and deconstruction of the status quo.

9.5   Engagement in Qualitative Research

The application of qualitative research is found to have been useful in the context of this study, as people's experiences on the given research issue are comprehensively described, which has greatly assisted the writer in investigating the key research question. Purposive sampling assisted the researcher to focus on the quality of data, as the objective was not to maximise the quantity of data but to obtain detailed information on the topic.

The probing carried out during in-depth semi-structured interviews helped the researcher to obtain information about the human side of the studied issue. It was found that the contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions and relationships of individuals can be better identified and analysed through qualitative research. Spending longer period with participants, being at liberty to ask reflective questions and the process of non participant observation provided an opportunity to the researcher to investigate and determine all of these intangible factors. The mediation process of the researcher (male) with female participants was found to be helpful in verifying the responses of the participants on the issue of male and female interaction. In this way, the study also adds to the understanding of the work done on methodological issues in the context of the role of gender dynamics in the mediation of the interviewer-interviewee relationships when women are interviewed by male researchers in patriarchal and extreme cultures of segregation.

Data was analysed using the constant comparative method of analysis, and the coding process enabled the researcher to gradually emerge the relevant themes and to get to the major findings of the study. It is therefore concluded by the writer that qualitative methods are also effective in identifying new issues terms of the initial research parameters which might not have been readily apparent, as new themes were allowed to emerge from the data during the comparative process.

The qualitative research method might be said to compromise trustworthiness. participant's biases may become a potential barrier to the trustworthiness of the study. For example, the participants might paint either a positive or negative picture

of the situation which would influence the study findings accordingly. However, devices such as in -depth discussion and non-participant observation were employed in this study to help expose the influence of any *a priori* assumptions. Thus, the strength of the qualitative research was highly effective in the collection of the empirical evidence. The use of non-participant observation also encouraged triangulation and allowed the researcher to compensate for the shortcomings of using only one method, enabling the researcher to claim credibility and trustworthiness of the study. The freedom to describe the rich social and cultural context of the study via qualitative research should help the reader to understand the experiences of the participants achieve empathetic validity and add the quality of resonance in this study.

Overall, it is concluded that the researcher's engagement in qualitative research was a rich and rewarding experience which helped the researcher to develop as a researcher and writer of publications.

9.6 On Reflexivity

The areas identified by Gilgun (2011) in which the researcher can become reflexive, (discussed earlier p.81) are the topic which the researcher wants to investigate, experience of the researcher with research participants and the people to whom the findings will be directed. To account for all of these three areas in the study, I have adopted the philosophical assumptions of interpretivism. This acknowledges not only that the research participants' world view, but also the researcher's world view, is socially constructed, historically determined and based on human values (Tierney, 1988). Hassard (1991) also suggests that from an interpretive perspective, social reality is a product of the inter-subjective experiences of both the researcher and the research participants. For the interpretive analyst, the social world is best understood from the view point of the participant in action. The interpretive researcher seeks to deconstruct the phenomenological process through which shared realities are created, sustained and changed. For this reason, I now switch to the first person while I reflect on my own role in shaping the research and its findings.

In this study, I have tried to explore the culturally derived logics and explain the behaviours of academics that I have observed in meetings. Coming from the studied

culture and the studied working context, I had questions and problems in my mind before the inception of the research. My personal experience of observing less participation by women in meetings brought me discomfort. Being a part of gender diverse work groups during employment, it was difficult for me to accept the language that excluded women from the discussions. Such feelings may have come to me because of my early education at a convent school guided by western missionaries. On the other hand, as a husband and a brother with two sisters, living in a joint family system of Pukhtun culture, I have had conflicted feelings when observing customs of 'Pardah' defined by Pukhtun culture. The discomfort that I experienced during employment in workgroups gave me a personal motivation to carry out this project. When I started, my acquaintance with the relevant theories before entering into the field, added to the questions and problems that I had in my mind.

Tierney (1988, p. 10,) states that:

> "Good training in theory and acquaintance with its latest results is not identical with being burdened with preconceived ideas. If a man sets out on an expedition, determined to prove a certain hypothesis, if he is incapable of changing his views constantly and casting them off ungrudgingly under the pressure of evidence, needless to say his work will be worthless. Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of a scientific thinker and these problems are better revealed to the observer by his theoretical studies."

The study of literature not only developed my sensitivity to the exclusion of women in workgroup discussions but it also alerted me to my role in the family as a male member. This brought me more discomfort and made me reassess my own behaviour both in the family and at the workplace. This means that my personal experience and acquaintance with the relevant theories acquired both personal and professional meanings in relation to the topic studied.

Undertaking interpretive research helped me to answer the questions I had in my mind, answers which I could not have acquired in any other way. The interviews alerted me to the depth of Pukhtun culture and sensitised me to this influence in a

way that would not have been possible using survey methods with closed questions. My prolonged engagement and emotional involvement with the research participants during interviews, observation sessions and in the informal communication enabled me to discover answers to those questions about social situations. Nevertheless, developing a rapport with female participants was challenging in a patriarchal and restrictive gender culture. Despite the arguments given by various researchers (Cotterill, 1992; William & Heikes 1993; Reinharz & Chase, 2000; , Hand & Lewis, 2002; Lohan, 2000) in favour of men interviewing women equally well as women interview women (discussed on p. 74), I found that the power dynamics embedded in Pukhtun culture hindered my capacity to help women participants be expressive in answering interview questions. This is a potential limitation to the study.

However, Tierney (1992; p. 102,) states:

> "The interpretive researcher does not set out to prove hypothesis. We enter the field with the inductive premise that our questions and answers will be discovered in a social situation. Our answers will attempt to delineate how *a priori* theory has been altered by the logic of data'.

It was the logic of the data, in this study, that helped me to get clearer answers to my questions. Things were viewed in the light of the interpretations of 36 other academics. It was like seeing things in the new light which broadened my horizon and helped me to understand the situation more clearly. I realized the responsibility I had for spreading awareness and doing something to support women in both private and public spheres, as doing nothing would mean that I am a complicit in reconstructing patriarchy, and doing nothing is no longer a 'liveable life'. Doing something may include trying to help women members of my family and organisation by giving support to girls and women when they seek to act autonomously. It will also involve educating boys and men to tolerate women's autonomy. Overall, on a personal and professional level, I found that carrying out interpretive research has changed me as a person and an academic. However, a raised awareness that I have received from this research has also stirred up a discomfort to me, as on one hand an increased awareness has formed a personal desire to challenge the aspects of Pukhtun culture. On the other hand, a desire to challenge the powerful culture may bring about a challenge to my own liveability. I may face reputational and even

physical danger as a result of the way my thinking is developed. A desire to challenge the aspects of Pukhtun culture may make my survival difficult as Butler (2004) argue that if personal desires go far away from recognised set of norms then the options for individual survival may become challenging. In Butler (2004) words, 'doing something' may increase the possibility of my persistence as an 'I' but it depends upon my being able to do something with what is done to me.

On research participants' account, I argue that in-depth discussion during the semi-structured interviews allowed me not only to access the perspectives of research participants but also increase opportunities to extend my understanding of my own personal experience and engagement with theory. For instance, the issue of gender legislation, gender performance in western contexts, and different interpretations of religion on gender rights, were all discussed. The participants, on different occasions, reported how the discussions added to their knowledge. I could observe changes in their performance in comparison to other academics in the meetings (through non-participant observation). As a researcher, therefore, I suggest that the engagement with the research participants has broadened the horizons of many of them on issues of gender rights and the importance of gender equality.

This study has unearthed the gender situation which prevails in Pakistani universities. The behaviours of academics in workgroups and the reasons for those behaviours are explained theoretically and with the help of empirical evidence. This has policy-oriented consequences. The study offers recommendations on how to support the management of universities in a way that empowers women in workgroups and helps to fully utilize their potential.

9.7   Limitations

Although this study has achieved its aims to a large extent, I acknowledge that much more could have been done to further develop the project. During the research journey, there were some unavoidable limitations which hindered me in producing better results.

Firstly, I admit that a more ambitious programme of action research could have been made to have more impact. I realised this during the field work stages. When I approached the participants for interviews, and then observed the meetings as non-

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participant observer. I found that the interview participants were more active in their participation during the meetings. This is where I see the potential for action research and participant observation. However, the findings show that gender is a sensitive issue in KPK, and such efforts could have subjected me to potential risks and jeopardised the whole project. I observed ethical requirements to avoid being exposed to any risks, including threats to the life. However, I do acknowledge that action research could have been carried out.

Secondly, I acknowledge that the applied knowledge produced in this study is context specific and can be applied only in religiously conservative cultures. Thus, I acknowledge that the understanding promoted in this study may be applied to some parts of the country, but may not be applicable across the whole of Pakistan.

The third limitation relates to the theories applied to this study. I anticipate, there will be some criticism that the theories applied to the empirical findings of this study have emerged in a western context, whereas the empirical findings of the study are acquired in the context of the Pukhtun culture of Pakistan. However, this occurred because of the lack of existing research on this issue in KPK. Moreover, despite extensive search of the literature, I did not find any research on gender group dynamics in the Higher Education context of Pakistan. I have therefore tried to overcome this limitation by discussing the similarities and differences between cross cultural contexts.

Finally, I acknowledge that the study does not recommend any fast track or easy solution for bringing about change in this area. The process of change is commonly recognised as being a very gradual process, and the model for change recommended in this study may take number of years to bring about any change in the organisation culture of universities and ultimately to the wider culture in the KPK region. However, I suggest that this limitation is not due to the research model, rather to the existence of such a strong culture in KPK.

Despite the unavoidable limitations mentioned above, the study does provide, in my view, a response to the research question and achieves those aims set out at the beginning of this study.

9.8   Future Research

The study explores the effects of gender diversity on the performance of academics in work groups. In this endeavour, the study identifies that the social status of women is far below that of men due to a culture affected by control over religious thought and traditional norms by supporters of Puhktun culture. The study finds that a series of inequalities stems from the culture of patriarchy which places men in leadership and advantageous positions in both the domestic and public life, as head of the family in the former, and in managerial roles in the latter.

This leads to men taking up culturally configured positions which mean they enjoy power, but which also bring more responsibilities. In the role of head of the family, men are responsible as breadwinners for the whole family. In managerial positions, men are charged with greater responsibility.

The question therefore arises as to whether men are subjected to hegemonic influences stemming from the Pukhtun culture, and whether they are aware of the impact of their gender role on their wellbeing. I identify this issue as a potential area for future research, and aim to carry out a further project in to investigate this related research question.

I also aim to contribute more to the issue of 'men undertaking feminist study'. Gender congruence is principally identified as a useful resource in most instances. I therefore aim to add to the methodological debate about men interviewing women using qualitative research carried out in the culture of the power relationship between opposite genders.

Last but not least, the study offers a potential opening for research in the shape of carrying out a similar project with the tool of action research. In this way, the study draws much needed attention to the issue of gender equality in extreme patriarchal culture, and points to an interesting area for further research in the field of gender dynamics in workgroups.

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Appendix 1: Interview Design

The endeavour of this study is to understand the effects of gender diversity on performance of academics based in the Khyber Pukhtun Khwa. The idea is to develop an understanding on gender diversity and to explain work place differences between male and female behaviour and to make recommendations about group structure and dynamics to increase collaborative working between men and women. Exploratory semi-structured interview with both men and women working in a gender diverse group is aimed to gather the data to analyze the effects of group dynamics on their gender thinking and behaviour and performance.

The interview will be tape-recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis of data. However, should the interviewees find tape-recording uncomfortable, they may choose the researcher to note down the answers of the questions in writing, after which a meeting with the researcher can be set for the clarification of the written answers without using a tape-recorder. The interview is estimated to last for 60 minutes or 1 hour. Confidentiality will be ensured by not mentioning the interviewees' names or their organisations during the interview and subsequent identification of the record. The researcher will aim at making the interview as free flowing as possible, asking additional questions only when there is a need to clarify.

The themes and the questions of the interviews are presented below:

Brief introduction, education and work history of the participant.

1- Can you please introduce yourself and tell me about your family, religion and educational background?
2- Have you spent any time in another country either studying or working? Probe of experiences.
3- When did you make this career choice and what attracted you to this field?
4- What expectation did you have for the career that you have chosen?
5- To what extent have these expectations been met? Probe whether Yes or No.

To determine the cultural and social dynamics including social categorization and gender stereotypes effects on gender thinking, behaviour and performance.

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1- How did your family and friends initially respond to your choice to become academic at University? How do they feel now?

2- What would you say was the biggest barrier you faced to entering academic community at University? Do you feel that there are currently barriers you face for working at University?

3- Who have you sought support from?

4- Have you joined groups or sought activities whose participants include both men and women academics? If no, prompt for reasons.

5- Do you notice any difference into behaviours of male and female academics? If yes, prompt for examples.

6- Are the behaviours of male and female academics different in group work also? Prompt for example and reasons (Or are male/female academics treated equally in group work?)

7- What roles do you think women and men are suited to?

8- To what extent do you think your attitudes and beliefs have impacted on your behaviour in group work?

9- To what extent do you feel that your gender has impacted on your relationship with your other group members (both male and female)?

10- To what extent do you feel respected as a male/female participant in gender diverse work group? (By opposite gender group members and supervisors). If no, why not and if yes, why, can you describe what happens.

11- To what extent does religious belief have an impact on behaviour of men and women?

To understand gender diversity and conversational dynamics effecting gender thinking, behaviour and performance in group work.

1. What do you enjoy most in your engagement in group work? Why?

2. What do you enjoy least in your engagement in group work? Why?

3. Have there been some specific times that you felt accepted? Expand

4. Have there been some specific times that you felt like an outsider? Expand

5. Can you tell me about any particular incidents or difficult experiences of working/participating in gender diverse work group dialogue?

6. How much would you say that your other group members (male/female) generally know/understand about your role and give you chance to participate equally in group activities?

7. Are there any particular things that you wish that your other group members (male/female) and supervisors knew about your role/participation in group activities?

To understand the contribution of Government and NGO's initiatives (Equal Employment Opportunities and Diversity Management) in promoting gender equality at work place.

1. Is any policy introduced or is already in place for promotion and protection of gender equality at the University? If no, why?

2. If yes, how do your higher ups ensure the policy is being adhered to?

3. To what extent does monitoring of the policy contribute to maintenance and improvement of gender equality?

Suggestions

1. What aspect of working environment and team support could be improved to help you perform and participate more effectively in work group?

2. What is your perception as to why is gender diversity helpful /not helpful in academic work groups at Universities?

3. Do you have any suggestions of how a work group environment can be improved to provide equal opportunities for both men and women academics to do their best?

Appendix 2: Participation Information Sheet for Interviews

Research Project Title:

The Effects of Gender Diversity on Work Group Performance in Pakistani Universities

The investigators of this study:

Zeeshan Zaib Khattak. PhD Student (under the supervision of Prof Liz Doherty and Dr Rory Ridley-Duff) at Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

What are the Research aims?

The purpose of this project is to investigate the effects of gender diversity on performance of academics based in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. The research will focus on the effects of group dynamics, culture and the gender equality legislation of Pakistan on gender thinking and behaviour and its impact on individual and group level performance.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to participate in this study as you have an experience of working in a gender diverse work groups.

What will I be asked to do?

- You will be asked to participate in a one on one interview with the researcher that will go for approximately one hour.
- You will be asked a series of question on your experience of working in gender diverse work groups and the impact this had on your professional life and performance in groups.
- The answers you give will be recorded using a tape recorder. You will be asked to sign a consent form to ensure that you give the researcher permission to record this information about yourself.
- However, should you find tape-recording uncomfortable, you may choose to answer the questions in writing, after which a meeting with the researcher can be set for the clarification of the written answers without using a tape-recorder.
-

Will my answers be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the interview will remain confidential. The information gained from you during the interview will be analysed along with that of the other participants in this study. Personal or identifying data will be included subject to the consent of the participants. A research project will be submitted at the completion of this study, the information may also be used in academic articles. Only the researcher and his supervisors will have access to the transcript information. The

interview transcripts will be stored in the learning centre of Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

How do I consent to participate?

A consent form is attached. By completing this form and bringing it on the day of the interview with the researcher and complying with the interview process, consent will be formally given.

What if I change my mind about participation?

At any time during the study you have the right to withdraw your consent.

How will I benefit from participating in this study?

This study may not in the long run be of any benefit to you personally. The findings that will come from this study may be used in the researcher's PhD thesis and academic articles. Short report outlining the main issues and a presentation if asked for will be delivered which may become helpful for some reforms in regard to promotion of gender equality.

Will participating in this study be harmful to me in anyway?

It is not estimated that this study will cause you harm in anyway. However, the interview questions will be investigating the personal and professional issues that have risen from working in gender diverse work groups, and therefore might cause emotional strain. If this does occur during the interview, emotional support will be offered, along with counselling services.

Who can I ask any questions I have about this study?

If you have any further questions about this study, please contact

Name of Researcher: Zeeshan Zaib Khattak

Contact Email:Zeeshan.Z.Khattak@student.shu.ac.uk/zeeshan_khattak@hotmail.com

Enrolment Degree: PhD Student

Supervision Team: Prof Liz Doherty & Dr Rory Ridley-Duff

University: Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University

Note: You will also have the opportunity to ask questions before and during the interview.

Appendix 3: Participation Information Sheet for Observation Sessions

Research Project Title:

The Effects of Gender Diversity on Work Group Performance in Pakistani Universities

The investigators of this study:

Zeeshan Zaib Khattak. PhD Student (under the supervision of Prof Liz Doherty and Dr Rory Ridley-Duff) at Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

What are the Research aims?

The purpose of this project is to investigate the effects of gender diversity on performance of academics based in the Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa Province of Pakistan. The research will focus on the effects of group dynamics, culture and the gender equality legislation of Pakistan on gender thinking and behaviour and its impact on individual and group level performance.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to participate in this study as you have an experience of working in a gender diverse work group.

What will I be asked to do?

- Nothing but just to attend a scheduled meeting of your faculty and participate as par normal routine.
- Your participation will be observed along with the other members of the meeting group that will go for approximately the whole duration of the meeting.
- The proceedings of the meeting will be recorded using a tape recorder. You will be asked to sign a consent form to ensure that you give the researcher permission to record your participation in the meeting.
- However, should you find tape-recording uncomfortable, you may choose to ask the researcher to record your participation in writing without using tape-recorder.

Will my answers be kept confidential?

All information that is collected during the observation will remain confidential. The information gained from your participation during the meeting observation will be analysed along with that of the other participants in this study. Personal or identifying data will be included subject to the consent of the participants. A research project will be submitted at the completion of this study, the information may also be used in academic articles. Only the researcher and his supervisors will have access

to the transcript information. The observation transcripts will be stored in the researcher's cabinet at Science Park of Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

How do I consent to participate?

A consent form is attached. By completing this form and bringing it on the day of the meeting with the researcher and complying with the observation process, consent will be formally given.

What if I change my mind about participation?

At any time during the study you have the right to withdraw your consent.

How will I benefit from participating in this study?

This study may not in the long run be of any benefit to you personally. The findings that will come from this study may be used in the researcher's PhD thesis and academic articles. Short report outlining the main issues and a presentation will be delivered which may become helpful for some reforms in regard to promotion of gender equality. This may contribute to equal participation of men and women at work places and help shape a tolerant and progressive society.

Will participating in this study be harmful to me in anyway?

It is not estimated that this study will cause you harm in anyway. However, if any emotional strain occurred during the observation session, emotional support will be offered, along with counselling services.

Who can I ask any questions I have about this study?

If you have any further questions about this study, please contact

Name of Researcher: Zeeshan Zaib Khattak

Contact Email:Zeeshan.Z.Khattak@student.shu.ac.uk/zeeshan_khattak@hotmail.com

Enrolment Degree: PhD Student

Supervision Team: Prof Liz Doherty & Dr Rory Ridley-Duff

University: Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University

Note: You will also have the opportunity to ask questions before and during the observation session.

Appendix 4: Consent Form for Research Study

Title of Project: The Effects of Gender Diversity on Work Group Performance in Pakistani Universities

Name of Researcher: Zeeshan Zaib Khattak

Please tick to confirm

- • I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. ☐

- • I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

- • I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, without my legal rights being affected. ☐

- • I agree to the use of anonymous quotations being used in future academic writings. ☐

- • I agree to take part in the above research study. ☐

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

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Appendix 5: Letter for Seeking Entry to the Field

To

The Vice Chancellor

_____

Subject: Permission for Data Collection for PhD Research Project

Dear Sir,

I am Zeeshan Zaib Khattak, taking a PhD in Human Resource Management at Sheffield Business School (SBS), Sheffield Hallam University (SHU) at United Kingdom (UK). I am writing to seek your permission to collect data through personal interviews and non participant observations of meetings of academics in Faculty of Management Sciences, Education and Medical Sciences at the University of ------------------------, Khyber PukhtunKhwa, Pakistan.

The purpose of the project is to understand the effects of gender diversity on performance of academics based in the Khyber PukhtunKhwa Province of Pakistan. The idea is to develop an understanding on gender diversity and to explain work place differences between male and female behaviour and to make recommendations about group structure and dynamics to increase collaborative working between men and women.

I would like to assure you that all individual responses and meeting observations will be strictly confidential and the identities of the participants and the organisations they represent will not be included in the report without consent. The summary of the research findings will be made available and will be presented on request of the participants or organization. Participation in the research project is voluntary and the consent of the participants will be acquired after showing participant information sheets to all the participants. This project has received ethics approval from the Sheffield Business School (SBS) at Sheffield Hallam University (SHU), UK. Short report outlining the main issues and a presentation will be delivered which may become helpful for some reforms in regard to promotion of gender equality. This may also contribute to equal participation of men and women at work places and help shape a tolerant and progressive society in Pakistan.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact this researcher or Professor Liz Doherty, Researcher's Supervisor/ Head of Doctoral Program at SBS, SHU

Email: ----------------------   **Phone:** ----------

Dr Rory Ridley- Duff, Researcher's Second Supervisor, Senior Lecturer at SBS, SHU

Email: -----------------------   **Phone:** ----------

Sincerely yours,

Zeeshan Zaib Khattak   **Email:** zeeshan_khattak@hotmail.com   **Phone:** -----------

Appendix 6: Sample Transcript

Thank you very much for giving me a time for interview. I hope that you will enjoy talking to me and it will be a productive discussion.

Brief introduction, education and work history of the participant

Interviewer- Can you please introduce yourself and tell me about your family, religion and educational background?

Participant- My name is Dr Khan, I belong to a place nearby Peshawar named as --- ----------------- and current speaker of the Provincial Assembly is from my village and a distant relative as well.

Interviewer- You must be a good speaker then.

Participant- Let's hope. Actually my father had his qualification in Economics and then he entered in a teaching profession and after sometime staying there he opted for Civil Services and he is like from the first batch of civil service retired as a secretary in 1996. We are like three brothers and a sister, I am in the middle, the elder brother and a younger sister are married. I and my younger brother are still unmarried. By qualification I am a law graduate, by profession I am trained as a lawyer. Then I joined the University, I did my LLM and then PhD. I had a chance to do a course from Oslo and then very recently I have done additionally done a Master's from London School of Economics and Political Science in Criminal Justice and policy. Currently I am holding a position of Assistant Professor in department of management sciences at Hazara University.

Interviewer- As you have mentioned that you have been to Oslo and London for your studies, can you share your experiences of the exposure that you got from your stay in these developed cities.

Participant- It was like very incredible, very amazing especially in 2003 when I went to Oslo which is a great and incredible place. It is so peaceful, so calm, it is so disciplined I would say and along with discipline you can always smell like a great

sense of liberty, freedom and all these things so that was just wonderful and as I love to walk in streets and parks, talking to people, meeting people so it was simply an amazing experience for me. I have seen humanity at a very high level there in Scandinavia. It helped me groom my personality and acquire traits of respecting individuals irrespective of there colour, religion, race, class or gender.

Interviewer- When did you make this career choice and what attracted you to this field?

Participant- It was not actually a very older thought in the sense that as a child I never thought that I would become a teacher or a professor but one thing probably was a bit procurer about me that my friends and my family use to say about me that I am very good at making out an argument and convincing people so probably that was the quality which we expect of a good teacher but then that never was the idea, i always wanted to be a professional lawyer. I managed to join that profession initially and that was a very good experience as well. Because I was very successful in a short span of around two years but then I was like greatly influenced by my teachers at my University who asked me that OK you are a good lawyer but you can be a better teacher and do join us and it will be very good for the community, the society and personally for you as well and I didn't give a second thought as they were my elder, they were my mentors and they were my teachers, they asked that are you coming? And I could not simply say no to them. That day and till now this day from 1999 till 2010, for about 11 years I am in this profession and I am very happy about it.

Interviewer- What expectation did you have for the career that you have chosen?

Participant- Well Yes. At the time when I was asked by my teachers and friends to join them at the University, the initial idea which was very tempting as well was that I wanted to study more; higher education was always a dream and an obsession. So at your own if you stay in the legal profession that it probably becomes impossible that you peruse research career or study more in addition to your legal practice that is hardly like an idea. So by joining the teaching profession and staying with the academia I thought that i could like see some opportunities of getting myself more nicely educated so that was offcourse the idea that by joining the university i will be

able to study more and more, go into research and get some nice western education as well i would say and then probably after achieving all this if the circumstances allowed then i may come back to the legal profession as a professional. That was actually the idea at that time when i was like thinking about joining the university.

Interviewer- To what extent have these expectations been met? Probe whether Yes or No.

Participant- Yes partially met. I wanted to study more and I did study. I had my doctorate; I studied from Oslo and from probably the best institute of social sciences i.e. London School of Economics and Political Science. So, so far so good. A dream probably came true

To determine the cultural and social dynamics including social categorization and gender stereotypes effects on gender thinking, behaviour and performance

Interviewer- How did your family and friends initially respond to your choice to become academic at University?

Participant- Well my some of friends were not happy about it. They wanted me to be a very successful lawyer and later on elevated as a judge to some constitutional core, they had like great expectation of me and by becoming a teacher some my friends were annoyed, they were simply annoyed at me. My father said nothing about it. He said that it's your life and choice so wherever you are happy, we will be happy about it, so that is the story.

Interviewer- How do they feel now?

Participant- Actually yes, one or two of my friends, my immediate seniors and my class fellows who have joined the legal profession have earned a good deal of money and fame as well. If I compare myself from this profession with them, they will simply like match me out from this competition because they are fairly rich people now but then I do have some elements of consolation in shape of respect which I get from students and the students whom I have given personal attention and have worked with them, many of them have qualified the Civil Superior Services Exam, the judiciary exams and all these things. Many of them are working in parliament and

in provincial assemblies. So all this is like fairly self fulfilling and it's a good effort i think that I have contributed to the community and the society. I have tried to create so many people of my liking, the way which I always thought that should have been. I may not personally have become like that but i have produced few hundred like the whom I wanted to be myself so it's quite an achievement. So on that account I am happy.

Interviewer- What would you say was the biggest barrier you faced to entering academic community at University?

Participant- It was very smooth I would say like the post was advertised and I applied to it with so many other friends. We were all interviewed and during the interview I realized that i have made it. I didn't know that how my other friends have performed in the selection board but i had a terrible gut feeling that I have outclassed all of them so when I was like going out of the conference room where I was interviewed i was more than a hundred percent sure that i have made it

Interviewer- Do you feel that there are currently barriers you face for working at University?

Participant- Well like when I was in Peshawar the physical infrastructure was very good like we had nicely maintained offices, personal PC's, around the clock access to the digital libraries, internet and to the libraries on the campus so all them were comparatively very nice. But when I joined Hazara University then probably we had seriously faced a financial crunch here. The libraries are not much updated, the electricity is unreliable and so obviously access to computers and getting some benefit out of it becomes a like distant reality. Numerously I tell my friends that we are at the dead end of civilization and beyond this the location of Hazara University is like a forest stretching up to the Chinese border so sometimes we feel like sitting at the end of the world. So on that account we face difficulties in terms of the research as we lack resources, we lack facilities and even the culture probably is not helping. The problems are definitely there for sure.

Interviewer- Who has you sought support from?

Participant- Well emotionally I would say my students because I have taught them nicely and with emotional intensity and the way they have responded was just like a

treasure of encouragement so as they have felt very good about it so I have made an extra effort in updating my knowledge and studying more and more and delivering the same to them. So as they are responding very positively, I am delivering to them with zeal and enthusiasm. This is like very personal to me and this is how it goes with me.

Interviewer- Did you have any support from the peer group, seniors or juniors?

Participant- Yes, when I was a lecturer I was inspired of my three seniors very much and I must name them. Firstly Professor S.S Ali, she is presently at Warwick University, I must also name Prof GH, the ex vice chancellor of Peshawar University and lastly Prof Dr F.H who is currently Registrar of Supreme Court of Pakistan, they were role models.

Interviewer- Have you joined groups or sought activities whose participants include both men and women academics? If no, prompt for reasons.

Participant- Well Yes, one thing I must mention that whenever if there is some occasion or festival on the campus in which like some dignitaries or people from the government might come over to preside meetings and grace the occasion so on that occasion university would constitute a committee by the name of reception committee and I always have a part or head of that committee. I don't know what probably have been the reason but I have always found myself in that committee and then I have chosen the most stylish people of the faculty to be my colleagues and so far we have performed this duty, a duty of sort of protocol duty to the guests which I have enjoyed the most.

Interviewer- Have you ever been the part of work groups like Board of Studies or Academic Councils etc, in which both men and women are members of the work group?

Participant- Yes, for many times I have been a member of such committees.

Interviewer- Do you notice any difference into behaviours of male and female academics? If yes, prompt for examples.

Participant- Yes in some cases I have seen that they are less vocal

Interviewer- Can you elaborate this?

Participant- Probably this culture has got to do something with this, yes probably culture or for sure culture because like in the part of the world we are living, probably they don't get the opportunity to communicate and they are like raised behind curtains so that might have kept them suppressed so what we expect from good women is that she must be like very introvert, silent and quite so we expect that women to be a good women. So probably for that reason in the meetings when we sit and debate on a point of issue, our women colleagues do participate but not at the level at par with their male colleagues.

Interviewer- What roles do you think women and men are suited to?

Participant- Well speaking from the standpoint of my community and my society obviously and generally people think that certain profession are made for men and certain professions are made for women, this is how we are generally trained and this is how we are generally made to believe that yes this job is for him and this job is for her. This is how it is speaking from stand point of my social values, the values in which I am raised in, but then probably the empirical evidence goes the other way around. In my community there are women who have performed extremely good in the fields dominated by males and there are males who have performed very nicely in the areas which are generally dominated by women and then like our society is like in all these terms, I am not sure whether all these things have been researched or documented but probably due to lack of this empirical evidence, we say things on general assumptions. So if you ask me on general assumptions theory then certainly yes there are certain areas in which men should not come and work and there are some areas in which women should not come and work and if they are coming out, then they would be challenging the established norms of the community and yes there would be repercussions and their would be some sort of difficulties as well. But then these are like assumptions and no direct evidence is probably available on all these issues. Personally I think male and female are equally capable of doing all the intellectual jobs. For jobs in which more physical activities are involved I think men are more suited as they are physically stronger than women biologically.

Interviewer- To what extent do you think your attitudes and beliefs have impacted on your behaviour in group work?

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Participant- Well the local knowledge is simply very important, you cannot ignore it and if you ignore it, you are asking for some serious problems. So you must always respect the local knowledge and the local culture and give it a due respect. Off course I do and I am always cognisant of my cultural limitations and though personally I may not believe in so many things but I have to recognize them and I have to practice them because they are how they are seen by the society and the value system so I do that and in between the things which I believe in and in between the things which I can't change their is probably some reasonably space and I always, whenever I get the opportunity to exploit that space, I do exploit that space and whenever I have the opportunity to communicate with my female colleagues then I ask at least for the sake of some theoretical debate I raise these touchy issues and try to educate and try let them look at things slightly from a different perspective so this much I do because at least when you are like discussing some things in a theoretical manner, people don't get directly offended so not taking personal examples of people you discuss things and you discuss things using the yardsticks of local norms as well as like universal norms I would say or pragmatism then a debate normally creeps in which is helpful. So I do try to make them think of so many other things as well.

Interviewer- To what extent do you feel that your gender has impacted on your relationship with your other group members (both male and female)?

Participants- Well on a very personal note I would say that I am a sort of a person who is very friendly by nature so if for example if we live at a particular place for some reasonable time then probably I develop a sort of a personal affinity to all the people around me so due to that personal affinity and closeness, I can take a liberty of talking things easily and more frankly but that is like a very personal trait of my character. I see people who communicate with great difficulty with female colleagues and if they are discussing the same issue with their male colleagues, they are much confident and even their body language changes. So this is very problematic, we have serious communication problems with female colleagues. Most of us I would say.

Interviewer- To what extent do you feel respected as a male/female participant in gender diverse work group? (By opposite gender group members and supervisors). If no, why not and if yes, why, can you describe what happens.

Participant- Well talking from my experience drawn from certain personalities, I have seen my superiors and colleagues in meetings delivering and performing so talking from that experience which is like my direct experience with my fellows, colleagues and my seniors at this very particular base, this is like very personal sort of experience which i am sharing. It may not be generally applicable, I have seen people who like focus more on female for reasons I don't know but they might be like showering all their blessings and all their affection and everything on female colleagues for the reasons best known to them. They might be like in the presence of female colleagues. In presence of female they are sometimes insulting to male colleagues. This obviously becomes very discouraging and irritating even for the females who see themselves being preferred or given some more attention and more encouragement so they might at sometimes feel a bit embarrassed and uneasy about it as why they are being treated on unequal footings and they may say one thing and they are more encouraged to say those things which a male might have said a bit earlier and has been shunt for saying that thing so yes I have seen such like things. Probably you are getting what I want to say.

Interviewer- Yes I am, well my next question is that to what extent does religious belief has an impact on behaviour of men and women?

Participant- Whether that is Islam or not, whether that is a religion, a custom, a culture or whether that is a value system, it would be very difficult to draw a distinction between religion, culture and customary practices so these are like very specialized areas in which I shouldn't be daring poke my nose into these sensitive and touchy issues. But yes we have like strong tendencies then we are like interpreting Islamic principles or principles of Pashto code or cultural practices. Normally interpretations are made which are like, which have gender biases and like to give you an example like a Pukhtun is very uncomfortable when he talks about women share in inheritance but as far as the question of some sort of honour is concerned that it is very tempting to first get rid of your sister, kill her and then kill your enemy as well so these are like gender related attitudes. This example I don't

know may be out of place but this is how our people have the attitude towards all these things. Well like, it's always very difficult like to what should I say like when you are facing and handling issue which has got some link or a concern with a religious value, religious practice or a religious custom. To give you an example of my early days of teaching at a University so very unfortunately before me a company's law subject was taught by a senior professor and then that was given to me. In the chapters relating to property ordinances and sex harassment offenses and even at that level, I don't know for what reasons a Professor would skip and he would never ever teach those concepts which has got some relation with sexes or sexual deviance or extra marital sex or whatever something like that so I was the first person who started teaching those concepts and I thought that as far as I am concerned I did that with the fair amount of calm and confidence but then came a very interesting issue. One day I asked my students that I will evaluate you in the upcoming terminal exam only on one issue, the issue I will open to you even on this moment when there are two months for then terminal exams and I raised the issue of very controversial Hudood Ordinance that a sexual offence must be seen by four adult males that has some relevance with Sura-e-Noor and Sura-e-Nisa and Islamic jurisprudence is not very clear about that up till now that whether its a valid interpretation or deduction from Holy Quran. I asked my students that I am giving you this assignment and you must submit in the light of Holy Quran and Sunnah and their subsequent Muslim jurisprudence, search that what actually is the problem with this evidentiary principle which is very controversial and very biased, apparently biased and very discriminative still we call it Islamic and we have made it a part of the law of land and by virtue of this law thousands of women and men have suffered. So one of my students went to very renowned and religious seminaries in Peshawar and he went to the mufti (religious scholar) of that seminary and asked him that our teacher has given us assignment on analysis of this provision of this ordinance of Sura-e Noor and Sura-e- Nisa. The Mufti asked my student that Gentleman what is your name and what is the name of your teacher? And where does he teach? My student replied to all those questions. The mufti said that I will deal with your teacher later on but let me tell you one thing that you simply have no rights to analyse all these things as this is final in Quran (Muslim Holy Book) and you cannot ask anything about it and I will look into what your teacher is teaching you at the University. By the grace of Heavens I survived as my student was intelligent and he

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managed to convince the Mufti by telling him that Dear Mufti our teacher has given us this assignment as he wanted us to get into closer contacts with religious scholars like you, our teacher wanted us to do this assignment as we are studying more like secular courses and he wanted us to get closer to the religion and take a religious perspective of things. Then he got some consolation and was calmed down otherwise some mob might have reached me nine years earlier. So this happened to me and even one or two seminars when we were discussing few things, another faculty member who is currently pursuing PhD in UK as well, he raised in the crowd and asked all the crowd to recite Sura-e-Fatiha as Sohail has said few such things which has made all of you infidels so he also nearly leached before 70 or 80 people. So if one of our learned faculty members is doing this thing so you can imagine how difficult it is. So this is how it goes.

To understand gender diversity and conversational dynamics effecting gender thinking, behaviour and performance in group work

Interviewer: What do you enjoy most in your engagement in group work? Why?

Participants: Well I am a group man and I enjoy diversity in the group, I love diversity, when different people with different mindset see things differently and recognising all the differences and respecting all those opinions you forge a unanimous sort of consensus that is the pleasure for me. It is always like argument that is listen to one thing and delivering another, communicating and that is the beauty.

Interviewer: What do you enjoy least in your engagement in group work? Why?

Participant: For me nothing, I am always happy, for me even if people are not happy on one issue and are reaching to the consensus then even because of that disagreement we come to know about so many things which are very peculiar about people. We can come across some people who have very strong notions about certain things and you get to know that and definitely enjoy that.

Interviewer: Have there been some specific times that you felt accepted? Expand

Participant: First I would say that I always felt like that, as hardly there has been any meeting in my memory in which I have felt bad. I love and enjoy communicating with people. This may be so because of my communication skill otherwise I have witnessed people not being recognised because of their weak communication skills irrespective of their rank, position, race and gender.

Interviewer: Have there been some specific times that you felt like an outsider? Expand

Participant: A few times but then probably because of that issue which was brought on the agenda of that meeting which was not placed on the agenda for a thorough debate so probably that was in the sense like along with so many other items, that item have to passed through in a hash hash secret manner just give it an official ratification that see that this item is thoroughly discussed and have been considered by the committee. While in reality the chair was simply not in a mood to go into the detail of that issue, he simply opened it, disclosed and controlled and made it pass through the committee so that was actually a sort of issue with the chair that he never wanted to be debated, all he needed was our ascent and as a subordinate we had to. So in occasion like these, I feel like being treated as an outsider.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about any particular incidents or difficult experiences of working/participating in gender diverse work group dialogue?

Participant: Personally I have never felt that any woman has like felt uneasy discussing anything with me, even her problems. Personally I have never felt that either I have or my female colleagues have ever felt difficulty while talking and discussing issues with me. My female colleagues and my female subordinates have like come to me and most of the time like they would like to discuss and share even their personal problems, so yes I have never felt any difficulty in communicating to them in gender diverse group dialogues.

Interviewer: How much would you say that your other group members (male/female) generally know/understand about your role and give you chance to participate equally in group activities?

Participant: Well on many occasions yes like unless on one particular issue if the chair has got some extra ordinary interest and we are like at odd at that issue then

probably he may not be like accommodating otherwise generally speaking for myself my opinions have been respected.

Interviewer: Are there any particular things that you wish that your other group members (male/female) and supervisors knew about your role/participation in group activities?

Participant: Not really because I think that every person who is deciding an issue is being a person who is made for that hour and that position, probably this is his right and the heavens will not fall if he is not doing a thing like more appropriately or in the manner which I consider to be more appropriate so people have opinion and opinions are different and all these opinions have to be respected and I have never thought in my life that probably I have got all the wisdoms of the world and whatever I think or whatever I assume is correct because that would be fallacious and that would be terrible. Even if a thing is apparently very bad, I don't know all the circumstances so I can't judge so probably the chair is much better or he is placed is such position so he probably can take a better choice. So these are circumstances so I may not be aware of every single detail so I don't think that I should be stepping into others shoes, whatever you decide at a particular occasion probably will be the best and one day one may be sitting at a good position and deciding things so when your time comes you decide in the manner you feel good and when my times comes I will decide in the manner I feel good.

To understand the contribution of Government and NGO's initiatives (Equal Employment Opportunities and Diversity Management) in promoting gender equality at work place.

Interviewer: Is any policy introduced or is already in place for promotion and protection of gender equality at the University? If no, why?

Participant: Well people might know about it, it is fairly like disseminated sort of law. It has been much discussed and promoted by the press. As far as information is concerned most of the people and society I guess knows about it. There are no formal policies for protection and promotion of gender equality being introduced or prevails at the University but generally I think people know gender discriminations

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are prohibited in this country. So yes as far as information is concerned its always there but the benefit of this law probably has got a big social price because if you are reporting a matter of like some sexual harassment or gender discrimination or anything for whatever reason if you are making it public probably first you will be taking most of the brunt of it personally. People will have so many things to say about it like what have happened or like actually something else would have happened but she is reporting the other way around, this and that so character assassination is in the air and even people at very responsible and very educated positions will say things which they should never have said. So we are living in the part of the world where making anything public has a price.

Interviewer: So is this price same for women and men?

Participant: For women it's simply unacceptable as the price might be too high socially. She will be carrying a stigma which will be very difficult to erase, her life will be made difficult. So we will have all sorts of guess works at the back of our mind, so it will be like very difficult and very unacceptable for her.

Interviewer: How do your higher ups ensure the policy is being adhered to?

Participants: Well we have a history and we have a present day situation as well, if I talk of the history the situation was terribly bad, female colleagues, they have been harassed, they have intimidated, they have been humiliated, they have been insulted and so many bad things have happened to them, probably in so many cases I have direct information and I have all these things happening in front of me and we have a present day as well in which there is some improvements.

Interviewer: So what corrective actions have made the improvement?

Participants: It is the corrective action; it was actually probably the situation where men in authority were abusive. In that let me put it the other way around we don't have institutions right and even if there are some, they are only in papers and are used as a label only. So in any environment it's the person who matters a lot, getting a nice boss and you are enjoying a lot and getting a bad boss you will fall in hell. So it's very personal, it's person to person. We don't have strong institutions, we don't have institutional values, we don't have like labour union, trade union of that level which can like come to rescue and fight for your right. So in material terms they are

nonexistent. Legally so many things are available to you but when you try to activate those wires of law, they are simply too hot to be touched, they will burn you out.

Suggestions

Interviews: What aspect of working environment and team support could be improved to help you perform and participate more effectively in work group?

Participant: Well personally to me openness and transparency, if decision are taken in secret and hash hash manner, if we have like decision to make at the very top level and they are like made for simply for implementation they are like sent down and probably we are in an environment which is very suffocating and which is very different. So like taking care of gender equality and gender discrimination issue I think the more we are open about making policies and acting and executing those policies. The more we enter in this decision making thing and the more we are transparent and open we will be able helping the gender folk so openness probably is very important.

Interviewer: What is your perception as to why is gender diversity helpful /not helpful in academic work groups at Universities?

Participant: Well again like talking for myself knowledge is not confined to one particular person or one particular sort of individual, you can like always obtain a better opinion from anyone which may not be even educated but who is like conventionally very wise so his opinion might be very relevant to that particular occasion. Things are not always like I would say that you can have knowledge in each part of the society so the more you are like diverse, there are more chances that the feedback would be diverse and would be more complete, so that is the reason that I would like to get opinion of my women colleague as well.

Interviewer: Do you have any suggestions of how a work group environment can be improved to provide equal opportunities for both men and women academics to do their best?

Participant: Yes like for sure things are changing in our society, few days earlier I was sitting with few of my young cousins and one of my cousin a girl, she had achieved very good grades in matriculation examination and then like we were

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discussing that ok now what she should be doing and how many students did appear in this examination, she said that almost twenty one thousand students appeared in Peshawar Board and out of twenty one six thousand were girls and fifteen thousand were boys which is like slightly one fourth were girls and three fourth were boys but then this situation changes when we see the intermediate exams and immediately when we see the situation in university department then the balance is around fifty or in some cases girls outnumbered boys so this is quite amazing statistic that at lower level there are less women but as soon as it gets on performance based and competitiveness comes in then girls compete out boys and despite being like less in number in the initial level, then we go at the top level then the girls are found even like more than a half seats so this is very interesting so it needs to be explored. So things are probably changing, but still I think we operate in diversity model, because equality is workable all among equals, when we are talking about equality then probably the premise on which the structure is to be based that must be on an even grounds like giving you a very practical example that if I am educated at a government school and then I am graduating as a private candidate, another student is graduating from the best college in Pakistan, probably from Lawrence College or from FC college and then the Federal Service |Commission says that we have equal opportunity system of selection, both of you come and appear in the examination and we will consider you on an even grounds then this is not equality. Equality means equal opportunities; first you make us equal and then treat us equal. If we are not equal then you cannot treat us equally so for the time being I would prefer diversity model.

Interviewer: Well Sir thank you very much for the interview, it was very nice talking to you.

Appendix 7: Sample Transcript 2

Thank you very much for giving me a time for interview. I hope that you will enjoy talking to me and it will be a productive discussion.

Brief introduction, education and work history of the participant

Interviewer- Can you please introduce yourself and tell me about your family, religion and educational background?

Participant- My name is Dr G, I am Assistant Professor at Gomal Medical College in department of Gynaecology and I belong to Syed (Tribe) family and I am Gillani (Family Name) and my father is also a Doctor, so we are an educated family. My religion is Islam and I have done my MBBS, FCPS and MCPS and now I am working as consultant as well. I started my schooling at a coeducation school and that was Convent School then we went to Saudi Arabia where also I studies at a coeducation school called Embassy School, I studied there up till 8th Standard and then we came back to Dera Ismaeel Khan where I resumed my studies from 9th Standard to 12th Standard but it was then not a coeducation school. Then I studied at Khyber Medical College for my MBBS which is obviously a coeducation college. Regarding my family structure, I have four brothers and we are two sisters and I am second child of parents. My elder brother is an engineer at Water and Power Development Authority, the second and third brothers are both doctors and fourth one has done MBA. My other sister is also a doctor.

Interviewer- Have you spent any time in another country either studying or working? Probe for experiences.

Participant- Yes I have been at Saudi Arabia for my studies when I was young. It was a quite good experience because at that time the education at Saudi Arabia was better than that of Dera Ismail Khan. The education there was in English Medium and it was quite nice schooling there. I have been at UK for one year, actually my husband went for the studies there and I accompanied him but then I also did part 1 of my MSPS, it was really good, very well and very nice. I lived in central London and

it was a very good exposure. I tried to experience and learn from different cultures, I made many friends there and it was indeed a very good time spent there.

Interviewer- When did you make this career choice and what attracted you to this field?

Participant- May be it was because of my father, I saw my father as a doctor and I always felt like becoming a doctor. I was always good in Mathematics and I always got good marks in Maths so internally I feel that had I become an engineer I would have been much successful. But my father always used to say that my daughter will become a doctor so even I developed liking to become a doctor. But my father has always been very liberal, he never dictated me to do this or that, he was never demanding rather he would always say that if we feel like having some assistance like tutoring or any other thing then we should let him know. He was always there whenever we needed him but he never stressed us for anything.

Interviewer: What actually was the motivation for becoming a teacher?

Participant: Well I always wanted to develop myself and I had seen my teachers who were doctors and as well as teachers. They were continuously engaged in learning process and it always helped them to become a good doctor. So the motivation to learn and grow brought me to this teaching profession.

Interviewer- What expectation did you have for the career that you have chosen?

Participant- Actually yes, I had two types of expectations. One was to become a good professional doctor and a teacher and second was to live a high standard life. I wanted to become a specialist in Gynaecology and a Professor.

Interviewer- To what extent have these expectations been met? Probe whether Yes or No.

Participant- Professionally I think I have got what I wanted to become but as I told you earlier it is not only about becoming a good doctor or a professor for social work only. Everyone wants to upgrade the standard of living like these every good doctor wants to go and settle abroad. So even I had many dreams to go far ahead but when you stops at a certain stage due to some reason and when your priorities are

changed like when your children are born then you have to get slow with things and then your expectations are not fulfilled and you are frustrated. At this time like I have a frustration that why I am at Dera Ismail Khan, I should have been at some good place in Pakistan or somewhere abroad like England or any other developed country. So this thing always keeps me disturbed and I have this feeling that I am static and I can't grow here in Dera Ismail Khan. But I do see patients and students who are deprived and not deserving so serving them is always a source of satisfaction.

To determine the cultural and social dynamics including social categorization and gender stereotypes effects on gender thinking, behaviour and performance

Interviewer- How did your family and friends initially respond to your choice to become academic at University?

Participant- They were all supportive because when you are in a medical profession then you have to interact with males so they were all supportive. I would say that especially my husband is very supportive because in DeraIsmail Khan you know the environment is very conservative like Pardah (veil) restrictions but my husband's perception about it is quite different like he is liberal and does not keep much restriction on me. So there has been no pressure on me from my parents, brothers or husband.

Interviewer- How do they feel now?

Participant- Well they are all Ok with my professional life. But sometimes I am not comfortable in managing my family and work life. I have to give time to my teaching job, then a clinic and then my family also. Like my husband is fine, he is not much demanding and he understands that I am tired working all day long and he does give me a space to breath and rest but my children are young and I have to give them a time like a complete mother. Sometimes like they are not demanding but I myself want to be with them and serve them as a mother like the way other mothers who are only house wives. So this is how it is.

Interviewer- What would you say was the biggest barrier you faced to entering academic community at University?

Participant- Challenges are always there you know. Like the first time when I came here I was irritated with the conservative environment here. In the beginning most of teachers over here were like very religious and almost all of them had a bear. Their attitude was different with both students and teachers specifically like us who are a bit liberal. I mean like if I am not having a veil on my head then they would always pinpoint that thing and would talk about personalities rather than issues. They would always think and talk more about appearance rather than knowledge and ideas so that was actually a challenge. Like psychologically I mean that I had this set back, I never fought with them and it was neither required but I was irritated. Like if I am talking to you and you don't focus on a thing which I am saying to you and after sometime you just ask me to take a veil on my head then my whole confidence will be lost. So with this sort of behaviour I always thought that what is this? I am talking about something else but he is thinking about another thing. But now things have become bit easier and it may be because of seniority which I am having with the passage of time or I have gained a confidence to face all this also over a period of time so now it is not that of a problem. I am comparatively more confident than others so if it could happen to me than just imagine how would it have happened with the rest. I was confident because of the support I got from my family but the rest of the female faculty members surrendered to the pressures and they would behave and do whatever they expected to do by male faculty members, they all behaved artificially in order to survive in this Institution, Even female students who wanted to put on short shawls could not do it and they were forced to put on long shorts. They were not willing for this but they had to do it. But now I think that things have changed and maybe it is because of I have gone senior or I have gone confident to face these things, if you ask someone else then they may think that things have not changed. So I can't say anything about it. Now when I am independent so I don't have any problem with it.

Interviewer- Who has you sought support from?

Participant- I get it from Dr Husain who is in department of community medicine. He is very supportive like whenever I had problems initially I would always go to him for

some guidance and support and he would always support me even if I would think very negatively like when I went for Public Service Commission I went to Dr Hussain that people will use unfair means to get through the exam so what should I do? Then he said see you just sit here and write that what can happen to you like do you have to pass the exam? I said, yes I have to pass it, the he asked, that ok if you have to pass then what are the critical things to get passed like one way of doing it is to have knowledge and ability to pass and the other may be is the unfair means and if both are important then you have to go through both ways. He meant that you have to do in the Rome what Roman's do. He said that you can't change the system so easily, you don't have to only criticise the system, you have to either change the system or have to become the part of it. I mean he talked to me very positively which helped to reduce my frustration and I started to see positive aspects of a thing so this is what I always like about him. He has always given me a very good guidance like he always pushed me to do Part 2 of my FCPS exam and told me that you have to do it urgently or otherwise you will be left behind.

Interviewer- *Have you joined groups or sought activities whose participants include both men and women academics? If no, prompt for reasons.*

Participant- Yes I have been a part of such committees and groups in which both men and women are members of the team. I have been very much part of such teams and groups.

Interviewer- *Do you notice any difference into behaviours of male and female academics? If yes, prompt for examples.*

Participant- I think that male are more helpful, in same gender I think there is a problem of jealousy maybe, I don't know but if I am sitting in a group of males then they give me more respect. There isn't anything like humiliation and they do give respect and hear your point of view. They are more responsive to females but if we talk about female they are like very vigilant like my experience is that when among all females when you become more active and fast then you are snubbed. Like they say that she is trying to become over smart but when you get a chance to work with male then you will feel they understand you better and take things positively so this also there along with the other negative attitudes of males which I discussed earlier.

So these are all different behaviours but I would say that if we have a mix gendered group then a good and a positive discussion takes place.

Interviewer- Are the behaviours of male and female academics different in group work also? Prompt for example and reasons (Or are male/female academics treated equally in group work.

Participants- Well I have felt the difference but for me there isn't any difference as my brought and exposure have been more with males and less with females. I am groomed in a family where I had four brothers and one sister only so I didn't feel that for myself actually but when I notice others like when notice the other female doctors, I have found that they are just mute when male faculty members are in the group or in the meetings. So this is so both in males and females like in a meeting when they talk, they whisper first with the member of the same gender. We don't have the same staff room here in our college and the department but we have doctors room where we get a chance to sit together but that is a rare occurrence. In terms of academic performance I think males are better because female faculty member have problems related to family life and household responsibilities. They leave there children at homes and comes for work with occupied mind with family responsibilities. So when they come for work, they just want to get rid of the work and leave toward home or even if they stay longer they have things in mind like that my child would have come back from School or not so they can't actually focus on career progression. So wherever they are like very recently when I went to Peshawar to meet my friend who was my class fellow and she stood first in our class. Initially I thought that if only I am having frustration because of staying at Dera Ismail Khan which is comparatively a small city but maybe it is because of male dominance everywhere that even she had the same problems. She is a god medallist in Gynaecology which is not a small thing but still her husband said that you have to give time to me and children. I could see that she is losing her interest in the profession, she actually wants to improve her academic career but she is not able to do it because she has her children and she can't leave them. She had a chance to go to United States for studies but her husband did not allow her and said that I will do? Would I be left to groom children only? So he further said to het that if you want to improve your academics than you will have also have to look after children also so if you can do both, do it or otherwise leave your academics. So what I mean is that

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the responsibility of grooming children is always on female no matter whatever the stage you reach. And this thing is in the culture, not in the religion but the culture only.

Interviewer- What roles do you think women and men are suited to?

Participant- Yes again if we see this culture than yes there are certain perception that male are suited to one kind of job and female are suited to another kind of job. I think that equality is must but there are certain jobs which are suitable for women and then certain jobs are suitable for men. Female are not suited to the jobs which demands physical strengths like in Military there are certain points in which female is going to get scared where as men will respond well to the situation. So to my understanding there are certain things which come with the nature to both men and women.

Interviewer- To what extent do you think your attitudes and beliefs have impacted on your behaviour in group work?

Participant- It has a great impact because whenever I see inequality in group work like if my male colleague is not giving me or my other female colleagues a chance to participate then I really get irritated, I usually then forget about the agenda of the meeting and start teaching him a lesson to maintain equality in group work or I tell my female colleague and tell her that you should come forward and protect your right to participate in groups. It may be is because of my habit to teach everyone or may be that I always like to lead, I don't know but this is what I do. So it is very natural because when you see something going wrong and the other person is accepting that then you ultimately want to ask the person that why she/he is admitting to something which is wrong.

Interviewer- To what extent do you feel that your gender has impacted on your relationship with your other group members (both male and female)?

Participants- Never, I have not experienced that, I take them all equally whether they are male or female. I don't take them as the other gender; I just see them as colleagues only. So professionally they are equal, but even other than professional relationship I do interact with them as friends but you see there are always limits to every relationship like if I am joking with someone or someone is joking with me then

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I have certain limits beyond which I won't allow that person or neither will I go beyond that limit. This sort limit should always be equal among males and females, it should not be like that with females you can talk like anything and with males you can talk only decent. In short my personality is like this that I will always go for talk which I could do both with males and females, it won't be a sort of talk which can be done only with female and not with male or vice versa. But I have seen many of my female colleagues who just limit their interaction with male colleagues just because of the gender difference; I would say that 70% of female faculty members are doing so. Very few females are confident enough to talk openly in front of males. May be it's because of religion but I won't agree that it is because of the religion as religion is not that strict about these things. Religion only demands for Hijab (veil), so even if a female is putting on a veil, it does not get confidence out of female, she can talk on equal grounds and can stay equal. Your appearance must not affect your confidence but mostly I have seen that females are not putting on Hijab (veil) because of the reason that they are very religious, they put it on because it is a part of their environment and culture and they do it because of the fact that they are shy and cannot stay away from their culture.

Interviewer- To what extent do you feel respected as a male/female participant in gender diverse work group? (By opposite gender group members and supervisors). If no, why not and if yes, why, can you describe what happens.

Participant- See if I tell you my old experience then I would say that it was worst as I told you earlier, but I think age and experience matters a lot in gaining respect in the work group. Because now when they talk to us, they realize the fact that they are talking to the senior faculty member so they will always address me by saying Madam. But if they are addressing someone who is junior to me in age and experience then she will not be getting the respect which she deserves. That is why when I was telling you that when I initially came here as a junior faculty member, I would get very much irritated and I would always think that why are they not treating me good. Now when I sit with them so no matter how do I sit like putting on veil or not, they do show respect. Even if they do have something in mind, they won't show it. When I suggest something in a meeting, they do consider it seriously. But when I initially came here I could feel that they would always negatively perceive for

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whatever I would say. I could see that there tone was a bit harsh and humiliating. I could see a taunting smile and gestures. I am not very much sensitive with things, I am a sort of person who normally forgo things but even I could feel that so you can imagine that females who are not that bold would feel it very badly.

Interviewer- Well my next question is that to what extent does religious belief has an impact on behaviour of men and women?

Participant- It has a greater impact. But people around us do dominate women in the name of religion. Like if I tell you something personal to me that I don't want to live here but when my husband says that we will not go then we cannot but if my husband is willing to go then we will go even if I don't want to go and he will take me with him. So this is male dominance. In our professional life I can see that males are not directly but indirectly influencing females. Like in our college all authoritative positions are held by males. The head of departments are almost all males and he takes all academic decisions. I also think that females themselves are also responsible for all this, maybe it is because of their family responsibilities but they do not actively participate in activities. That is why I normally say that males are professionally more effective as compared to females because females are very much occupied in their family life and when they come to work in college, they always come complaining and having tears in their eyes. They have so many problems that they always hardly reach the college in time and are always hasty for getting back home. They are so very much stressed at home that they cannot professionally keep themselves good.

To understand gender diversity and conversational dynamics effecting gender thinking, behaviour and performance in group work

Interviewer: What do you enjoy most in your engagement in group work? Why?

Participants: As I have told you that I enjoy my interaction with male more as there is hardly a factor of jealousy with them and they are not that much stubborn with females. It depends on individuals more than being a male or female because sometimes you enjoy work more with females as compared to males and sometimes you enjoy less with females as compared to males. Sometimes while you are sitting

in a male work group, you find that all male members talk to each other and ignore you so wherever you find more chance to participate, you enjoy and wherever you find fewer chances to participate, you are sitting idle and get irritated. Specifically the meetings which are constructive and are also having some humour element are interesting to attend otherwise these get boring.

Interviewer: You have talked about the jealousy factor among female colleagues. Will please elaborate this statement?

Participant- Well I have observed and experienced that females fall in competition with each other. Like when we sit in a meeting with male faculty members than every female will try to prove that she is the best. This is what I think and I have observed. I think even myself that why does this happen and why does females not accept some better female coming their way. Even today earlier we were discussing that females have this problem like one of our colleague has come from USA, she is better but other female faculty members are not accepting her. Whenever she talks better, she snubbed by the seniors female faculty member, I don't know but I think they are more involved on professional jealousy. Maybe males are more in control of their feelings and they are less expressive and females are not able to control their emotion that is why they express themselves on the spot and show their jealousy. Exceptions are their but mostly it is like this that even if one is professionally jealous then male does not show it that fast as compared to female. That is why I think that among female work group the jealousy factor is felt more than that of a male work group. I enjoy group work but I enjoy it a lot when I am a leader myself. I have seen that there is always a lack of appreciation in group work so when I am a leader and something good is coming from the members then I will make them feel that the change is occurring because of the suggestions. It is all about the credit game, if you are given a credit for whatever you suggest then you are motivated otherwise you are disappointed.

Interviewer: What do you enjoy least in your engagement in group work? Why?

Participant: The point of irritation for me is the lack of interest of the members and it is quite annoying. Like if I am given a task by the Principle and I have a group to perform that task, I will obviously distribute duties among the group members but

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then if the members do not interest and adopt to delaying tactics and do not perform their duties then that really does get very odd and disappointing. This is where one wants to do it herself. So this is the only thing which irritates me a lot.

Interviewer: Have there been some specific times that you felt accepted? Expand

Participant: Yes, when the result of my MCPS Part 2 exam was declared and I passed that exam then was actually the time when I felt very good because when I came back to the college, all the teachers greeted me very well which I didn't expect. Then after I really felt like being accepted in group work and people started hearing to my suggestions seriously in group tasks and meetings.

Interviewer: Have there been some specific times that you felt like an outsider? Expand.

Participant: Well I would again say that initially yes, in the beginning people use to make me feel as an outsider and it maybe because I was junior or maybe because I was a bit liberal than other's but now I don't actually remember any incident or time of this sort. They are welcoming these days.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about any particular incidents or difficult experiences of working/participating in gender diverse work group dialogue?

Participant: Yes it happened once, I don't exactly that whether it was Dr Mateen or someone else but we were all sitting in a meeting and I was enthusiastically making an argument on some issue and I was disagreeing with some male member's suggestion, while I was talking just in the middle of my argument Dr Mateen said that I should take my veil on my head. That was actually a very difficult experience for me because I was talking very enthusiastically and I had talking with a lot of composure and confidence and making a valid point and he interrupted me and pin pointed towards my appearance and it was done in front of 10 male members and approximately 8 female members. So I was really hurt at that time. So the point I was making got deviated and I started telling him that why do you bother with my appearance. I really felt insulted because he took me only as a female but not as a doctor or a faculty member. It was very strange as he was not hearing to what I was saying but was noticing my experience only.

Interviewer: How much would you say that your other group members (male/female) generally know/understand about your role and give you chance to participate equally in group activities?

Participant: Well I would say that generally males do not understand the role of females in a group works. They give them less chance to participate but maybe it is because of less interest of females to participate in mixed group works. So on a scale of zero to ten, I would say that understanding of males regarding female's role in groups is less than five. But personally in my case it is more than five as I find myself more vocal and confident to talk and participate in group works. The age and experience factor is very important as I can say that in my case it is more than five because of my age and experience now. Earlier the story was entirely different.

Interviewer: Are there any particular things that you wish that your other group members (male/female) and supervisors knew about your role/participation in group activities?

Participant: I don't have any such sort of wish as I make sure that they understand and know my role. I don't stop when I feel that they are not understanding my role and not giving me equal chance, I just tell them then and there. So I think that instead of feeling disappointed later one should make her point at the spot. Even our Principle to whom you have just met is Maulana (religious person having a bear) so sometimes he does the same as others do so once I was sitting in the Bio Chemistry department in a meeting with our Principle. Since I do not put on overalls usually therefore our Principle was indirectly pointing towards me and he said that there is a teacher in Khyber Medical College who is very modern but even then she puts on overalls. I personally know the teacher whom he was referring to and I know that she is very fashionable and do not wear overalls but since the Principle did not want to know tell me to put on overalls directly therefore he was trying to tell me this indirectly. So this sort of behaviour is very common and we have now gone immune to this. Many people are scared of Mullas (Religious Fundamentalist) outside and want to have such an environment here which could help them avoid issues. But since I am having support from my brothers and father therefore I can face these problems confidently. One of my brothers is working in this college as Assistant Professor so even if I am quite on some issue pertaining to my rights here then my

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brother comes forward to protect me so again I think it is male dominancy as my brother's presence here and my husband's and father's confidence is making me feel bold and comfortable in this environment. So I have a main support of male support which is helpful. Otherwise I have seen my female colleagues who do not have such support and they really are in problems. In the past Dera Ismail Khan was not a bad place to live but due current conflict between local Taliban and Military there is a lot of harassment. Many people have left Dera Ismail Khan because of this very reason as they were not ready to accept this situation. And some people agreed to their ideology and became like them and there are some people who have not agreed to Taliban and have not even left this place and they are the people who are feeling a lot of suffocation and frustration. People like us are over frustrated and we don't understand what to do as we cannot agree with Taliban ideology and way of life and cannot either leave this place and that is why we are in problems. There is no enjoyment and fun left for us and our children. Economically we are gone down as we have now less students in the college and less female patients in the hospital. The impact is very negative and we are shattered and last but not the least this load shedding has very badly affected us a lot.

To understand the contribution of Government and NGO's initiatives (Equal Employment Opportunities and Diversity Management) in promoting gender equality at work place.

Interviewer: Is any policy introduced or is already in place for promotion and protection of gender equality at the University? If no, why?

Participant: Yes these were being followed initially as there was a quota system for female students and faculty but now it is finished and there is an open merit system. So now you can see that there are some departments which are saturated with females and there are certain other departments which are having females only in ones or two's. I think equality is there in the system but because of cultural influence inequality prevails. In female wards you will rarely find a male and similarly in male wards you will rarely find a female. As far as knowledge about formal legislation is concerned, people do not know about it and there is nothing done for the promotion of such policies. Even if girls are informed about such legislation, they cannot rise up and ask for judiciary help to protect their rights, the culture and society will not allow

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them to do so. But yes there are some NGO's who can help and protect their rights. I will give you example of my own house like I had a female servant and she is with me since her childhood, she is just like a family member. When she was 20 years old, her parents engaged her to a man who was 40 years of age. My servant was not willing to get married to such an old person and she came to me weeping and crying. I talked to her mother and tried to convince her that if your daughter is not happy with this marriage then why are you doing it, she replied to me that as I was not her mother then why am I taking interest in her daughter's affair and she said that she will take her daughter with herself just now. She took my servant with her but somehow my servant managed to reach to one of my friend's house who was a judge and her husband was a lawyer. I did not suggest this to do this to my servant because she didn't ask me, I would have suggested her same if she had asked me about it. So my friend who was a judge called me on phone and said that your servant is with me and she is asking for protection and I will give her a protection and cannot allow anything happen to her without her consent. So she did give her protection in her house but just a day after my servants mother along with many men stormed into our house saying that you have kidnapped our daughter, we managed to get them out with the help of police but it was a bad and a sad incident. Then after even my parents and relatives asked me to back off and let my servants parents decide for their daughter and they asked me to convince my friend to stop protecting the girl. But finally we did manage to protect her but we struggled as everyone was blaming us and did not understand that if an adult girl is not ready for the marriage then she can't be coerced for a marriage. My servant is now married to her cousin and she is living a happy life. So most often it happens in our society that even if we have some gender law, the culture does not allow for implementation. So cultural factor is more dominant as even literate people were asking me to stop supporting my servant.

Interviewer: How do your higher ups ensure the policy is being adhered to?

Participants: There is no awareness as such and there is no demand as such for protection of rights so no adherence as such prevails in this college. The higher ups are themself not aware of the details of any such policies so they are not either able to promote or implement any such policy.

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Interviews: What aspect of working environment and team support could be improved to help you perform and participate more effectively in work group?

Participant: I think more gender divers groups should be formed and more activities should be executed through gender diverse teams. We have teams and committees which are homogeneous and they form such teams as they say that they want to avoid male female love and friendship affairs but I think that if any such thing has to happen then it will happen in any case. Keeping male and female aloof won't solve the problem. More interaction will help them develop a better understanding for better performance. So this thing has not improved, we have told them more than ten times but they have not understood this thing.

Interviewer: What is your perception as to why is gender diversity helpful /not helpful in academic work groups at Universities?

Participant: It is helpful because group work is all about distribution of work and diverse opinions so if males and females are both a part of the same group then we will be able to have a diverse pool of opinions and if they have diverse pool of opinions they will perform better. This will help women identify their weaknesses, why have I become confident, the reason for this is that I am in coeducation right from the beginning so I think that if we will keep them segregated then they will not have the confidence and you cannot get the quality work. So I think there should always be gender diverse group and these should have a balance as well like equal number of men and women.

Interviewer: Do you have any suggestions of how a work group environment can be improved to provide equal opportunities for both men and women academics to do their best?

Participant: I think that the attitudes of people must be addressed and changed. If people's attitude is not changed then no matter how much laws and legislations are there, we will not be able to implement them. All the problem lies in attitudes, education is there but the attitudes are wrong and bad, that is why we normally say that they are all "educated illiterates". I have seen many people giving lectures and educating people on women rights but when it comes to their own families then they

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become conservative and do not allow their daughters and sisters to be liberal and live in their own good way. We have a very senior doctor here who once asked me that why am I sending my children to City School (Cambridge School System in Pakistan), I said that I am sending to City School because of the good system and education that this School delivers. He replied, 'Ok then I will do like this that I will admit my son in the City School and will admit my daughters in some other ordinary School. I asked him that why are you doing this to your daughters, they also need good education then he said actually that the fee of City School is high and I can't invest that much on my daughters. So this is what which has not changed yet and we need to change this attitude.

Interviewer: Well thank you very much for the interview. It was very nice talking to you.

Appendix 8: Meeting Observation

Date: 15/06/2010

Time: 02:00 pm

Venue: Conference Room, Department of M.S, GU

Chair: Dr. B K

Attendees: All Faculty Members Including 14 males and 09 females (05 of them were putting on Burka (the type of veil in which only eyes can be seen).

The meeting started with the Chair's address in which agenda of the meeting was presented. The Chair was establishing eye contact equally with all faculty members.

Agenda Item 1: Preparation for Forthcoming Workshop on University & Industry Liaison.

The Chair himself started discussion on preparation for the forthcoming workshop on University & Industry Liaison. The Chair appreciated the Principal proponent and coordinator (a male faculty member) of the workshop and said that if such proposals are made then the chances of acceptance and finance are always good.

The Chair asked the Coordinator of the workshop to present his plan of action for organising the two days workshop.

The Coordinator said, 'I am first of all thankful to the Chair for his support and guidance which has made the funding for workshop possible. He added, ' Various committees will be formed for the preparation and organisation of the workshop, the final year students will also be engaged in organisation, the venue for the workshop has already been decided with the Chair consent, the workshop will be conducted at conference hall in the Shelton Hotel. Guests who are coming from other cities and distant areas will be accommodated in the same hotel for two nights stay. Food arrangement for the participants and speakers will all be done by the hotel.

The Coordinator further said that the brushers, posters, registration forms and writing pads have already been designed and have been ordered for printing which will be received in coming four days. He added that the resource persons have been sent invitations; four speakers have confirmed their arrival. He further said that registration for participation will start almost 20 days before the workshop. The Coordinator requested all the faculty members

to volunteer and show their presence in the workshop, he urged them to encourage the students as well for participation.

The Chair asked the Coordinator that for deciding the chairs of the sessions, he also asked for giving him list and schedule of activities as soon as printed material is received. The Chair informed the members that the Vice Chancellor of the University is going to be the chief guest in the opening ceremony and the Chancellor is going to be the chief guest in the closing ceremony.

One of the male faculty members asked about the registration fee and further enquired that if the fee is going to be the same for both students and teachers.

The Coordinator replied with the permission of the Chair that the fee is going to be same for both students and teachers but the participant coming from other universities whether they are teachers or students will be charged with more fees.

Another male faculty member enquired about the dress code for the speakers and participants, to which the Coordinator replied it will be appreciated of the participants come in formal dress but there is no compulsion regarding dress code.

A female faculty member (without putting on veil) enquired about the formation of committees and asked the Coordinator that when and upon what basis the committees will be formed and will there be any remuneration for the organisers who will work in committees. (The question was asked with confidence having a good eye contact with the Coordinator).

The Coordinator replied that the committees will be formed in next two days, I will like the respected faculty members to volunteer for different committees as we don't have any specific criteria for formation of committees but I would like if one or two female faculty members to volunteer for reception committee. The Coordinator further said that since the workshop is jointly organized by Higher Education Commission (HEC), Pakistan and Department of Management Sciences, Gomal University, HEC has completed financed the workshop so our department will contribute in shape of organising the workshop by using its Human Resource, therefore there is no remuneration for the department's faculty and students but I promise that at the successful completion of the workshop, there will be a party for the students and a dinner will be organised for the faculty members.

A male faculty member suggested for the lunch gathering for faculty members instead of the dinner as it will be difficult for female faculty members to stay behind for dinner.

The suggestion was endorsed by a female faculty member.

The Chair asked for any other comment or suggestion regarding the workshop, to which all members remained silent.

The Chair suggested that weekly meeting will be conducted for checking the progress regarding workshop preparation till the date of workshop so that things can be executed well and the workshop is conducted successfully. The Chair requested the members to cooperate with the Coordinator well as this is going to be the show of the department and can enhance the image of the department.

Agenda Item 2: Internship Reports submission deadline for MBA Final Year Students

The Chair said that the MBA final year students are now finished with the course work and are on exam preparation leaves, soon after their exams they are to appear for the viva of their internship report. The Chair asked the members to let him know about the prevailing status of students internship reports so that a deadline may be given to the students accordingly.

A male faculty member said that I have four students under my supervision; three of them are almost complete with the report only one is in the middle of their work.

Another male faculty member said that his students have completed their work.

A female faculty member said that her students have also completed the work.

Another female faculty member also said that she is finished with her student's internship reports.

The Chair asked that those faculty members whose students have completed their work more than 50% may please raise their hands.

A whispering conversation started between the members but it was observed that male faculty members were talking to each other and the female faculty members are talking to each other. The Chair however started whispering with two senior faculty members and one female faculty member was also listening to the Chair.

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The Chair again asked the members to raise their hands if their students have completed more than 50% of their work.

Among all 21 faculty members raised their hands. The Chair asked the rest three (all males) to expedite their work so that they can also catch up with the rest.

The Chair then asked the members that would it be fine if the deadline is fixed as 14th September 2010.

A senior male faculty member endorsed the Chair by saying that this is a better deadline as it provides ample time to the students for work as they will be finished with the exam in mid of July and then the students will further get two months for completion of their internship report.

All the faculty members showed their agreement with the proposed date by moving their heads to say yes.

Agenda Item 3: Emergency Leave

The Chair said that it has been noticed that many faculty members do not come to the university daily or in time, they just make a call to the head of department or colleagues that they have an urgent commitment and they can't come.

The Chair was a bit aggressive and told the members that there is permission for emergency leaves but emergencies do not occur on daily basis so it must not be misused.

The Chair further said that in future if such practice is noticed then appropriate steps will taken to negotiate the problem. The Chair while addressing the audience was more looking towards male faculty members.

The faculty remained silent and most of them were looking down while they were hearing the Chair.

The Chair then asked members for anything they want to say or share now.

One of the male faculty member said that he wants to tell all the teachers that he is blessed with a son and he wants to through a lunch party for all colleagues.

All male faculty members and the Chair congratulated the father of a newly born son but only two females who were not putting on Burka (long veil) congratulated their colleague, the rest remained silent.

The Chair then thanked members for their presence and the meeting was adjourned.

The meeting lasted for one hour.

Appendix 9: Description of Research Sites

Cities in Research Sites

Khyber Pukhtunkhwa is known to have only three big cities in the province i.e. the capital city of Peshawar, the homeland of Saraiki's (people speaking Sarikee language) Dera Isamil Khan and the region of Hazara populated with Hindko (language) speaking people. As mentioned earlier the study is carried out in the major institutions of higher education in these three cities. Now the brief introduction to these cities is given to deliver a clearer understanding of the context to the reader.

City of Dera Ismail Khan

This city is located in southern part of Khyber PakhtunKhwa. Although it is the second largest city of the province Khyber PakhtuKhwa yet typical Pashtun culture is not the dominant one in this part of the province, instead local culture is more dominant. The local culture however does consist of the values relating to 'Pukhtunwali' and family honour association with women. Most of the women observe a veil that is different from the 'burqah' (veil covering all the body) in Pashtun culture (Cultural Heritage Centre, 2009). Women mobility is not as strictly observed as in the tribal and other regions of the province as women are allowed to go shopping but there are less job opportunities for women to join all professions. The choice of profession for them (women) is limited to the field of education and medicine. People living in this region do not like women to join those professions where they have to work with men. The unfortunate pattern of education in the whole of province continues in D.I.Khan also as the literacy rate of the district only 31% (Mehdi, 2009). The South Asia Partnership report (2009) suggests that literacy rate in D.I.Khan is 12th lowest in the province with Kohistan hitting the bottom with just 11% literacy rate.

The influx of people from adjoining tribal areas of Waziristan and the strong agitation of a political party Jamiat-e-Ulma-e-Islam (JUI) having stronghold in the city for several years created a boom of violence and sectarian troubles in post 9/11 era (Mehdi, 2009). Currently, and in the recent past, this city has been constant target of religious extremists (Taliban), and there has been much sectarian and target killing. There has been a series of suicide bombings in the city which has made the whole city a dangerous place to live (Syed 2009). Many of the people have migrated to the

other areas. It has also made the workplace insecure especially for women as my women participants were telling me that they have received death threats from Taliban, and they have been asked to quit their jobs.

City of Peshawar

Peshawar is an important regional city of Pakistan and is a focal point for 'Pukhtun' culture. It is the biggest city of Khyber PakhtunKhaw and capital of the province. This city is mix of 'Hindko' (a bit relaxed culture) and Pashtun culture. However, Pashtun culture is dominant among most of the families (Global Oneness, 2006). As compared to other cities of the province, females in this city have better access to the educational and employment opportunities. Many of the females are joining university for higher education. The interaction with the local people revealed that most of the females prefer to be in education or medical profession and females' job having the same bases of honour and 'Pukhtunwali'. The typical notion of female a symbol of honour of the family prevail in the city as the city is mostly populated with the immigrants of nearby and far flung villages of the province, these values are mostly brought to the city from the immigrants. The culture of 'Burqah' (veil in which only eyes are visible) for women is observed in major parts of the city, those parts of the city which are dominantly populated with 'Hindko' people are bit relaxed as they allow women to wear 'Chadar' (veil in which the whole face is visible) while they go out of home.

Like the other cities in the province, this city has also been and still is the target of terrorist activities. This city is adjacent to the 'Dara Adam Khel' (troubled tribal area) and 'Baada' (troubled tribal area) areas where religious extremists Taliban and Lashkar-e-Islam are more active and have an effective control. The country's map shows that University of Peshawar in which data is collected is just at the distance of 10 km from 'Baada' and just 44 km from 'Torkham' (Afghanistan Border) where an intense fight between allied forces and Taliban is fought for almost last ten years. The city is badly hit by terror attacks including bomb blasts, suicidal attacks and target killings over a period of last eight to nine years The impact of proximity with the tribal areas is felt as many participants especially females showed fear and apprehension over extremists activities surrounding the campus.

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City of Mansehra/ Abbotabad/ Hazara Division

The city of Abbotabad is located in North West of Pakistan and is the third large city of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province. It is the popular heath resort of Hazara division. The city is well known in Pakistan for its pleasant weather, high standard education institutions and military establishments. The area is mostly populated with Hindko people as 70% of the people speak Hindko as their mother tongue. The rest of the people belong to Pashto tribe and speak Pashto language as their mother tongue.

The interaction with the local people revealed that the culture of Hazara is more relaxed as compared to the rest of the cities of the province. The fact that majority of people belong to Hindko tribe shapes the culture of this area more liberal and less conservative towards female independence. Most of the people allow their daughters and sisters for education and jobs. However the values of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa are still preserved as most of the females are educated in non coeducation schools and colleges. Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority (2007) report suggests that the total literacy rate of the city is 37.26% and the rate of literacy among male and female is 52.82% to 21.14% respectively.

The city is known for home settlers in Pakistan because of the pleasant weather and peaceful law and order situation. The ongoing wave of extremism has not affected the city but a major earthquake in 2005 has jolted the city very badly. The place is well populated with both national and international NGO's which are working towards rehabilitation of earthquake affected people.

Studied Institutions in Research Sites

Academic from three universities and three medical colleges were face to face interviewed and collectively observed in meetings for the primary data of this study. Each institution carries a history of past, a situation of present and a vision for future; such information delivers the substance of each institution. A very brief account of each institution is given below so that the reader can sketch the map of research sites in mind.

Gomal University Dera Ismail Khan

Gomal University Dera Ismail Khan came into being on 1st May 1974. The foundation stone was inaugurated by then Prime Minister of Pakistan late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to put forward his vision of a highly educated Pakistan. It is the second biggest University in the Province divided into two campuses Main Campus and the City Campus.

The University now has four faculties i.e. Faculty of Science, Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Agriculture and Faculty of Pharmacy. All these faculties are comprised of twenty nine departments. The University is chartered by government of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and is recognised in public sector by the Higher Education Commission Pakistan. Presently Gomal University is having 335 academic staff and 5700 regular students. The university aims to deliver good to the society by attaining and sustaining academic excellence (Akbar Kundi, 2011).

Gomal Medical College

Gomal medical college was established in 1998 by the provincial government of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa. The college was formally recognised by Pakistan Medical and Dental Council in 2007. The college is located in the centre of the city closed to the District Head Quarter Hospital of the city.

The college offers both graduate and post graduate degrees in MBBS and BDS. Over four hundred students and more than fifty faculty members including men and women are populated in the college. The college is affiliated with Mufti Mehmood Medical Complex Dera Ismail Khan and District Head Quarter Hospital of the city. The introductory remarks about the college by the Principal revealed that more than thousand doctors have been produced by the college who have achieved distinctions in their professional roles at national and international level.

University of Peshawar

The University of Peshawar is the mother university of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province, founded in October 1950. The University campus is situated about 10 km

North West of the city centre on the main road leading towards Torkham, the historical border town with Afghanistan.

It has expanded over last sixty years and at present the university is comprised of six faculties including Arts and Humanities, Islamic & Oriental Studies, Life and Environmental Sciences, Management & Information, Numerical and Physical Sciences and Social Sciences with forty one post graduate departments, five centres, two centres of excellence, four colleges and two high schools. The student's population on the campus is over seventy thousand and the male female ratio among the students is 60:40. There are one hundred and sixty two students enrolled in PhD, four hundred and sixteen students are enrolled in MPhil program, this includes one hundred and seventy one female students (UOP Web, 2011).

The University is served by eighty four Professors, sixty nine Associate Professors, one hundred and twenty nine Assistant Professors and two hundred and thirteen Lecturers. One hundred and seventy members of the faculty are holding PhD degree and two hundred and fifteen academics are holding MPhil degree (Academic Section 2011). Regardless of its propinquity with the tribal areas and disturbance in the city particularly, the university aims to develop the students on ethical, social, economic and scientific fronts (Khan, 2011).

Khyber Medical College

Khyber Medical College was established in 1954 as department of medicine in University of Peshawar. The department turned into college in 1955 and became the pioneer institute in medical education in the province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa. The college is located at the doorstep of Peshawar University having beautiful buildings for academic blocks and students hostels.

The college offer degree in both graduate and post graduate courses in sixteen different areas of medical education having sixteen departments for each area. The official website of the college (2011) show that the yearly enrolment of students in the college is almost 200 which implies that over one thousand students are enrolled as full time students in the college. The college claims to have graduated more than 8000 students since its inception. More than one hundred and fifty faculty members are serving in which the number of female faculty exceeds sixty in numbers.

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The college aims to lead in the current plethora of challenges to achieve excellence in medical education and to develop as a role model institution (Sultan Mehmood, Principal of the College, 2011).

University of Hazara

Hazara University is counted in newly born universities of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa as it was established in 2002. The main campus is situated 14 km to the north of Mansehra Town on the right side of Karakurum Highway (highway leading to China) in a serene and peaceful environment. The university is comprised of three campuses known as Garden Campus, Haripur Campus and Havalian Campus. The main campus building was damaged in a major earthquake in 2005 due to which the university lives on a temporary arrangement, however the construction of dedicated building is in the process.

Over a period of almost nine years the university has established four faculties in area of Arts, Sciences, Health Sciences and Law & Administrative Sciences. Sixteen departments and two schools are operational under these faculties. More than five thousand students are enrolled in the university and over one hundred and fifty academics are serving the university (University Page Web, 2011).

The mission statement of the university (2011) depict that the university aims to impart knowledge in different field to the youngsters and to contribute into the knowledge by providing excellent research facilities to the student and staff.

Ayub Medical College

Ayub Medical College was established in 1978. The campus of the college in situated in the city of Abbotabad. The college has specious lecture halls and state of the art laboratories. Over the period of thirty two years the college is grown into one of the largest and well established medical institution of the country. Presently the campus consists of medical, nursing and dental school buildings with one teaching hospital and paramedical institute.

The college offers both undergraduate and postgraduate courses in medicine and dentistry. The official website of the college (2011) show that more than 1300

students are enrolled in MBBS and BDS programs and about 175 full and part time faculty members consisting of Lecturers, Assistant Professors, Associate Professors and Professors are serving the college. Being one of the oldest medical colleges in the province it has produced many doctors and practitioners who are serving the country. The college aims to contribute in disseminating medical education, extending research base and developing clinical care.

Appendix 10: Fieldwork Notes
Entering the Field

1st Phase

The first phase of the fieldwork began with researcher's arrival to Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan on 23rd May 2010. The next morning a focal person (faculty member from department of management science) came to see and pick the researcher from guest house of the university and accompanied through to the Principal's office of Gomal Medical College (GMC). A discussion for about fifteen minutes took place with the principal on a cup of tea during which the researcher verbally and thoroughly introduced himself and explained about researcher's area of research. The principal specifically asked questions relating to confidentiality of participant's identity and expected advantages to the college as a result of this study. This enabled the researcher to develop closer relationship with the principal as it gave chance to the researcher to convince the principal more and open more space for accessing the participants. The reception and welcoming attitude of the principal showed the advantage of approaching the field through organised approach and good written correspondence.

Next to the meeting with the principal, the researcher was allowed to visit the offices of faculty members for interviews. Four interviews including two from men and two from women were conducted in a span of three days whereas a break for one day and observation of faculty meeting on the subsequent day made the researcher to finish all things up in five working days from medical college. The following table describes the schedule and durations of the data collected from medical college.

Interview and Observation Schedule at GMC

Date	Faculty/Department	Interviews	Observation	Duration
24-05-2010	GMC	02		50 Min, 01Hr 04 Min
25-05-2010	GMC	01		45 Min
26-05-2010	GMC	01		58 Min
28-05-2010	GMC		Faculty Meeting	01 Hr 08 Min

The general, courteous and cultural specific protocol was followed to get introduced to the participants and establish rapport for individual interviews. The approach remained same for getting introduced to the academics attending the meeting which was being observed for this study.

Egress from medical college after attending the last session for data collection followed a weekend which provided not only a break but also offered the researcher a chance to informally interact with the faculty members living in the campus nearby the accommodation of the researcher. Most of the young faculty members met the researcher to seek guidance for their admission in PhD at foreign universities. This interaction helped the researcher to understand the overall culture prevailing in the area (see chapters of context).

The subsequent week started with entry into Department of Education Research. A brief introductory meeting took place with the Head of Education Research Department (DER), which followed entry into faculty members offices and staff rooms for interviews and observation sessions. The table below indicate the details:

Interview and Observation Schedule at DER, GU

Date	Faculty/Department	Interviews	Observation	Duration
31-05-2010	DER	01		44 Min
01-06-2010	DER	02		35 Min,42 Min
02-06-2010	DER	01		31 Min
03-06-2010	DER		Faculty Meeting	44 Min

Introduction and interaction with the participants took place in an accommodating and humble atmosphere. Listening to the views of participants and sharing views with them even on the topics irrelevant to the research helped in developing some relationship with the participants.

Given the fact that there was mutual professional similarity between the researcher and the participants, entry into Department of Management Science was found as most expedient. Introductory meeting with the head of department was carried out over tea which followed meetings with participants for interviews. Below mentioned table shows the details of researcher's activities in the department.

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Interview and Observation Schedule at DMS, GU

Date	Faculty	Interviews	Observation	Duration
04-06-2010	DMS	02		51 Min,40 Min
07-06-2010	DMS	02		35 Min,58 Min
28-05-2010	DMS	01	Faculty Meeting	56 Min

The facilitation of entry in the department was optimally utilised as researcher took less time in accommodating in the setting and detailed discussions took place with participants during individual interviews.

2nd Phase

The second phase of the fieldwork was dedicated to gather data from academics located in Peshawar. Researcher's stay during the course of field work in this phase remained off the campus in a private accommodation. The work formally incepted with meeting with a focal person on second week of June. Researcher could not meet the Vice Chancellor of the university due to his absence from the city. However the meeting with Director Academics of the university took place in which all the relevant issues of time and resources required for data collection and concerns about confidentialities and privacies came into discussion which were adequately addressed by the researcher.

Academics from discipline of management science were interviewed first in this phase; the decision for the sequence of interviewing participants belonging to different disciplines was left entirely to the focal person as this arrangement was irrelevant to affect the study. Researcher's social familiarity with most of the faculty members in this institute also, helped in quick adjustment with the participants. The meeting session for non participant observation and interviews were conducted according to the schedule below:

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Interviews and Observation Schedule at IMS, UOP

Date	Faculty	Interviews	Observation	Duration
09-06-2010/15-06-2010/23-06-2010	IMS	01		02 hrs,32 Min
31-05-2010/11-06-2010	IMS	01		01 hr 04 Min
25-06-2010/06-08-2010	IMS	01		58 Min
03-08-2010	IMS	01		01 hr 15 Min
06-08-2010	IMS	01	Faculty Meeting	01 hr 02 Min

The table shows most of the interviews were conducted in span of two or three days, it was due to the busy schedule of the participants working in populated and largest university of the province.

Another session of data gathering took place with the academics of education. Researcher's meeting with head of department followed interviews with the participants and observation of meeting also similarly to previous sessions of data collection. However each interview provided guidance for improvement for better interaction with the participants. Interviews and observation activities were carried out according to the following calendar:

Interviews and Observation Schedule at DER, UOP

Date	Faculty	Interviews	Observation	Duration
04-06-2010/08-06-2010	DER	01		01 hrs,09 Min
18-06-2010/29-06-2010	DER	01		52 Min
10-06-2010/16-06-2010	DER	01		50 Min
02-06-2010/22-06-2010	DER	01		01 hr
07-08-2010	DER	01	Faculty Meeting	40 Min

This phase of the fieldwork finished with the last session of interviews and observations at the medical college which were carried out according to the following time table:

Interviews and Observation Schedule at KMC

Date	Faculty	Interviews	Observation	Duration
14-06-2010	KMC	01		02 hrs,32 Min
09-08-2010	KMC	01		01 hr 04 Min
10-06-2010	KMC	01		58 Min
23-06-2010	KMC	01		01 hr 15 Min
23-08-2010	KMC	01	Faculty Meeting	01 hr 02 Min

The entry and work in this phase remained full of activity with lots of changes which were brought in predetermined schedule for data collection. The flexible and accommodative approach remained helpful in getting through with all data collection smoothly. This implies that more flexible approach is required to acquire data from participants in large and busy organisations.

3rd Phase

Academics from Hazara region were approached for data collection in this phase. Researcher entered into this phase having sufficient debate on the area of researcher with participants from regions covered in first two phases. Researcher's accommodation remained in the campus guest house of Hazara University located in beautiful and scenic valley of the region. Activity started over a meeting with the Acting Vice Chancellor of the university who was in addition to already presented written documents (research instruments), briefed thoroughly about researcher's purpose of visit. The focal person then accompanied the researcher towards the departments where the data collection took formal start.

The formal session began with a brief meeting with Dean of faculty of management sciences. Researcher got a chance to meet some of the faculty members in the office of dean who also took interest in researcher's work and agreed to cooperate in giving ample time to researcher for the study. At this point also, researcher realised the advantage of collecting data from participants who were already engaged or had been engaged in research themselves as participants responded with interest. Observation and interviews sessions were carried out in the following routine:

Interviews and Observation at DBMS, HU

Date	Faculty	Interviews	Observation	Duration
01/02-07-2010	DBMS	01		1 hr,04 Min
05/06-07-2010	DBMS	01		58 Min
08/12-07-2010	DBMS	01		1hr 10 Min
28-07-2010	DBMS	01		40 Min
12-08-2010	DBMS	01	Faculty Meeting	56 Min

After getting through with participants from management science, academics belonging to education department were approached for data collection. In this session also, the formal activity started following a meeting with the chairman of the department. Response from academics remained sufficiently well as the researcher was able to conduct interview and observation session in the following mechanism:

Interviews and Observation at DER, HU

Date	Faculty	Interviews	Observation	Duration
02-07-2010	DER	01		51 Min
07-07-2010	DER	01		35 Min
08/07/2010	DER	01		54 Min
05/06-08-2010	DER	01		1 Hr 02 Min
06-08-2010	DMS	01	Faculty Meeting	1 Hr 12 Min

The medical college was lastly approached in this phase of the fieldwork. Access to this college required comparatively more effort as along with formally securing the permission for access, the researcher was asked to provide verification from researcher's supervisor for this study. Academics were approached in official venues with the help of focal person for interviews. All the fieldwork activity in the college was executed in the following routine:

Interviews and Observation at AMC

Date	Faculty	Interviews	Observation	Duration
28-06/09-07-2010	AMC	01		59 Min
11/30-07-2010	AMC	01		1 Hr 02 Min
15/16-07-2010	AMC	01		1 Hr 06 Min
13-08-2010	AMC	01		44 Min
13-08-2010	AMC		Faculty Meeting	56 Min

The conclusion of this phase of the fieldwork finally brought the overall fieldwork to an end and it is concluded that researcher's entry in the fieldwork from negotiating access to getting access the whole process remained in smooth and convenient execution for many reasons i.e. formal letters, social network of the researcher and proper consideration of ethical dimensions. However, from researcher's point of view the major reason which made it happen was the fact that 'a researcher's pain is better realised by researchers only' as association of participants and participants with research community helped to acquire optimum support from them.

Appendix 11: Coding Tables

Table: 1: Open Codes

Sr. No.	Code	Definition
1	Male and Female Social Identity	Gender related social roles that are seen to distinguish between males and females.
2	Male and Female Interests	Difference between male and female likeness and dislike
3	Gender	Socially constructed difference between men and women
4	Gender Diversity	Proportion of males and females academics in academic work groups
5	Behavioural Difference	Difference between male and female academics professional commitment and participation in group meetings
6	Work behaviour	Personal work behaviour male and female academics
7	Attitude and Belief Impact	How do male and female academics think and behave in group work
8	Suitability for Jobs	Gender Stereotypes or prejudice regarding suitability of men and women for certain jobs
9	Group Work	Formal work group whose participant include both men and women academics
10	Team Work	Formal work groups whose participants include both men and women academics
11	Capabilities to Perform	Ability to participate in group discussions

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12	Individual Performance	Performance of male and females academics on the basis of individual participation in group meetings
13	Group Performance	Performance of academic group on the basis of collective participation of male female academics in group discussions
14	Acceptance in Group	Support in group discussions by a member or members of same or opposite gender
15	Outsider	Feeling of rejection in group meetings received from a member or members of same or opposite gender
16	Respect in group	Respect by opposite gender group member in terms of chance for participation and understanding membership role
17	Wish	Wish the Chair or opposite gender member to understand one's role in group
18	Understanding of Role	Understanding group membership role/Equal chance of participation in group discussion
19	Relationship with other group members	Relationship between men and women group members
20	Difficult experiences	Difficult experience of interpersonal dialogue in group meetings with members of opposite gender
21	Communication Gap	Communication gap b/w male and female academics due to cultural limitations
22	Expectations	Personal goals or expectation to be achieved by academics
23	Patriarchy	Authority of men over women
24	Cultural Issues	Issues faced by men and women due to cultural values and norms

25	Cultural respect of female	Female have lot of respect in culture and male colleagues respect them because of that.
26	Society	Society that promotes traditional practices and oppose women independence
27	Religious Interpretation	Interpretation of religion to control women
28	Religious Belief	Belief of what religion say about female participation at work places/ female interaction with male
29	Extremism	Rejection of secularism by not allowing females for job and stopping interaction of men and women at work places
30	Social Pressure on Women	Social network's pressure on female academics for doing jobs & interacting with men at workplace
31	Social Pressure on Men	Social network pressure on men for interacting with women at workplace
32	Moral Harassment	Moral harassment by the male employee by using bad language and negative remarks for female academics
33	Honour and Reputation	Personal Character Image of male and female academics
34	Family Support	Support by the immediate family for the choice of profession and career growth
35	Career Choice	Reasons for choosing to become academic at university
36	Household Responsibilities	Responsibilities of women to manage family affairs (Husband & Children)
37	Professional Support	Support from colleagues (seniors/ peer group/ juniors)
38	Sharing with colleagues	Sharing personal and professional problems
39	Supportive Management	Support of Management to both male and female academics

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40	Problems/Barriers for female and Males	Problems for both men and women in academic work groups
41	No Discrimination	No gender discrimination by the top Management and others in Universities
42	Government policy for protection of gender equality	Government legislations for protection and encouragement of men and women equality at workplace
43	Equal opportunities	Equal chances for academics (irrespective of gender) for participation in group discussion and professional growth endorsed formal and informal initiatives
44	Promotional policy of Gender Equality	Policies for awareness about gender equality legislation
45	Effect of female at work place	How does female presence at work place improve work environment
46	Job Satisfaction	Reasons for job satisfaction
47	Commitment with job	How do male and Female academics define their commitment with the group work and its reasons
48	Attachment	Reasons for attachment with job
49	Professional Development	Professional development within the University
50	Seniority	Span of working experience and growth in age
51	Old Professors	Aged Academics
52	Gender Equality	Equal Chances of Participation in Group Discussions to men and women
53	Eye Contact	Establishing eye contact in during interviews and meetings

Table: 2: Thematic Codes/Axial Coding

Sr. No.	Code	Definition
1	Gender	Socially constructed difference b/w men and women on the basis of interests and social roles
2	Gender Diverse Groups	Formal academic work groups whose participant include both men and women
3	Behavioural Difference	Difference b/w male and female behaviour in academic work groups
4	Suitability for jobs	Perception/belief regarding suitability of men and women for certain jobs/roles
5	Acceptance in groups	Acceptance in group discussions on the basis of equal chance of participation, respect and understanding of membership role
6	Performance	Individual and collective participation in academic work group meetings
7	Job Commitment	The extent to which male and female academics gives importance to job and career
8	Communication Problems	Communication problems due to gender difference that hinder member's interaction
9	Cultural Issues	Issues arising from collaborative working of men and women due to cultural values and norms
10	Influence of Religious Beliefs	Religious interpretations that hinders/support interaction of men and women in work groups
11	Patriarchy	Men control over women

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12	Personal Image	Personal reputation that may get harmed due interaction of members with opposite gender
13	Family Influence	Positive or negative role of family in professional choice and growth
14	Problems/ Barriers	Problems faced by male and female academics because of working in gender diverse work groups
15	Supportive Management	How management supports female and male academics to work together
16	Gender Equality	Equal chances of participation in group discussions/ Equal opportunities for male and female academics/No gender based discrimination
17	Government Policy	Structural initiatives taken in legislation for protection of gender equality
18	Promotion of Gender Equality	Promotional initiatives taken by government and non governmental organisation for disseminating the information about the legislation for protection of gender equality
19	Seniority	Span of experience on the basis of work experience and age
20	Visual Dominance	Eye contacts with the chair and among members/Eye contact of the female interview participants with the researcher

Table: 3 Thematic Categories/Selective Codes

Sr. No.	Code	Definition
1	Cultural Issues	All issues arising from cultural values and norms including gender stereotypes religious beliefs/miss-beliefs and family influence that affect participation of men and women in academic work groups
2	Interactional Issues	Issues relating mutual acceptance of men and women in professional roles that affect participation group meetings
3	Interventions	Structural and promotional initiatives taken by Govt and NGO's to encourage gender equality that affects participation of members in academic work group

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Table: 4: <u>Connecting the Codes, Thematic Codes and Thematic Categories</u>

Open Codes/Concepts	Thematic/Axial Codes	Thematic Categories/Selective Codes
• Male & Female Social Identity • Male & Female Interests • Gender • Gender Diversity • Suitability for Jobs • Work Behaviour • Behavioural Difference • Attitude and Belief • Capabilities to Perform • Personal Goals and Expectations • Understanding of Roles • Commitment with Job • Attachment • Patriarchy • Cultural Issues • Society • Religious Beliefs • Religious Interpretation • Cultural Respect for females • Extremism • Social Pressures on Women • Social Pressure on Men • Career Choice • Honour Reputation • Moral Harassment	• Gender • Gender Diverse Groups • Suitability for Jobs • Behavioural Difference • Job Commitment • Cultural Issues • Religious Influence • Patriarchy • Personal Image • Seniority • Problems/Barriers • Family Influence	*Cultural Issues*

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		Interactional Issues
• Effects of Female at Work Place • Problem Barriers for females and Males • Old Professors • Seniority • Family Influence • House Hold Responsibilities		
• Acceptance in Groups • Respect in Groups • Outsider • Wish • Professional Support • Sharing With Colleagues • Supportive Management • Relationship With Other Group members • Individual Performance • Group Performance • Team Work • Group Work • Job Satisfaction • Professional Development • Communication Gap • Difficult Experience • Eye contact	• Acceptance in Groups • Supportive Management • Communication Problems • Performance • Visual Dominance	

	Interventions
• Government Policy for Protection of Gender Equality • Equal Opportunity • Gender Equality • Promotional Policy of Gender Equality • No Discrimination	• Gender Equality • Govt Policy Gender Equality • Promotion of Gender Equality

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